

INSIDE QUEEN'S PARK

Vol. 26, No. 11

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS

May 30, 2013

AT THE CUTTING EDGE: THE WYNNE-HORWATH BUDGET PASSES

The NDP delivered yesterday on its promise to back a revised Budget 2013 "that will make people's lives better and government more accountable". Votes were cast in favour of the government's budgetary policy by 48 LIBs and 17 NDPers, for a total of 65 'Ayes' and the PCs turned out en masse to cast 36 'Nays'. [48 + 17 + 36 = 101.]

With two seats vacant, 105 MPPs could have voted. Speaker Dave Levac did not vote because he was the presiding officer; LIB minister Michael Gravelle is continuing to have previously announced medical treatment; the only absent NDPer was John Vanthof who was attending to serious family illness; and LIB backbencher Margaret Best continues her seeming boycott of Queen's Park.

THE ACCOUNTABILITY FACTOR

While overall poll standings for the NDP are softer, the May 24 Ipsos-Reid poll suggests that Horwath's focus on holding the government to account over spending is a winner: the NDP is rated the most effective opposition party, 56% cf. 35% for the PCs.

FORGETTING MAJORITY GOVERNMENT AND REMEMBERING MINORITY GOVERNMENT

The PCs were terribly dismayed by the rebuff they suffered in the 1975 Ontario election, in which the 78 seats won in Bill Davis's 1971 landslide dwindled to just 51, a number too small to conduct committee business pass legislation or win votes. Having lost their majority, the PCs were obliged to remember what it had been like in 1943 when Premier George Drew had last formed a minority government at Queen's Park.

It is therefore quite remarkable that in short order all three parties had reconciled themselves to operating in a minority situation on essentially the same basis as in the previous majority parliament. Of course, the NDP had first to get over its glee at forming the official opposition by winning 38 seats cf. 36 for the third-party LIBs. (It's interesting that the NDP's fractional edge in seats ran counter to the 1975 share of votes share: the PCs took 35.9% of the vote, the LIBs 33.9% and the NDP 28.8%.)

And with the LIBs perceived as having come badly out of the election, the NDP pushed them hard by putting down for debate a number of bills and resolutions requiring the LIBs to 'flip-flop' on key issues or trigger an unwinnable election. The NDP was then content to see itself as the 'real opposition' to the Tories and to ease back into the comfortable ways of majority

government. And in fact it was the PCs who blew the whistle on that minority parliament when they sensed a political recovery and contrived their own defeat in 1977. There was very little change from 1975 to 1977. The PCs gained 7 seats for a total of 58 – 10 seats short of a majority; the LIBs lost two seats but retrieved opposition status with 34; and the NDP lost 5 seats.

THE OPPOSITION IS JUST THE OPPOSITION – BUT THE REAL ENEMY IS TIREDNESS

Kathleen Wynne has a reputation for working very hard. Determined to stay fit, she begins her mornings with a 5K run, and her working day routinely extends more than twelve hours. The premier has made time for a surprising number of evening events, staying late to shake hands and answer questions. The premier's partner, Jane Rounthwaite, has brought some evenings to a close because "Kathleen has to get some sleep".

Good call. For sleep is a crucial source of the poise, energy and skill which the premier must husband carefully if she is to lead her government effectively over time. That means that she and her staff must shortly reduce her workload to a sustainable level. There will be more than enough periods when she has to juggle a number of very important issues at once.

Any such crush of decisions will leave the premier unable to avoid both starting her day early and finishing it late. Most senior executives cannot escape doing that frequently, but if she operates routinely without adequate rest and sufficient down-time, Wynne's political effectiveness and her personal health will be put at risk. The time to address this danger is now, not in the run-up to the next election.

Soirée Québec 2013

A dazzling evening celebrating Quebec's National Day and this year featuring the gorgeous Québec City region. More than twenty exhibitors will be offering samples and culinary specialties while Flip FabriQue Circus will mesmerize. Join us!

June 19, 7:00 p.m., Roy Thomson Hall, 60 Simcoe St.

Purchase Online (\$8 + service charge) at www.soireequbec.ca or at the RTH box office.

'WALK-AROUNDS' ARE NO MORE

There are some important differences between the McGuinty and Wynne governments in regard to process as well as policy. Take for example the end to 'walk-arounds' – the practice of shopping an Order-in-Council out from Cabinet Office until it attracts the necessary ministerial signatures to enter into force. This practice

has allowed 'the Centre' to avoid divulging intended action in cabinet meetings and to secure needed authorization from compliant ministers, early or late. No more, *IQP* has learned. A small blow for accountability, currently the most popular nostrum in the debate over reforming government.

ONTARIO LIBERALS STILL SLOTTING STAFF

The jobs directing the key components of the Ontario Liberal Party are held by new managers following personnel changes over the last few months.

The OLP President, elected to replace Ottawa Centre MPP **Yasir Naqvi** at the January leadership convention, is now **Derek Teevan**, whose day job is as VP of Detour Gold Corp.

Now Installed as ED of the party is experienced campaign organizer **Simon Tunstall** while **Bobby Walman** returns from a brief stint in charge of the Premier's Office stakeholder relations shop to resume management of the Ontario Liberal Fund, his title changing to Chief Fundraising Officer. He replaces **Sophia Aggelonitis**, who was appointed bagperson for the party after losing her Hamilton Mountain seat in 2011 to NDPer **Monique Taylor**.

To date, *IPQ* has been unable to find what soft landing Aggelonitis was given by the LIB patronage machine. Can it be that she was actually made to walk the plank?

BEGGS BOWS OUT

Widely respected deputy minister **Gail Beggs**, who has been DM at Environment since June 2007, retires from the OPS at the end of May. Beggs was first named to the DM rank, at MNR, in June 2004. Seen as a good bet to handle tricky assignments, she later served as DM at the new Aboriginal Affairs ministry, worked in the Cabinet Office on SARS co-ordination and was seconded to head the Ontario Clean Water Agency.

Beggs is the second most senior DM at Queen's Park, after Transportation DM **Carol Layton** (January 2003) and tied with Cabinet Secretary **Peter Wallace** (June 2004).

FOR YOUR BOOKSHELF

A capacity crowd gathered at the York Club May 28 to hear **John Ibbitson** (chief political correspondent of the *Globe & Mail*) present his provocative book (with **Darrell Bricker**, CEO of Ipsos Global Public Affairs) about the new Canadian political geography. *The Big Shift* details the collapse of "the Laurentian Consensus" – set out in Ibbitson's notable December 2011 speech denying much of Canada's former conventional political wisdom. The "Big Shift" of economic and political power to west from east is transforming the country, probably in ways which cannot be stopped. (HarperCollins, \$27.99)

SPEAKER'S BOOK AWARDS (4)

Speaker Dave Levac presided March 19 over the inaugural presentation of the Speaker's Book Award – to **Heather Robertson** for *Walking into Wilderness*.

Other shortlisted books included the following entrants presented by the Selection Committee Members named below:

Gordon Nelson, *Beyond the Global City: Understanding & Planning for the Diversity of Ontario*. This provocative book presents timely food for thought on current development strategies for Ontario's vast and diverse geography — urban, rural, and in between. Less than half the province's population lives in the Greater Toronto Area, but most provincial growth policy over the past several decades has focused on this region. Nelson argues for a fresh "approach to Ontario's complex conservation and development challenges, moving beyond the current great global city model towards a more pluralistic future." (Randall White)

Barrington Walker, *Race on Trial*, uses a painstaking review of the fate of Black defendants in Ontario's criminal courts from 1858 to 1958 to illustrate how social and legal discrimination against Blacks persisted long after slavery was abolished. Walker's book is a timely reminder that passing laws which technically guarantee the equal treatment of all citizens, is only one step on the road to true equality. (Lorrie Goldstein)

Edited by **Donald N. Dewees, Brian Kearney and Doug Reeve**, *Current Affairs* draws on a wide range of expert opinion to outline the three major challenges shaping Ontario's electricity policy today -- security of supply, affordability and environmental impact in the face of climate change. An important and informative work on a key area of public policy, it should be required reading for every Ontario politician. (Lorrie Goldstein)

James Laxer, *Tecumseh and Brock: The War of 1812* re-examines the political and military factors involved in the War of 1812 with a sharp focus on the leaders and their strategies. Tecumseh and Brock come alive in these pages and the great native leader Tecumseh is at last elevated to the prominence he deserves in this original and engagingly written book. (Sid Noel)

Dr. Ed Whitcomb, *A Short History of Ontario*. This slim volume is a masterpiece of compression. Containing fewer than 75 pp. of text, it is published in a now-complete series on Canadian provinces. The terse prose in so short a history is open to argument on some points and not everyone will embrace his concluding assertion that Ontario's future orientation will follow all of its key past patterns. (Graham Murray)

THIS DAY IN ONTARIO ELECTORAL HISTORY

May 28, 1985 – Date of signing the Accord between the LIBs and the NDP to sustain David Peterson's minority government for two years.

IQP: How did you get here from there?

McKenna: I was born in Brantford and moved to Burlington when I was one. My mom died when I was ten, and my father died when I was nineteen. I finished high school but didn't have the opportunity at that time to go to college or university. I have five children. I've been in sales for most of my life: selling products, selling advertising, selling media. So besides being a mother, sales is the journey that I've always been on. I get my sense of self-worth when I look in my children's eyes. I love my job and work at it extremely hard, but my children and my husband are always my first priority.

IQP: Tell our readers about your work as a consultant to business.

McKenna: When you're in politics you have to believe in yourself. So in a sense it's similar – it's going out and believing in the product that you're selling and being passionate about what you're doing. I absolutely love the communication and the relationships that I've built throughout the years with people. I'm very much a people person, networking and putting people together. My father was like that as well.

IQP: Not every first-term opposition MPP gets to take charge of a single critic portfolio; you have two – though it has to be conceded that Government Services has a much lower public profile than Children & Youth Services.

McKenna: I'm thrilled that Tim has given me these two portfolios which are interesting and challenging in entirely different ways. As a mother, I have a passion for children and youth and have been very involved in youth in Burlington. I'm also our caucus co-chair for community outreach and have been given the lead on social policy. I am grateful for those opportunities.

IQP: Several of the areas for which the C&YS ministry is responsible are addressed now in one of the PC 'White Papers'. What's the reaction to that initiative?

McKenna: The Children and Youth white paper, *A Fresh Start for Children and Youth*, was the result of frank and constructive sessions with stakeholders for more than a year. We had fantastic input from the experts on the front lines. So when we released that discussion paper, we had a great deal of feedback from the sector, most of it very positive. We were very clear about the situation that government now finds itself in, where we spend \$1.8M more an hour than we take in, 20% of what we spend is borrowed money, and it's our third largest expenditure after health and education. And we were very proactive in terms of offering creative solutions to those challenges. One of those potential solutions was social impact bonds. That meant increasing awareness, since social impact bonds are a new and innovative approach to funding, one suited to programs where the impacts and outcomes can be

monitored and measured. One thing we saw repeatedly in the course of working on *A Fresh Start* was that there was often a shocking lack of evidence-driven policy, no clear measures of a program's success or failure.

IQP: Can you enlarge on the feedback you received?

McKenna: We were told that the programs were best managed by C&YS, instead of devolving, say, mental health services to the Ministry of Health and Long-Term Care. Several provincial associations told me that the C&YS has a valuable role to play in ensuring that every single child has a voice, particularly those with extraordinary challenges. They greatly value having a cabinet minister at the cabinet table to take part in assessing every new piece of legislation and every cabinet level discussion through a C&YS lens.

IQP: Burlington used to be an ultra-safe PC seat, but recently it's been held with quite narrow margins – you edged that up above 4 percentage points in 2011.

McKenna: Burlington has been PC turf for seventy years. There was Stan Hall, George Kerr, Cam Jackson, Joyce Savoline and now myself. But every election victory has been fought for. When you're in government, you tend to win by larger spreads. In opposition, Cam's margin was, I think, 1.9% in 1987 and 3.9% in 2003. Even though it has been a PC riding for all those years, I never took anything for granted. I went out every day, worked as hard and gave it everything I could.

IQP: What are your priorities for the riding of Burlington?

McKenna: A great question, because Burlington has incredible diversity within its borders. Every kind of person comes into my office, and they're all coming from their own unique angle. Everybody has their priorities, their specific goals and challenges. And as MPP, you act as a conduit for the concerns of those residents, bringing their issues to Queen's Park. The issue might be business-oriented or it might be social -- for example, we have 12,000 children in Burlington not getting proper meals, who are forced to go to school hungry. I am there to facilitate what's important to the people of Burlington, not what's important to me. It's humbling to hold this position. I'm very grateful for the opportunity, and will work as hard as I can for the people of Burlington. Queen's Park is a fast-moving place and it's a constant learning process. You have a responsibility to do the best job you can and to work as hard as you can. You knock on doors seven days a week in an election to get a job at which you must work seven days a week, and if you're not prepared to do what's required for you to earn this position, then you shouldn't be seeking the job in the first place. I'm very grateful for the opportunity that I've been given, and honoured to be MPP for Burlington.

PEOPLE

Gail Beggs, Deputy Minister of Environment retires from the OPS effective May 31.

Bruce Campbell has been appointed President and CEO of the Independent Electricity System Operator. Named to the board of Cancer Care Ontario is **David Walker**.

Chris Lewis has been reappointed as Commissioner of the Ontario Provincial Police for the next three years. Appointed as vice chairs to the Ontario Labour Relations board are: **Owen Gray**, **Bram Herlich**, **Janice Johnston**, and **Kenneth Petryshen**.

Rekha Lakra has been appointed to the Consent and Capacity board.

Marion MacDonald and **Suzanne Bonneville** have been named to the Advisory Council on Special Education.

John May and **Gurcharan Dhaliwal** have been appointed to the Justices of the Peace Appointments advisory committee.

Named to the council of the College of Respiratory Therapists of Ontario is **Patricia Latimer**.

Appointed as vice-chair to the Health Professions Regulatory Advisory council is **Rex Roman**.

Marilyn Ann Nairn has been appointed to the Deputy Judges Remuneration Commission.

FOR YOUR DIARY

- May 30 A Tribute to Chris Bentley, former MPP London West; Best Western Lamplighter Inn, 591 Wellington Road, London; 6-8 p.m.
- June 3 An Evening with Hon. Jim Bradley, MPP and special guest Hon. Charles Sousa MPP; Labatt Breweries of Canada, John Labatt Hall, 2nd Floor, 207 Queens Quay West, Toronto; 6-8 p.m.
- June 4 PAAC Conference 2013 “The Art & Science of Public Affairs: Tactics for Today and Tomorrow”; Borden Ladner Gervais LLP, 40 King St. West, 44th Floor; Registration 7:30 a.m.; Presidents’ reception 5:30 p.m.
- June 4 Charles Beer Appreciation Event with special guest the Hon. Deb Matthews, Minister of Health and Long-Term Care; Pickering College, 16945 Bayview Avenue, Newmarket; 6:30 p.m.
- June 5 Ontario Association of Former Parliamentarians, 13th AGM Rm. 228-230, Main Leg. Bldg.; 3 p.m.; Dinner with presentation of Distinguished Service Award to Robert F. Nixon; Speaker Dr. Joseph Wong on “Ontario’s Pacific Rim Challenge”; 6 p.m.
- June 14 Luso-Canadian Charitable Golf Tournament; Lionhead Golf & Country Club, Brampton; Registration 11:30 a.m.; Shotgun Start 1:00 p.m.; Dinner at Portuguese Cultural Centre of Mississauga; 7 p.m.
- July 4 CPLA 14th Annual Golf Tournament with Hon. Charles Sousa guest dinner speaker; Saginaw Golf Course, 124 Saginaw Parkway, Cambridge; Registration/lunch 11:30 p.m.; Start 1:00 p.m.; Dinner follows

TRIVIA # 435: How long have periods of majority and minority governments been since the end of WWII?

TRIVIA # 434: Which post-WWII premier was the youngest to assume office and which was the oldest?

ANSWER TO TRIVIA # 434: Excluding **Tom Kennedy**, considered an ‘interim premier’ during his six-month term (October 1948-May 1949) at the head of the PC government, there have been ten Ontario premiers since WWII. Their average age when sworn-in was 47. The youngest was **David Peterson**, born December 1948 and aged 36 when sworn-in June 1985; the oldest was **Kathleen Wynne**, born May 1953 and aged 59 when sworn-in February 2013.

TRIVIA # 433: How many Ontario provincial polls were published in 2011, 2012 and 2013 (to date)?

ANSWER TO TRIVIA # 433: According to GPMRL’s count, there were 26 Ontario provincial polls published in 2011, 20 in 2012 and 14 in 2013.

INSIDE QUEEN’S PARK is published by **G.P. Murray Research Limited**.

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ISSN 1926-6782. Annual subscription: \$485.90 (including tax).

• Publisher & Editor: **Graham Murray** • Layout & Production: **Sharyn Chandik** • Page 3: **Chris Brisbane**