

**DISALLOWED CANDIDATES IN THE 2015 CANADIAN FEDERAL ELECTION**

**By**

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## **Abstract**

Democracy has become widely regarded as the “ideal” system of government in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The development of political parties and their unique nomination processes distinguish this form of government with others throughout the world. Within Canada, the franchise model has become the gold standard of party organization. This paper aims to answer whether the disallowance of candidates in the 2015 Canadian federal election reflects undue interference on the part of the party in local candidate selection. In answering this question, the number of candidates that were disallowed and reasons for their disallowance will be identified. Thematic analysis will be used to understand how this type of candidate impacts the franchise bargain. Research suggests that disallowed candidates appear to be a phenomenon that affects “stopgap candidates.” While key findings are addressed, future research is necessary to confirm whether this finding is unique to the 2015 Canadian federal election.

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“Strength does not come from  
winning. Your struggles develop  
your strengths. When you go  
through hardships and decide not  
to surrender, that is strength.”

Arnold Schwarzenegger

## DEDICATION

*To my family*

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# **Chapter 1: Introduction, Review and Methodology**

## **Introduction**

The nomination process guarantees citizens a say in who gets to represent them. However, while Canadians get to vote in elections, they do not get to choose who will be on the ballot unless they are a party member. Traditionally, this has been a right of the party member, but what if it is not? What if the party leader interferes and seizes that right for party members by disqualifying candidates due to problematic behavior?

This discussion leads to the research question that structure this thesis, namely, does the disallowance of candidates in the 2015 Canadian federal election reflect undue interference on the part of the party in local candidate selection? In answering this question, both the number of disallowed candidates and their reasons for disallowance will be identified. Broad, overarching categories will be used to categorize these candidates in order to understand the consequences of these findings and determine the impact on the internal distribution of power throughout Canadian parties.

This chapter proceeds in the following manner. First, a literature review will explore current texts necessary to understand prior to providing personal analysis. The literature review will define party nominations, look at their importance within the Canadian context, and explore how parties organize their nomination processes. Additionally, the tradeoff in power that occurs between leaders and members will be highlighted, and the particular structure of nominations of Canadian parties will be illustrated along with the reasoning for this particular structure. Finally, challenges to the

franchise bargain to both leaders and members will be introduced, and the impact of social media on politics will be identified. With an understanding of necessary literature, the methodology will be discussed, that being thematic analysis. The chapter will conclude by outlining the structure of the thesis.

## **Literature Review**

Understanding and defining party nominations in general is important before attempting to understand them within the context of Canada. The candidate selection process has been identified as remarkably complex and significant for a variety of reasons (Rahat 2007). The selection of representatives and representativeness of nominated candidates are necessary to look at when attempting to understand the party nomination process in its entirety. Evidence shows that there is a need to broaden involvement in candidate nomination (Cross 2004).

Nominations in Canadian parties are characterized by involvement of party members in their constituency associations, and to varying degrees, in the selection process. Evidence exists showing that there is need for change in Canada's nomination process. Moreover, the importance of the candidate nomination process of Canada has been outlined, and it has been suggested that while an integral part that it plays in Canadian politics, the process itself is less than democratic (Cross 2004). Due to the uniqueness of Canada, parties must organize themselves in advantageous ways in order to appeal to a large and diverse group of supporters (Carty 2002, 729). Cross illustrates the trade-off that occurs between members and leaders within the franchise

model in Canada, noting that candidate nomination is left to the discretion of party members within guidelines set by the governing party in exchange for strict party discipline within the legislative caucus (Cross 2004, 53).

How can we understand how Canadian parties organize their nomination processes? Carty has developed the concept of franchise systems, which “exist to maximize the efficiencies of scale and standardization while exploiting the advantages of local participation in the operation and delivery of an organization’s product” (Carty 2002, 730). While there has been considerable discussion of how parties are defined, Carty is convinced that parties are more stratarchically organized than hierarchically organized. He illustrates that in stratarchical parties, power and authority does not rest in a single place, but rather is shared amongst many (Carty 2004, 9). Therefore, there is a trade-off in power that occurs between the leaders on one hand, and the members on the other, which is necessary to the success of the franchise organization (Carty 2002).

Within the franchise bargain, members have the power to select the candidates that will represent their party in the subsequent election. Local constituency associations allow party members political participation and to support candidates that appeal to their specific sets of ideas and interests (Carty 2002, 733). Party members are given the right to designate their candidate (Carty 2002, 735). Moreover, the franchise model gives members decision making power since their votes directly influence who will be chosen as the leader (Carty 2002, 737). According to Cross, leadership and nomination contests are a primary reason why members choose to join parties, with members often joining to support a preferred leadership or nomination candidate (Cross 2004, 25).

Within the franchise bargain, leaders hold significant power to influence policy. While policy conventions exist, leaders have the final say in issues of policy and have the power to adopt or mold ideas as they see fit (Carty 2002, 734). Additionally, when discussing party leadership in the franchise model, it should be noted that leaders hold “enormous command over the policy and parliamentary life of their parties” (Carty 2002, 741).

Why have Canadian parties adopted the structure of nominations that they have? The franchise system allows Canadian parties to adapt to a diverse and shifting coalition of supporters which can be seen throughout the distinctive communities, regions, and cultural groups in Canada (Carty 2002, 729). Furthermore, this particular structure resolves tensions that exist between a competitive national system and parochial supporters (Carty 2002, 730). Carty illustrates this structure of parties noting, “They must construct a political tent large and shapeless enough to encompass the inchoate coalition of supporters they need, but not so big as to explode, leaving a more fragmented system” (Carty 2002, 727).

Within this franchise bargain, the powers of both leaders and members are often challenged. Leaders face inherent challenges such as pressure to create a descriptively representative House of Commons which reflects the diverse population of Canada (Koene 1998, 56). Furthermore, the structure of the franchise system also creates challenges for members, including methods such as the parachuting of “star candidates” into power, disallowing candidates, and dirty tricks such as when leaders appoint incumbent MPs who are unlikely to succeed in nomination races (Koop and Bittner 2011, 435-436).

While the franchise bargain is ancient by Canadian standard, parties are also adapting to new realities such as social media. Social media has affected the conduct of electoral politics in three key ways.

The first way in which social media has affected politics is through new avenues of political participation such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube. Social media avenues such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube have changed how citizens participate in politics, and some argue that citizens are now able to actively participate in politics while challenging discourses, sharing alternative perspectives, and publishing their own opinions because of the power of social media (Loader and Mercea 2011, 759). In an analysis of the differences between online and offline political participation, evidence illustrates the role that online avenues such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube played in Occupy protests, student protests against tuition increase, and the Arab Spring (Vissers and Stolle 2014, 939).

The second way that social media has affected politics is that it has influenced how parties and candidates campaign. Literature illustrates that the internet has become an increasingly important tool for political parties and candidates, both to provide information and increase political engagement (Vergeer, Hermans and Sams 2013, 478). Literature illustrates that social media has impacted numerous political campaigns worldwide. Some identify how Barack Obama's campaign was heavily dependent on social media (Effing, van Hillegersberg and Huibers 2011). Others explore how the 2009 Dutch European Parliament campaign was affected by avenues such as Twitter (Vergeer, Hermans and Sams 2013, 479). Furthermore, studies have been conducted comparing how British and Dutch candidates used social media

avenues such as Twitter during the 2010 election period (Graham, Jackson and Broersma 2016, 765).

The third way that social media has affected politics surrounds the behaviour of elected officials, which can be seen through examples such as scandals and controversies. Elected public officials are under constant scrutiny, and the news media, through avenues such as social media, plays a critical role in informing citizens about potential mishaps by elected government officials (Puglisi and Snyder Jr. 2011, 931). Thompson has eloquently stated, "... despite the fact that politicians and other public figures know very well that their activities will be subjected to intense media scrutiny, scandal has lost none of its capacity to disrupt the flow of events, to derail the most well-constructed plans and, from time to time, destroy the reputations and careers of the individuals engulfed by it" (Thompson 2000, viiii).

## **Methodology and Qualitative Framework**

In order to build a comprehensive list of candidates that were disallowed during the 2015 Canadian election period, data has been collected from various Canadian news media websites. To ensure completeness, the comprehensive list was built off a variety of news media websites including the Globe and Mail, CBC, and CTV. In order to further understand the nature in which candidates were disallowed, a broader search was conducted to find corresponding news articles to each of the candidates. Further information was collected through corresponding news articles regarding the

candidate's party, riding, reason for being disallowed, sex, and whether they resigned or were asked to step down. The data was then compiled using Microsoft Excel.

Thematic analysis will be used in order to examine themes within the dataset. Thematic analysis is a form of qualitative analysis used to analyze classification and themes or patterns that relate to the data (Alhojailan 2012, 40). It is a useful form of research that can provide rich and detailed accounts of data (Braun and Clarke 2006, 78). Additionally, thematic analysis seeks to identify, analyze and report patterns or themes within data while organizing and describing a data set in rich detail (Braun and Clarke 2006, 79). This particular technique will allow for candidates to be categorized according to their behaviours, and allows for further insight into the structure of parties and their internal distribution of power. Just like any research methodology, thematic analysis hinges on a series of choices. It should be stated explicitly that it is a methodology based on choosing categories that will produce meaningful results. This does not mean that other categories could not have been used depending on one's viewpoints of the topic area.

My search for disallowed candidates revealed nine disallowed candidates. Thematic analysis focused on the creation of categories based on the reasons they were disallowed during the campaign period.

Figure 1 illustrates four groups of disallowed candidates.

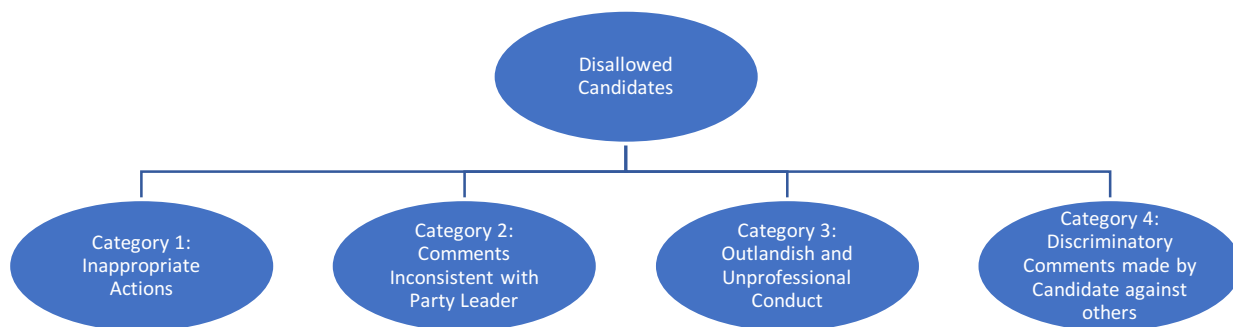


FIGURE 1: CATEGORIES OF DISALLOWED CANDIDATES

After compiling a list of candidates that were disallowed in the 2015 Canadian federal election period, the candidates could be further categorized in order to illustrate important themes related to their removal as candidates. These are not the only categories that could have been used to classify these candidates, but categories chosen to produce meaningful results. The first category is candidates that were disallowed because of inappropriate actions. The second category relates to candidates who were disallowed because of making comments that were inconsistent with the party leader. The third category addresses candidates who were disallowed because of outlandish and unprofessional conduct. The fourth and final category involves candidates that were disallowed for making discriminatory comments against other individuals.



## **Outline for Thesis**

The thesis will proceed in the following manner. First, the candidates will be identified and classified according to their reasons for disallowance. These reasons include: inappropriate actions, comments that are deemed inconsistent with the party leader, outlandish and unprofessional actions, and discriminatory comments made by the candidate against other individuals. Then, several important findings of the research will be addressed. This section will look at statistics related to the research, the prominence of the Conservative Party of Canada among the candidates who were disallowed, and commonalities of the disallowed candidates. The idea of stopgap candidates will be introduced, and the argument will be made that candidates that are disallowed appear to be stopgap candidates. Moreover, it will be argued that because such a few number of candidates are disallowed, this phenomenon does not fundamentally alter the concept of the franchise bargain that is currently used to understand Canadian political parties. This paper will conclude by summarizing the paper in its entirety, identifying specific weaknesses of the research, and illustrating its broader implications.

## **Chapter 2: Analysis**

### **Introduction**

This chapter will analyze specific candidates that were disallowed in the 2015 Canadian federal election. In order to provide a useful and meaningful analysis, the chapter will be organized by categories that address candidates that committed similar offences. The purpose of this analysis is to categorize certain candidates that have been disallowed for inappropriate actions, inconsistencies in policy with the party leader, outlandish and unprofessional comments, and candidates making discriminatory comments against other individuals. After categorizing the candidates, it becomes possible for an in-depth analysis that seeks to understand broader implications for the internal distribution of power within Canadian political parties.

In order to make sense of the candidates that were disallowed, this chapter will be divided based on categories that describe the events of the individuals. Category 1 will discuss candidates that were disallowed because of inappropriate actions, including Augustin Ali Kitoko and Jerry Bance. Category 2 investigates Blair Dale who was disallowed for making comments that are inconsistent with the party leader. Category 3 looks at Tim Dutaud who was disallowed due to outlandish and unprofessional conduct. Category 4 addresses candidates that were disallowed due to discriminatory comments against other individuals. This category investigates Chris Austin, Gilles Guibord, Jagdish Grewal, Morgan Wheeldon, and Stefan Jonasson.

<b>Name of Candidate</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Riding</b>	<b>Category</b> (Reason for being disallowed)
Augustin Ali Kitoko	Conservative	Hochelaga	Category 1 (Inappropriate Actions)
Jerry Bance	Conservative	Scarborough – Rouge Park	Category 1 (Inappropriate Actions)
Blair Dale	Conservative	Bonavista – Burin Trinity	Category 2 (Comments Inconsistent with Party Leader)
Tim Dutaud	Conservative	Toronto – Danforth	Category 3 (Outlandish and Unprofessional Conduct)
Chris Austin	Liberal	Sturgeon – River Parkland	Category 4 (Discriminatory Comments by Candidate against others)
Gilles Guibord	Conservative	Rosemont – La	Category 4

		Petite Patrie	(Discriminatory Comments by Candidate against others)
Jagdish Grewal	Conservative	Mississauga – Malton	Category 4 (Discriminatory Comments by Candidate against others)
Morgan Wheeldon	NDP	Kings – Hants	Category 4 (Discriminatory Comments by Candidate against others)
Stefan Jonasson	NDP	Charleswood – St. James – Assiniboia – Headingly	Category 4 (Discriminatory Comments by Candidate against others)

FIGURE 2: DISALLOWED CANDIDATES

## **Category 1: Inappropriate Actions**

This category will look at candidates that were disallowed in the 2015 Canadian federal election because of inappropriate actions. This category will include two candidates, Augustin Ali Kitoko and Jerry Bance.

### **Augustin Ali Kitoko**

Augustin Ali Kitoko was born in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and immigrated to Canada in 2002. He became a Canadian citizen in 2013, alongside his wife and four children. Kitoko is a graduate in both machine technology (specializing in numerical control) and a graduate in art from the Department of Leadership. Kitoko is also a pastor of the Church of Grace, minister of worship, celebrant, chaplain, and speaker (Le Potentiel Online n.d.). Kitoko was hoping to represent the Conservative Party of Canada prior to being disallowed by the party.

Hochelaga is a federal electoral district in Quebec, Canada. Hochelaga has a population of 106 496 people, 90 990 identifying French as their first language (Canada 2017). Traditionally, the district has been held by the Bloc Quebecois (from 2004-2011), however, the NDP have been in power since 2011 (Elections Canada n.d.). In 2015 the Conservatives received 3 555 votes or 6.9% of the vote, in contrast to the NDP who received 30.9%, the Liberals who received 29.9%, and the Bloc Quebecois who received 27.7% (Elections Canada n.d.).

Historically, the Conservatives have not been overly successful in this district (Elections Canada n.d.). In 2011, they finished with 6.8% of the vote, in contrast to the 48.2% the NDP received, the 31.2% received by the Bloc Quebecois, and the 10.9% received by the Liberals. In 2008, the Bloc Quebecois won the seat with 51.2% of the vote, while the NDP received 19.6% of the vote, the Liberals received 14.3% of the vote, and the Conservatives finished with 10.1%. The Bloc Quebecois similarly won the seat in 2008 with 49.7% of the vote, in contrast to the 20.7% received by the Liberals, the 14.5% received by the NDP, and the 9.2% received by the Conservatives. The seat in 2006 was once again won by the Bloc Quebecois with 55.6% of the vote, while the Liberals finished with 17.2%, the Conservatives finished with 12.2%, and the NDP finished with 8.9%. 2006 marked the first time that the Conservatives finished greater than fourth. However, that was merely an anomaly as in 2004 the Bloc Quebecois won 60.1% of the vote, while the Liberals took 25.6% of the vote, the NDP took 5.5% of the vote, and the Conservatives received 4.1% of the vote (Elections Canada n.d.).

Augustin Ali Kitoko was accused of supporting the NDP, as he was found sharing photos from Thomas Mulcair's album via Facebook prior to the election (Lowrie 2015). The photos showed the NDP leader with young supporters and candidate Mari Mourani. In addition to posting photos, Kitoko also shared a video in which Thomas Mulcair asked that Remembrance Day be considered a public holiday. There is no evidence that indicates Kitoko responded to the allegations, however his Facebook account was closed shortly thereafter (Archambault 2015). It appears as though Kitoko was dropped solely on the grounds of appearing to support the NDP.

Kitoko was replaced by Alexandre Dang following his dismissal from the campaign (Harris 2015). However, Dang was defeated in the election receiving only 3 555 votes or 6.9% of the total votes (Elections Canada n.d.).

The Conservative Party of Canada withdrew Kitoko's nomination stating, "He is not a Conservative candidate for the next election." While very little other news coverage exists surrounding how the Conservatives reacted to the matter, they did note that they do not comment on internal governance (Archambault 2015). There is no evidence indicating that members or leaders from other parties commented on Kitoko or his actions.

## **Jerry Bance**

Jerry Bance was born in Punjab, India, immigrating to Toronto on November 17, 1984. He has been a service technician for 25 years, starting his career with Sears Canada, and sought nomination while owning and managing Xpress Appliance Service (The Globe and Mail 2005). Bance had previously run for the Conservative Party in both 2006 and 2008, losing both times to Derek Lee of the Liberal Party of Canada (Battersby 2015).

Scarborough – Rouge Park Ontario is a federal electoral district in Ontario, Canada. It is a suburban riding with a population of 102 275 people. It is important to note that 8 160 people identified their first language as Tamil within this riding (Canada 2017). The riding has traditionally been held by the Liberal Party of Canada. Furthermore, the Liberal Party has typically won by large margins (anywhere from

57.9% - 65.6%). However, this being said, the New Democratic Party took control of the electoral district during the 2011 election (Elections Canada n.d.).

Historically, Scarborough – Rouge Park, previously known as Scarborough – Rouge River has not been held by the Conservatives. Since 2004, the Conservatives have never received more than 29.9% of the total vote (occurring in 2011), and have finished second a total of four times, which occurred in 2006, 2008, 2011, and 2015 (Elections Canada n.d.).

According to a blog written by a member of the Conservative Party of Canada who attended a nomination meeting, this was a contested nomination race. According to the attendee of the meeting, Bance sold over 1 000 memberships in contrast to Paul Egli's 300 memberships. According to the information, it appears as though these were the only two candidates seeking nomination. Furthermore, it was noted that Bance mobilized the Tamil community in order to win the nomination (Cincinnati 2015).

Jerry Bance was accused of urinating in a cup after being caught on camera during a house call made to repair a sink in 2012. Not only did Bance urinate in the homeowner's cup, but he dumped the contents of the cup down the sink that he was called to fix. Bance was featured on CBC's *Marketplace* for his absurd actions (CBC News 2015).

Bance spoke about his actions stating that "the footage from that day does not reflect who I am as a professional or a person" and "I deeply regret my actions on that day" (CBC News 2015).

The Conservative Party National Campaign office announced that Bance was officially dropped as of Monday September 7, 2015 (Shum and Miller 2015). Bance was



the topic of conversation in the news for days during the campaign, and Conservative leader Stephen Harper was forced to address the issue, stating “What this says is that we keep the highest standards for candidates”, going on to state, “And these two individuals are no longer candidates.” NDP leader Thomas Mulcair also addressed the situation saying, “We have, like a lot of you, taken note of the number of times Conservatives have broken the law. There has been a lot of criminal activity noted on the part of the Conservatives.” He also poked fun at the incident stating, “But I guess this was one mugshot that Canadians weren’t expecting from the Conservatives. He must be someone who’s adept at Stephen Harper’s trickle-down theory of economics” (Shum and Miller 2015). It did not take long before the hashtag “peegate” was trending on Twitter where Bance was the subject of comments and jokes (Waters 2015).

## **Category 2: Comments Inconsistent with Party Leader**

Category 2 will investigate candidates that were disallowed in the 2015 Canadian general election period for making comments that are deemed as inconsistent with the party leader. This category only includes one candidate, Blair Dale.

### **Blair Dale**

Blair Dale attended the University of Ottawa, completing a Bachelor’s degree in Political Science and Government (Linkedin 2017). Prior to seeking nomination for the

Conservative Party of Canada, Dale was working in Ottawa as a political staffer alongside retiring Conservative MP LaVar Payne (CBC News 2015).

Bonavista – Burin Trinity is a federal electoral district located in Newfoundland, Canada. Bonavista – Burin Trinity has a population of 74 116 people. The district holds a large elderly population, with 18 085 people identifying themselves as 65 years of age or older (Canada 2017). The electoral district, while it has changed names, has been a stronghold for the Liberal Party of Canada, with Scott Simms being in power from 2004-2011 (Elections Canada n.d.).

Bonavista – Burin Trinity, formerly the district of Bonavista – Gander – Grand Falls – Windsor, has not historically belonged to the Conservative Party of Canada (Elections Canada n.d.). Traditionally, the district has been held by Scott Simms and the Liberals. The Conservatives have finished second to the Liberals in every election since 2004. In 2015, even though the Conservatives finished second, they only collected 10.1% of the total vote in contrast to 81.8% collected by the Liberals. The Conservatives collected 27.6% of the vote in 2011, 15.2% in 2008, 40.3% in 2006, and 41.6% in 2004. Since 2004, the closest the Conservatives have come to winning the seat was in 2004 with Rex Barnes where he finished with 41.6% of the total votes in contrast to the 48.2% collected by Scott Simms and the Liberals (Elections Canada n.d.).

Blair Dale was exposed by blogger Robert Jago after Jago provided a summary of Dale's comments that he made on Facebook, Google Plus and OkCupid (CBC News 2015). Many of the comments made by Dale were sexually explicit. Dale commented on racial issues in popular culture stating in one YouTube comment that he was concerned with the involvement of more colour people in Hollywood films. He also stated, "If you

want to see more of your race, stop supporting things that aren't about it." Dale additionally spoke about abortion saying that abortion should be limited to victims of rape and should not be an option for "irresponsible" people (CBC News 2015).

Party spokesman Kory Teneycke spoke of the incident on Tuesday September 15, 2015, stating that Blair Dale had been removed as a candidate (CTV News 2015). According to Teneycke, Dale was removed because his comments were "incompatible with our party". While Teneycke would not go into specifics, he stated that every party attempts to vet candidates as best as they can, but noted, "There are obviously cracks in that system for everyone." He also commented on the issues that social media presents in the modern age stating, "But I think it's one of the hazards of the modern world that social media and things like this are part of your public record whether you want them to be or not" (CTV News 2015). No evidence exists that indicates that Dale responded to the accusations and comments made.

While there is little evidence suggesting that leaders or other party people discussed the matter publicly, blogger Robert Jago who initially exposed the comments of Dale did not agree with the actions taken by the Conservatives. He stated, "They let the candidate down. They didn't prepare him, they let him hang out to dry, and with the first bit of attention he's gone. And for no god damned reason" (Maloney 2015).

### **Category 3: Outlandish and Unprofessional Conduct**

Category 3 addresses candidates that committed outlandish and unprofessional conduct. This category also only includes one candidate, namely, Tim Dutaud.

## **Tim Dutaud**

Prior to running as a candidate for the Conservative Party of Canada in the 2015 federal election, Tim Dutaud worked as a Real Estate Sales Representative. Dutaud also previously worked as a Radio Host with “The Score Media Group”, and moreover, in production with CBC television. There is little information indicating that Dutaud had political experience prior to running as a candidate for the Conservatives (Linkedin 2017).

Toronto – Danforth is a federal electoral district in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. It has a population of 106 875. It is worthwhile to note that the district encompasses a significant minority population, with 17 175 individuals identifying “Non-Aboriginal languages” as the language spoken most often at home (Canada 2017). The riding has traditionally been held by the NDP. Since 2004 the riding has been held by the NDP, and the late Mr. Jack Layton held the seat from 2004-2011. The Liberal Party of Canada has been the runner-up since 2004 and the closest they came to defeating the NDP was in 2004 when they finished with 41.3% of the vote in contrast to the NDPs 46.3% (Elections Canada n.d.).

The Conservative Party of Canada has done particularly poorly in this district. (Elections Canada n.d.) Since 2004, the Conservatives have failed to be competitive in this district, finishing third in 2015, 2011, 2006, and 2004, and finishing fourth in 2006 where they finished behind the Green Party of Canada. The Conservatives received 6.2% of the vote in 2004, 9.9% of the vote in 2006, 11.7% of the vote in 2008, and

14.3% of the vote in 2011 (Elections Canada n.d.). The Conservatives finished with 9.9% of the vote in 2015 (Elections Canada n.d.).

Dutaud was accused of posting prank YouTube videos with inappropriate content. In one video Dutaud was pretending to have an orgasm while being on the phone with a customer service representative. Another video was posted where Dutaud was mocking people with mental disabilities (CBC News 2015). Dutaud titled the video surrounding the issue of mental disabilities “retarded”, and this prank call was made to the company responsible for maintenance of Ontario’s Highway 407. In the video surrounding sexual content and pretending to orgasm, Dutaud called a customer service line with a series of questions surrounding Viagra (National Post 2015).

CBC News attempted to contact Dutaud, but was unsuccessful (CBC News 2015). The Conservative Party identified Dutaud as the man posting the videos and announced that Dutaud would no longer be running in the Toronto – Danforth riding (National Post 2015).

NDP leader Thomas Mulcair made sure to comment on the actions of the Conservatives and Dutaud when given the chance. Liberal leader Justin Trudeau also commented on the incident at a campaign event in Prince Edward Island. He noted that the incident illustrated that Harper is out of touch and “didn’t bother” finding out the history of his candidates. He additionally noted, “But really, is that something so surprising from a man who still believes Mike Duffy is a Prince Edward Islander?” (CBC News 2015).

Prime Minister Stephen Harper addressed the issue stating, “What this means is that we keep the highest standards for candidates and these two individuals are no

longer candidates” (CBC News 2015). Additionally, Harper promised to improve disability grants if he was re-elected, which was seen as a way to address Dutaud’s negative comments regarding Canadians with disabilities without explicitly mentioning the disallowed candidate (National Post 2015).

#### **Category 4: Discriminatory Comments made by Candidate against others**

Category 4 addresses candidates that were disallowed because of making discriminatory comments against other individuals. This is a category with a significant number of candidates that were disallowed. This category will discuss Chris Austin, Gilles Guibord, Jagdish Grewal, Morgan Wheeldon, and Stefan Jonasson.

#### **Chris Austin**

Chris Austin has prior campaign experience. Prior to being nominated as the Liberal candidate in Sturgeon River – Parkland, Austin ran as the Liberal candidate in the Edmonton – Spruce Grove riding in the 2008 and 2011 Canadian federal elections. In 2011, he earned 9.3% of the vote, and in 2008, he earned 11.5% of the vote. Not only has Austin been a liberal candidate for federal elections, but he was also the provincial Liberal candidate in the Spruce Grove – St. Albert constituency in 2012 (daveberta.ca 2015).

Sturgeon River – Parkland is a federal electoral district in Alberta, Canada, with a population of 120 784 people. It is primarily an English-speaking district with 111 975

individuals identifying that they only speak English (Canada 2017). Sturgeon River – Parkland was created from the electoral districts of Edmonton – Spruce Grove, Westlock – St. Paul, and Yellowhead. Edmonton – Spruce Grove has been held by Rona Ambrose of the Conservatives since (at least) 2004, winning all the elections by significant margins (Elections Canada n.d.). Likewise, Westlock – St. Paul and Yellowhead have also been ruled by the Conservatives who have been in power since (at least) 2004, winning their districts by substantial margins (Elections Canada n.d.).

Chris Austin was the subject of significant criticism following numerous posts he made. On Twitter he wrote, “Harper has turned our Nation’s Capital into a War Zone as his thirst for War.” Austin also posted a link to a news article about the Communications Security Establishment Canada, and wrote “The Gestapo of Canada lol :)” (The Globe and Mail 2015).

The Liberal Party of Canada addressed Austin’s comments. (The Globe and Mail 2015). The party removed him as a candidate, noting, “New information was brought to our attention which led to the revocation of his green light status, ending his candidacy” (CBC News 2015).

Austin responded to the incident stating in a post that the Liberals would not let him run “for saying something in my past.” Austin also spoke of his intention to run as an Independent (CBC News 2015). However, there is no indication that Austin has ran as an Independent up to this point in time, or that other parties commented on this matter.

## **Gilles Guibord**

Conservative candidate Gilles Guibord was a Parti Quebecois activist from 1968-1976, also founding a Bloc Quebecois association in a Montreal riding in 1991 (Kestler-D'amours 2015). Additionally, Guibord worked with the Action Democratique du Quebec (ADQ) from 1994-1995. Guibord worked as a maintenance electrician at the Mirabel airport in Montreal from 1974-1987. From approximately 1987-1997, Guibord worked as a union representative for federal employees in Montreal, Quebec. Furthermore, Guibord worked odd jobs prior to his retirement in 2007 (Kestler-D'amours 2015).

Rosemont – La Petite Patrie is a federal electoral district in Quebec, Canada, with a total population of 110 677 people. The community is heavily French, with 95 875 citizens identifying French as their first language spoken (Canada 2017). It is a highly religious district, with 66 575 citizens identifying as Christian, and 60 650 identifying as Catholic (Canada 2013). Prior to the NDP taking control of the riding in 2015, the district has been a stronghold for the Bloc Quebecois, holding power since 1993 while winning by significant margins (Elections Canada n.d.).

The Conservative Party of Canada has not had great success in this region (Elections Canada n.d.). Since 2004, the Conservatives have finished fourth, finishing behind the NDP, Liberal Party of Canada, and Bloc Quebecois on all occasions. The most votes the Conservatives have collected came in 2006 when they won 9.3% of the total votes, illustrating that this has never been a particularly successful district for the party (Elections Canada n.d.).



Gilles Guibord was the subject of much criticism after making sexist and racist comments in numerous Journal de Montreal newspaper articles (CBC News 2015).

With regard to the Aboriginal people of Canada he stated,

“First Nations refused to integrate into European culture. It’s their right, but there was a price to pay for that decision: Rejecting urban society and its advantages. The federal government used corruption to keep First Nations quieter... Political parties didn’t take responsibility for integrating aboriginal communities...” (CBC News 2015).

Guibord also made comments directed at Aboriginal women of Canada stating,

“To be fair, I think it’s better to speak of men’s authority over women, than of superiority. I think that male-female relations were not determined by religion, but rather by forces present before religions (existed). Man was stronger than woman, the woman was placed under his protection. Because of pregnancies, women were often in a state of fragility or insecurity, so men protected them, etc.” (CBC News 2015).

Conservative party spokesman Stephen Lecce addressed the actions stating that “Mr. Guibord is no longer a candidate” (Levesque 2015). Kevin Menard, another Conservative party spokesperson also spoke about Guibord stating that he is “not the candidate anymore” (Kestler-D’amours 2015).

Guibord responded to the situation stating that “I was fired by the party” in a telephone interview. Although he did not explain why, he stated “I can’t answer. I am a Conservative; I don’t want to make a big deal out of it” (Kestler-D’amours 2015). There is no evidence indicating that other parties commented on the actions of Guibord.

## **Jagdish Grewal**

Born in India, Jagdish Grewal immigrated to Canada in July 1997. Upon first arriving in Canada, Grewal worked picking berries on a farm in British Columbia. He eventually

moved to Brampton, Ontario, where he worked a series of temporary jobs and served in the army reserves (Lin 2013). Grewal is currently the publisher of Punjabi Daily News. While Grewal has never been part of political office in Canada, he has always dreamed of becoming part of office in order to serve the communities he cares for (Mississauga News 2015).

Grewal is also heavily involved with the community through volunteering and a variety of other activities (Mississauga News 2015). He is the President and Director of the Peel Multicultural Council (PMC), founded Etobicoke Sports and Cultural Club with the intention of introducing Bhagra dance to Canadians in the Toronto area, a member of the Indo-Canadian Chamber of Commerce, and the Director of Board of Can-Sikh Sports and Cultural Centre that offers a hot lunch for the homeless in Toronto. Moreover, he is a founding member of Guru Nanak Car Rally, a member of Brampton Hospital's Sikh Sub Committee, an advisor to the Board of Directors for Canadian-South Asians Supporting Independent Living, an Advisor for the Punjabi International Film Festival (Toronto), Founder, Director, and Coordinator of the Punjabi Broadcasters Association, and a member of the National Ethnic Press and Media Council of Canada. Additionally, Grewal also served in the Canadian Army Reserve in the Electrical and Mechanical Engineering wing (Mississauga News 2015).

Mississauga – Malton is a federal electoral district in Ontario, Canada. It is a suburban riding with a population of 118 240 people. The district is comprised of mainly English-speaking residents with 109 985 people listing English as their first official language spoken. The district holds a significant Punjabi population with 8 035 people listing Punjabi as the language they speak most at home (Canada 2017). Prior to being

created in 2013, Mississauga – Malton was comprised of Bramlea – Gore – Malton, Mississauga – Brampton South, and Mississauga – Streetsville. While traditionally Bramlea – Gore – Malton has been a Liberal riding, it was held by the Conservatives in 2011 (Elections Canada n.d.). Mississauga – Brampton South was held by the Conservative Party of Canada in both 2011 and 2008 (Elections Canada n.d.). Mississauga – Streetsville was also held by the Conservatives in 2011, however, has also tended to be a Liberal electoral district (Elections Canada n.d.).

Grewal was accused of defending therapies that seek to turn homosexuals into heterosexuals (Ditchburn 2015). His views were written in an editorial in the Punjabi Post titled “Is it wrong for a homosexual to become a normal person”. Grewal stated that homosexuality is “unnatural behaviour” and used the word “normal” to describe heterosexuals (Ditchburn 2015).

The Conservative Party of Canada responded to the actions, stating that “... We believe that all Canadians – regardless of race, religion, gender, or sexual orientation – deserve to be treated with respect and dignity.” Grewal was dropped by the Conservative Party of Canada, stating that “Mr. Grewal is no longer an official candidate for the Conservative Party.” (Ditchburn 2015)

Grewal responded to the accusations made, claiming that there were key parts of the editorial that were not translated correctly from Punjabi to English. He stated, “If I win, I will appeal to the Conservative Party, the national caucus, to clear this misunderstanding. And I hope they take me back. But it’s up to them” (Thibedeau 2015).

Thomas Mulcair took the opportunity to speak about the actions and stated that Grewal's remarks were unacceptable and stated that Harper should "remove him". Mulcair went on stating, "We're saying that in this day and age, a prime minister who accepts that, continues to tolerate it and accepts the type of statement today on homosexuals is frankly not showing leadership." Additionally, he spoke saying, "Mr. Harper's got to start getting it right and it starts by firing this candidate who said those things that are totally unacceptable about gays." However, there is no indication that Stephen Harper "took the bait" and commented in response to Mulcair (Ditchburn 2015).

### **Morgan Wheeldon**

Morgan Wheeldon had no prior political experience prior to running as a candidate for the NDP, where he chose to run in order to represent the people of the Kings – Hants area (The Digby Courier 2015). Wheeldon stated, "I genuinely care about the region." Moreover, he added, "I chose to move back here with my family and make a life here. I'm running because the NDP have the best plan." Wheeldon has had experience in the procurement industry and is one of the founding members of the non-partisan organization Fusion Annapolis Valley. Prior to running for office, Wheeldon had a personal business which had been placed on hold while he focuses on the campaign. However, the specifics of this business are unclear (The Digby Courier 2015).

Kings – Hants is a federal electoral district in Nova Scotia, Canada. It is a rural riding with a population of 83 465. It is a primarily English-speaking community, with 81 520 people identifying English as their first official language spoken (Canada 2017). The

NDP have not historically been successful in this riding, with the Liberals winning the seat in every election since 2004. The NDP have not finished better than 3<sup>rd</sup> since 2004 (Elections Canada n.d.).

Since 2004, the riding has been held by Scott Brison of the Liberal Party of Canada. The NDP have consistently finished behind the Liberals and Conservatives, collecting very few votes in this district. The NDP finished with 17.7% of the total vote in 2004, 19.0% of the total vote in 2006, 22.0% of the total vote in 2008, and 20.0% of the total vote in 2011 (Elections Canada n.d.). In the most recent election they collected 6.4% of the vote (Elections Canada n.d.).

Wheeldon allegedly made a Facebook post in 2014 accusing Israel of war crimes (Csanady 2015). He stated, “One could argue that Israel’s intention was always to ethnically cleanse the region – there are direct quotations proving this to be the case. Guess we just sweep that under the rug. A minority of Palestinians are bombing buses in response to what appears to be a calculated effort to commit a war crime” (Csanady 2015).

Senior NDP Campaign Advisor Brad Lavigne spoke on the incident surrounding Wheeldon, stating, “... he is no longer our candidate. We were made aware of some information that had not previously been disclosed” (Csanady 2015). There is little evidence suggesting that other parties in Canada commented on Wheeldon.

Wheeldon responded to the accusations claiming that his comments were taken out of context. He stated, “I’ve been smeared. I’ve been called an anti-Semite and everything I said has been taken completely out of context.” Additionally, he noted, “I made extremely clear in that conversation that I don’t actually fault either side more than

the other, but I was pointing out that the way you look at the issue is influenced by what information source you use” (Csanady 2015).

## **Stefan Jonasson**

Stefan Jonasson has been a lifetime resident of the Charleswood – St. James – Assiniboia riding. Jonasson is an ordained Unitarian minister, serving as a parish minister and head of Western Canada’s district executive. Jonasson has a Master of Divinity degree, and has also worked as a retail business manager (OurCampaigns 2015).

Charleswood – St. James – Assiniboia – Headingly is a federal electoral district in Manitoba, Canada. It is an urban riding with a population of 82 574 people. The district is primarily English, with 78 955 people identifying English as their first language. Moreover, the communities are particularly aged, with 17 080 people 65 years of age or older (Canada 2017). Until 2015 when the Liberal Party of Canada took power, the electoral district has been a stronghold for the Conservative Party of Canada. Steven Fletcher and the Conservatives had been in power since 2004, often winning by significant margins (Elections Canada n.d.).

Since 2004, the NDP have failed to gain a foothold in the Charleswood – St. James – Assiniboia electoral district. The NDP finished third with 10.2% of the final vote in 2004, finished third with 12.8% of the total vote in 2006, finished third with 17.9% of the total vote in 2008, and finished second with 20.1% of the total vote in 2011 (Elections Canada n.d.). The NDP finished third in the most recent 2015 election with

just 6.0% of the total vote (Elections Canada n.d.). The closest the NDP came to winning the district came in the 2011 election when they finished second behind the Conservatives. However, even then they finished with only 20.1% of the total vote in contrast to 57.6% collected by the Conservatives (Elections Canada n.d.).

Online comments surrounding religion were the demise of Stefan Jonasson's political candidacy. Jonasson was accused of linking a Jewish sect to the Taliban, stating, "Much like the Taliban and other extremists, the Haredim offer a toxic caricature of faith at odds with the spirit of the religious tradition they profess to represent" (Lambert 2015).

Following the exposure of his comments, Jonasson was asked to step down by the NDP, and he agreed to do so. NDP leader Thomas Mulcair also addressed the incident stating, "I think that the person clearly recognized that he had said something totally inappropriate and has withdrawn and that's enough" (Lambert 2015). There is little evidence indicating that members or leaders from other parties commented on the actions of Jonasson.

Jonasson commented on the matter stating, "I wish that the party had had the courage and the foresight to believe that my candidacy was worth defending, but they did not." He went on stating, "I'm conflicted. I understand the party's reasoning and it's a disappointment to me" (Lambert 2015). Furthermore, Jonasson went on to state, "I think I'm done with politics" (CBC News 2015).

## **Chapter 3: Analysis, Findings, and Implications**

The analysis portion of this paper will address several important findings of the research. Not only does it address statistics related to the research, but it looks at the prominence of the Conservative Party of Canada among the candidates who were disallowed. This section also illustrates the commonalities of the disallowed candidates. Moreover, the idea of stopgap candidates is introduced, and the argument is made those candidates that are being disallowed tend to be stopgap candidates. It will also be argued that because such a small number of candidates were disallowed in the 2015 Canadian federal election, this phenomenon does not fundamentally alter the concept of the franchise bargain that is currently used to understand Canadian political parties. The section concludes by seeking to understand what this finding says about Canadian parties as a whole and the franchise bargain.

### **Statistics**

One important point to mention after looking at the number of disallowed candidates is the proportion that were prevented from continuing their campaign in comparison to the total number of candidates. Currently, there are 338 federal electoral districts in Canada. Knowing that all three major parties (Liberal Party of Canada, Conservative Party of Party, and New Democratic Party) ran a candidate in all 338 ridings, one can conclude that 1014 candidates from these three parties ran in the 2015 federal election. The disallowed candidates represent 0.89% of the total candidates in



the 2015 Canadian federal election. These statistics are important because they illustrate that this phenomenon does not occur very often. Given that only nine candidates were disallowed out of over 1 000, it appears that for the most part parties are doing an adequate job of screening their candidates.

### **A Strong Conservative Presence**

Of the nine candidates that were disallowed, six belonged to the Conservative Party of Canada. In contrast, only three candidates that were disallowed belonged to the Liberal Party of Canada, while only two were from the New Democratic Party. Of the six Conservative candidates that were disallowed, two were disallowed because of inappropriate actions, two were disallowed because of discriminatory comments against other individuals, one was disallowed due to making comments deemed inconsistent with the party leader, and one was disallowed because of outlandish and unprofessional actions. This finding is important as it illustrates that the Conservative Party of Canada needs to conduct a more thorough and critical examination of the candidates seeking nomination for their party. Had the Conservatives conducted more critical examinations of their candidates, the controversy surrounding some of their candidates could have been avoided.

It is difficult to speculate as to why there were more individuals disallowed from the Conservative Party of Canada than other parties. One potential reason is that this party simply attracts more emotionally volatile or “nutcases” than other parties.

However, perhaps a more accurate reason is that the party simply did not screen applicants as vigorously as other parties.

### **An Emphasis on Discrimination**

One important finding from the research was the number of candidates that were disallowed due to making discriminatory comments against other individuals. When looking at the nine candidates that were disallowed in total, five were disallowed due to discriminatory reasons. While the nature of the discrimination varied, Chris Austin (Liberal), Gilles Guibord (Conservative), Jagdish Grewal (Conservative), Morgan Wheeldon (NDP), and Stefan Jonasson (NDP) were all accused, and subsequently dismissed by their respective party, in the 2015 Canadian federal election. When looking at the candidates that were disallowed due to discrimination, it is evident that all of the primary parties in the election, those being the Liberals, Conservatives, and NDP, had candidates who were disallowed because of discrimination. One Liberal candidate, two Conservative candidates, and two NDP candidates were disallowed because of discrimination, which shows that this is not an issue common to only a single party. This illustrates that discrimination is very much still a part of our society, and one that needs to be addressed in Canadian politics and within Canada as a whole.

## **Commonalities of Disallowed Candidates**

When looking at the nine candidates that were disallowed, it becomes evident that these candidates tend to lack political experience. Of the nine candidates that were disallowed, only four had any political experience, these being Blair Dale, Gilles Guibord, Jerry Bance, and Chris Austin. Furthermore, of these four candidates, only two candidates, Jerry Bance and Chris Austin, had represented their respective parties in previous federal elections. It is surprising that any of the candidates had political experience given the nature of how they were disallowed.

It became clear after data collection that the majority of the candidates that were disallowed were first-time candidates. Of the nine candidates that were disallowed, seven were running for the first time in their political careers. These include Augustin Ali Kitoko (Conservative), Blair Dale (Conservative), Tim Dutaud (Conservative), Gilles Guibord (Conservative), Jagdish Grewal (Conservative), Morgan Wheeldon (NDP), and Stefan Jonasson (NDP). Of the seven first-time candidates that were disallowed in the 2015 Canadian federal election, five were seeking Conservative nominations while two hoped to run for the NDP.

Another commonality between the candidates that were disallowed in the 2015 Canadian general election was that those disallowed were typically running for seats that they had very little chance of winning (See Figure 3). For instance, Augustin Ali Kitoko (Conservative) had very little chance of winning the seat in Hochelaga, Quebec, as this seat has historically belonged to the Bloc Quebecois. Similarly, while the Conservatives have placed second to the Liberals several times in the district of

Scarborough – Rouge Park (formerly Scarborough – River Rouge), Jerry Bance (Conservative) probably knew going into the election that it was unlikely he would take the Liberal stronghold that has been won by large margins of victory. Blair Dale (Conservative) who was seeking nomination in Bonavista – Burin Trinity (formerly the district of Bonavista – Gander – Grand Falls – Windsor) also would have had little chance of winning in a historically Liberal district. Tim Dutaud who was hoping to run in the Toronto – Danforth riding probably would not have stood a chance of winning in a traditionally NDP riding. Even with political experience, Chris Austin (Liberal) would not have had a great chance of winning Sturgeon River – Parkland (formerly the electoral districts of Edmonton – Spruce Grove, Westlock – St. Paul, and Yellowhead), which is a Conservative stronghold. Gilles Guibord (Conservative) would have stood no chance had he been nominated in the Rosemont – La Petite Patrie district, as the Conservatives have not finished greater than fourth since 2004. Likewise, Morgan Wheeldon (NDP) would have probably known his fate had he remained on the ballot for the NDP in the district of Kings – Hants, where the NDP have never finished in a better position than third since 2004. Stefan Jonasson (NDP) would have been faced with a tough task in the district of Charleswood – St. James – Assiniboia where the NDP have finished third in every election other than that held in 2011.

<b>Disallowed Candidate (Party)</b>	<b>Riding (Name as of 2011)</b>	<b>% of total votes received by Party of Disallowed Candidate</b>	<b>% of total votes received by winning party</b>
<b>Augustin Ali Kitoko (Conservative)</b>	Hochelaga	6.8%	48.2% (NDP)
<b>Jerry Bance (Conservative)</b>	Scarborough Rouge Park	29.9%	40.6% (NDP)
<b>Blair Dale (Conservative)</b>	Bonavista – Burin Trinity	27.6%	57.7% (Liberal)
<b>Tim Dutaud (Conservative)</b>	Toronto – Danforth	5.4%	59.4% (NDP)
<b>Chris Austin (Liberal)</b>	Edmonton – Spruce Grove	9.3%	71.1% (Conservative)
	Westlock – St. Paul	6.1%	77.8% (Conservative)
	Yellowhead	2.9%	77.0% (Conservative)
<b>Gilles Guibord (Conservative)</b>	Rosemont – La Petite Patrie	4.3%	51.0% (NDP)
<b>Jagdish Grewal (Conservative)</b>	Bramlea –	34.4%	34.4%

	Gore – Malton		(Conservative)
	Mississauga –	44.7%	44.7%
	Brampton		(Conservative)
	South		
	Mississauga –	43.9%	43.9%
	Streetsville		(Conservative)
<b>Morgan Wheeldon (NDP)</b>	Kings – Hants	20.0%	39.6%
			(Liberal)
<b>Stefan Jonasson (NDP)</b>	Charleswood	20.1%	57.6%
	– St. James –		(Conservative)
	Assiniboia		

FIGURE 3: PERCENTAGE OF VOTE WON BY DISALLOWED CANDIDATE’S PARTY IN 2011 ELECTION

Mississauga – Malton is a unique case. In contrast to the other districts discussed, Jagdish Grewal (Conservative) could have potentially won this district had he remained the Conservative candidate in the district. Interestingly, the three districts that previously formed Mississauga – Malton (Bramlea – Gore – Malton, Mississauga – Brampton South, and Mississauga – Streetsville) were all held by the Conservatives in the 2011 federal election. Nonetheless, seeing as this was the only case of the nine disallowed candidates that could have potentially been a winnable riding, this can be classified as an anomaly.

## **Additional Findings**

Upon analysis, it became clear that almost all of the candidates that were disallowed, regardless of their category, were acclaimed. The lone exception was Jerry Bance of the Conservative Party of Canada who was involved in a contested race with Paul Egli. While a vigorous analysis of news articles was conducted, no evidence existed that indicated that there was a competitive race, or any race for that matter, between any disallowed candidate, other than that which occurred with Jerry Bance.

Another unique finding surrounded the sub-par political resumes of the majority of the candidates that were disallowed. As previously mentioned, only four of the nine candidates had any political experience. These were: Blair Dale, Gilles Guibord, Jerry Bance, and Chris Austin. Moreover, of these, only Jerry Bance and Chris Austin ran in previous elections. Five candidates appeared to be average citizens with typical Canadian occupations. These included: Augustin Ali Kitoko, Tim Dutaud, Morgan Wheeldon, and Stefan Jonasson. The one exception was Jagdish Grewal who participated in many activities and organizations, indicating that he might have been working towards a political career.

## **Stopgap Candidates**

After analysis, it becomes clear that candidates that were disallowed during the 2015 election period were “stopgap candidates”. Anthony Sayers has illustrated the idea of stopgap candidates in his book *Parties, Candidates, and Constituency Campaigns in*

*Canadian Elections* (1999, 79). Sayers illustrates stopgap candidates stating, “Stopgap candidate win latent-democracy-style nominations in permeable and uncompetitive associations that organize a weak candidate search” (Sayers 1999, 79). This framework illustrated by Sayers seeks to understand who, and under what specific circumstances, candidates are disallowed. He notes that high profile and local notables are not the candidates being disallowed, but rather stop-gap candidates who have little chance of winning, and are for the most part just representing the party in an unwinnable seat (Sayers 1999).

It is important to take a step back and understand the consequences and importance of this finding. When looking at the data that has been compiled, it appears that the majority of the candidates being disallowed are stopgap candidates. The candidates that were disallowed stood very little chance of winning their respective ridings, and were for the most part simply used by parties to represent them in an unwinnable riding. Moreover, it appears that the parties of the respective candidates used them to plug holes in vacant candidacies.

Furthermore, it is necessary to illustrate how this finding affects our understanding of the franchise bargain. As previously addressed, within the franchise bargain there is a trade-off in power that occurs between the leaders on one hand, and the members on the other, which is necessary to the success of the franchise organization (Carty 2002, 732). Given the remote number of cases that were found, there is no reason to believe that the phenomenon of disallowed candidates alters the concept of the franchise bargain, which is used to understand party organization in Canada.



Moreover, it is important to understand whether the type of candidates being discussed alter the make-up of the party. It has been found that the majority of the candidates that were disallowed lacked political experience, were running for the first time, and were running in unwinnable ridings. Additionally, it was found that candidates are not disallowed that often. Therefore, it can be concluded that these candidates do not alter the make-up of the party as illustrated through current literature.

Additionally, it seems to be a unique type of candidate that is being disallowed. These candidates more often than not tend to lack political experience and be first-time candidates. Furthermore, these candidates tend to be running in unwinnable ridings where they would have had minimal chance of winning their respective district had they remained on the ballot.

## **Chapter 4: Conclusion**

The purpose of this paper was to understand whether candidate disallowance reflects undue interference on the part of the party in local candidate selection. In order to answer this question, I identified how many candidates were disallowed during the 2015 Canadian election campaign, and the reasons for their disallowance. I also focused on addressing why these candidates were disallowed. Thematic analysis was used to categorize these candidates in order to understand the consequences of these findings and the impact on the internal distribution of power throughout Canadian parties. In order to answer this research question, this paper was divided into three chapters. Chapter 1 included both a literature review and the structure of the paper itself. Chapter 2 included candidate profiles for the disallowed candidates. Chapter 3 included the findings, implications, and consequences of the research.

The final portion of this paper introduced Sayers' idea of stopgap candidates, and I made the argument that the candidates that were disallowed during the 2015 Canadian federal election period were stopgap candidates. Furthermore, during this section the importance of this finding was addressed, as well as how it affects our understanding of the franchise bargain. While disallowed candidates tend to attract substantial media attention, it is important to remember that this phenomenon occurs rarely. In addition, disallowed candidates tend to be stop-gap rather than competitive candidates. Given these findings from the 2015 Canadian federal election, it is evident that this small number of disallowed candidates does not have a fundamental impact on the franchise bargain that governs the overall functioning of Canada's parties. The

ability for leaders to disallow party members demonstrates that leaders have more power than party members.

Any research project comes down to a series of choices, including with regard to the research methodology. Due to the chosen methodology, depending on one's viewpoints on the issue, candidates could have been classified differently. However, as previously mentioned, thematic analysis is a research method used to produce meaningful results that requires the researcher to make choices related to categorization. The categories chosen for this research were used because they were felt to produce meaningful results. They are by no means the only categories that could have been chosen, but categories I felt added value to the research project.

Literature on the franchise bargain gave me reason to believe that this system of party organization was in jeopardy, and ultimately, the reason this research was conducted. Looking at disallowed candidates was viewed as a method to test whether the franchise bargain was in jeopardy. The franchise bargain literature is used by political scientists studying party organization, and had the findings been different, this research could have altered how we understand parties. Initially, it was thought that there would be a significant number of disallowed candidates, and this would impact how we understand party organization. This was not the case as there were only nine disallowed candidates in the 2015 Canadian federal election. While the findings were not anticipated, they are still valuable and contribute to the franchise bargain literature. Research concluded that there are not many disallowed candidates and that these candidates are stopgap candidates. Therefore, there is no reason to believe the current system of party organization in Canada is in jeopardy.

There is great importance to following-up on this research and looking at the number of candidates that are disallowed in future Canadian elections. This is only a study of one election, and there is great value in seeing whether this is an isolated incident. Moreover, it would be interesting to investigate whether candidate disallowance occurs in other countries, and compare it to that which occurs in Canada. However, this is research for another day.

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