



Climbing Parliament's Hill: Examining the Lack of Gender Parity Within Canadian Parliament

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Climbing Parliament's Hill:
Examining the Lack of Gender Parity within Canadian Parliament

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A Thesis in the Field of Government for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts

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Abstract

The goal of this thesis is to examine the question: why the current 42nd Parliament of Canada fails to achieve gender parity within the House of Commons? Additionally, it assists in comprehending why Canada's Parliament does not have a substantial number of female Members of Parliament (MPs). The paper also looks at the low number of women candidates in the 2015 election in comparison to the number of male candidates. I also study the contributing factors hindering the progress of parity. My initial hypothesis is that the lack of gender parity in the House of Commons is due to the political process, which includes the role of political parties, the electoral system, the lifestyle of MPs and the role of the media. I also hypothesize that it is due to incumbency and the lack of priority given to achieving gender parity. Thus, with a lack of priority and more male candidates, achieving gender parity is more difficult. This also includes the lack of willingness on the part of certain leaders and parties.

While certain scholars have studied components of gender parity, I believe there is a gap in the literature. Furthermore, the vast majority of scholarship tends to focus on one specific component of gender parity and not the various components together. The literature also does not delve deep enough into the issue and for this reason I hope to add to the existing literature. Subsequently, this may further assist in helping close the gap.

Within the thesis, I employ various research methods. One of the research methods is the use of both primary sources and secondary academic studies. This includes both Canadian and non-Canadian sources which are then applied to my

arguments. Another method is the conducting of interviews with current and former MPs. I also look at newspaper articles, government databases and websites, bills presented by MPs and public speeches/statements.

After conducting my research, I find a number of factors contributing to the lack of gender parity in Parliament. I also examine the various regional patterns of female candidacy within in Canada, prior to presenting my findings. I find that one of the factors contributing to the lack of gender parity is due to the role and responsibility of political parties and leaders. Another factor is the electoral system. Other factors include the role of the media and the profession itself. I also examine a number of potential solutions that can assist in achieving gender parity, although I do not endorse any one particular remedy. These include quotas, electoral reform, the appointment and promotion of women within parties, making Parliament more “women friendly” or “family friendly”, role models and mentoring, financial penalties and incentives, and running women in more “winnable ridings”. In conclusion, after researching and examining these factors, my findings reveal that my initial hypothesize was only partly correct and did not go far enough. Furthermore, my initial hypothesis did not include potential solutions for gender inequality. On a personal level, I find the role of political parties and leaders the most convincing.

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Chapter I

Introduction

In October 2015, Canadians elected Justin Trudeau and a new Liberal government, ending nearly a decade of Conservative rule. The newly minted Prime Minister was elected on a platform of equality, economic fairness, and social inclusion, along with a number of other progressive priorities.¹ Nevertheless, it was a few weeks later when Prime Minister Trudeau stole headlines for boldly stating “[b]ecause it’s 2015” while answering a question regarding his appointment of a gender-balanced cabinet, the first of its kind in the history of the nation.² While such an initiative was embraced, what has been overlooked and ought to be studied is why women were elected to only 88 out of the 338 seats in the House of Commons,³ the chamber directly elected by Canadians. More importantly, it fails to address the larger issue at hand; the idea that a gender balanced Parliament is not a given and is not correlated with cabinet selection. It also exposes the difference between Canada’s elected body compared to political appointments. Therefore, this makes the issue of equality in Parliament much more complicated, while understanding that a nation which elected a progressive Prime Minister did not have much progress in the election of its House.

¹ “What Does Real Change Mean to You?,” *Liberal Party of Canada*, accessed June 16, 2017, <https://www.liberal.ca/realchange/>.

² Jennifer Ditchburn, “‘Because it’s 2015’: Trudeau Forms Canada’s 1st Gender-balanced Cabinet,” *CBC*, November 4, 2015, accessed June 16, 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-trudeau-liberal-government-cabinet-1.3304590>.

³ “Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date,” *Library of Parliament*, accessed September 9, 2017, <https://lop.parl.ca/About/Parliament/FederalRidingsHistory/hfer.asp?Language=E&Search=WomenElection>.

My thesis addresses the question: why the current 42nd Parliament of Canada fails to achieve gender parity within the House of Commons? Additionally, it helps to further comprehend how a western democracy like Canada, which is the largest democracy by geography,⁴ and has a population consisting of 50.4 percent of women,⁵ manages to have women hold only 26 percent of the seats, after the 2015 election, in its highest elected body.⁶ Furthermore, I attempt to gain a better understanding of the factors contributing to such a discrepancy and why a nation that is considered to be liberal, open-minded and inclusive, has yet to have a gender-balanced parliament elected by its citizens. This includes the question of why gender parity is not being given a priority specifically within the House of Commons. I also aim to understand why women accounted for only 29.7 percent of the candidates in the last election.⁷ Additionally, I examine what is hindering the progress of parity and why it is yet to occur.

I hypothesize that the political process within Canada is a major contributor that is hindering gender parity within Parliament. This political process consists of factors such as the role of political parties and leaders, the electoral system, and the lifestyle of Members of Parliament (MPs). This political process also includes the role of the media as well as the advantage obtained by incumbents running for re-election. Furthermore, I hypothesize that the absence of gender parity in Parliament is more prevalent in Canada because it is not given priority within the political institutions. While nations such as Rwanda provide quotas and

⁴ Michael Ignatieff, *Fire and Ashes: Success and Failure in Politics* (Toronto: Random House Canada, 2013), 51.

⁵ "Population by Sex and Age Group," *Statistics Canada*, September 28, 2016, accessed June 16, 2017, <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/tables-tableaux/sum-som/l01/cst01/demo10a-eng.htm>.

⁶ "Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date," *Library of Parliament*.

⁷ "42nd General Election," *Parliament of Canada*, accessed December 12, 2017, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Parliamentarians/en/election-candidates?electionEventId=8758948>.

reserve seats for female parliamentarians,⁸ Canada does not incorporate the same mechanisms.⁹ Additionally, with a combination of inadequate priority and more male candidates running for office, gender parity is less likely to occur. This can be attributed to a lack of willingness by institutions and leadership who do not see a need for change. Such inertia may be the fault of certain individuals within the political arena, perpetuating gender inequality. Finally, I test the hypothesis that the political process and determinants listed above are largely responsible for gender disparity.

The evidence I use to test this hypothesis consists of both primary sources and secondary academic studies. The secondary academic studies include theoretical approaches and perspectives presented by authors who are experts in the field. The primary sources include interviews, newspaper articles, government databases, and websites, as well as bills presented by MPs. Studying the bills enabled me to better assess how those who sit within Parliament have acknowledged the issue and what steps, if any, have been taken to help achieve gender parity. I also personally conducted interviews and heard public speeches, statements, and other public interviews (not conducted by myself) of both current and former MPs and Prime Ministers (PMs) in order to get a sense of how they felt firsthand about the issue. A more in-depth explanation of my methods and evidence is presented later in the paper.

The thesis topic and research conducted, is significant for a number of reasons. First, I look at the root of the issue pertaining to the lack of gender equality within Parliament, as opposed to examining broad and general assumptions. Second, Canada is known as an accepting and equal society and while these are not qualities that I doubt, it may seem intriguing why when

⁸ “The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda,” *Rwanda Hope*, 2003, accessed October 17, 2017, <http://www.rwandahope.com/constitution.pdf>

⁹ Erin Virgint, “Electoral Systems and Women’s Representation,” *Library of Parliament*, no. 2016-30-E (2016): 3.

it comes to gender parity, it falls behind nations such as Ethiopia, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, and Nicaragua.¹⁰ Third, with a Prime Minister who considers himself a feminist and has appointed a gender balanced cabinet, why does the “people’s house” fail to achieve similar results at the legislative level (while noting it is elected not appointed). By shining light on the issue, the findings of my thesis might also help governments, elected officials, and civil society understand why parity is not being achieved in our elected legislatures. The findings may also provide insight on the causes of gender disparity at the federal, provincial and municipal levels. Furthermore, it may help comprehend the resistance of some who may not be as accepting of the idea of having more women in Parliament. It can also assist in better understanding why countries similar to Canada have a lack of women’s representation in their legislatures, such as the United States Congress, where women only hold 19.6 percent of the seats.¹¹ Lastly, by understanding that most Canadian Prime Ministers have been MPs prior to being elected, this thesis helps illustrate the fundamental issues preventing the likelihood of more female Prime Ministers due to the lack of women Parliamentarians.

Research Methods

One of the methods I used throughout the thesis process was examining academic literature and scholarly materials. This consisted of both primary and secondary sources from scholars who are experts in my field of study. I believe it is important to consider what other scholars have written regarding gender parity and what their findings have proven in order to better understand the issue and factors contributing to it. I take the various theories and findings

¹⁰ Radhika Sanghani, “Think You Know Which Countries Have the Most Female MPs? Think Again,” *The Telegraph*, May 14, 2015, accessed June 16, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-politics/11600552/Think-you-know-which-countries-have-the-most-female-MPs-Think-again.html>.

¹¹ “Women in the U.S. Congress 2017,” *CAWP/Rutgers Eagleton Institute of Politics*, accessed June 16, 2017, <http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/women-us-congress-2017>.

from these scholars and apply them to the Canadian example. This includes both Canadian and non-Canadian sources as I find it imperative to not limit myself to only one branch of scholars. Furthermore, non-Canadian sources, such as those from American scholars, can be applicable to my topic due to the similarities both nations share. These similarities include political systems, types of media and the fact that they are both western democracies. This is done by grouping the various perspectives regarding this issue into separate categories and applying them to the gender parity issue within Canada's Parliament. By doing so, I hope to add new contributions to the current debate.

The second research method I used was conducting interviews. Using this type of method allowed me to gain direct knowledge from sitting and former Members of Parliament and other elected officials regarding my topic. Furthermore, it assisted in providing a clearer picture of how legislators themselves view the issue and what solutions they would propose. It should be noted that some subjects chose to remain anonymous in their responses and are therefore given corresponding codes.

The third method I used for my research was government databases, websites and documents. This also included a bill introduced by a Member of Parliament which tries to help address the issue of gender parity. These sources were used in order to better understand what policymakers are personally doing (or have done) to achieve gender parity among themselves. This was the best alternative option, next to speaking directly with parliamentarians. Moreover, it allowed me to see how and if the issue of gender parity was addressed. Government databases also provided the necessary empirical data and statistics pertaining to my topic. This enabled me to gain a better comparative analysis of the current parliamentary session.

Another research method I utilized were speeches/statements made by the current Prime Minister. Similar to conducting interviews, it helped in understanding how elected

representatives and party leaders themselves feel about the issue. This also provided a glimpse into the mindset of those who are in charge of policymaking and legislating. As a primary source, it allowed me to hear how they feel directly without being paraphrased and analyzed through an intermediary.

I also used newspaper articles as a way to explore the issue from various perspectives. These articles assisted in providing present day data, as well as, interviews and statements that may not be as easily accessible to the public. They also helped provide some context and background pertaining to the research topic.

Research Limitations

The scope of my research consisted of certain limitations such as time. It must be noted that the length of the thesis was a 9-month period and was limited to the study of women Members of Parliament within only a certain parliamentary session. Due to the length and time of the thesis, I specifically examined the 42nd Parliament of Canada and only used relevant data and sources. Furthermore, I did not interview every sitting and former Member of Parliament nor study the statements and comments of every Prime Minister or parliamentarian who has ever served, due to practicality.

Definition of Terms

CPC: refers to the Conservative Party of Canada, also known simply as the Conservatives. It is one of two parties in Canada to ever form government. Currently, the CPC is the Official Opposition in the House of Commons. The Conservatives can be described as leaning center or center-right of the political spectrum.

False majority: is an issue that arises from a first-past-the-post electoral system where a party

holds over 50 percent of the seats in Parliament but has received less than 50 percent of the popular vote. Therefore, the seats won do not reflect the percentage of the vote a party received.¹²

FPTP: stands for a “first-past-the-post” electoral system, also known as a single-member plurality system (SMP or SMDP) where parties select one candidate per riding¹³ and “the candidate with the most votes wins.”¹⁴ This system is currently used in Canada as well as in the United States.

Gender parity: is the main concept surrounding my thesis topic. It is used when referring to the discrepancy between female MPs in proportion to male MPs.

LPC: is an acronym for the Liberal Party of Canada, or simply called the Liberals. It is the current governing party in Canada and is led by Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. It can be described as governing on the center or center-left of the political spectrum.

MMP: refers to a mixed-member-proportional electoral system that “combines elements of proportional and single-member plurality systems”¹⁵ where “voters have a single MP who represents their riding, while other seats are distributed proportionately to total votes cast in the election.”¹⁶

MP: is an acronym for Member of Parliament. There are 338 MPs who are elected to the Canadian House of Commons, which is the lower chamber of the legislative branch. It is

¹² Rand Dyck and Christopher Cochrane, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches* (Toronto: Nelson, 2014), 300.

¹³ Christine Cheng and Margit Tavits, “Informal Influences in Selecting Female Political Candidates,” *Political Research Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (2011): 463.

¹⁴ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 299.

¹⁵ “Mixed-Member Proportional Representation,” *Samara*, accessed June 16, 2017, <http://www.samaracanada.com/samara-in-the-classroom/electoral-reform/mixed-member-proportional-representation>.

¹⁶ “Mixed-Member Proportional Representation,” *Samara*.

also the only elected body of Parliament. They are elected to 4-year terms, unless an early election is called and represent individual constituencies/ridings. It should be noted that both the Prime Minister and Cabinet ministers are also Members of Parliament.

NDP: stands for the New Democratic Party and is the third largest party in Canada. It can be placed on the left of the political spectrum. Prior to the 2015 federal election, the NDP was the Official Opposition in the House, the first and only time they had achieved this feat.

PR: means Proportional Representation, which is “an electoral system designed to represent in a legislative body each political group or party in proportion to its actual voting strength in the electorate.”¹⁷

Safe seat: within the thesis, this refers to a riding or constituency that historically continues to vote for the same party. For the most part, these types of ridings are not affected by national party waves and heavily favor one type of party.

Literature Review

Through the research conducted for the topic, there are a number of scholarly approaches and fields of study that arise, which help explain the factors contributing to why there is a lack of gender parity within politics. These approaches can be divided into separate sections and provide a basis for my research on which I elaborate and further expand upon. Due to the uniqueness of the topic and my goal of providing an original contribution to it, I look at both Canadian and non-Canadian sources (predominantly from the United States and Europe). From there, I apply the various aspects and methods to the Canadian example in the hopes of better understanding

¹⁷ “Proportional Representation,” *Merriam – Webster*, accessed June 16, 2017, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/proportional%20representation>.

the reasons leading to gender inequality. This was done in addition to the other research methods I specified earlier.

One of the factors contributing to the lack of gender parity are due to systemic issues, such as the role of political parties and leaders. This approach is found within the works of Lindsay Bubar and Kimberly Ellis who argue that if women in the United States want to increase their representation and “serve in elected office, then we...need to shift the burden of female candidate recruitment to the institutions that actually control the political power and recruitment process: namely our local, state, and national political parties.”¹⁸ Bubar and Ellis believe this includes the recruitment, training and mentoring of “women to run for office.”¹⁹ This source demonstrates the importance political parties play in helping to increase women’s participation in politics and the impact they can have. While this source may refer to examples within the United States, I believe it can still be attributed to Canada and should be included in the research. The role of political parties in relation to gender parity is also found within the works of Christine Cheng and Margit Tavits. In *Informal Influences in Selecting Female Political Candidates*, Cheng and Tavits state “the importance of informal factors” in helping understand the underrepresentation of women in Canadian politics.²⁰ This includes specifically the “gender composition of party gatekeepers – those responsible for candidate recruitment”²¹ such as local riding association presidents, and how they play “a crucial role in either encouraging or

¹⁸ Lindsay Bubar and Kimberly Ellis, “Changing the Face of Politics: Electing More Women,” *Southwestern Journal of International Law* 22 (2016): 25.

¹⁹ Bubar and Ellis, “Changing the Face,” 24.

²⁰ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 460.

²¹ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 460.

discouraging women candidates to run for office.”²² The authors find that when a party president is a female, “the probability that the candidate will be a female is 6 percent higher”²³ and that “districts with a significant historical record of female candidates are more likely to nominate women candidates in the future.”²⁴ This demonstrates the influence political parties and local leaders can have in increasing parity among female candidates. Thus, encouraging the likelihood of electing more female MPs. In addition, the work of Cheng and Tavits illustrates the “informal factors” at play in promoting women candidates and how parties can do so “without making any constitutional changes.”²⁵ Such a strategy is also discussed by Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner who look at a similar approach where federal party leaders can use their ability to hand pick or “parachute” female candidates, without having to fight a nomination battle, in order to boost representation.²⁶ This article states that parachuting candidates is a tactic most commonly used by the Liberal Party of Canada for a number of reasons, including “to increase the representation of women”²⁷ and that “[n]early half of all appointed candidates are women.”²⁸ The tactic of leaders using their ability to personally appoint candidates demonstrates the influence parties have in directly increasing the involvement of women in the electoral process and their ability

²² Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 460.

²³ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 465.

²⁴ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 466.

²⁵ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 467.

²⁶ Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner, “Parachuted into Parliament: Candidate Nomination, Appointed Candidates, and Legislative Roles in Canada,” *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 21, no. 4 (November 2011): 431.

²⁷ Koop and Bittner, “Parachuted into Parliament,” 436.

²⁸ Koop and Bittner, “Parachuted into Parliament,” 440.

“to create a more diverse, representative House of Commons.”²⁹ This argument can also be found within the works of Rand Dyck and Christopher Cochrane who found that former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien used his “power to recruit “star” candidates, women, and visible minorities.”³⁰ Dyck and Cochrane also acknowledge that the NDP had a similar goal and that in general, the traditional nomination procedure of candidates for political parties has been unrepresentative of women and other groups.³¹ The fact that leaders use their capacity to appoint candidates demonstrates their ability to make a change; however, whether this power is being used effectively must be further examined based on the lack of female Members of Parliament.

Another systemic issue contributing to the lack of gender equality according to certain authors is due to the first-past-the-post (FPTP) electoral system. This perspective is highlighted in the work of Rand Dyck and Christopher Cochrane who illustrate a number of fundamental issues with the current electoral system used in Canada such as a “false majority.”³² This occurs when a party wins “over 50 percent of the seats” in Parliament but wins less than “50 percent of the popular vote,” thus creating a discrepancy between the popular vote and seats won.³³ Consequently, Dyck and Cochrane suggest using “proportional representation” as a remedy to the current system, where parties “would receive as many seats...as its popular vote dictated” such as in a “mixed member proportional” system (MMP).³⁴ This system would require “half of the MPs...be elected from constituencies” and “[t]he others...be designated on the basis of

²⁹ Koop and Bittner, “Parachuted into Parliament,” 449.

³⁰ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 354.

³¹ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 354.

³² Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 300.

³³ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 300.

³⁴ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 302-304.

popular vote by party in each province to bring each party's proportion of popular vote and percentage of seats into line... as a whole."³⁵ This can be done through having a party list and placing women candidates at the top.³⁶ Another source that acknowledges the issue with the current FPTP system is that of Richard E. Matland and Donley T. Studlar (1996). Matland and Studlar find there is a "gap in women's representation in national legislatures" with countries who use a single-member district electoral system, like Canada, versus those who use a proportional representation electoral system, such as Norway. This results in a higher percentage of women representatives in countries that use a proportional representation system.³⁷ This can be attributed to "a microcontagion effect," which is more predominant "[i]n party list proportional representation systems, such as Norway."³⁸ The work of Ann Wicks and Raylene Lang-Dion (2008) also argues that countries such as Sweden benefit from a list system of PR in comparison to Canada.³⁹ The issue of Canada's electoral system and its effect on gender parity is also discussed by Dr. Heather MacIvor. Dr. MacIvor acknowledges that "[w]hile no electoral system is perfect,"⁴⁰ the current system discourages the nomination of women.⁴¹ Therefore, she believes a system of proportional representation would be more favorable in increasing the

³⁵ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 304.

³⁶ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 304.

³⁷ Richard E. Matland and Donley T. Studlar, "The Contagion of Women Candidates in Single-Member District and Proportional Representation Electoral Systems: Canada and Norway," *Journal of Politics* 58, no. 3 (August 1996): 707, 709-710.

³⁸ Matland and Studlar, "Contagion," 729.

³⁹ Ann Wicks and Raylene Lang-Dion, "Women in Politics: Still Searching for an Equal Voice," *Canadian Parliamentary Review* (Spring 2008).

⁴⁰ Dr. Heather MacIvor, "Proportional and Semi-Proportional Electoral Systems: Their Potential Effects on Canadian Politics" (presentation paper, Advisory Committee of Registered Political Parties, Ottawa, ON, April 23, 1999) 3.

⁴¹ MacIvor, "Proportional and Semi-Proportional Electoral Systems," 8.

electoral representation of women.⁴² This is also supported by Manon Tremblay (2003) who compares the current system with that of Australia.⁴³ John L. Hiemstra and Harold J. Jansen also support this notion and believe that the current system “fails to deliver...equitable representation”⁴⁴ whereas systems of proportional representation would increase “the parliamentary representation of women.”⁴⁵ It should also be noted Cheng and Tavits agree that SMDP is less favorable to women.⁴⁶ Another idea in relation to the electoral system is the concept of quotas. According to Swanee Hunt, nations such as Rwanda have benefitted in an increase in women’s representation from the establishment of “a 30 percent minimum quota for women in...Parliament.”⁴⁷ Furthermore, Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer (2009) found that quotas like those in Argentina are more effective due to additional mechanisms as opposed to other countries.⁴⁸ Miki Caul (2001), who looked at quotas in 11 advanced industrial countries also found quotas to be an effective tool.⁴⁹ While the authors make a compelling argument for the disadvantages of Canada’s current electoral system and explain how a more proportional system and quotas would be beneficial for female candidates, a complete conclusion cannot be drawn

⁴² MacIvor, “Proportional and Semi-Proportional Electoral Systems,” 13, 22.

⁴³ Manon Tremblay, “Women’s Representational Role in Australia and Canada: The Impact of Political Context,” *Australian Journal of Political Science* 38, no. 2 (July 2003): 215-238.

⁴⁴ John L. Hiemstra and Harold J. Jansen, “Getting What You Vote For,” in *Crosscurrents: Contemporary Political Issues*, ed. Mark Charlton and Paul Barker (Toronto: Nelson, 2013), 224.

⁴⁵ Hiemstra and Jansen, “Getting What You Vote For,” 233.

⁴⁶ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 468.

⁴⁷ Swanee Hunt, “The Rise of Rwanda’s Women: Rebuilding and Reuniting a Nation,” *Foreign Affairs* 93, no. 3 (May/June 2015): 155.

⁴⁸ Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, “Making Quotas Work: The Effect of Gender Quotas Laws on the Election of Women,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (February 2009).

⁴⁹ Miki Caul, “Political Parties and the Adoption of Candidates Gender Quotas: A Cross-National Analysis,” *Journal of Politics* 63, no. 4 (November 2001): 1214-1229.

from the literature. The texts fail to acknowledge the fact that changing the electoral system does not guarantee voters will elect more women. While the sources provide a good framework of research for the thesis, in actuality, further study on the effects of the electoral system and remedies must be considered.

The notion of incumbency advantage, with relation to the electoral system, in perpetuating the gender parity deficiency within Parliament is also one which must be examined. This concept is displayed through the work of Gary King, who found a relationship between incumbency advantage and constituency service among U.S. congressional and state representative candidates.⁵⁰ Chad Kendall and Marie Rekkas note that incumbent MPs running for re-election have “a 9.4–11.2% increased probability of winning over non-incumbents.”⁵¹ Their results also suggest “that the incumbency effect is due mostly to the individual incumbent running, rather than to the party.”⁵² The argument of incumbency advantage is also endorsed by Alex Marland. Marland finds that incumbent legislators in Canada have an advantage in re-election due to factors such as name recognition, benefits of their office, fundraising advantages, experience in winning an election and personal voting.⁵³ Overall, these sources demonstrate that sitting incumbents have an increased chance of being re-elected and remaining in office. Therefore, if the majority of seats within Parliament are held by male MPs, the probability of them being re-elected and continuing to dominate the majority of seats in the House will be reinforced. However, what they seem to overlook is the possibility of regional voting patterns

⁵⁰ Gary King, “Constituency Service and Incumbency Advantage,” *British Journal of Political Science* 21, no.1 (January 1991): 119-120.

⁵¹ Chad Kendall and Marie Rekkas, “Incumbency Advantages in the Canadian Parliament,” *Canadian Journal of Economics* 45, no. 4 (November 2012): 1560.

⁵² Kendall and Rekkas, “Incumbency Advantages,” 1584.

⁵³ Alex Marland, “The Electoral Benefits and Limitations of Incumbency,” *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 21, no. 4 (Winter 1998-99): 34-35.

and how certain candidates are elected due to the way their constituency leans politically. Therefore, if a riding is a “safe seat,” an incumbent may continue to be re-elected due to their party’s popularity in a certain area. While the Kendall and Rekkas reading does acknowledge this point and argues otherwise, I feel it is easily overlooked. It is also important to note that the incumbency effect is advantageous to female MPs, thus helping them keep their seats in Parliament. However, if male incumbents continue to run for re-election, the number of men in Parliament will remain (or potentially increase) the same. Subsequently, the incumbency advantage argument will be considered within the thesis and further examined as it is not as widely written on.

The perspective that the media also has an impact in the lack of political gender parity must be included. Such a notion can be found within the works of Manon Tremblay (2003), who found media coverage of federally elected women in Australia and Canada to be sexist and unfair.⁵⁴ Authors Elisabeth Gidengil and Joanna Everitt also write about the “gendered nature of news coverage” for Canadian female party leaders.⁵⁵ The authors found the existence of “gender biases...embedded in the very language of political reporting,” which “reinforce the image that politics is a man’s game.”⁵⁶ Although this source looks at party leaders, it should still be included as one can argue that if female leaders are portrayed a certain way, those biases can trickle down to the local level as well. Similarly, Dunaway, Lawrence, Rose and Weber find that in U.S. election campaigns, particularly those for governor, female candidates attract press coverage

⁵⁴ Tremblay, “Women’s Representational Role,” 230-231.

⁵⁵ Elisabeth Gidengil and Joanna Everitt, “Conventional Coverage/Unconventional Politicians: Gender and Media Coverage of Canadian Leaders’ Debates, 1993, 1997, 2000,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 36, no. 3 (July-August 2003): 559.

⁵⁶ Gidengil and Everitt, “Conventional Coverage,” 574.

which focuses more on their personal traits, as opposed to the issues.⁵⁷ It should also be noted that according to Kim Fridkin Kahn, women running for Senate and Governor “receive less issue coverage than their male counterparts”⁵⁸ and that the coverage they do receive is more negative.⁵⁹ While two of the sources above pertain to U.S. candidates, it is important to include as it can relate to Canadian candidates due to the similarities in our media industry. Furthermore, these theories ought to be applied to Canada in order to obtain a more complete picture of the issue. However, the literature fails to take into account the influence of social media, which now has an effect on electoral politics. It also fails to consider the idea that many citizens now receive their information from non-traditional media outlets. Nevertheless, one must accept that although the platform from where news is obtained may vary, the outlets can still be the same and the literature above is important in order to understand past trends and provide direction for future behavior.

The final approach that must be considered is the lifestyle of Parliamentarians as a deterrent for women candidates in politics. This also includes the choice of women to opt out of the political arena due to certain barriers. Such a theory can be reinforced by the gruelling schedule of MPs which includes late night sessions, long work weeks in Ottawa⁶⁰ and the rigor of campaigns. This does not factor in for time spent travelling from a member’s constituency to Ottawa and the constituency work MPs must do when back home in their ridings. In addition to such duties, it does not consider the extra responsibilities a member may have if they also sit on

⁵⁷ Johanna Dunaway et al., “Traits versus Issues: How Female Candidates Shape Coverage of Senate and Gubernatorial Races,” *Political Research Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (September 2013): 720.

⁵⁸ Kim Fridkin Kahn, “Press Coverage of Women Candidates for Statewide Office,” *Journal of Politics* 56, no. 1 (February 1994): 164-165.

⁵⁹ Kahn, “Press Coverage,” 163.

⁶⁰ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 590-592.

Cabinet. The unattractiveness of a political lifestyle may also help explain why according to Rosamonde Ramsay Boyd, women have different ambitions from men and tend to be more immersed and engaged in running for local office such as school boards or city councils.⁶¹ Furthermore, Fox and Lawless (2004) find that compared to men, women in the U.S. “express significantly lower levels of political ambition to hold elective office”.⁶² Fox and Lawless (2011) also find that women are “more likely to doubt their abilities to engage in campaign mechanics.”⁶³ Additionally, Tim Schouls writes that women “have traditionally avoided political life at the national level” and unfortunately do not have access to as many political resources as men.⁶⁴ Lawless and Fox (2005) also present an argument worth noting, which states that excluded groups such as women who “feel like the political system is not open to them...may be less likely to consider running for office.”⁶⁵ Similarly, Bubar and Ellis contend that women do not put themselves into consideration for public office due to a difference in political ambition, which is caused by a number of reasons.⁶⁶ Authors Ann Wicks and Raylene Lang-Dion (2008) believe that conciliatory political cultures like those in Sweden, are why it has higher numbers of women in parliament.⁶⁷ It should be noted that the arguments presented by the scholars above are

⁶¹ Rosamonde Ramsay Boyd, “Women and Politics in the United States and Canada,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science* 375 (January 1968): 52.

⁶² Richard L. Fox and Jennifer L. Lawless, “Entering the Arena? Gender and the Decision to Run for Office,” *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no.2 (April 2004): 264.

⁶³ Richard L. Fox and Jennifer L. Lawless, “Gendered Perceptions and Political Candidacies: A Central Barrier to Women’s Equality in Electoral Politics,” *American Journal of Political Science* 55, no. 1 (January 2011): 59.

⁶⁴ Tim Schouls, “Why Group Representation in Parliament Is Important,” in *Crosscurrents: Contemporary Political Issues*, ed. Mark Charlton and Paul Barker (Toronto: Nelson, 2013), 329-330.

⁶⁵ Richard L. Fox and Jennifer L. Lawless, “To Run or Not to Run for Office: Explaining Nascent Political Ambition,” *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (July 2005): 646.

⁶⁶ Bubar and Ellis, “Changing the Face of Politics,” 23.

⁶⁷ Wicks and Lang-Dion, “Women in Politics,” 35-36.

by no means a personal criticism of the political motives and ambitions of female candidates. Rather, it is a point which may help shed light on the personal choice of one to engage in public office. Nevertheless, I believe this literature is incomplete and fails in accepting that the lifestyle and challenges of a career in politics also affects men and such a contention should be considered. Furthermore, one cannot presume that everyone is accepting of gender parity and would necessarily embrace such a change. One must acknowledge that Parliament as an institution itself was originally set up without the consideration of having female representatives. Thus, from the beginning it was tailored to fit the needs of male MPs and slowly over time included women. Due to this fact, it cannot be overlooked that certain individuals may not be as receptive to the idea of parity in an institution they believe is male dominated. Additionally, if these individuals are benefitting from such a system, it can be assumed they would be less inclined to alter it. While this is not suggesting that Canadians should vote for more women simply due to their gender, certain realities ought to be accepted and further explored in understanding why such an issue persists. It should also be noted that the authors do not answer questions such as why during the 2015 election, out of 1792 total candidates, only 533 (or 29.7 percent) were women.⁶⁸ Thus, why more men chose to run as opposed to women must be further examined.

The literature above presents a guideline and foundation for the research topic. It also relates to the hypothesis that gender parity is not achieved due to the role of political parties, electoral systems and media. Additionally, the literature brings up new approaches such as incumbency advantage and the drawbacks of politics itself. This brings a uniqueness to a topic which I find to be instrumental in understanding the political realities of Canadian Parliament. While the perspectives these scholars and authors introduce are not final, nor produce a magic

⁶⁸ “42nd General Election,” *Parliament of Canada*. “Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date,” *Library of Parliament*.

pill solution, they must certainly be explored. Furthermore, the literature does not go far enough into the issue and tends to focus more on the solutions, as opposed to the actual problem itself. The literature does not delve into questions of why such an issue is prevalent within Canada and examines surface level explanations as opposed to deep-rooted factors. Instead of understanding the reasons causing gender disparity, the scholars observe the final results and solutions to a problem they have not explored effectively, thus resulting in a gap. Consequently, they study the results but not the issue itself. For this reason, the concepts must be explored and expanded upon further.

Chapter II

Who Is to Blame?

The political system within Canada is made up of three major parties, the Liberals, the Conservatives and the NDP. Of these three parties, only two, the Liberals and Conservatives, have ever formed government. The importance of the parties is predominately found within the House of Commons, also considered the Lower Chamber of Parliament, as it is the only legislative body of Parliament to be elected, unlike the Senate. This chapter will focus on the role and responsibility that political parties and leaders have within the context of gender inequality. I will begin by examining the Patterns of Female Candidacy and Electoral Success (Part 1) overall throughout the country and demonstrate the outcomes that have been produced. This will be done through the illustration and analysis of findings from Appendix 1, which demonstrates the results of the 2015 Federal Election by riding and candidate. Such an illustration is necessary in order to provide some context and enhance one's understanding of the nationwide trends and results before getting into the actual arguments of the thesis. These examinations are important to know prior to reading the arguments as it provides a foundation with statistics and information the reader should be aware of in order to better understand the arguments that will be presented. The chapter will then look at the specific influence of leaders and parties (Part 2) in perpetuating the lack of women's representation. After reading this chapter, readers should be able to gain a better sense of how parties and leaders affect the issue of gender parity and their involvement, or lack of, in addressing these challenges.

Part 1: Patterns of Female Candidacy and Electoral Success

As mentioned in the previous chapter, women were elected to 26 percent of the seats in the House of Commons after the 2015 Federal Election.⁶⁹ What is also important to examine from this number are the trends, in terms of parties and geographic locations, of the election results. Information regarding a list of all 1792 candidates, 533 women candidates and winners (both female and male) with a riding by riding breakdown from all 338 constituencies, can be seen in Appendix 1.⁷⁰ This appendix is comprised of information from the Library of Parliament and Parliament of Canada, and also indicates which ridings can be classified as rural and urban. The appendix was constructed by first obtaining a list of all 1792 candidates, who ran in the 2015 Federal Election, from the Parliament of Canada's website. This list illustrated which candidates were elected and defeated based on province and riding. From there, I looked at every candidate individually and identified in a separate column, which candidates were female with the help of information I obtained from the Library of Parliament's website. I then identified which ridings could be classified as urban and which are considered rural, based on their region/municipality. This was done by also accessing information from the Library of Parliament, which listed the region/municipality of ridings that can be considered urban. It should be noted that rural ridings do not have a corresponding region/municipality in Appendix 1. This appendix therefore contains information on all 338 ridings and 1792 candidates, with riding by riding results. A second set of raw data is simplified and found in Appendix 2, which contains information specifically on women candidates. This information is the same as that in Appendix 1 but only

⁶⁹ "Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date," *Library of Parliament*.

⁷⁰ "42nd General Election," *Parliament of Canada*. "Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date," *Library of Parliament*.

contains information regarding the 533 women candidates. After reviewing the results, one can gain a better understanding of both national and provincial trends which help answer questions regarding the lack of gender parity in Parliament.

National Findings

Based on Appendix 1, the 2015 election results indicate that out of the 1792 candidates who ran, 533 (29.7 percent) were women.⁷¹ Out of those 533 female candidates, 88 (16.5 percent) were elected.⁷² It should also be noted that of the 88 women who were elected, 28 were incumbents and 60 were elected for the first time in 2015. When it comes to political parties with the most female candidates and winners, the results are as followed:

Liberal – 105 Female Candidates. 50 women elected

NDP – 145 Female Candidates. 18 women elected

Conservative – 65 Female Candidates. 17 women elected

Bloc – 21 Female Candidates. 2 women elected

Green – 135 Female Candidates. 1 woman elected

The information above illustrates that when it comes to winnability, the top two parties with the highest number of female candidates did not actually have the most number of women

⁷¹ “42nd General Election,” *Parliament of Canada*, “Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date,” *Library of Parliament*.

⁷² “Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date,” *Library of Parliament*.

elected. In fact, it was the Liberal Party and Conservative Party which had the highest percentage (although not number) of their female candidates elected. On the other hand, the NDP had the second highest number of women elected, beating the Conservatives by one MP. In addition, it should be noted that while the Green Party did have a significantly higher number of female candidates, compared to the Liberals and Conservatives, the only candidate elected was Elizabeth May, who is the leader of the party and holds the only seat for the Greens. May's example should be seen as an exception since party leaders tend to have more resources put into their constituency races as opposed to general candidates. This occurs because parties want to ensure their leader wins his/her own seat and therefore make it a priority.⁷³ Additionally, based on the findings of Appendix 1, the majority of female candidates did not run for parties who had a realistic likelihood of winning, a point which will be addressed later in this section, considering that the Bloc, Greens and NDP have never formed government and are not considered likely to win in general elections. While the Liberals and Conservatives are the only two parties to ever form government, they had 170 women candidates combined, while the NDP, Greens and Bloc collectively had 301 female candidates. Thus, the two parties to have ever formed government both had fewer female candidates than the other three. It should also be noted that neither the Bloc nor the Greens have official party status in the House of Commons and were only included within the analysis because they still hold seats in Parliament. Subsequently, when including parties who held government and/or formed opposition, the results demonstrate that 315 (or 59 percent) out of the 533 female candidates ran for the three major Canadian parties. While the

⁷³ Gurbax Malhi in discussion with the author, March 8, 2018.

Bloc, at one time could have been included in this assessment, it only runs candidates in Quebec and has not seen major electoral success in the past two election cycles.

Provincial Findings

An important factor to consider from Appendix 1 is province by province results of the 2015 election. Below is an explanation and analysis of female candidacy and electoral results of women candidates based on province and party. The provinces I primarily focused on were Alberta, Ontario, British Columbia (BC) and Quebec. The tables were created based on information found in the appendices.

Table 1. Women Candidates and Results in Alberta⁷⁴

Party	# of women who ran	# of women who won	Rural seats won by women	Urban seats won by women
Liberal	9 (17.3%)	0	0	0
Conservative	5 (9.6%)	4 (80%)	1 (100%)	3 (75%)
NDP	15 (28.8)	1 (20%)	0	1 (25%)
Totals	52 (this number includes candidates for all parties across Alberta)	5	1	4
Total Number of Seats - Alberta (Male + Female)	34			

Sources: Thesis author, Library of Parliament and Parliament of Canada

The findings for Alberta demonstrate that the Conservative Party had four out of their five female candidates elected. While Alberta is known to be an electorally safe province for the

⁷⁴ “42nd General Election.” *Parliament of Canada*. “PARLINFO – Ridings.” *Library of Parliament*. accessed December 22, 2017, https://lop.parl.ca/sites/ParlInfo/default/en_CA/ElectionsRidings/Ridings. “Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date.” *Library of Parliament*.

Conservatives, the results illustrate that it is a safe seat for female Conservative candidates as well. The results also demonstrate that more women won in urban ridings as compared to rural ones. Details regarding the winnability of Conservatives in rural Alberta will be discussed later in this section.

Table 2. Women Candidates and Results in Ontario⁷⁵

Party	# of women who ran	# of women who won	Rural seats won by women	Urban seats won by women
Liberal	45 (24%)	28 (73.6%)	5 (45.4%)	23 (85.1%)
Conservative	27 (14.4%)	6 (15.7%)	5 (45.4%)	1 (3.7%)
NDP	47 (25.1%)	4 (10.5%)	1 (9%)	3 (11.1%)
Totals	187 (this number includes candidates for all parties across Ontario)	38	11	27
Total Number of Seats - Ontario (Male + Female)	121			

Sources: Thesis author, Library of Parliament and Parliament of Canada

The results above illustrate that women running in Ontario have a higher chance of being elected if they run in urban seats. Furthermore, it would help their chances if they were to run as a Liberal in an urban riding. Based on the results, one can conclude that if a woman was to run as a Conservative, she would have a higher probability of winning in a rural riding, as the NDP did better than the Conservatives in urban areas.

⁷⁵ “42nd General Election.” *Parliament of Canada*. “PARLINFO – Ridings,” *Library of Parliament*. “Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date.” *Library of Parliament*.

Table 3. Women Candidates and Results in British Columbia⁷⁶

Party	# of women who ran	# of women who won	Rural seats won by women	Urban seats won by women
Liberal	14 (19.1%)	5 (41.6%)	1 (20%)	4 (66.6%)
Conservative	12 (16.4%)	3 (25%)	2 (40%)	1 (16.6%)
NDP	20 (27.3%)	3 (25%)	2 (40%)	1 (16.6%)
Totals	73 (this number includes candidates for all parties across BC)	12*	5	6
Total Number of Seats - BC (Male + Female)	42			

*The Green Party won one seat in BC in an urban riding. It was the seat of party leader Elizabeth May.

Sources: Thesis author, Library of Parliament and Parliament of Canada

The results indicate that women running in British Columbia appear to have an advantage if they were to run in urban constituencies. They also show that the best chance of a woman being elected in British Columbia would be if she ran as a Liberal in an urban seat. Moreover, it seems that women who run as NDP or Conservatives have a similar likelihood of electoral success. Additionally, the Green Party's success in securing one seat should be seen as an outlier as it was previously mentioned that it was won by the party's leader.

⁷⁶ "42nd General Election." *Parliament of Canada*. "PARLINFO – Ridings," *Library of Parliament*. "Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date." *Library of Parliament*.

Table 4. Women Candidates and Results in Quebec⁷⁷

Party	# of women who ran	# of women who won	Rural seats won by women	Urban seats won by women
Liberal	20 (14.3%)	9 (47.3%)	4 (44.4%)	5 (62.5%)
Conservative	9 (6.4%)	1 (5.2%)	0	1 (12.5%)
NDP	37 (26.6%)	7 (36.8%)	5 (55.5%)	2 (25%)
Totals	139 (this number includes candidates for all parties across Quebec)	19*	9	8
Total Number of Seats - Quebec (Male + Female)	78			

*The Bloc had two seats won by women. One was won in an urban riding while the other was in a rural riding.

Sources: Thesis author, Library of Parliament and Parliament of Canada

The findings above demonstrate that the party with the greatest number of seats won by women are the Liberals, followed by the NDP and then the Bloc, who won one more seat than the Conservatives. It would seem that the highest likelihood of women getting elected would be those running for the Liberals in urban ridings or the NDP in rural ridings. Similar to the overall federal trends, the NDP in Quebec ran more female candidates than the Liberals yet the Liberals were more successful in getting more women elected.

Additional Provincial Observations

In addition to the findings above, there are other observations that should be noted. By looking at the provinces of Alberta, Ontario, BC and Quebec, one can see that 84.6 percent of the

⁷⁷ “42nd General Election.” *Parliament of Canada*. “PARLINFO – Ridings,” *Library of Parliament*. “Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date.” *Library of Parliament*.

women candidates from the 2015 election ran in these four provinces. These provinces also had the most number of women elected out of all ten provinces and three territories across Canada. In regards to rural and urban results, from an examination of Appendix 1, it can be seen that 333 (or 62.4 percent) out of 533 women candidates ran from ridings that were located in or around major cities (i.e. urban ridings).⁷⁸ Moreover, 52 (or 59 percent) out of the 88 women elected in the 2015 federal election came from urban ridings.⁷⁹

Based on the four provinces listed above, it can be concluded that if a woman were to run for federal office, her best chance of getting elected would be to run for the Liberal Party in urban Ontario. While this is not meant to be a justification for where or what parties women should run for, the results from a statistical standpoint lead to such a conclusion. Furthermore, while Alberta had the least number of female MPs, out of the three other provinces, it is considered a Conservative bastion when it comes to elections and the Conservatives tend to see substantial electoral success, although this has been prevalent amongst male candidates. According to Louise Carbert, “Conservative Party support is concentrated in rural areas, and previous studies have shown this party is less hospitable to women candidates.”⁸⁰ Therefore, while it would make sense for female Conservative candidates to run in Alberta, they should be mindful of the inclusiveness of the party specifically in rural areas.

⁷⁸ “PARLINFO – Ridings,” *Library of Parliament*.

⁷⁹ “PARLINFO – Ridings,” *Library of Parliament*.

⁸⁰ Louise Carbert, “Viewing Women’s Political Leadership Through a Rural Electoral Lens: Canada as a Case Study,” in *Gender and Women’s Leadership: A Reference Handbook*, ed. K. O’Connor (Los Angeles: Sage, 2010) 140.

Urban vs. Rural Patterns

Another concept illustrated from the results above is the winnability of female candidates in proportion to where they run. While the arguments surrounding electability and winnable ridings will be discussed later in detail within the thesis chapters, one should be aware of certain information prior to reading the arguments within this chapter. It should be noted that according to Louise Carbert, the election of women in rural districts “is limited primarily by the low numbers of female candidates running for parties that have a chance of winning,”⁸¹ thus highlighting the issue of winnability in certain ridings.⁸² According to Representative 24, the rate of low winnability in rural ridings for certain parties can be due to the fact that “rural ridings tend to be more small ‘c’ conservative,”⁸³ a notion also concurred by Representative 33.⁸⁴ Thus, parties such as the Conservatives tend to do better in those parts of the country. Furthermore, Carbert found that urban ridings were more likely to elect women than rural ones, which hinders the prospects of electing more women.⁸⁵ The challenges faced by women running in rural districts has also been pointed out within the works of Studlar and Matland (1994).⁸⁶ Representative 46 believes women running in urban areas also have an easier opportunity of

⁸¹ Louise Carbert, “Viewing Women’s Political Leadership,” 137.

⁸² Louise Carbert, “Viewing Women’s Political Leadership,” 141.

⁸³ Representative 24 in discussion with the author, 2018.

⁸⁴ Representative 33 in discussion with the author, 2018.

⁸⁵ Louise Carbert, “Viewing Women’s Political Leadership,” 137, 138.

⁸⁶ Donley T. Studlar and Richard E. Matland, “The Growth of Women’s Representation in the Canadian House of Commons and the Election of 1984: A Reappraisal,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 27, no. 1 (March 1994): 66.

getting elected than those in rural parts.⁸⁷ Carbert also states that urban ridings tend to have higher levels of educated voters and more women within their workforce,⁸⁸ which supports the arguments by Studlar and Matland (1994) that “women are more likely to be elected in ridings with high levels of female labour participation and highly educated constituencies.”⁸⁹ Such a point is also supported by the works of Bittner, Terry and Piercey.⁹⁰ However, this phenomena is not exclusive to Alberta and affects many rural regions throughout Canada.⁹¹ It should also be noted that scholars such as Miki Caul (1999) argue that parties on the left “may be more supportive of gender equality” than those on the right,⁹² a contention supported by Bittner, Terry and Piercey,⁹³ who also write that “[t]hose who feel most strongly about the need for greater women’s equality...are more likely to choose to vote for either...the Liberal party, or the NDP, over the Conservatives.”⁹⁴ While these points do provide some context as to the trends and differences between rural and urban ridings, one ought to remember that voters should not be

⁸⁷ Representative 46 in discussion with the author, 2018.

⁸⁸ Louise Carbert, “Viewing Women’s Political Leadership,” 142, 143.

⁸⁹ Studlar and Matland, “The Growth of Women’s Representation,” 77.

⁹⁰ Amanda Bittner, Jillian Terry and Susan Piercey, “Who Cares? Canadian Attitudes About Women in Politics” (presentation paper, Canadian Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Concordia University, June 1-3, 2010): 11-12.

⁹¹ Louise Carbert, “Viewing Women’s Political Leadership,” 140.

⁹² Miki Caul, “Women’s Representation in Parliament: The Role of Political Parties,” *Party Politics* 5, no. 1 (1999): 85.

⁹³ Bittner, Terry and Piercey, “Who Cares,” 8.

⁹⁴ Bittner, Terry and Piercey, “Who Cares,” 10.

thought of as monolithic and that they “are not a homogenous group,”⁹⁵ thus generalizations should be avoided.

Part 2: The Role of Parties and Leaders

The role and responsibility of parties and leaders is one systemic issue, which helps explain the lack of gender parity in Canada’s Parliament. Since parties led by leaders, are the entities which make up Parliament by having their respective members elected, their role cannot be ignored. Their actions, or lack of, affect not only the direct policies and procedures but also the indirect mechanisms of Parliament. According to Julie Cool, their role “has been repeatedly identified as the most important factor in increasing the representation of women in parliament.”⁹⁶ One of the arguments that explains the role of parties and leaders is the lack of priority they have given to the issue of gender parity. Their role in not giving enough attention to the issue has resulted in a lack of women’s representation in the House. According to William Cross and Lisa Young, parties are “out-of-touch” with Canadian voters and “discourage members of under-represented groups from joining.”⁹⁷ Cross and Young also argue that parties are “generally unrepresentative of the Canadian electorate in terms of...gender.”⁹⁸ Furthermore, O’Neill and Stewart write that parties are not as accepting of women leaders and that men are

⁹⁵ Bittner, Terry and Piercey, “Who Cares,” 5.

⁹⁶ Julie Cool, “Women in Parliament,” *Library of Parliament*, no. 2011-56-E (2013): 4.

⁹⁷ William Cross and Lisa Young, “The Contours of Political Party Membership in Canada,” *Party Politics* 10, no. 4 (2004): 441.

⁹⁸ Cross and Young, “The Contours of Political Party Membership,” 440.

less likely to face criticism compared to their female counterparts.⁹⁹ The works of these scholars demonstrates the resistance some parties and leaders have had in taking up the issue of parity. While the nature of the debate surrounding parity has seemed to change, inherently parties have been more restrictive in their openness to include women. By not being a reflection of voters, nor proactively embracing more parity, the impact of parties and leaders has been a hinderance in achieving gender equality. By parties and leaders not inherently being as receptive to women, the idea that parties and leaders would therefore give much thought to parity is evident. Through their restrictiveness to certain groups, like women, one cannot expect a leader or party to take up the issue of equity. To explain more clearly, if these entities are not open to women, parity will not be a major issue or be addressed. Simply put, if parties do not have a willingness to be more inclusive of women, adequate attention will not be given to parity. Such a notion is also supported by former Deputy Prime Minister, The Honourable Sheila Copps, who states that until recently, most parties and leaders “have not been doing much in terms of increasing awareness of the issue and besides doing anything outside of face value, they haven’t really pushed any policies or legislation.”¹⁰⁰ Ms. Copps also says that “some parties do not want gender parity as part of their platform or campaign strategy”¹⁰¹ which further exemplifies the inaction of some parties in promoting the issues. While some may argue that parties do not substantially affect this issue, the importance of parties and leaders can be explained by Member of Parliament Emmanuella Lambropoulos (a member of the Committee for the Status of Women) who, while

⁹⁹ Brenda O’Neill and David K. Stewart, “Gender and Political Party Leadership in Canada,” *Party Politics* 15, no. 6 (2009): 738.

¹⁰⁰ Sheila Copps in discussion with the author, March 12, 2018.

¹⁰¹ Sheila Copps Interview.

not criticizing any specific party or leaders, states they “are responsible for setting the tone which has usually been favourable towards men.”¹⁰² This demonstrates that the actions of leaders does in fact have an influence and their effect should not be ignored or downplayed. Moreover, the points above demonstrate that the issue of gender parity has in large part not been a major priority for leaders or parties and is thus not on their radar. The lack of attention given to this issue is significant due to the influence leaders and parties have in Parliament and in public and the amount of attention they receive whenever they speak. Thus, they are not using their bully pulpit to raise awareness and act upon finding solutions.

The lack of care and attention by leaders and parties is also illustrated by the words of former six term Member of Parliament, The Honourable Gurbax Malhi, who states that in his 18 years as a Member of Parliament, “I don’t think many leaders or parties made gender parity a priority.”¹⁰³ MP Malhi, also says that “governing itself is hard and many issues arise during an election campaign where policies like taxes, budgets and others get priority over gender issues”¹⁰⁴ and that “while they are now starting to be addressed, for a long time they weren’t seen as key campaign issues.”¹⁰⁵ The statements by MP Malhi therefore sustains the idea that adequate attention is not given to gender parity on the part of parties and leaders. They also demonstrate that other matters tend to gain precedence over gender issues during campaigns and thus the absence of action is apparent. Representative 33 also supports this notion by stating “if leaders want to help, they can, and parties can make changes but there is not a sense of urgency

¹⁰² Emmanuella Lambropoulos in discussion with the author, March 7, 2018.

¹⁰³ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

¹⁰⁴ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

¹⁰⁵ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

on their part and even in the last election, it was not a campaign issue.”¹⁰⁶ Representative 46 also believes parties and leaders “play a role in this issue because it is a top down decision.”¹⁰⁷ Why leaders and parties do not give enough emphasis to this issue can be best explained by Bittner, Terry and Piercey who argue there is a “lack of concern about the issue on the part of the Canadian public. Simply put, people don’t care.”¹⁰⁸ From this, one can argue that due to the lack of care on the part of voters, leaders will not take up this issue. Furthermore, leaders and parties tend to concern themselves with issues the public cares about most, thus if this issue is not a priority for their electorate, it will not be given much thought by them either. While this is in no means a diversion or justification for the responsibility leaders and parties share, it helps better explain why they have not adequately acted. Moreover, this should not be seen as a shifting of the burden onto voters, but as a relationship within politics; where if the public does not care, neither will leaders and vice versa, if the public begins to care, perhaps leaders will too. Nevertheless, it should be noted that parties have in the past taken positions that were unpopular however, whether this issue itself would be unpopular with voters seems unlikely and one should not equate importance with popularity. In other words, even if voters do not care about the issue, parties should not assume that the issue itself is unpopular. Thus, lack of importance does not equate to unpopularity.

Another role that parties and leaders have in perpetuating the issue is the lack of political will they demonstrate. According to Ann Wicks and Raylene Lang-Dion (2007), there needs to

¹⁰⁶ Representative 33 Interview.

¹⁰⁷ Representative 46 Interview.

¹⁰⁸ Bittner, Terry and Piercey, “Who Cares,” abstract.

be more political will on the part of leaders and parties in order to address gender inequality.¹⁰⁹ Such a notion is also supported by current Member of Parliament The Honourable Dr. Hedy Fry, who is currently the longest serving woman MP in Canadian history and has previously served in Cabinet as Secretary of State (Multiculturalism) and Minister for the Status of Women.¹¹⁰ Dr. Fry states that political will is important on the part of leaders and parties and that enough has not been done in the past in addressing it.¹¹¹ Representative 83 also argues that “until Prime Minister Trudeau was elected, no one really cared.”¹¹² They also say “the issue only got attention once he appointed his gender balanced Cabinet and prior to that, this was not an issue during the election and it was not in any major platforms in previous elections.”¹¹³ This illustrates that gender parity has not been acted upon nor made an issue on the part of many leaders or parties. While the issue has gained traction after the election and appointment of Prime Minister Trudeau’s cabinet, it was not given any consideration during the election. Furthermore, concrete actions have not been taken in previous elections to address gender equality among Parliament and the absence of attention demonstrates a lack of will. Additionally, Representative 19 points out that parties have not been doing enough,¹¹⁴ while Representative 72 says “parties are not

¹⁰⁹ Ann Wicks and Raylene Lang-Dion, “Equal Voice: Electing More Women in Canada,” *Canadian Parliamentary Review* (Spring 2007): 37, 39.

¹¹⁰ “Hon. Hedy Fry, PC, MP,” *HedyFry.com*, accessed March 14, 2018, <http://www.hedyfry.com/about>. “The Hon. Hedy Fry,” *Library of Parliament*, accessed March 14, 2018, https://lop.parl.ca/sites/ParlInfo/default/en_CA/People/Profile?personId=5951#fedExp.

¹¹¹ Dr. Hedy Fry in discussion with the author, March 14, 2018.

¹¹² Representative 83 in discussion with the author, 2018.

¹¹³ Representative 83 Interview.

¹¹⁴ Representative 19 in discussion with the author, 2018.

even acknowledging the issue.”¹¹⁵ These responses display a lack of recognition of the issues and an absence of steps in resolving it. With parties and leaders not showing a willingness to recognize disparity among female MPs, their impact on the issue is apparent. It appears there does not seem to be a reason for them to want to act upon addressing the challenges of gender inequality and their inaction is enabling the problem. This apathy is also prolonging disparity and maintaining its current state. Among parties themselves, Alan Siaroff writes that parties on the left tend to be more supportive of gender equality,¹¹⁶ a position previously taken up by Miki Caul (1999).¹¹⁷ Meanwhile, Brenda O’Neill and David K. Stewart argue parties that are more competitive are less likely to choose women leaders.¹¹⁸ This demonstrates that even among parties and leaders, the level of political will and acceptance can be prioritized. Although it is not possible to get a true measurement of each party and leader’s personal feelings regarding their political will and how important they believe the issue to be, these points must be taken into consideration. The pushback on the inclusiveness of women Parliamentarians shows the lack of desire to take action in solving the problem. While these points are not attempting to put the onus on one party or leader in particular, nor paint them all with a broad brush, it exemplifies that political will is an important concept within the overall discourse of gender parity in Parliament.

Political parties and leaders also affect the lack of gender parity in the House of Commons due to the influence of local riding associations and the nomination process. These

¹¹⁵ Representative 72 in discussion with the author, 2018.

¹¹⁶ Alan Siaroff, “Women’s Representation in Legislatures and Cabinets in Industrial Democracies,” *International Political Science Review* 21, no. 2 (2000): 202.

¹¹⁷ Caul, “Women’s Representation in Parliament,” 85.

¹¹⁸ O’Neill and Stewart, “Gender and Political Party,” 752, 753.

factors can be considered a hinderance to the election of more women, a point supported by Julie Cool.¹¹⁹ Cool writes that “many women considered the nomination process to be a greater challenge than the election itself.”¹²⁰ Manon Tremblay and Réjean Pelletier (2001) also argue that the nomination process discriminates against women,¹²¹ with Pruyzers and Cross finding the nomination process suffering from gender proportionality.¹²² Pruyzers and Cross also found that parties have “been known to manipulate the timing of the opening of a local nomination in order to secure the nomination of their preferred candidate”¹²³ and that at times when women have been able to bypass the process from riding associations, “it has been met with local opposition.”¹²⁴ These points support the argument that the process itself within parties for nominating candidates is a detriment to women candidates. By restricting the ability of women candidates to be nominated, parties demonstrate the responsibility they have in perpetuating gender disparity. Furthermore, Representative 33 states that “many riding associations are not trying to help women candidates and in fact some work against them in order to put in preferred male candidates,”¹²⁵ a point also supported by Representative 98.¹²⁶ This illustrates that parties are not assisting in the increase of women candidates, resulting in them not actively trying to

¹¹⁹ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 4.

¹²⁰ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 7.

¹²¹ Manon Tremblay and Réjean Pelletier, “More Women Constituency Party Presidents: A Strategy for Increasing the Number of Women Candidates in Canada?,” *Party Politics* 7, no. 2 (2001): 161.

¹²² Scott Pruyzers and William Cross, “Candidate Selection in Canada: Local Autonomy, Centralization, and Competing Democratic Norms,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 60, no. 7 (2016): 792.

¹²³ Pruyzers and Cross, “Candidate Selection in Canada,” 789.

¹²⁴ Pruyzers and Cross, “Candidate Selection in Canada,” 793.

¹²⁵ Representative 33 Interview.

¹²⁶ Representative 98 in discussion with the author, 2018.

promote women candidates. This can be seen as working against women and preventing them from obtaining the nomination. It is also evident that such actions affect the number of female Members in the House of Commons as they cannot be increased if they are not first being nominated. Thus, the lack of nominated women proves to be vital as it is the first step in getting elected to Parliament. If women cannot get through stage one of the process, it would be difficult to ultimately achieve electoral success at the parliamentary level. The argument also provides support for the notion that the nomination process, which is controlled by parties, not voters or the public, is an important factor in the issue and this process is hindering the prospects of more women.

Another component of the nomination process which makes it difficult for women to prevail is through the role of riding presidents and party gatekeepers. This consists of actors responsible for conducting and running the nomination process and races. Such factors exemplify how parties do in fact have a hand in the lack of gender representation in Parliament as nominations fall under their purview. Christine Chen and Margit Tavits “argue that the gender composition of party gatekeepers...plays a crucial role in either encouraging or discouraging women candidates to run for office.”¹²⁷ Cheng and Tavits also find that parties possess informal factors which can affect the representation of women and the “substantial impact on the candidate selection process, not just formally but also informally through female office holders at the constituency level,”¹²⁸ The works of Cheng and Tavits show the influence parties have, both formally and informally, through various structures in inhibiting the candidacy of women.

¹²⁷ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 460.

¹²⁸ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 467.

Furthermore, Representative 72 says riding associations “can make things more difficult for women”¹²⁹ and scholars have found that associations, which tend to be male-run,¹³⁰ are a “greater barrier to the nomination of women than previously thought.”¹³¹ Additionally, Tremblay and Pelletier (2001) find that women are typically excluded from serving as presidents on the Executive Committees of constituency associations, who play a major role in candidate selection.¹³² Tremblay and Pelletier’s point highlights the lack of female influence and benefits within the nomination process by implying that not only do women have a disadvantage in nomination elections, but they are also disenfranchised within the candidate selection process. Thus, one can argue the nomination process is skewed against women, which not only makes it harder for them to be selected to carry their party’s banner in the election, but also keeps them out of the internal party workings. As a result, it should not be shocking that according to Member of Parliament Francesco Sorbara “men are more encouraged to run,”¹³³ a point supported by O’Neill and Stewart.¹³⁴ It should also come as no surprise why Studlar and Matland (1994) find that parties do not run “balanced tickets”.¹³⁵ One should note that such actions are not exclusive to only urban ridings but rural ones as well.¹³⁶ These points elaborate on the effects that ripple across party workings and functions as women tend to be less and less represented

¹²⁹ Representative 72 Interview.

¹³⁰ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 462.

¹³¹ Koop and Bittner, “Parachuted into Parliament,” 436.

¹³² Tremblay and Pelletier, “More Women Constituency Party Presidents,” 162.

¹³³ Francesco Sorbara in discussion with the author, March 8, 2018

¹³⁴ O’Neill and Stewart, “Gender and Political Party,” 740.

¹³⁵ Studlar and Matland, “The Growth of Women’s Representation,” 54.

¹³⁶ Louise Carbert, “Viewing Women’s Political Leadership,” 146.

within the processes of political parties; which ultimately influence their representation in the House. The obstacles created through the nomination process by parties, leaders and by extension riding associations, impedes on the electoral opportunities of women at the federal level. They create difficulties for women seeking to run and do not allow an equal opportunity for candidates. Moreover, although the blame cannot be attributed to one party in particular, and certain parties have done better than others in terms of women's nominations, the process for achieving candidacy must not be ignored. By putting these issues on the forefront, one can see the role certain parties have played thus far in obstructing the opportunity of women candidates.

In relation to the paragraph above, Representative 72 believes party gatekeepers “are a powerful tool”¹³⁷ that can “set a criteria”¹³⁸ and “make it harder for female candidates to win a nomination.”¹³⁹ Furthermore, Representative 46 claims that gatekeepers “do play a role in who gets their name on the ballot,”¹⁴⁰ while Representative 33 agrees that “party gatekeepers do play a role in the selection process and can make it more challenging for women depending on the party, association and riding.”¹⁴¹ Representative 49 concurs that the ability of gatekeepers to hinder the nomination of women “depends on their personality”¹⁴² and Representative 24 explained how a specific party gatekeeper, who was later removed, was deliberately preventing the participation of more women.¹⁴³ These quotes further emphasize the influence of party

¹³⁷ Representative 72 Interview.

¹³⁸ Representative 72 Interview.

¹³⁹ Representative 72 Interview.

¹⁴⁰ Representative 46 Interview.

¹⁴¹ Representative 33 Interview.

¹⁴² Representative 49 in discussion with the author, 2018.

¹⁴³ Representative 24 Interview.

gatekeepers and their effect on gender parity. The respondents demonstrate how gatekeepers can halt the process of selecting more women and can double-down by making it more difficult for women to enter federal politics. They illustrate how women can be kept out of the political and nomination process, due to the role of internal party influencers at the local level. They also show how some ridings have gatekeepers that wield more power than others. As implied by the respondents above, gatekeepers, at times, can intentionally prevent certain women from obtaining their party's nomination, if choosing to do so. As evidently shown, the role of party gatekeepers is important within the context of gender parity, due to their ability to influence the selection of women nominees to an extent. While this does not imply that gatekeepers hold absolute power within the nomination process, the importance of their position should not be ignored. Consequently, those gatekeepers choosing to not partake in the progression of gender parity, can limit the success of some female candidates, to a certain degree.

The final factor in regards to the role of leaders and parties in impeding gender equality is the lack of promotions and opportunity granted to women. This contention is supported by the fact that Member of Parliament and former Secretary of State (Multiculturalism), The Honourable Dr. Fry described how when it came to Cabinet, many "women were not in senior portfolios."¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, Royce Koop and Amanda Bittner found that even in cases where candidates were "parachuted" or handpicked by leaders, "male parachutes are most likely to be invited to sit in cabinet"¹⁴⁵ and "men...are more likely to be promoted to high profile

¹⁴⁴ Dr. Fry Interview.

¹⁴⁵ Koop and Bittner, "Parachuted into Parliament," 449.

positions”¹⁴⁶ as opposed to women.¹⁴⁷ These points demonstrate the lack of priority women, even within parties, are given over their male colleagues. Consequently, it underlines the fact that women are at a disadvantage within the structure of parties in terms of candidacy and cabinet portfolios. While it should be noted that the makeup of cabinets is dependent on a number of factors from geography to party loyalty, the fact that women do tend to be appointed less, at least prior to the 2015 Cabinet of Prime Minister Trudeau, demonstrates an unfairness female MPs face. It should be mentioned that while cabinet is appointed and Parliament is elected, the points in this paragraph try to illustrate the discrepancy among female promotions versus men and not trying to directly compare cabinet with Parliament. Additionally, senior level appointments like Finance, Foreign Affairs and Defence tend to be given to men as well.¹⁴⁸ It should also be noted that the initial appointments made by Prime Minister Trudeau did not consist of equal Cabinet portfolios, as many women were appointed to junior level portfolios, however this was later corrected by the Prime Minister and all positions were promoted to full ministers.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, when it comes to the Official Opposition, major portfolios like Defence, Finance and Foreign Affairs, within the Conservatives’ Shadow Cabinet (or critic) portfolios, are also given to men.¹⁵⁰ These appointments also demonstrate the unequal treatment between male and female MPs.

¹⁴⁶ Koop and Bittner, “Parachuted into Parliament,” 449.

¹⁴⁷ Koop and Bittner, “Parachuted into Parliament,” 449.

¹⁴⁸ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

¹⁴⁹ Janyce McGregor, “Justin Trudeau’s 5 female ‘ministers of state’ are full ministers after all,” *CBC*, November 6, 2015, accessed March 1, 2018, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/justin-trudeau-cabinet-fine-print-women-junior-ministers-1.3307122>.

¹⁵⁰ “Our Team,” *Conservative Party of Canada*, accessed March 8, 2018, <https://www.conservative.ca/team/#minister>.

Brenda O'Neill and David K. Stewart also find that women party leaders in Canada, at both the provincial and federal level, are given shorter tenures than their male counterparts¹⁵¹ and less opportunities for a “second chance” where they can continue to lead their party for another election after a loss.¹⁵² An example of this can be seen with the NDP, where former leader Jack Layton was able to serve as leader for eight years, and run in four elections without forming government once.¹⁵³ Whereas as former NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin, was replaced after one election loss¹⁵⁴ and her successor Alexa McDonough was replaced after two election losses.¹⁵⁵ While Ms. McDonough was granted a “second chance”, former leader Jack Layton was allowed to run in twice the amount of elections, even though he was unsuccessful in all four attempts. Likewise, former Conservative leader Rona Ambrose was chosen to only lead her party on an interim basis, prior to the party selecting current Leader of the Official Opposition Mr. Scheer as its new leader, who will also be leading the party in the next election. This demonstrates that even within parties and at the most senior levels, women tend to be disadvantaged. Parties’ failure to appoint or select women at senior levels and top positions demonstrates their reluctance in accepting gender parity. Moreover, such positions are granted by parties and leaders themselves, thus the actions being taken are solely dependent upon them. While parties and leaders are not the only factors influencing the lack of gender parity, many of which will be

¹⁵¹ O'Neill and Stewart, “Gender and Political Party,” 737.

¹⁵² O'Neill and Stewart, “Gender and Political Party,” 752-753.

¹⁵³ “The Honourable Jack Layton,” *Parliament of Canada*, accessed March 8, 2018, [https://www.ourcommons.ca/Parliamentarians/en/members/Jack-Layton\(554\)/Roles](https://www.ourcommons.ca/Parliamentarians/en/members/Jack-Layton(554)/Roles).

¹⁵⁴ “The Hon. Audrey Marlene McLaughlin, O.C., P.C.,” *Library of Parliament*, accessed March 8, 2018, https://lop.parl.ca/sites/ParlInfo/default/en_CA/People/Profile?personId=2254.

¹⁵⁵ “Alexa McDonough,” *Parliament of Canada*, accessed March 8, 2018, [http://www.ourcommons.ca/Parliamentarians/en/members/Alexa-McDonough\(66\)/Roles](http://www.ourcommons.ca/Parliamentarians/en/members/Alexa-McDonough(66)/Roles).

discussed further on in the thesis, their role cannot be ignored and must be addressed in order to gain a complete understanding of political gender parity. The steps taken, or not taken, by them must be acknowledged in order to get a fair picture of the issue. Evidently, they are not without blame in terms of gender discrepancy.

After reviewing the arguments in this chapter, one can better understand the role and influence of political parties and leaders in the perpetuating of gender disparity in Parliament. The reader is first provided with a pattern of female candidacy and electoral success section which provides context and lays down the framework of the results from the 2015 election. This displays the geographic and party patterns of women's success across the country. It also highlights the urban and rural differences in ridings throughout Canada. The chapter then proceeds to make the argument that political parties and leaders are one of the systemic factors contributing to the lack of women's representation in the House. This is done by demonstrating the lack of attention and mindfulness given to the issue of parity. Next, the lack of political will and inaction on their part is illustrated as adding to the issue. The chapter then argues that the nomination process itself within parties creates a disadvantage for the election of more women candidates, and ultimately MPs. Finally, the chapter contends that male MPs and leaders have had more success within parties, due to promotions and length of tenure, as opposed to their female counterparts. These arguments exemplify the role leaders and parties play in hindering the successes of women in federal politics. While this is not the only factor affecting gender parity, it is important to include within the thesis as the influence and impact of these entities should not be underestimated. Parties and leaders have exhibited their effect on the prospects of women MPs in a tangible way and how they can improve on these impediments will be addressed later in the paper.

Chapter III

The Electoral System

This chapter will explain how the electoral system is another systemic issue contributing to the lack of gender parity in Canada. Along with other factors that have already been (or will be) discussed, it must be noted that the electoral system is one of many aspects included within the issue of parity.¹⁵⁶ As mentioned earlier in the paper, it is important to remember that Canada currently uses a single-member plurality system (SMP or SMDP), also known as first-past-the-post (FPTP), in its elections to select MPs from all 338 constituencies.¹⁵⁷ The chapter will begin by explaining the challenges and issues within the FPTP system and how it does not result in equal representation based on voters' choice. The chapter will then demonstrate how Canada's electoral system hinders on the election of women MPs. Next, the chapter will argue how the FPTP system consists of less women, in comparison to other electoral systems. In the second section, this chapter will bring up the notion of incumbency advantage and explain how it is a contributing factor to the lack of women in Canadian Parliament. It will also illustrate the advantages obtained by incumbent MPs in attaining re-election. The paper will then conclude by arguing how political parties themselves also protect incumbent MPs, which negatively affects the electoral chances of women. Prior to reading, it should also be noted that readers may notice

¹⁵⁶ Virgint, "Electoral Systems," 1, 3, 9. Wicks and Lang-Dion, "Women in Politics," 35.

¹⁵⁷ Virgint, "Electoral Systems," 4. Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 299. Cheng and Tavits, "Informal Influences," 463.

this specific chapter may not have as much material from interview respondents, as compared to the other chapters within this thesis. This is due to the fact that the issue regarding the electoral system is quite controversial and many respondents preferred to not address this specific issue. Thus, from an ethical standpoint, I found it important to respect their wishes and not delve too much into the issue in regards to particular interviews. Consequently, readers may notice this section contains more academic material than interviews.

In order to adequately understand the electoral system's effects on gender parity, one must first understand the issues within the electoral system itself. These issues pertain to the concept of representation as a whole and how Canada's first-past-the-post system embodies certain imperfect traits. One of the issues with FPTP is that election results, within this system, are not an accurate reflection of the choice of all voters. According to John L. Hiemstra and Harold J. Jansen, "Canada's plurality electoral system repeatedly fails to deliver just and equitable representation."¹⁵⁸ This can be attributed to the fact that it "becomes a zero-sum game in which only one contestant can win"¹⁵⁹ and is thus responsible for "weakening representative democracy."¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, "Canada's SMP electoral system offers voters no intraparty options during the general election,"¹⁶¹ which demonstrates that Canadian voters are forced to make one definitive choice when selecting candidates and leaders. Thus, Canadians must vote on one singular interest as opposed to voting on their multiple interests, since their decisions are limited.

¹⁵⁸ Hiemstra and Jansen, "Getting What You Vote For," 224.

¹⁵⁹ Donley T. Studlar and Richard E. Matland, "The Growth of Women's Representation in the Canadian House of Commons and the Election of 1984: A Reappraisal," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 27, no. 1 (March 1994): 54.

¹⁶⁰ Hiemstra and Jansen, "Getting What You Vote For," 231.

¹⁶¹ Pruyzers and Cross, "Candidate Selection in Canada," 782.

FPTP also illustrates how the definitive nature of the electoral system results in the exclusion of a large portion of voters, given that there is only one winner. Another consequence of FPTP is that it can result in a “false majority” where the number of votes casted are not reflective in the number of seats won.¹⁶² For example, in 2015, Prime Minister Trudeau’s Liberals won only 39.5 percent of the popular vote, yet still received 54.4 percent of the seats in Parliament.¹⁶³ A similar phenomenon occurred in 2011 where the Conservatives won 39.6 percent of the popular vote but held 53.9 percent of the seats in the House.¹⁶⁴ This illustrates that although no party received a majority of the vote, they still won a majority government by capturing over 50 percent of the seats in the House of Commons. Thus, resulting in skewed outcomes from a representational standpoint. In addition, Andrew Heard writes that the last time a government won over 50 percent of the vote and held 50 percent of the seats was in 1984.¹⁶⁵ These attributes of FPTP illustrate how there are a number of issues, in regards to representation, with the current electoral system. Not only are individual candidates elected with a minority share of votes, but as mentioned above, multiple majority governments have also been formed without a majority of votes from Canadians. Moreover, those who did not vote for a winning candidate or party do not have their views represented in Parliament. Additionally, as Tremblay and Pelletier (2001) write, voters are not offered “a broad range of candidacies in terms of gender.”¹⁶⁶ One can therefore see

¹⁶² Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 300. Andrew Heard, “Reform of the Electoral System,” *Simon Fraser University*, December 5, 2016, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://www.sfu.ca/~aheard/elections/reform.html>.

¹⁶³ Andrew Heard, “Canadian Election Results by Party 1867 to 2015,” *Simon Fraser University*, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://www.sfu.ca/~aheard/elections/1867-present.html>.

¹⁶⁴ Heard, “Canadian Election,” *Simon Fraser University*.

¹⁶⁵ Heard, “Reform of the Electoral System,” *Simon Fraser University*.

¹⁶⁶ Tremblay and Pelletier, “More Women Constituency Party Presidents,” 160.

that Canada's electoral system is not representative in absolute terms, from the perspective of voters, as their choices are not always reflected. These arguments also exemplify that prior to examining the effects of FPTP on gender parity, the unrepresentative nature of the electoral system itself must be understood.

One of the ways the FPTP electoral system affects gender parity is that it impedes on the election of women to Parliament. According to Erin Virgint, the electoral system, which has a "winner-takes-all nature"¹⁶⁷ can be seen as "the primary factor influencing the electoral prospects of women."¹⁶⁸ Virgint also writes that the Law Commission of Canada found that Canada's electoral system specifically "contributes to the under-representation of women"¹⁶⁹ which presents "challenges to women candidates seeking to win seats."¹⁷⁰ Similarly, Julie Cool argues that Canada's election system, "discourage[s] the election of women,"¹⁷¹ a notion also supported by Dr. Heather MacIvor.¹⁷² Furthermore, Pruyers and Cross find Canada's FPTP system to be a "significant barrier" in the representation of women,¹⁷³ while Studlar and Matland (1994) describe it "as a major hinderance."¹⁷⁴ These scholars validate how Canada's electoral system has a direct impact on the lack of gender parity. By negatively affecting the prospects of women

¹⁶⁷ Virgint, "Electoral Systems," 3.

¹⁶⁸ Virgint, "Electoral Systems," 3.

¹⁶⁹ Virgint, "Electoral Systems," 2.

¹⁷⁰ Virgint, "Electoral Systems," 4.

¹⁷¹ Cool, "Women in Parliament," 5.

¹⁷² MacIvor, "Proportional and Semi-Proportional Electoral Systems," 8, 11.

¹⁷³ Pruyers and Cross, "Candidate Selection in Canada," 792.

¹⁷⁴ Studlar and Matland, "The Growth of Women's," 54.

from achieving higher public office, the electoral system and its various functionalities are responsible in perpetuating the gender gap between male and female Parliamentarians. Cheng and Tavits also find FPTP to be “less favourable to female politicians”¹⁷⁵ and discuss how its “zero-sum” nature prevents the nomination of a women if a male candidate is selected.¹⁷⁶ While acknowledging that “no electoral system is perfect,”¹⁷⁷ FPTP has demonstrated its ability in preventing the election of women to the House. The “winner-takes-all” or “zero-sum” nature of the system can produce results where hypothetically, if one male candidate were to win over two women candidates (even with only one extra vote), the majority of electors who chose female candidates are unreflective in the final results. In other words, if a male candidate were to only receive 40 percent of the vote, the 60 percent of citizens who voted for the other two women candidates, would not have their choices represented. Thus, due to the lack of a need for a 50 percent majority to declare a winner, distributed votes from a statistical standpoint, are rendered null under FPTP. Additionally, as mentioned by Cheng and Tavits above, if a female candidate is selected, “there is no possibility of nominating a man and vice versa.”¹⁷⁸ Hence, the finite results under FPTP restrict the ability of women in Parliament, as the choice of those voters who may overwhelmingly vote for a variety of female candidates are unrepresented. By directly discouraging and hampering the chances of female politicians, the role of the electoral system in supporting the gender gap should not go unrecognized. While the electoral system may not be a living, breathing entity, its inherent characteristics and their influence on election results, support

¹⁷⁵ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 468.

¹⁷⁶ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 463.

¹⁷⁷ MacIvor, “Proportional and Semi-Proportional Electoral Systems,” 3.

¹⁷⁸ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 463.

the notion that FPTP is in part responsible for gender disparity. By producing results more favourable to male Parliamentarians, Canada's electoral system is not immune from its role in contributing to the gender gap. Moreover, FPTP's restrictive nature for female Parliamentarians allows male candidates to flourish during elections. Although this should not be seen as a personal criticism of the electoral system, the number of seats and female MPs from a numerical standpoint cannot be ignored.

Another way the electoral system is unfavourable towards gender parity, is due to the lack of female MPs in FPTP systems. According to Erin Virgint, the majority of top ten countries with the highest number of women in their parliaments/legislatures do not use a FPTP system¹⁷⁹ and women running in countries using a FPTP electoral system “won on average only 14% of seats contested.”¹⁸⁰ Additionally, FPTP systems further inhibit women's representation as “gender quotas are more difficult to mandate and enforce.”¹⁸¹ This demonstrates that the Canadian electoral system fairs far worse in gender representation than others. Such a notion is also supported by Matland and Studlar (1996), who found that countries using FPTP, such as Canada, have less women in their legislatures than those using PR,¹⁸² due to “a microcontagion effect.”¹⁸³ The lack of female MPs under Canada's election system is also argued by Cheng and Tavits.¹⁸⁴ These arguments support the contention that Canada's electoral system is lagging in its

¹⁷⁹ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 2.

¹⁸⁰ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 4.

¹⁸¹ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 4.

¹⁸² Matland and Studlar, “Contagion,” 707, 709-710.

¹⁸³ Matland and Studlar, “Contagion,” 729.

¹⁸⁴ Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 463.

promotion of female Parliamentarians. It also supports the main argument that in comparison to other systems, Canada's FPTP model does not result in a high number of women MPs nor does FPTP produce substantial results in other nations. The inadequate results from FPTP further highlight the issues with the current electoral system and its restrictiveness of increasing the number of women MPs. Moreover, while "PR systems produce more women in parliament than plurality systems,"¹⁸⁵ a FPTP system creates "a zero-sum game where only one sex can be represented in each district."¹⁸⁶ Former MP Malhi, also agrees that nations with different electoral systems produce higher results of female MPs.¹⁸⁷ This illustrates that Canada's current electoral system disadvantages the chances of more women in Parliament. Not only does the current system discourage the election of women, as previously mentioned, but in comparison to nations with other systems, Canada's lack of gender parity is evident. While other systems do have their respective flaws, such as PR systems having a two-tiered system of "second class MPs"¹⁸⁸, Canada's current number of female MPs still seems worse off compared to PR systems.¹⁸⁹ Thus, when directly comparing and contrasting the various systems of elections, Canada's FPTP entails consequences on parity. Based on global results, FPTP does not produce high levels of women in legislatures nor does it proactively support women candidates.

¹⁸⁵ Caul, "Women's Representation in Parliament," 84.

¹⁸⁶ Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, "The Incumbency Disadvantage and Women's Election to Legislative Office," *Electoral Studies* 24, (2005): 232.

¹⁸⁷ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

¹⁸⁸ Manon Tremblay, "Women's Political Representation: Does the Electoral System Matter?," *Political Science* 57, no. 1, (June 2005): 59, 64, 75, 73.

¹⁸⁹ Tremblay, "Women's Political Representation," 71.

Evidently, the unintended consequences of the electoral system prove detrimental in the likelihood of more female MPs.

Incumbency

An additional factor contributing to the lack of gender parity in Parliament is the notion of incumbency advantage. Furthermore, it can be argued that the high rates of male incumbency hurt the chances of electing more female MPs in the House. Based on the results of the 2015 election, which can be seen in Table 1, 124 out of 338 members were incumbents. Additionally, out of the 124 incumbents, 96 (or 77 percent) were men.¹⁹⁰ This demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of incumbents who were re-elected were men. These numbers support the argument of Wicks and Lang-Dion (2007) that incumbency is “a barrier to women,”¹⁹¹ a point also supported by Schwindt-Bayer (2005), who found it to be an obstacle.¹⁹² These results also have “a negative impact on the probability” of female candidacies,¹⁹³ as the high number of male MPs, prevents the election and likelihood of more women entering Parliament. This is due to the fact that women would have a lower chance of defeating current male incumbents, limiting their ability to enter the political arena,¹⁹⁴ as well as the fact that many incumbents tend to run

¹⁹⁰ “42nd General Election,” *Parliament of Canada*. “Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date,” *Library of Parliament*. “PARLINFO – Ridings,” *Library of Parliament*.

¹⁹¹ Wicks and Lang-Dion, “Equal Voice,” 37.

¹⁹² Schwindt-Bayer, “The Incumbency Disadvantage,” 229, 236, 240-241.

¹⁹³ Studlar and Matland, “The Growth of Women’s,” 65.

¹⁹⁴ Schwindt-Bayer, “The Incumbency Disadvantage,” 227-228.

for re-election.¹⁹⁵ By continuously returning to run, it has been found that women have a harder time winning their riding,¹⁹⁶ a phenomenon not limited by urban or rural characteristics.¹⁹⁷

These points show that by a majority of MPs being men, who have a higher tendency of running for re-election, incumbency is hindering the opportunity of achieving parity. A point attributed to the fact that non-incumbent women have a harder time winning. Furthermore, as mentioned above, this hurdle is standing in the way of new candidates (primarily women) from entering politics and gaining a higher probability of being elected. If male MPs continue to occupy seats and run for multiple terms, the progression of women entering Parliament will continue to be slow and sluggish. While the tendencies of incumbents getting re-elected will be discussed in the succeeding paragraph, the results and makeup of the House of Commons, after the 2015 election, display a slanted advantage in favor for male MPs. It is also a factor in deteriorating the chances of women representatives. This imbalance cannot therefore be examined without acknowledging the role of incumbency.

The argument of incumbents having an advantage in getting re-elected is also one that should be considered. According to The Honourable Dr. Hedy Fry, (who along with being the longest serving female MP in Canadian history, also defeated a sitting Prime Minister for her seat in 1993,¹⁹⁸) “challenging an incumbent is tough” and incumbents do in fact “have tendencies to be re-elected and have many benefits.”¹⁹⁹ This argument is also supported by MP Pam

¹⁹⁵ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

¹⁹⁶ Louise Carbert, “Viewing Women’s Political Leadership,” 143.

¹⁹⁷ Louise Carbert, “Viewing Women’s Political Leadership,” 141.

¹⁹⁸ “The Hon. Hedy Fry,” *Library of Parliament*.

¹⁹⁹ Dr. Fry Interview.

Damoff, who also serves as vice-chair for the Standing Committee on the Status of Women,²⁰⁰ and MP O’Connell.²⁰¹ Furthermore, it should be noted that certain incumbents are ministers and that while beating them is not impossible, it can be daunting according to Representative 83, who defeated an incumbent.²⁰² Additionally, MP Goldsmith-Jones, who ran against a sitting Cabinet Minister also agrees that incumbents do have an advantage in their re-election bids.²⁰³ It is also worth noting that MP Kate Young explained how although she was successful in her bid, running against an incumbent Cabinet Minister initially made her think twice.²⁰⁴ These arguments by current Members of Parliament are also supported by the work of Kendall and Rekkas who found that incumbents in Parliament have “a 9.4- 11.2% increased probability of winning over non-incumbents.”²⁰⁵ This advantage is also not limited to incumbents from governing parties and is a general advantage shared by incumbent MPs.²⁰⁶ Former MP Malhi, who was re-elected five times, not only supports this idea but argues this advantage can be attributed to benefits such as name recognition, political and campaign experience, the ability to fundraise, professional connections and even gaining the endorsement of local and national leaders and celebrities.²⁰⁷ Such points are supported by Alex Marland, who also found advantages due to personal

²⁰⁰ Pam Damoff in discussion with the author, March 8, 2018.

²⁰¹ Jennifer O’Connell in discussion with the author, March 15, 2018.

²⁰² Representative 83 Interview.

²⁰³ Pamela Goldsmith-Jones in discussion with the author, March 8, 2018.

²⁰⁴ Kate Young in discussion with the author, March 13, 2018.

²⁰⁵ Kendall and Rekkas, “Incumbency Advantages,” 1560.

²⁰⁶ Kendall and Rekkas, “Incumbency Advantages,” 1560, 1572, 1573, 1576, 1585.

²⁰⁷ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

voting.²⁰⁸ Also, it should not be ignored that once elected, incumbents are hard to defeat,²⁰⁹ thus allowing them to sustain their longevity in office. A feat which can be attributed to the fact that Canadians are more willing to support their incumbent Member of Parliament.²¹⁰ It is therefore safe to contend that sitting MPs, have a significant advantage in being re-elected and maintaining their stature in office. Additionally, new office seekers are in a clear uphill battle when attempting to run against incumbent officeholders and the ability of women candidates to transform their campaign into electoral success is made difficult when challenging an incumbent. Consequently, the main conclusion to understand is that if sitting Members have a higher probability of being re-elected, and the majority of incumbent MPs are men, the cycle of incumbency will continue to benefit male MPs. Furthermore, the pattern of incumbency will continue to disadvantage women MPs because while incumbency benefits both men and women incumbents, the rate of male MPs is much higher, thus further sustaining their chances of re-election. In conclusion, unless there is a dramatic shift in the number of male MPs losing, the process of achieving parity and closing the gender gap will be slow and incremental.

Lastly, it can be argued that political parties also tend to favor incumbents, thus allowing incumbency to remain a disadvantage for women. As stated by former MP Malhi, parties tend to favor incumbent MPs due to their “proven track record in getting elected.”²¹¹ Subsequently, Representative 72 argues that incumbency during the nomination process tends to be difficult for

²⁰⁸ Marland, “The Electoral Benefits.” 34-35.

²⁰⁹ Studlar and Matland, “The Growth of Women’s,” 54.

²¹⁰ Bruce Anderson and David Coletto, “Politics Anyone?,” *Abacus Data*, December 9, 2014, accessed April 2, 2018, <http://abacusdata.ca/politics-anyone-who-would-run-for-office-in-canada/>.

²¹¹ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

non-incumbents to overcome.²¹² Studlar and Matland (1994) also found that “a party nominee being an incumbent had a significant negative effect on the probability that the candidate was a woman,”²¹³ while Pruyzers and Cross state that parties tend to protect their incumbents from nominations.²¹⁴ Pruyzers and Cross also write that “[p]arties have an incentive to protect incumbents because they are tested campaigners, have greater name recognition, and tend to have cultivated a local base of support.”²¹⁵ Thus, the advantages held by incumbents prove helpful in both nominations and general elections. Furthermore, while the preceding chapter in this paper had discussed how the nomination process tends to hurt the chances of women in Parliament, the incumbency aspect can now be attributed to this issue as well. The disadvantages inflicting women through incumbency are also prevalent through the remarks of Representative 33 who states that parties will always protect incumbents, as long as they do not have any major issues or controversies.²¹⁶ This illustrates that for women wanting to enter politics, running for their party of choice does not necessarily guarantee a successful outcome. Prior to running in the general election, women candidates must first win their party’s respective nomination, whose assurance has now been proven to be unreliable, based on the current occupant. Unlike a primary system in the United States, it has been shown that Canadian incumbent MPs have a much more secured path to running in a general election. By not being able to challenge the majority of sitting MPs, first time women candidates are shutout of the political process. Moreover, the

²¹² Representative 72 Interview.

²¹³ Studlar and Matland, “The Growth of Women’s,” 68.

²¹⁴ Pruyzers and Cross, “Candidate Selection in Canada,” 788, 789.

²¹⁵ Pruyzers and Cross, “Candidate Selection in Canada,” 790.

²¹⁶ Representative 33 Interview.

points above show that not only do women have a harder time getting elected to Parliament during a general election, but they also face challenges entering the first stages of public office as incumbency restricts them even within their own parties.

Upon reviewing the arguments presented in this chapter, one is able to better understand how the electoral system affects the underrepresentation of women in Canadian Parliament. This demonstrates how the electoral system and as an extension, incumbency, works against women in achieving parliamentary gender parity. Through its unrepresentative nature as an electoral system, FPTP has exemplified how it does not produce the exact will of all voters. It has also demonstrated how FPTP produces challenges for increasing the number of female MPs in Canada. This chapter has also presented arguments for the notion that FPTP produces lower numbers of female officeholders in comparison to other electoral systems. The notion of incumbency and its disadvantages towards electing more women in Parliament were also addressed. By the large number of male MPs and an increased probability of being re-elected, incumbency has proven to hurt the chances of more women legislators. In addition, parties' preference to protect incumbents exemplifies how women are left out of the political arena in both general and internal election workings. These points may lead one to question how more women will be able to overcome a cyclical pattern of being disadvantaged both systemically and politically.

Chapter IV

The Role of the Media

This chapter will argue how another factor contributing to gender disparity in the House of Commons is the role of the media. While other factors have been discussed in previous chapters, this chapter will specifically look at the influence of the media within the confines of the overall issues with parity. This chapter will begin by arguing how the media perpetuates the issue by demonstrating favoritism towards men in Parliament. It will then explain how the media lacks in adequately covering female MPs/candidates. Next, the chapter will argue how coverage of Canadian women in federal politics tends to criticize and focus on personal issues over policy. Finally, this chapter will address the issues and impact of social media on gender parity.

In relation to the role of the media, one of the issues perpetuating gender disparity can be attributed to the media's favoritism towards male MPs and candidates. To support this notion, scholars Elisabeth Gidengil and Joanna Everitt have found the existence of gender biases within the political reporting of female political candidates.²¹⁷ They have also determined that "the gendered nature of news coverage" has existed within multiple elections,²¹⁸ which have fed into the idea "that politics is a man's game."²¹⁹ The authors have also illustrated that within multiple federal elections, "the debates are framed in stereotypically masculine ways as battles, sporting

²¹⁷ Gidengil and Everitt, "Conventional Coverage," 574.

²¹⁸ Gidengil and Everitt, "Conventional Coverage," 559.

²¹⁹ Gidengil and Everitt, "Conventional Coverage," 574.

events or backstreet brawls”²²⁰ which makes clear “that the coverage focuses disproportionately on combative displays of behaviour by female party leaders, but tends to ignore the women when they adopt a more low-key style.”²²¹ These help in supporting the stereotypical imagery where television coverage endures a “masculine narrative.”²²² The authors have demonstrated that these implications present the fact that media and politics is continuously reinforced through a masculine narrative where stereotypes continue to flourish. Not only is this coverage limited to local women candidates but is on full display at the national level as well. From this, one can argue that the indirect biases and viewpoints of female federal leaders can be projected onto local female candidates. Thus, one can contend that by viewing female leaders through a particular lens, certain perceptions and viewpoints attach onto the general female candidates. This can attribute negative generalizations onto the majority of female candidates. This type of one-sided coverage also reinforces the view that political coverage is male dominated.²²³ The concept of the media being male dominated is also supported by former Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps and MP Young, who both worked in the news industry prior to being elected.²²⁴ In fact, The Honourable Sheila Copps (who was previously a journalist), believes that one does not need to look beyond the press gallery on Parliament Hill in order to see that “most of the heads of

²²⁰ Gidengil and Everitt, “Conventional Coverage,” 561.

²²¹ Gidengil and Everitt, “Conventional Coverage,” 561.

²²² Gidengil and Everitt, “Conventional Coverage,” 572.

²²³ Wicks and Lang-Dion, “Women in Politics,” 34.

²²⁴ Sheila Copps Interview. Kate Young Interview.

editorial teams, who influence public policy, are men.”²²⁵ Ms. Copps also states that while gender proportionality has improved in the media, the industry still remains male centered.²²⁶ In effect, one should then not be surprised as to why certain coverage tends to favor male Parliamentarians over female ones. With men dominating both the profession of politics (which will be discussed in detail later in the paper) and media, the inclination to cover men and women differently is not unforeseen. Evidently, from the actions of some in the media, women Parliamentarians are treated differently and portrayed in larger part as not belonging within the profession of politics. While this is not a generalization of every media outlet or journalist, the arguments found by scholars and viewpoints of those within the profession should not be brushed aside. These portrayals can also be argued to have an effect on how voters view female candidates based on certain narratives.

Another way in which the media assists in the underrepresentation of women is through the type and lack of coverage they give to women candidates and Parliamentarians. Through the works of Kim Fridkin Kahn, it is noted that women running for office receive less coverage than men and the little coverage they do receive tends to be more negative.²²⁷ While such works may be in relation to US coverage, many interview respondents have also found this to be true. According to current MP and former news anchor Kate Young, at times “just getting your message across can be a challenge.”²²⁸ These sentiments are also relayed by Representative 46

²²⁵ Sheila Copps Interview.

²²⁶ Sheila Copps Interview.

²²⁷ Kahn, “Press Coverage,” 164-165, 163.

²²⁸ Kate Young Interview.

who says “the media only wants to talk to you (women) when something negative is going on and they are not there to help you get your message across.”²²⁹ Representative 46 later goes on to say that “if you get any attention, that’s great, but you can’t rely on them to get your policy views out there,”²³⁰ while Representative 49 states that the work of female MPs is not shown enough.²³¹ Representative 67 also spoke of the difficulties in gaining coverage and stated that in their nomination race, “the media kept saying it was a two person race, even though I was running as well. For some reason, I was not seen as a viable candidate.”²³² Former Deputy Prime Minister Copps also agrees that coverage for female candidates is much harder to receive.²³³ These experiences validate the point that female candidates and Parliamentarians have a much harder time gaining appropriate media coverage for themselves. Not only do women officeholders and candidates have a difficult time attempting to get their message across but are at times written off or excluded from the overall debate. In addition to not being given adequate coverage, they are not being done any favors in trying to relay their policy message or platforms. Moreover, while not being covered or widely written upon, female candidates face an unfair advantage in comparison to their male counterparts. These contrasting exposures place women on an unequal footing and playing field in the political arena. Not only is the substantive aspect of women being ignored, but their portrayal to a wider audience is proven to be negative or non-existent. In no fault of their own, are women candidates unfortunately being denied a fair

²²⁹ Representative 46 Interview.

²³⁰ Representative 46 Interview.

²³¹ Representative 49 Interview.

²³² Representative 67 in discussion with the author, 2018.

²³³ Sheila Copps Interview.

opportunity to communicate their ideas to their prospective constituents and voters.

Consequently, to some extent, politics can be argued to be a popularity contest and by not granting women equal attention in the press, it is a contest which tends to favor men.

Another argument which can be made for the influence of the media is its personal criticisms and coverage of women candidates as opposed to policy issues. This pertains to the personal versus policy aspect of the press' coverage. While Dunaway, Lawrence, Rose and Weber found that women candidates in the US tend to generate more personal coverage and criticism over policy issues in the press,²³⁴ this narrative can be applied to the Canadian example as well. According to Gidengil and Everitt, in the case of a female party leader trying to speak up, the media "tend[s] to exaggerate her aggressive behavior"²³⁵ and the leader appears "too aggressive."²³⁶ This point is also asserted by Representative 19 who agrees that when women candidates speak up or take charge there is a double-standard.²³⁷ Furthermore, Manon Tremblay (2003) finds that the coverage of female MPs by some Canadian outlets is "sexist in the way they treat women"²³⁸ where the focus tends to be "more on their ability to balance family and politics than on their ideas."²³⁹ He also writes "that the media are more sceptical of the competency of women in politics, which undermines their credibility in the public's mind."²⁴⁰ This cynicism is

²³⁴ Dunaway et al., "Traits versus Issues," 720, 715, 716.

²³⁵ Gidengil and Everitt, "Conventional Coverage," 574.

²³⁶ Gidengil and Everitt, "Conventional Coverage," 574.

²³⁷ Representative 19 Interview.

²³⁸ Tremblay, "Women's Representational Role," 230.

²³⁹ Tremblay, "Women's Representational Role," 231.

²⁴⁰ Tremblay, "Women's Representational Role," 231.

also supported by Representative 98 who said “I doubt if a male Minister’s spouse gave birth, he would be judged on his role as a father or husband.”²⁴¹ These points exemplify the difference in nature of coverage received by women MPs and the various lenses used to criticize them. While politicians are criticized and held accountable for their ideas and actions, it has been demonstrated that female MPs are judged on their personal lives as well. Whether it has been for their family responsibilities or attitudes in public spheres, the coverage garnered by women in Canadian federal politics has been unfairly received. Additionally, scholars Brenda O’Neill and David K. Stewart have written about how female Parliamentarians “seem to be treated much more harshly by the media and are much more susceptible to ‘scapegoating’ than their male counterparts.”²⁴² According to Representative 39, much of the “focus is placed on appearance rather than substance or words.”²⁴³ Representative 72 also believes “there is a lot of inherent or unconscious sexism that comes out...where men are asked about policy and women are asked how they are balancing their family life.”²⁴⁴ On a personal level, Representative 19 noted how at a community event, a local reporter spoke about “how fat my colleague is”²⁴⁵ and says “men are never judged on their appearance, what clothes they wear or if their hair is appropriate.”²⁴⁶ Representative 24 also blatantly states that sometimes “the media just makes stuff up.”²⁴⁷ These points attest to the argument that the media is not free from responsibility in enabling issues of

²⁴¹ Representative 98 Interview.

²⁴² O’Neill and Stewart, “Gender and Political Party,” 753.

²⁴³ Representative 39 in discussion with the author, 2018.

²⁴⁴ Representative 72 Interview.

²⁴⁵ Representative 19 Interview.

²⁴⁶ Representative 19 Interview.

²⁴⁷ Representative 24 Interview.

gender disparity. By criticizing appearance and family facets, certain media entities have demonstrated an obvious bias in their unjust treatment of female MPs. This coverage, or lack of, on policy also supports the idea of prejudicial treatment. As mentioned above, not only does this undermine the credibility of female MPs but the remnants of how far and substantial such actions affect the reputation of members should also be considered. Through the constant portrayal of women in a more demeaning light, the public opinion of women's role in politics is constantly hard-pressed. Instead of providing fair and equal treatment to both men and women MPs, the actions of certain media outlets/personalities further feed the false narrative that women do not belong to such a profession. Consequently, the role of the media makes it difficult for more women to get elected.

The final aspect in relation to the media that should be addressed is the role of social media. This idea is one which came up repeatedly throughout the various interviews, and I felt it necessary to briefly touch upon it. MP Goldsmith-Jones states that at times she finds “social media more worrying than traditional media as careers can be ruined when people consider a sentence more important than an entire article.”²⁴⁸ Additionally, Representative 72 believes the “stuff said on social media is so vicious and makes women wonder why they would want to subjugate themselves to this type of behaviour.”²⁴⁹ An example of social media's negative side was demonstrated when the Minister of Environment and Climate Change, Catherine McKenna, was referred to as “climate Barbie” by a particular media outlet as well as a current Member of

²⁴⁸ Goldsmith-Jones Interview.

²⁴⁹ Representative 72 Interview.

Parliament.²⁵⁰ Thus, the role of social media openly displays the blatant sexism and harsh derogatory tones against female Parliamentarians. Furthermore, as some MPs have said, it allows certain individuals to make false statements and hide behind a screen without any repercussions.²⁵¹ It also pushes untrue narratives and statements against public officeholders without any evidence or legitimacy. Such actions go far beyond attacking one's credibility and is an obvious display of bullying and callous behaviour. While social media cannot be attributed to a single entity or face, its role in pushing certain disparaging dialogues attributes to the issues of gender parity. False criticisms displayed on these platforms therefore share a hand in perceiving women as not suitable to hold office. This can also affect the reason for certain women wanting to enter politics, which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

After reading the arguments above, it can be seen what role the media plays in the lack of gender parity in Parliament. First, the media's display of favoritism towards male legislators in federal office unfairly treats women officeholders and office seekers. Second, women in federal politics are not granted equal and fair coverage compared to their male colleagues. Third, media outlets are unfairly critical of women and focus on personal, not policy, elements. Finally, social media has proven to also unfairly treat both women candidates and those in office. With multiple factors constraining the prospects of gender parity, further issues regarding the constrains of politics itself will be discussed in the next chapter.

²⁵⁰ The Canadian Press, "Environment Minister Catherine McKenna's 'climate Barbie' exchange with Rebel reporter draws strong reactions," *Toronto Star*, November 5, 2017, accessed April 2, 2018, <https://www.thestar.com/news/canada/2017/11/05/environment-minister-catherine-mckennas-climate-barbie-exchange-with-rebel-reporter-draws-strong-reactions.html>. Representative 46 Interview.

²⁵¹ Representative 83 Interview.

Chapter V

The Profession

This chapter will argue how the profession of politics itself impacts the lack of gender parity in Parliament. It will explain how the lifestyle and occupation of MPs can be seen as a deterrent for women to enter the political arena. It will begin by describing the schedule of MPs and how demanding the life of a Member of Parliament can be. Next, the chapter will argue how the job of an MP, and all it entails, can serve as a barrier to women deciding to enter public life. The chapter will then illustrate how being an MP can be challenging on one's personal life due to a lack of maternity leave, childcare services and high divorce rates, which further discourages women from entering federal politics. The chapter will also argue how the male dominated and "old boys' club" characteristics of the job affect gender parity. The argument that women do not select themselves as candidates and their decision to not run will also be discussed. Finally, the chapter will examine how many women may choose instead to run for other public offices, outside of federal politics, such as city council. The chapter will then conclude with a summary of the findings.

One of the ways the profession of politics can be seen as a deterrent for women is due to the nature of the lifestyle itself. This includes the schedule, travel and responsibilities of being a Member of Parliament. Prior to the argument that the lifestyle of Parliamentarians contributes to the lack of gender parity, it is important to first understand the nature of the job Members of Parliament have. While some voters may be aware that they elect their MPs to represent them in the nation's capital, the day-to-day workings of Parliamentarians may not be as well known.

According to former MP Malhi, “Members spend four to five days a week, usually Monday to Thursday, in Ottawa before coming back home, however, once in Ottawa, they have a full schedule.”²⁵² This is also currently the case according to MP Fry, MP Lambropoulos, MP O’Connell and MP Young.²⁵³ While official parliamentary business typically begins at 10:00 am and lasts until 6:30 pm,²⁵⁴ MPs also have to be present for adjournment proceedings, also known as “late show” which can go until 7:00 pm.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, MPs usually take morning meetings in their Hill offices prior to official house business and are also required to attend certain functions and/or receptions late in the evening.²⁵⁶ Additionally, MPs might also be required to “participate in marathon voting which can extend for over 20 hours.”²⁵⁷ Once back in their ridings, MPs usually engage in constituency office hours on Fridays and attend a number of events in their ridings on weekends.²⁵⁸ According to former MP Malhi, while in office, he “would attend an upwards of 500 community events a year.”²⁵⁹ Furthermore, it should be noted that the schedule and demands of Cabinet Ministers are not included within these examples, although they are known to be more demanding.²⁶⁰ The schedule and demands of the office

²⁵² Gurbax Malhi Interview.

²⁵³ Dr. Fry Interview. Emmanuella Lambropoulos Interview. Jennifer O’Connell Interview. Kate Young Interview.

²⁵⁴ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 590-591.

²⁵⁵ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 592.

²⁵⁶ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

²⁵⁷ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

²⁵⁸ Gurbax Malhi Interview. Sheila Copps Interview. Emmanuella Lambropoulos Interview. Representative 83 Interview.

²⁵⁹ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

²⁶⁰ Goldsmith-Jones Interview. Sheila Copps Interview. Gurbax Malhi Interview.

demonstrate how the lifestyle of Members of Parliament are not only gruelling, but also allow limited time for personal and family time. Moreover, the burdens of travel must also be considered, where according to former Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps “MPs from BC or Yukon can travel up to 20 hours a week, 10 each way, to Ottawa,”²⁶¹ a point confirmed by MP Goldsmith-Jones, who is from BC²⁶² and former MP Malhi.²⁶³ Travel within one’s constituency, especially for MPs representing large rural ridings must also be considered,²⁶⁴ which can include “six to seven hours away from your family”²⁶⁵ and where certain MPs in rural ridings “can put up to hundreds of kilometers on their cars in one weekend.”²⁶⁶ Representative 33 also states that “many people don’t understand how much alone time there is in being an MP. Even though you are in public life, there is quite a bit of alone time involved, whether you are travelling to Ottawa, working in Ottawa or are in your riding.”²⁶⁷ Representative 33 further states that “moving your family to Ottawa is not a feasible solution, since you are constantly travelling back and forth, and when in Ottawa, you are always busy and don’t have time to see them.”²⁶⁸ Former MP Malhi also states that moving one’s family to Ottawa would only be temporary “because you are not guaranteed to be re-elected, you are not in Ottawa for the whole year, and you may also have to

²⁶¹ Sheila Copps Interview.

²⁶² Goldsmith-Jones Interview.

²⁶³ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

²⁶⁴ Representative 83 Interview. Representative 67 Interview. Sheila Copps Interview. Gurbax Malhi Interview.

²⁶⁵ Sheila Copps Interview.

²⁶⁶ Representative 83 Interview.

²⁶⁷ Representative 33 Interview.

²⁶⁸ Representative 33 Interview.

travel across the country and abroad.”²⁶⁹ Thus, the schedule and lifestyle of a career in politics is not one of leisure and should be taken into account prior to understanding how it affects gender parity.

Based on the paragraph above, one is able to gain a greater understanding of the demands of the job for MPs. Such a description is important in gaining insight into how the work-life in federal politics can be a barrier to the success of women Parliamentarians. According to Representative 67, “the work-life of an MP is definitely a reason” for the lack of gender parity in Parliament.²⁷⁰ Representative 46 also states that for women “with younger children, it’s a challenge that can’t be denied and it’s just the way historically genders have worked. It’s not the way it should be but it is and family is still considered a female responsibility.”²⁷¹ Additionally, Representative 46 also argues that “travel and distance is the issue. It’s a 24/7 job, it is a service and it is not just a career, it is a lifestyle.”²⁷² This argument is also supported by Representative 49, who states “family time is tough to manage”²⁷³ where one is expected to work seven days a week.²⁷⁴ Member of Parliament Anne Minh-Thu Quach also agrees that the day-to-day life of a Parliamentarian creates difficulties in making a “balance for family or personal time.”²⁷⁵ For these reasons, Representative 33, believes the occupation of an MP can be a deterrent for the

²⁶⁹ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

²⁷⁰ Representative 67 Interview.

²⁷¹ Representative 46 Interview.

²⁷² Representative 46 Interview.

²⁷³ Representative 49 Interview.

²⁷⁴ Representative 49 Interview.

²⁷⁵ Anne Minh-Thu Quach in discussion with the author, March 16, 2018.

involvement of women in federal politics.²⁷⁶ Such a point is also supported by Manon Tremblay (2003), who cites the “long hours and an accelerated pace of work in parliament”²⁷⁷ as an obstacle to women entering Canadian politics.²⁷⁸ Additionally, Erin Virgint writes that according to a report by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), “domestic responsibilities”²⁷⁹ and “prevailing cultural attitudes regarding the roles of women in society”²⁸⁰ are some of the factors which “deter women from entering politics.”²⁸¹ This point is also supported by Julie Cool, who writes that “women continue to hold a disproportionate share of household and family responsibilities.”²⁸² Furthermore, Brenda O’Neill and David K. Stewart (2009) argue that a barrier to the participation of women in elected office includes “their primary responsibilities for the bulk of household and childcare obligations (that is, the double duty).”²⁸³ Representative 72 states that traditionally, “men are not the primary caregiver”²⁸⁴ and that “for women, if you are taking care of small children or travelling, it can be a challenge.”²⁸⁵ Thus, while this argument is not meant to be a generalization of women and gender roles, nor a generalization regarding the

²⁷⁶ Representative 33 Interview.

²⁷⁷ Tremblay, “Women’s Representational Role,” 229.

²⁷⁸ Tremblay, “Women’s Representational Role,” 229.

²⁷⁹ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 2.

²⁸⁰ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 2.

²⁸¹ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 2.

²⁸² Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 3.

²⁸³ O’Neill and Stewart, “Gender and Political Party,” 739.

²⁸⁴ Representative 72 Interview.

²⁸⁵ Representative 72 Interview.

opinion of all women considering a career in federal politics, the Parliamentarians and arguments presented by the authors above imply that the challenging lifestyle in Parliament contributes to the lack of gender parity. Furthermore, it should be noted that while the demands of the job affect both male and female Parliamentarians, the challenges faced by women MPs appear much more prevalent as they must overcome greater barriers in comparison to their male colleagues. According to Representative 33, “women MPs have double the responsibilities and duties. One, is their duty and role as a Member of Parliament and second, their family life.”²⁸⁶ This demonstrates that the role of a female MP is twice as hard and can be considered a deterrent for potential Parliamentarians. Though not all families or personal lives of Parliamentarians are exactly the same, the points above illustrate how choosing an occupation in federal Canadian politics can be a drawback for potential office seekers. Although the challenges are not entirely identical for all members, their commonalities should not be ignored and the challenges faced by women MPs ought not to go unnoticed.

In addition to the challenges of a life in politics, it should also be noted that there is currently no maternity leave available for MPs and that if an MP chooses to take leave, they are only “allowed 21 days of medical leave before being docked \$120 pay per day they are absent.”²⁸⁷ Furthermore, if MPs “want to take more time off than the permitted leave, each new parent has to work out an arrangement with their party leadership and whip on a case-by-case basis”²⁸⁸ and that once MPs return to Parliament, “the existing childcare services leave much to

²⁸⁶ Representative 33 Interview.

²⁸⁷ Rachel Aiello, “Parental leave for MPs a first, to be seen how it addresses reality of political life,” *CTV News*, March 5, 2018, accessed May 12, 2018, <https://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/parental-leave-for-mps-a-first-to-be-seen-how-it-addresses-reality-of-political-life-1.3829766>.

²⁸⁸ Aiello, “Parental leave,” *CTV News*.

be desired for politicians who work long hours or have young kids.”²⁸⁹ This illustrates that not only is Parliament, as an institution, a difficult working environment for legislators, and particularly female MPs, but that in addition to no maternity leave, there is a lack of adequate childcare services. According to John H. Redekop, “inadequate child care in Parliament”²⁹⁰ and “inadequate leave policies for pregnancy”²⁹¹ are barriers that hinder the political success of women in the House,²⁹² a point supported by former Deputy Prime Minister Sheila Copps, (who was also the first MP in Canadian history to give birth while in office),²⁹³ and authors O’Neill and Stewart (2009).²⁹⁴ This demonstrates that the occupation of a Parliamentarian is not very accommodating for women MPs wishing to take maternity leave, nor for those with young children hoping to return to Ottawa. In fact, Representatives 72, 33 and 46 are not surprised as to why some women may wait until their children are older before contemplating a career in politics.²⁹⁵ Parliament also creates a further barrier for the entry of women through issues such as amenities. According to the Honourable Sheila Copps, when first elected, “they had women’s bathrooms every second floor and since I was on the fourth floor, I had to go to the fifth floor to use the bathroom.”²⁹⁶ Julie Cool also writes that it was not until 1993 when the men’s washroom

²⁸⁹ Aiello, “Parental leave,” *CTV News*.

²⁹⁰ John H. Redekop, “Group Representation in Parliament Would Be Dysfunctional for Canada,” in *Crosscurrents: Contemporary Political Issues*, ed. Mark Charlton and Paul Barker (Toronto: Nelson, 2013), 342.

²⁹¹ Redekop, “Group Representation,” 342.

²⁹² Redekop, “Group Representation,” 342.

²⁹³ Sheila Copps Interview.

²⁹⁴ O’Neill and Stewart, “Gender and Political Party,” 741.

²⁹⁵ Representative 72 Interview. Representative 33 Interview. Representative 46 Interview.

²⁹⁶ Sheila Copps Interview.

off the lobby of the House was changed into “separate facilities for men and women.”²⁹⁷ These examples demonstrate the added challenge female Parliamentarians had faced, and to an extent continue to face, by choosing a career in politics. Another way in which the life of an MP can seem unappealing is due to the divorce rate of MPs. According to Julie Smyth “divorce rates among MPs are twice the national average”²⁹⁸ and in 2013, 85 percent of MPs were divorced.²⁹⁹ O’Neill and Stewart (2009) also found that women political leaders in Canada “were more likely to be divorced than their male counterparts.”³⁰⁰ Furthermore, MP Lambropoulos believes the success rate for marriages among MPs is low “because you live in two different cities,”³⁰¹ while Representative 49 claims that two-thirds of couples in the House “are breaking up during their first mandate.”³⁰² The arguments within this paragraph demonstrate that politics itself makes it much more difficult for women to enter. Moreover, the life of a female MP takes a toll on their families as well as the expectations put on them. Not only are they more likely to be divorced in comparison to their male counterparts, but by having an institution that is inadvertently inhibiting their participation, the role of the occupation itself should not be ignored. The factors and attributes of a life in politics and the obstacles it creates, makes it much more challenging for women to increase their involvement. In addition to not being supportive for female MPs who

²⁹⁷ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 8.

²⁹⁸ Julie Smyth, “Why are divorce rates so high for MPs?,” *Macleans*, October 30, 2013, accessed May 12, 2018, <https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/why-are-divorce-rates-so-high-for-mps/>.

²⁹⁹ Smyth, “Why divorce,” *Macleans*.

³⁰⁰ O’Neill and Stewart, “Gender and Political Party,” 748.

³⁰¹ Emmanuella Lambropoulos Interview.

³⁰² Representative 49 Interview.

are expecting mothers, or have young children, the stresses on relationships and marriages further perpetuate the notion that the profession itself is a deterrent, further inhibiting gender parity in the House. The lack of gender parity should therefore be in part attributed to the excluding nature of the profession and how being an elected representative at the federal level discourages the prospects of more female members. Moreover, the challenges faced by those women currently in Parliament and the “double duty”³⁰³ or expectations placed upon them should be taken into account when examining the lack of parity in the House of Commons.

Another factor contributing to the lack of gender parity in Parliament can be connected to the male dominated nature of the profession. According to MP Sorbara the lack of gender parity in Parliament can be due to the fact that federal politics “is still seen as a male-dominated, ‘Old Boy’s [sic] Club’.”³⁰⁴ Representative 46 also finds that politics has an “Old Boys’ network mentality”³⁰⁵ while Representative 33 states that “politics was, and to an extent, is still a male-dominated profession.”³⁰⁶ Such notions leading to a lack of parity are also supported by author Tim Schouls, who writes that the male dominated nature of politics “has made the political arena at the national level minimally appealing for many women”³⁰⁷ and that the House of Commons is both male dominated and hierarchical.³⁰⁸ Additionally, Wick and Lang-Dion (2008) find that

³⁰³ O’Neill and Stewart, “Gender and Political Party,” 739. Representative 33 Interview.

³⁰⁴ Francesco Sorbara Interview.

³⁰⁵ Representative 46 Interview.

³⁰⁶ Representative 33 Interview.

³⁰⁷ Schouls, “Why Group Representation,” 329.

³⁰⁸ Schouls, “Why Group Representation,” 330.

“[t]he sentiment that politics is something ‘men do’ still exists,”³⁰⁹ while Tremblay (2003) also states that “parliament as an old boys’ network”³¹⁰ is also an obstacle for federal Canadian female MPs.³¹¹ Furthermore, O’Neill and Stewart (2009), Fox and Lawless (2011), Cheng and Tavits (2011) and Kanthak and Woon (2015) also find the existence of a male dominated, “old boys’ club” attitude within the profession.³¹² The authors and interview respondents illustrate that the existence of a male dominated culture does in fact hold true within Canadian politics, which in turn create obstacles for the success of women. They also show how by having such a male governed profession, many women may find the occupation uninviting and choose to not pursue this career path; further pushing away certain women from public service. An example of this “old boys’ club”, male dominated mentality can be demonstrated through the heckling female Parliamentarians must endure while in the House. Representative 83 states “every time female Ministers stand up to speak in Question Period, they get heckled the most.”³¹³ Representative 83 also agrees that “this is what kills the decision of many women to get into politics,”³¹⁴ a sentiment also shared by MP Damoff who says “when I was in Question Period, sometimes I couldn’t even hear the question.”³¹⁵ Former MP Malhi also argues that “if you saw

³⁰⁹ Wicks and Lang-Dion, “Women in Politics,” 34.

³¹⁰ Tremblay, “Women’s Representational Role,” 229.

³¹¹ Tremblay, “Women’s Representational Role,” 229.

³¹² O’Neill and Stewart, “Gender and Political Party,” 737. Fox and Lawless, “Gendered Perceptions,” 60. Cheng and Tavits, “Informal Influences,” 462. Kristin Kanthak and Jonathan Woon, “Women Don’t Run? Election Aversion and Candidate Entry,” *American Journal of Political Science* 59, no. 3 (July 2015): 610.

³¹³ Representative 83 Interview.

³¹⁴ Representative 83 Interview.

³¹⁵ Pam Damoff Interview.

Question Period in the early 90s, or even today, you can see that women Ministers and MPs get heckled the most.”³¹⁶ According to Representative 24, it is for these reasons “some women think politics is just not worth it,”³¹⁷ a sentiment shared by Representative 72.³¹⁸ These points demonstrate the hypocrisy and patriarchy faced by female MPs in Parliament. Not only is the male dominated profession an obstacle and drawback for women’s success in Canadian politics, but the significant amount of heckling, in comparison to their male colleagues, exemplifies the double-standard faced by women representatives. Furthermore, this deliberate lack of decorum encountered by women Parliamentarians puts the unfairness they face on public display. Moreover, by being called derogatory names, such as “climate Barbie,”³¹⁹ the sexism faced by even senior level Cabinet Ministers shows that female parliamentarians in higher levels of government are not free from discrimination. Thus, it should not come as a surprise why the nature of politics can be criticized for not being all encompassing or equitable.

Another reason for the lack of women’s representation can be due to their decision to not consciously include themselves for a career in politics. Bruce Anderson and David Coletto found that in Canada, “men are quite a bit more (28%) inclined to run compare to women (18%)”³²⁰ and argue this “seems to have more to do with women feeling less able or willing to consider a run for office.”³²¹ Similarly, Wick and Lang-Dion (2008) argue that “[e]ven when men and

³¹⁶ Gurbax Malhi Interview

³¹⁷ Representative 24 Interview.

³¹⁸ Representative 72 Interview.

³¹⁹ Canadian Press, “Environment Minister,” *Toronto Star*.

³²⁰ Anderson and Coletto, “Politics Anyone?,” 1.

³²¹ Anderson and Coletto, “Politics Anyone?,” 2.

women possessed similar qualifications, women were more than twice as likely as men to believe they were not qualified to run,³²² a point also supported by Fox and Lawless (2005), and Fox and Lawless (2011).³²³ Julie Cool, also finds that self-selection is one of the barriers contributing to women's underrepresentation,³²⁴ in addition to the reluctance discovered by Louise Carbert.³²⁵ Meanwhile, Bubar and Ellis state women "simply are not running,"³²⁶ due to a difference in political ambition and aspirations,³²⁷ a factor also found by Fox and Lawless (2004) and Fox and Lawless (2005).³²⁸ Furthermore, according to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, when asking women to run for office, "you have to ask more often"³²⁹ and when convincing Minister Chrystia Freeland to first run, the Prime Minister stated that "it took an awful lot of arm twisting" before she agreed.³³⁰ Similarly, MP Young said "I heard women have to be asked seven times to run as opposed to men, who are asked once and agree."³³¹ This demonstrates that women do not consider putting themselves forward as candidates for federal office, while men are significantly more likely to ponder a run. Furthermore, this is should not be seen as a

³²² Wicks and Lang-Dion, "Women in Politics," 34-35.

³²³ Fox and Lawless, "To Run or Not," 654. Fox and Lawless, "Gendered Perceptions," 59, 61, 70.

³²⁴ Cool, "Women in Parliament," 3.

³²⁵ Louise Carbert, "Viewing Women's Political Leadership," 137-138.

³²⁶ Bubar and Ellis, "Changing the Face of Politics," 23.

³²⁷ Bubar and Ellis, "Changing the Face of Politics," 23.

³²⁸ Fox and Lawless, "Entering the Arena?," 264, 265. Fox and Lawless, "To Run or Not," 646, 655.

³²⁹ World Economic Forum, *Davos 2016 – Progress towards Parity*, World Economic Forum, January 22, 2016, YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0-wRsmQajcw>.

³³⁰ World Economic Forum, *Davos 2016 – Progress towards Parity*, YouTube video.

³³¹ Kate Young Interview.

criticism of the qualifications of women nor their capabilities, but in fact is meant to highlight how they view themselves as candidates and how they do not personally consider themselves when reflecting about candidates for office. This in turn has more to do with attitudes about public office. Moreover, the authors, MPs and Prime Minister highlight a sense of reluctance on the part of women to self-select themselves in the profession of politics, particularly at the federal level, and how a lack of involvement can lead to lower numbers of female MPs. Representative 19 also stated “women tend to be more reluctant. They question their own qualifications as opposed to men,”³³² thus further supporting the arguments above. It is also worth noting that MP Damoff says “I see women getting involved in election campaigns. They volunteer, answer and make phone calls, put up signs, but are not running themselves.”³³³ Consequently, Sheila Copps argues “most political campaigns are won or lost on the backs of women as volunteers.”³³⁴ These responses further illustrate how women are involved within politics but not at the candidate level. While they are more than qualified and are working to help candidates and campaigns, there is some unwillingness to personally put their own name on the ballot. As a result, there appears to be no lack of women involved at the campaign level, based on the responses, although there is a shortage of candidates, as seen in the 2015 election (in Chapters 1 and 2). Thus, the issue does not seem to be within politics as a whole but is specific to individuals running as candidates. Through a lack of self-selection in the candidate process, a

³³² Representative 19 Interview.

³³³ Pam Damoff Interview.

³³⁴ Sheila Copps Interview.

barrier is formed, hindering the chances of gender parity in Parliament. As a result, the shortage of women candidates deliberately leads to a shortage in the number of women MPs elected.

In relation to the lack of self-nomination of women as candidates, it is also important to understand why some women may choose to not engage in politics at the candidate level. Authors Kristin Kanthak and Jonathan Woon, “find evidence that women are election averse,”³³⁵ in comparison to men and are therefore less likely to run due to a lack of truthfulness and honesty in election campaigns.³³⁶ Louise Carbert also found that some women may choose to not run due to the “dirty tactics” used in elections,³³⁷ while Fox and Lawless (2011) cite “negative campaigning, as deterrents to a candidacy.”³³⁸ Comparatively, Julie Cool argues some women may choose to opt out of running “because of the adversarial and combative nature of the work.”³³⁹ Representative 46 also states that “there is a feeling that politics isn’t a career that is as respected, so it’s not seen as a very welcoming career and many women don’t want to be associated with it,”³⁴⁰ while MP Young says “unfortunately, I think women have the wrong impression of what a politician is and can do and we have to change that.”³⁴¹ In addition, MP Damoff says “I think a lot of times, there is a negative perception of what politics is”³⁴² and

³³⁵ Kanthak and Woon, “Women Don’t Run?,” 595.

³³⁶ Kanthak and Woon, “Women Don’t Run?,” 608, 609.

³³⁷ Louise Carbert, “Viewing Women’s Political Leadership,” 145.

³³⁸ Fox and Lawless, “Gendered Perceptions,” 66.

³³⁹ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 3.

³⁴⁰ Representative 46 Interview.

³⁴¹ Kate Young Interview.

³⁴² Pam Damoff Interview.

Representative 33 believes “there is not a great view of politics and politicians, which makes some women second guess this career.”³⁴³ Meanwhile, Representative 72 believes it may be due to the scrutiny involved and that some “women might not like this scrutiny, especially for your friends and family and people might think it is not worth it to put your family through this type of criticism,”³⁴⁴ a sentiment mirrored by Representative 24 who states “I think it is fair to say that rather than be combative, people move on or say it isn’t worth it and may find it more fulfilling to be involved on community boards, or fundraising but not politics.”³⁴⁵ The points above exemplify the existence of certain negative connotations associated with being a federal representative, thus preventing many qualified women from entering elected office in Ottawa. Furthermore, they shed a light on why more women choose not to enter this career path and the various factors influencing their decision. In addition to the unfair criticisms faced by women MPs, in contrast to male legislators, many women choose to opt out of such a career due to issues such as truth and honesty. By placing a higher value on such attributes and characteristics, one can assume that many women are not impressed with the view and direction politics takes and thus choose to exclude themselves. Moreover, the tone and questionable tactics used by certain office seekers, further perpetuates the negative view of politics. This results in more women deciding not to run. While reasons for such exclusion are understandable, based on the arguments made above, it also conversely affects the number of candidates put forth and elected. It is also important to distinguish the difference between why women choose to not run, and the way in which they are criticized when running. In no way do the arguments above imply that

³⁴³ Representative 33 Interview.

³⁴⁴ Representative 72 Interview.

³⁴⁵ Representative 24 Interview.

women candidates handle criticism differently from their male colleagues, and in fact only attempts to distinguish how the negativity involved in campaigns are keeping good qualified women out of the electoral process. As a result, they are also being kept out of Parliament.

In addition to the arguments above, another reason for the lack of parity in the House can be attributed to the fact that many women choose to run for elected office outside of Parliament. Instead of running for MP, many women may choose to run for positions in municipal office, such as city council.³⁴⁶ According to the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, women account for “28 per cent of councillors” in Canada.³⁴⁷ Thus, out of 19,534 municipal councillors in Canada, 5,514 are women.³⁴⁸ Former MP The Honourable Gurbax Malhi, whose daughter previously served in municipal office prior to becoming a provincial Cabinet Minister and MPP, believes this is due to the fact that “municipal office requires less travel, is closer to home and helps gain political experience.”³⁴⁹ Current MP and former mayor Goldsmith-Jones, who also serves as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of International Trade states that at the local level “it is easier to manage your life and make time for family and friends. You are also closer to home and do not have to travel halfway around the world for work.”³⁵⁰ MP O’Connell, who also served as a city councillor before being elected as an MP, states more women may choose

³⁴⁶ Boyd, “Women and Politics,” 52, 57.

³⁴⁷ “About Women in Local Government,” *Federation of Canadian Municipalities*, accessed January 23, 2018, <https://fcm.ca/home/programs/women-in-local-government/about-women-in-local-government.htm>. “2015 - Municipal Statistics,” *Federation of Canadian Municipalities*, accessed January 23, 2018, https://fcm.ca/Documents/reports/Women/2015-05-01_FCM_gender_stats_EN.pdf.

³⁴⁸ “2015 - Municipal Statistics,” *Federation of Canadian Municipalities*.

³⁴⁹ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

³⁵⁰ Goldsmith-Jones Interview.

the municipal route over federal office in part due to the work life balance, less travel, ability to come home every evening and that “most women who want to focus on local community level matters are able to do so in municipal office.”³⁵¹ Representative 83 and Representative 46 also attribute the lack of travel and time away from home as an incentive to serve in municipal office,³⁵² while current MP and former city councillor Damoff believes “being closer to home has a lot to do with it.”³⁵³ MP Quach and Representative 72 also stated that municipal office serves as a good “stepping stone” and allows officeholders to gain valuable political experience.³⁵⁴ From these arguments, one can better understand the fact that many women may not choose to run for Parliament, but do in fact run for municipal office. Furthermore, this illustrates that women are not necessarily excluding themselves from politics as a whole, but specifically are not running for MP. It is also demonstrated how the lifestyle at the federal level differs vastly from city/town council and that some women who wish to engage in public life, may feel they can best do so at the local level. Additionally, the idea that it may serve as an effective stepping stone, might better prepare candidates wishing to run for MP in the future. It should also be noted that while significant sacrifices are made by those who choose a life in federal office, the commitment made on behalf of women Parliamentarians is quite substantial. While this paragraph does not attempt to downplay the sacrifices and commitment for those in municipal government, the additional burdens of travel and logistics should be taken into consideration. Finally, by choosing a route in municipal office over federal office, due to the

³⁵¹ Jennifer O’Connell Interview.

³⁵² Representative 83 Interview. Representative 46 Interview.

³⁵³ Pam Damoff Interview.

³⁵⁴ MP Quach Interview. Representative 72 Interview.

lifestyle and work-life demands, women deciding to not run for Parliament lowers the likelihood for electing more female MPs. However, the fact that some may choose to gain some prior experience before making the federal jump should not go unnoticed and is not unrelatable.

After reviewing the arguments above, one is able to gain a more complete picture of the nature of federal politics and its effects on perpetuating gender parity. One of the reasons can be attributed to the nature of the work and lifestyle Members of Parliament have while in office. This includes the challenges on one's personal life, as well as the long distances travelled, time away from home and lack of amenities. Additionally, politics being considered an "old boys' club" and a profession which is male dominated, further reduces the likelihood of attracting more women MPs. Furthermore, an increasing number of women deciding to not want to run for federal office also contributes to the lack of gender parity. Similarly, a significant number of women choosing to run for municipal office over Parliament also impacts parity. From the arguments and point examined above, I hope readers are able to better understand how in regards to parity, many women are choosing to not specifically run for Parliament, for reasons which are understandable. Thus, by not running and having less candidates at the federal level, the chances of electing more women MPs also significantly decreases. From this, gender inequality in Parliament continues to exist. The next chapter will examine potential solutions which can alleviate the issue of gender parity and provide insights into what can be done to close the gender gap.

Chapter VI

Solutions

The previous five chapters identified the factors contributing to the lack of gender parity in Parliament. This chapter will examine potential solutions that can be implemented in order to help alleviate the issue. Prior to beginning, it should be noted that this is not an endorsement of any one particular remedy but is important to bring up in order to understand the various solutions which can be applied. It also helps illustrate a fair picture of possible solutions from various perspectives. The first solution that will be proposed is the adoption of gender quotas in order to achieve parity in Parliament. Next, the chapter will examine the option of electoral reform and how it can affect gender equality. Third, the ability of parties to resolve the problem will be studied. The chapter will then examine the option of making Parliament more “women friendly” and “family friendly” and how it can increase the number of women MPs. Next, the importance of role models and mentoring in order to increase the number of women elected to Parliament will be looked at. The idea of financial penalties for parties will also be considered. Lastly, the final solution that will be discussed is the notion of running women in “winnable ridings” and the importance of incumbents. The chapter will then conclude with a summary of the solutions presented.

One of the solutions that should be considered in order to address the issue of parity can be the introduction of quotas. According to Tim Schouls, one way of making Parliament more representative can be done “through a system of guaranteed seats.”³⁵⁵ Similarly, Miki Caul

³⁵⁵ Schouls, “Why Group Representation,” 336.

(2001) argues that “[g]ender quotas... are the most visible and direct mechanism that political parties have used to increase women’s parliamentary representation”³⁵⁶ across the world and that they “have directly raised women’s numerical representation.”³⁵⁷ An example of this can be seen in Rwanda, where mandated gender quotas had increased the number of women in Parliament.³⁵⁸ As Julie Cool writes, quotas can be “either legislated or voluntary”³⁵⁹ and Caul (2001) explains how one party adopting quotas can influence other parties to do the same as they “fear losing women’s votes if they do not match this policy.”³⁶⁰ This demonstrates the difference one party can have by the adoption of gender quotas. While done out of fear or through the embrace of progressive policies, parties can influence one another in helping promote the number of women through quotas. Furthermore, bringing in “minimum targets for women candidates”³⁶¹ would allow parties, according to Caul (1999), to “increase the proportion of nominated female candidates,”³⁶² which “demonstrates a willingness to act to fix the problem.”³⁶³ Through an increase of women candidates, one can see how the probability of female MPs in the House can also increase. It is also worth noting that according to Schwindt-Bayer (2005), gender quotas are

³⁵⁶ Caul, “Political Parties,” 1214.

³⁵⁷ Caul, “Political Parties,” 1214.

³⁵⁸ Hunt, “The Rise of Rwanda’s Women,” 155. Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 7.

³⁵⁹ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 6.

³⁶⁰ Caul, “Political Parties,” 1216.

³⁶¹ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 4.

³⁶² Caul, “Women’s Representation in Parliament,” 83.

³⁶³ Caul, “Women’s Representation in Parliament,” 83.

“effective only if they are implemented and enforced properly”³⁶⁴ by placing women “in electable positions.”³⁶⁵ Schwindt-Bayer (2009) also writes that while “[t]he primary goal of gender quotas is to increase the number of women elected to legislatures,”³⁶⁶ their “effectiveness depends on their design.”³⁶⁷ Additionally, Schwindt-Bayer (2009) finds “that stronger quotas (those with placement mandates and weak-to-strong enforcement) lead to more women in office,”³⁶⁸ while Erin Virgint also raises the importance of mandating and enforcement, which can be challenging in Canada.³⁶⁹ Moreover, Representative 33 states “bringing in gender quotas will definitely help increase the number of women and it has worked in other countries,”³⁷⁰ as has been the case in Argentina, Rwanda and Costa Rica.³⁷¹ By implementing quotas for women MPs, a tangible solution can be applied as this type of remedy would directly affect the number of women in Parliament. Through an enforcement of allocated seats for women, the gap between male and female MPs can be significantly closed as women would be guaranteed a certain number of seats. Quotas would thus allow women to hold a set number of seats in the House, ensuring higher numbers of elected representatives. They would also guarantee that certain seats remain in the possession of female MPs. Moreover, as quotas have been proven to work in other

³⁶⁴ Schwindt-Bayer, “The Incumbency Disadvantage,” 233.

³⁶⁵ Schwindt-Bayer, “The Incumbency Disadvantage,” 233.

³⁶⁶ Schwindt-Bayer, “Making Quotas Work,” 7.

³⁶⁷ Schwindt-Bayer, “Making Quotas Work,” 5.

³⁶⁸ Schwindt-Bayer, “Making Quotas Work,” 20.

³⁶⁹ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 4.

³⁷⁰ Representative 33 interview.

³⁷¹ Schwindt-Bayer, “Making Quotas Work,” Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 7. Hunt, “The Rise of Rwanda’s Women,” 155.

countries, their effectiveness and function is confirmed. Although no two countries are exactly like, their viability of bringing in more female officeholders into legislatures show they are a provable option. While quotas are not without criticism and are in no means the only way of addressing the issue, they should not be completely disregarded as a solution.

Another proposed solution for increasing the number of women MPs in Parliament can be the idea of electoral reform. While this is not a personal endorsement of reforming the electoral system, the benefits and possibilities of increasing parity should be addressed in order to have a complete picture of the issue. According to Dyck and Cochrane, electoral reform can be considered a viable remedy³⁷² and specifically, the adoption of a proportional representation (PR) or mixed member proportional (MPP) system could increase the number of women MPs.³⁷³ In relation to PR, Hiemstra and Jansen argue that countries with PR have “increased the parliamentary representation of women,”³⁷⁴ a notion also supported by Alan Siaroff (2000), Tremblay (2005), Tremblay (2003), MacIvor (1999), Caul (1999), Virgint (2016) and Julie Cool.³⁷⁵ Furthermore, since switching to a different electoral system would not guarantee more women being nominated,³⁷⁶ nor is it “the sole determinant” for increasing representation,³⁷⁷

³⁷² Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 302.

³⁷³ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 302-304.

³⁷⁴ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 233.

³⁷⁵ Siaroff, “Women’s Representation,” 209. Tremblay, “Women’s Political Representation,” 71. Tremblay, “Women’s Representational Role,”. MacIvor, “Proportional and Semi-Proportional Electoral Systems,”. Caul, “Women’s Representation in Parliament,” 90. Virgint, “Electoral Systems,”. Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 5, 6.

³⁷⁶ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,”. Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 6.

³⁷⁷ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 9.

women candidates would have to be placed in an “electable” or “winnable” location on lists.³⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the fact that other electoral systems outside FPTP have had increases in women MPs,³⁷⁹ it can still be considered a viable alternative to at least study. If done correctly, adopting a different type of electoral system can have significant affects on the number of women MPs and increase representation in Ottawa. As Chapter 3 previously argued FPTP to be an impediment to gender parity in Parliament, an appropriate remedy can be electoral reform. Furthermore, during the 2015 election, Prime Minister Trudeau had campaigned on electoral reform and once in government, did study the possibilities of it, before abolishing the issue.³⁸⁰ Nevertheless, by removing a major barrier to the success of women candidates, a more representative electoral system could place women candidates in a better position of being elected. Not only would their chances of being elected improve, but the number of women representatives could also grow. As an alternative to FPTP, systems such as PR or MMP could help level the playing field for women candidates running for Parliament, resulting in an increase of successful candidates. While such a solution would not be easy to implement, scholars and policy makers have at the least considered it to be an alternative. One should also note that while this paragraph may seem thin on interview responses, as mentioned in Chapter 3, electoral reform and talks about changes to the electoral system were controversial and thus many respondents were reluctant to answer.

³⁷⁸ Wicks and Lang-Dion, “Women in Politics,” 35. Schwindt-Bayer, “The Incumbency Disadvantage,” 233. Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 6.

³⁷⁹ Siaroff, “Women’s Representation,” 209. Tremblay, “Women’s Political Representation,” 71. Tremblay, “Women’s Representational Role,”. MacIvor, “Proportional and Semi-Proportional Electoral Systems,”. Caul, “Women’s Representation in Parliament,” 90. Virgint, “Electoral Systems,”. Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 5, 6.

³⁸⁰ Representative 33 Interview. Representative 98 Interview.

The third solution that can be considered in addressing the issue of parity is one that rests in the hands of parties. This solution would include the appointment and promotion of more women within parties. While Pruyzers and Cross (2016) acknowledge there is no such thing as a “perfect candidate selection system,”³⁸¹ Bubar and Ellis believe the onus is on political parties in terms of recruitment.³⁸² Julie Cool also writes that an effective solution would be for parties “to nominate more women”³⁸³ and that the “party nomination and recruitment processes be reformed to remove barriers for women.”³⁸⁴ Additionally, leaders can use their ability to handpick or “parachute” female candidates for certain ridings,³⁸⁵ as done by leaders such as former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien.³⁸⁶ As Koop and Bittner (2011) explain, the concept of “parachuting” allows women candidates to “bypass local nomination races”³⁸⁷ and has been done in the past as a way of increasing “the representation of women.”³⁸⁸ In order to implement such procedures, Wicks and Lang-Dion (2007) write “[a]ll that is required is political will on the part of the leaders and their political parties to nominate more women candidates.”³⁸⁹ This type of deliberate action by leaders would allow women candidates to overcome the obstacle of nomination races

³⁸¹ Pruyzers and Cross, “Candidate Selection in Canada,” 794.

³⁸² Bubar and Ellis, “Changing the Face of Politics,” 24, 25.

³⁸³ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 7.

³⁸⁴ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 7.

³⁸⁵ Koop and Bittner, “Parachuted into Parliament,”.

³⁸⁶ Dyck and Cochrane, *Canadian Politics*, 354.

³⁸⁷ Koop and Bittner, “Parachuted into Parliament,” 432.

³⁸⁸ Koop and Bittner, “Parachuted into Parliament,” 436.

³⁸⁹ Wicks and Lang-Dion, “Equal Voice,” 37.

and focus their resources and attention on the general election. As previously said, while leaders have used this tactic in the past, a possible solution can be for leaders to use their appointment power more often. Instead of using it sparingly, if leaders wish to increase the number of women in their caucus or Parliament, such an ability can be used for good reasons. It is perhaps the most obvious route to directly increase the number of women candidates, and in essence, elected MPs. Along with parties appointing more female candidates, Tremblay and Pelletier (2001) “believe that the presence of a greater number of women at the heads of constituency party associations could have an impact on the election of more women to the House”³⁹⁰ as they would be “more likely than men presidents to support proposals for promoting the presence of women in politics.”³⁹¹ Likewise, Miki Caul (1999) suggests women being involved within the lower ranks of parties can “directly increase pressure for representation at the highest level – parliament.”³⁹² Caul (1999) also finds that women working within the higher levels of parties can “increase the party’s promotion of female candidates”³⁹³ due to parties being “gatekeepers” who can directly increase the number of women in Parliament.³⁹⁴ Former MP and Deputy Prime Minister Copps also believes changes need to be implemented at the local party level,³⁹⁵ as does Representative 67, who feels “experience at the grassroots level helps women make the jump federally.”³⁹⁶ When

³⁹⁰ Tremblay and Pelletier, “More Women Constituency Party Presidents,” 162.

³⁹¹ Tremblay and Pelletier, “More Women Constituency Party Presidents,” 167.

³⁹² Caul, “Women’s Representation in Parliament,” 83.

³⁹³ Caul, “Women’s Representation in Parliament,” 90.

³⁹⁴ Caul, “Women’s Representation in Parliament,” 95.

³⁹⁵ Sheila Copps Interview.

³⁹⁶ Representative 67 Interview.

discussing her decision to run as a candidate, MP Lambropoulos said “I joined the party I am part of ten years ago and I was a part of the local association for eight. Had I not known how the process works, I probably would not have gone for it.”³⁹⁷ Due to the existence of such a direct correlation between women presidents at the local level and the increase in female MPs, it should be suggested that parties continue to employ women at the local level. Not only would this create an increase in the proportion of women in Ottawa, but as seen above, those involved at the local level can in turn run as candidates themselves. Similar to the arguments in Chapter 5 about municipal office being a stepping stone into federal politics, one can contend that experience at the local party level can also be beneficial for future female candidates. Moreover, the importance of political parties in resolving the issue cannot be overstated enough as their influence and capabilities to improve the number of female MPs is vast and expandable. Their role also proves to be instrumental in being able to effectively close the federal gender gap. While Chapter 2 had demonstrated the impediments created by parties in the success of women MPs, their ability to also rectify the issue should be recognized.

Another solution to help address the lack of parity in Parliament can be changes to the institution itself. In particular, changes being made to the way business is conducted in Parliament should be considered. This specifically means creating a more “women friendly” or “family friendly” Parliament.³⁹⁸ Such a proposal can entail “family friendly hours, ending

³⁹⁷ Emmanuella Lambropoulos Interview.

³⁹⁸ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 8. Wicks and Lang-Dion, “Women in Politics,” 36. Bill Curry, “Liberals’ new parliamentary reform plan angers Tories, NDP,” *The Globe and Mail*, March 10, 2017, accessed May 12, 2018, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/politics/liberals-new-parliamentary-reform-plan-angers-tories-ndp/article34274348/>. Laura Payton, “How to make Parliament more family friendly,” *CBC News*, January 18, 2015, accessed May 12, 2018, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/how-to-make-parliament-more-family-friendly-1.2899476>.

parliamentary business at a reasonable time”³⁹⁹ a shorter working schedule and “eliminating Friday sittings.”⁴⁰⁰ Representative 86 also recommends looking at telephone conferences for committee work,⁴⁰¹ while MP Dr. Hedy Fry suggests coming “to Ottawa for a select period of time, maybe for 2-3 weeks straight without coming back home, and do the work that is necessary and then come back to the riding, instead of the current schedule.”⁴⁰² Comparatively, Wicks and Lang-Dion (2008) find that Sweden, who “has enjoyed gender balanced parliaments for over a decade,”⁴⁰³ has a “family friendly” parliament where its “parliamentary schedule is also structured to provide balance between work, family and political activity.”⁴⁰⁴ Changes such as those proposed above imply that Parliament’s current work schedule is not only demanding for sitting Members of Parliament but is also keeping women out of the political process, along with other “good candidates.”⁴⁰⁵ By deterring more women from running, the heavy demands thrust upon MPs may have potential candidates reconsider a career in federal office. Furthermore, Julie Cool argues that while such reforms to Parliament “help both women and men, women are more likely to benefit as they continue to spend more time than men providing care for children and seniors.”⁴⁰⁶ By implementing changes to the work schedule and duties, this would assist in

³⁹⁹ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 8.

⁴⁰⁰ Curry, “Liberals’ new parliamentary,” *The Globe and Mail*. Payton, “How to make Parliament,” *CBC News*.

⁴⁰¹ Representative 86 in discussion with the author, 2018.

⁴⁰² Dr. Fry Interview.

⁴⁰³ Wicks and Lang-Dion, “Women in Politics,” 35.

⁴⁰⁴ Wicks and Lang-Dion, “Women in Politics,” 36.

⁴⁰⁵ Payton, “How to make Parliament,” *CBC News*.

⁴⁰⁶ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 8.

creating a better balance for the work and personal life of MPs. They would also help ensure that the work-life imbalance does not prevent well qualified people from running for office.

Additionally, it would ensure that the job requirements and duties are not seen as a drawback of running for office. Such changes could also help attract more qualified candidates, further strengthening the quality of federal candidates. This is not to say that the current field lacks in quality or competence but suggests more women who have not seriously thought about running for Parliament may take it into consideration. As Parliament begins to adapt to the changing times and society, more citizens may begin to sincerely consider it a worthwhile career path.

Another possible solution that has come up during my research is that of role models and mentoring in Parliament. While this is not necessarily a material or institutional remedy, and is in large part symbolic. Members such as MP Lambropoulos have suggested that “having more role models to follow”⁴⁰⁷ could help increase gender parity as younger women and potential candidates, “have more examples to look up to.”⁴⁰⁸ MP Lambropoulos has also formed a youth council in her riding where thirty out of the forty members are women in order to increase engagement and provide mentorship.⁴⁰⁹ MP O’Connell also believes that “women seeing other women” in Parliament would also help include more women in public life⁴¹⁰ and that “current politicians have a role to play”⁴¹¹ in providing guidance and mentorship to future

⁴⁰⁷ Emmanuella Lambropoulos Interview.

⁴⁰⁸ Emmanuella Lambropoulos Interview.

⁴⁰⁹ Emmanuella Lambropoulos Interview.

⁴¹⁰ Jennifer O’Connell Interview.

⁴¹¹ Jennifer O’Connell Interview.

officeholders.⁴¹² Similarly, Representative 19 contends that “in a lot of fields where women are unrepresented, if girls growing up don’t see women, they also don’t see themselves in that profession...and they might be less likely to choose that profession,”⁴¹³ a notion also supported by Representative 33.⁴¹⁴ The concept of mentoring and role models has also been suggested by Julie Cool, Bubar and Ellis (2016) and Fox and Lawless (2005).⁴¹⁵ Prime Minister Trudeau also spoke about his party’s encouragement of women candidates through the “Ask Her to Run” initiative,⁴¹⁶ while Julie Cool has discussed assisting women with the cost of campaigns.⁴¹⁷ Erin Virgint has also credited “special funds to help support and encourage women as candidates”⁴¹⁸ such as the Liberal’s Judy LaMarsh Fund and NDP’s Agnes Macphail Fund as being effective in supporting women candidates.⁴¹⁹ These support mechanisms illustrate the importance of guidance and mentoring for potential or would-be women candidates in order to succeed in federal politics. Additionally, they demonstrate the effect more role models and support systems for women candidates can have in regards to the overall issue. In the context of parity, one can contend that seeing officeholders and women in positions of prominence at the federal level, eradicates the impression that federal politics is out of reach. It may also help encourage those

⁴¹² Jennifer O’Connell Interview.

⁴¹³ Representative 19 Interview.

⁴¹⁴ Representative 33 Interview.

⁴¹⁵ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 9. Bubar and Ellis, “Changing the Face of Politics,”. Fox and Lawless, “To Run or Not,” 646.

⁴¹⁶ World Economic Forum, *Davos 2016 – Progress towards Parity*, YouTube video.

⁴¹⁷ Cool, “Women in Parliament,” 4.

⁴¹⁸ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 3.

⁴¹⁹ Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 3.

who may see running for MP as intimidating or not attainable, to put their name forward. This can also be considered a bipartisan solution as each party can individually be proactive in encouraging more women to run under their banner. Those who do in fact put their names forward and are successful at getting elected can then pay it forward in order to inspire a whole new generation of female leaders. While parties, as listed above, have introduced processes to support women candidates, much work remains to be done and this solution is one that can begin immediately. It is also within the full control of the individual parties and allows them the ability to demonstrate their commitment to gender parity in Parliament.

In addressing the issue of gender parity, another solution that has been proposed is the concept of financially penalizing parties who do not nominate women candidates. This idea of financial penalties was introduced in 2015 as a Private Members Bill where the reimbursement each party receives for election expenses would be reduced if they do not meet certain gender criteria for male and female candidates.⁴²⁰ While the bill was defeated,⁴²¹ financial penalties for parties who do not have a gender balance have also been introduced in countries such as France.⁴²² Proposing a financial solution to the issue of parity may be an effective way of garnering party support. By financially inhibiting political parties in a tangible and measurable way, Canadian political parties may feel incentivized or obligated to adopt more gender parity policies. While such parties are not necessarily changing the attitudes surrounding gender parity

⁴²⁰ Bill C-237, An Act to amend the Canadian Elections Act (gender equity), 1st sess., 42nd Parliament, 2015, <https://www.parl.ca/LegisInfo/BillDetails.aspx?Language=E&billId=8118999>
<http://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/bill/C-237/first-reading>.

⁴²¹ Bill C-237, An Act to amend the Canadian Elections Act (gender equity), 1st sess., 42nd Parliament, 2015.

⁴²² Virgint, “Electoral Systems,” 8. Schwindt-Bayer, “Making Quotas Work,” 12.

and may in fact force parties to act out of fear, how the progress is made should not be confused with measurable results. If the goal is to increase gender parity, regardless of how or what the attitudes may be, jeopardizing a party's financing may be a considerable option. However, it should be pointed out that even in France, "[m]any parties...opted to take the penalty"⁴²³ as opposed to nominate more women.⁴²⁴ Thus, money may not be as effective of a solution as thought.

The final solution being proposed to increase the number of female MPs in the House of Commons refers to where women candidates run. More specifically, this has to do with suggesting parties nominate women in "winnable ridings" or constituencies.⁴²⁵ The Honourable Sheila Copps also believes women running in electoral districts where they and/or their party can win is important in increasing the number of women MPs in Ottawa.⁴²⁶ This would be beneficial since nominating women in unwinnable constituencies would be counter-productive to the overall goal of parity. Additionally, since the end-goal is to increase the number of MPs actually elected, Representative 98 believes simply nominating women in unwinnable ridings "is just paying lip service."⁴²⁷ By running women in seats where the party has a track record, the chances of a new woman candidate running under the party banner helps increase the likelihood she will be successful. This can be done by nominating women candidates in "safe seats" where a

⁴²³ Schwindt-Bayer, "Making Quotas Work," 12.

⁴²⁴ Schwindt-Bayer, "Making Quotas Work," 12.

⁴²⁵ Wicks and Lang-Dion, "Equal Voice," 37. Schwindt-Bayer, "Making Quotas Work," 10. Louise Carbert, "Viewing Women's Political Leadership," 141.

⁴²⁶ Sheila Copps Interview.

⁴²⁷ Representative 98 Interview.

specific party's candidates is known to win, due to how the district leans.⁴²⁸ In addition to winnability, former MP Malhi believes asking women incumbents to run for re-election or placing women candidates in a seat where an incumbent is retiring may also be helpful.⁴²⁹ As described in Chapter 3, incumbents do have significant benefits during re-election,⁴³⁰ therefore encouraging women incumbents to run again would help maintain their seat in Parliament. Furthermore, in ridings where an incumbent is retiring, running a female candidate could significantly increase the chances she is successful, as the party has already proven it can win in that seat. Meanwhile, although female incumbents running for re-election will not necessarily increase the number of new MPs, it will, at the least, preserve the current numbers and allow parties to build upon that progress. This can be considered one of the surest ways to increase women's representation and is the closest thing to guaranteeing a win. By predetermining that a seat is winnable for a specific party, the nomination or appointment of a woman candidate can enhance the probability that the candidate will be elected. This should not in any way assume that women are not able to run or compete in competitive races but is meant to meet the primary goal of increasing seats. By running women in winnable ridings, one is not implying that women are not able to win in other ridings, but instead trying to increase overall representation by taking into consideration every possible option. This therefore includes acknowledging the path of least resistance, in addition to the arguments and solutions proposed above.

After reading the points above, one is able to gain a better understanding of possible solutions to deal with the lack of gender parity in Parliament. One possible solution can be the

⁴²⁸ Representative 33 Interview.

⁴²⁹ Gurbax Malhi Interview.

⁴³⁰ Kendall and Rekkas, "Incumbency Advantages," Marland, "The Electoral Benefits."

adoption of quotas in order to ensure more women are elected. Another potential solution is the possibility of changing the FPTP electoral system used in Canada. The chapter also examined the ways in which political parties can resolve the problem of gender inequality. The concept of making Parliament more accommodating for women MPs and family life was also presented. Additionally, the importance of role models and mentors in addressing the absence of parity was introduced, as was the concept of financial penalties for parties. Finally, selecting women candidates in “winnable ridings” was also considered. While the acknowledgement of these potential remedies is not a personal endorsement of any one solution, it is important to understand the various options available to help achieve parity in Parliament. Thus, possible resolutions should not be discounted. Nonetheless, the more options available, the greater the likelihood is of achieving parity.

Chapter VII

Conclusions

The preceding chapters examined the issues contributing to the lack of gender parity in Canada's current Parliament. Through scholarly works, interviews, government resources, websites and media, I have been able to get various perspectives regarding the issue and causes for the absence of parity. I have also been able to study possible solutions which can help mend some of the issues pertaining to the gap in gender parity. From the various chapters, readers are able to gain a more complete picture of why gender parity remains scarce in Canada's federal legislature. A brief summary of the conclusions for each chapter are as follows:

First, one of the causes for the lack of gender parity can be attributed to the role and responsibility of political parties. This should take into consideration the regional patterns, as well as rural and urban patterns for the candidacies and election of MPs across Canada. The research has also determined that gender parity, in the context of parties and leaders, can be attributed to factors such as the lack of priority given to parity and the absence of political will. The nomination process and responsibility of riding associations within the issue was another contributing factor. This included the role of riding association presidents and party gatekeepers, in addition to the tenure of male MPs and the few promotions and opportunities given to women within parties.

Second, Canada's FPTP electoral system also impacts the gender gap in Parliament. This consists of issues such as its unrepresentative nature and questions around its proportionality. Further, the electoral system was argued to contribute to the underrepresentation of women MPs

in the House of Commons by posing challenges to the electoral success of female candidates. Countries using FPTP also demonstrated to have lower numbers of female Parliamentarians as opposed to nations using other electoral systems. Lastly, the notion of incumbency advantage and the barriers it poses to the election of women at the federal level was examined, as was the favoritism given to incumbents by parties.

Third, the role of the media in pertaining to gender parity was studied. This included its favouritism towards male candidates and its unfair and inadequate coverage of female candidates. Additionally, it analyzed the focus on personal traits, as opposed to policy when covering female candidates. The role of social media was also briefly covered.

Fourth, the excluding nature of politics as a profession and the challenges it poses was examined in relation to gender parity. The chapter demonstrated the demands and difficult lifestyle placed upon MPs while serving in office. It then explained how these challenges may be a deterrent for potential women candidates and the lack of work-life balance. The absence of certain benefits, amenities and strains on one's personal life were also considered. The chapter further examined the male dominated nature and "old boys' club" aspect of politics as a barrier. The decision of women to not self-nominate or include themselves in running for office and their decision to run for other public office positions, such as municipal politics, was also studied.

Fifth, the final chapter outlined a number of proposed solutions that can help address the issue of gender parity in Parliament. This included solutions such as bringing in quotas, electoral reform and the role of parties in resolving the issue. Additionally, the chapter examined making Parliament a more accommodating work environment and the influence of mentors and role models. Furthermore, the concept of financial penalties for parties and where women candidates run was proposed.

In regards to the initial hypothesis, first stated in Chapter 1, after further research and interviews into the issue, my initial hypothesis proved partly true. While I had hypothesized the lack of gender parity can be attributed to the political process within Canada, it did not go far enough in considering these factors. Although it did include the role of political parties and leaders, the electoral system, media and incumbency, the causes for gender inequality proved to be deeper and more complex. My research had also determined other factors that I was previously unaware of, such as the examination of regional patterns and further details regarding the various factors impacting gender parity. In addition, I had not proposed any possible solutions in the initial hypothesis. Thus, while my initial hypothesis did consist of certain arguments, I have found that after further research, more concepts were added.

After researching the issue of parity and the factors contributing to the lack of it in Canadian Parliament, I believe the role of political parties and leaders, as examined in Chapter 2, contributes most to the shortage of female MPs. While they are clearly not the only reason for the lack of parity, nor solely at fault, Canadian political parties and leaders are at the helm of Parliament's power and ability to make change. They are also the real powerbrokers on Parliament Hill and a majority of MPs not only belong to them but additionally require their approval to run as candidates during general elections. For this reason, I believe parties and leaders can and should do more in order to close the gap between male and female MPs. Moreover, it should be noted that I am not personally criticizing or disregarding the work done by some parties and leaders in trying to help resolve the problem, but I am stating how based on the research, the arguments found in Chapter 2 seem to be the most convincing. Another reason I find this argument to be the most convincing is due to the fact that a majority of the respondents I interviewed (over 60 percent) had mentioned the role of parties and leaders in their responses.

Thus, such points provide further evidence in convincing me that the role of parties is one of the most dominating factors assisting in the lack of gender parity. I also believe that certain solutions implemented internally within parties can help alleviate the issue of gender inequality. As mentioned by a number of interview respondents and outlined in Chapter 2, certain parties have demonstrated to do better in certain provinces than others; thus, running women candidates where their party's strength is, may increase the chances of them being elected. An example of this can be demonstrated in Chapter 2, where women running for the Liberals had a higher probability of being elected in urban Ontario and women running for the Conservatives had a greater chance of election in urban Alberta (see Appendix 2, Table 1 and Table 2). While parties themselves may have better internal polling and information regarding their chances of winning, I believe such a solution, as proposed in Chapter 6, should be considered. Additionally, as mentioned by a number of respondents within the previous chapters, parties should increase the number of women candidates. On a simpler level, I believe that from a statistical standpoint, if parties were to nominate more women candidates, they could increase the chances of more women being elected. It is important to mention that as seen within the various chapters of this thesis and appendix, certain parties have done better than others in nominating more women candidates (see Tables 1-4 and Appendix 1). Such solutions may not resolve the issue overnight but on a personal level, I do find them to be important first steps to consider. While initiatives taken up by certain parties and leaders, in encouraging the promotion and nomination of women to Parliament are useful and effective, the fact that women still only won 26 percent of the seats in the 2015 election⁴³¹ cannot be ignored. Furthermore, by understanding that this issue is complex and cannot be solely resolved at the surface level, progress towards achieving parity

⁴³¹ "Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date," *Library of Parliament*.

will take time; time that should not be underestimated. However, by having leaders make gender parity an issue not just during elections but once in government, not only provide hope and promise that gender parity can be achieved, but also demonstrate that gender parity is beginning to come into the fray of major political issues.

Appendices

Appendix I. 2015 Candidates and Results⁴³²

Number	Province / Territory	Constituency	Major city/urban	First Name	Last Name	Political Party	Gender	Election Result
1	Alberta	Banff—Airdrie		Joanne	Boissonneault	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
2	Alberta	Banff—Airdrie		Mike	MacDonald	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
3	Alberta	Banff—Airdrie		Marlo	Raynolds	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
4	Alberta	Banff—Airdrie		Blake	Richards	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
5	Alberta	Battle River—Crowfoot	Edmonton	Gary	Kelly	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
6	Alberta	Battle River—Crowfoot	Edmonton	Andy	Kowalski	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
7	Alberta	Battle River—Crowfoot	Edmonton	Kevin	Sorenson	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
8	Alberta	Battle River—Crowfoot	Edmonton	Katherine	Swampy	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
9	Alberta	Bow River		William MacDonald	Alexander	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
10	Alberta	Bow River		Rita Ann	Fromholt	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
11	Alberta	Bow River		Fahed	Khalid	Democratic Advancement Party of Canada		Defeated
12	Alberta	Bow River		Andrew	Kucy	Independent		Defeated
13	Alberta	Bow River		Lynn	MacWilliam	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
14	Alberta	Bow River		Martin	Shields	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
15	Alberta	Bow River		Frans	Vandestroet	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
16	Alberta	Calgary Centre	Calgary	Thana	Boonlert	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
17	Alberta	Calgary Centre	Calgary	Joan	Crockatt	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
18	Alberta	Calgary Centre	Calgary	Kent	Hehr	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
19	Alberta	Calgary Centre	Calgary	Yogi	Henderson	Independent		Defeated

⁴³² “42nd General Election.” *Parliament of Canada*. “PARLINFO – Ridings,” *Library of Parliament*. “Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date.” *Library of Parliament*.

20	Alberta	Calgary Centre	Calgary	Jillian	Ratti	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
21	Alberta	Calgary Confederation	Calgary	Matt	Grant	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
22	Alberta	Calgary Confederation	Calgary	Kirk	Heuser	New Democratic Party		Defeated
23	Alberta	Calgary Confederation	Calgary	Kevan	Hunter	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
24	Alberta	Calgary Confederation	Calgary	Natalie	Odd	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
25	Alberta	Calgary Confederation	Calgary	Len	Webber	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
26	Alberta	Calgary Forest Lawn	Calgary	Matt	Badura	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
27	Alberta	Calgary Forest Lawn	Calgary	Jason	Devine	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
28	Alberta	Calgary Forest Lawn	Calgary	Judson	Hansell	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
29	Alberta	Calgary Forest Lawn	Calgary	Deepak	Obhrai	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
30	Alberta	Calgary Forest Lawn	Calgary	Abdou	Souraya	New Democratic Party		Defeated
31	Alberta	Calgary Forest Lawn	Calgary	Cam	Stewart	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
32	Alberta	Calgary Forest Lawn	Calgary	Max	Veress	Democratic Advancement Party of Canada		Defeated
33	Alberta	Calgary Heritage	Calgary	Kelly	Christie	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
34	Alberta	Calgary Heritage	Calgary	Nicolas	Duchastel de Montrouge	Independent		Defeated
35	Alberta	Calgary Heritage	Calgary	Stephen	Harper	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
36	Alberta	Calgary Heritage	Calgary	Larry	Heather	Independent		Defeated
37	Alberta	Calgary Heritage	Calgary	Matt	Masters Burgener	New Democratic Party		Defeated
38	Alberta	Calgary Heritage	Calgary	Brendan	Miles	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
39	Alberta	Calgary Heritage	Calgary	Steven	Paolasini	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
40	Alberta	Calgary Heritage	Calgary	Korry	Zepik	Independent		Defeated
41	Alberta	Calgary Midnapore	Calgary	Peggy	Askin	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
42	Alberta	Calgary Midnapore	Calgary	Haley	Brown	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
43	Alberta	Calgary Midnapore	Calgary	Jason	Kenney	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
44	Alberta	Calgary Midnapore	Calgary	Brennan	Wauters	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

45	Alberta	Calgary Midnapore	Calgary	Laura	Weston	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
46	Alberta	Calgary Nose Hill	Calgary	Faizan	Butt	Democratic Advancement Party of Canada		Defeated
47	Alberta	Calgary Nose Hill	Calgary	Edward	Gao	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
48	Alberta	Calgary Nose Hill	Calgary	Bruce	Kaufman	New Democratic Party		Defeated
49	Alberta	Calgary Nose Hill	Calgary	Robert	Prcic	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
50	Alberta	Calgary Nose Hill	Calgary	Michelle	Rempel	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
51	Alberta	Calgary Nose Hill	Calgary	Laurie	Scheer	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
52	Alberta	Calgary Rocky Ridge	Calgary	Pat	Kelly	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
53	Alberta	Calgary Rocky Ridge	Calgary	Stephanie	Kot	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
54	Alberta	Calgary Rocky Ridge	Calgary	Nirmala	Naidoo	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
55	Alberta	Calgary Rocky Ridge	Calgary	Catriona	Wright	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
56	Alberta	Calgary Shepard	Calgary	Dany	Allard	New Democratic Party		Defeated
57	Alberta	Calgary Shepard	Calgary	Jerome	James	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
58	Alberta	Calgary Shepard	Calgary	Tom	Kmiec	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
59	Alberta	Calgary Shepard	Calgary	Graham	MacKenzie	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
60	Alberta	Calgary Signal Hill	Calgary	Khalis	Ahmed	New Democratic Party		Defeated
61	Alberta	Calgary Signal Hill	Calgary	Kerry	Cundal	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
62	Alberta	Calgary Signal Hill	Calgary	Taryn	Knorren	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
63	Alberta	Calgary Signal Hill	Calgary	Ron	Liepert	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
64	Alberta	Calgary Signal Hill	Calgary	Tim	Moen	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
65	Alberta	Calgary Signal Hill	Calgary	Jesse	Rau	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
66	Alberta	Calgary Skyview	Calgary	Daniel	Blanchard	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
67	Alberta	Calgary Skyview	Calgary	Najeeb	Butt	Progressive Canadian Party		Defeated
68	Alberta	Calgary Skyview	Calgary	Stephen	Garvey	Democratic Advancement		Defeated

						Party of Canada		
69	Alberta	Calgary Skyview	Calgary	Darshan Singh	Kang	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
70	Alberta	Calgary Skyview	Calgary	Ed	Reddy	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
71	Alberta	Calgary Skyview	Calgary	Devinder	Shory	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
72	Alberta	Calgary Skyview	Calgary	Sahajvir	Singh	New Democratic Party		Defeated
73	Alberta	Calgary Skyview	Calgary	Joseph	Young	Independent		Defeated
74	Alberta	Edmonton Centre	Edmonton	Randy	Boissonnault	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
75	Alberta	Edmonton Centre	Edmonton	James	Cumming	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
76	Alberta	Edmonton Centre	Edmonton	Gil	McGowan	New Democratic Party		Defeated
77	Alberta	Edmonton Centre	Edmonton	David	Parker	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
78	Alberta	Edmonton Centre	Edmonton	Steven	Stauffer	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
79	Alberta	Edmonton Centre	Edmonton	Kat	Yaki	Independent	F	Defeated
80	Alberta	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	Kerry	Diotte	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
81	Alberta	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	Brian	Gold	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
82	Alberta	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	Maryna	Goncharenko	Libertarian Party of Canada	F	Defeated
83	Alberta	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	Janis	Irwin	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
84	Alberta	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	Mary	Joyce	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
85	Alberta	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	Linda	Northcott	Marijuana Party	F	Defeated
86	Alberta	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	Bun Bun	Thompson	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
87	Alberta	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	Heather	Workman	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
88	Alberta	Edmonton Manning	Edmonton	Ziad	Aboultaif	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
89	Alberta	Edmonton Manning	Edmonton	Sukhdev	Aujla	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
90	Alberta	Edmonton Manning	Edmonton	Mebreate	Deres	Independent	F	Defeated
91	Alberta	Edmonton Manning	Edmonton	Aaron	Paquette	New Democratic Party		Defeated
92	Alberta	Edmonton Manning	Edmonton	André	Vachon	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
93	Alberta	Edmonton Manning	Edmonton	Chris	Vallee	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

94	Alberta	Edmonton Mill Woods	Edmonton	Jasvir	Deol	New Democratic Party		Defeated
95	Alberta	Edmonton Mill Woods	Edmonton	Peter	Downing	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
96	Alberta	Edmonton Mill Woods	Edmonton	Ralph	McLean	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
97	Alberta	Edmonton Mill Woods	Edmonton	Allen K.W.	Paley	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
98	Alberta	Edmonton Mill Woods	Edmonton	Naomi	Rankin	Communist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
99	Alberta	Edmonton Mill Woods	Edmonton	Amarjeet	Sohi	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
100	Alberta	Edmonton Mill Woods	Edmonton	Colin	Stubbs	Independent		Defeated
101	Alberta	Edmonton Mill Woods	Edmonton	Tim	Uppal	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
102	Alberta	Edmonton Riverbend	Edmonton	Tariq	Chaudary	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
103	Alberta	Edmonton Riverbend	Edmonton	Brian	Fleck	New Democratic Party		Defeated
104	Alberta	Edmonton Riverbend	Edmonton	Matt	Jeneroux	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
105	Alberta	Edmonton Riverbend	Edmonton	Valerie	Kennedy	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
106	Alberta	Edmonton Riverbend	Edmonton	Steven	Lack	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
107	Alberta	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	Jacob K.	Binnema	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
108	Alberta	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	Ryan	Bromsgrove	Pirate Party of Canada		Defeated
109	Alberta	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	Linda	Duncan	New Democratic Party	F	Re-Elected
110	Alberta	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	Donovan	Eckstrom	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
111	Alberta	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	Chris	Jones	Independent		Defeated
112	Alberta	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	Dougal	MacDonald	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
113	Alberta	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	Eleanor	Olszewski	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
114	Alberta	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	Andrew	Schurman	Independent		Defeated
115	Alberta	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	Malcolm	Stinson	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
116	Alberta	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	Len	Thom	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
117	Alberta	Edmonton West	Edmonton	Pamela Leslie	Bryan	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
118	Alberta	Edmonton West	Edmonton	Alexander	Dussault	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated

119	Alberta	Edmonton West	Edmonton	Karen	Leibovici	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
120	Alberta	Edmonton West	Edmonton	Heather	MacKenzie	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
121	Alberta	Edmonton West	Edmonton	Kelly	McCauley	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
122	Alberta	Edmonton West	Edmonton	Peggy	Morton	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
123	Alberta	Edmonton—Wetaskiwin	Edmonton	Jacqueline	Biollo	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
124	Alberta	Edmonton—Wetaskiwin	Edmonton	Fritz K.	Bitz	New Democratic Party		Defeated
125	Alberta	Edmonton—Wetaskiwin	Edmonton	Joy-Ann	Hut	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
126	Alberta	Edmonton—Wetaskiwin	Edmonton	Mike	Lake	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
127	Alberta	Edmonton—Wetaskiwin	Edmonton	Brayden	Whitlock	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
128	Alberta	Foothills		John	Barlow	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
129	Alberta	Foothills		Tanya	MacPherson	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
130	Alberta	Foothills		Cory	Morgan	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
131	Alberta	Foothills		Marc	Slingerland	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
132	Alberta	Foothills		Alison	Thompson	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
133	Alberta	Foothills		Romy S.	Tittel	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
134	Alberta	Fort McMurray—Cold Lake		Scott	Berry	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
135	Alberta	Fort McMurray—Cold Lake		Brian	Deheer	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
136	Alberta	Fort McMurray—Cold Lake		Kyle	Harrietha	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
137	Alberta	Fort McMurray—Cold Lake		Roelof	Janssen	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
138	Alberta	Fort McMurray—Cold Lake		Melody	Lepine	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
139	Alberta	Fort McMurray—Cold Lake		David	Yurdiga	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
140	Alberta	Grande Prairie—Mackenzie		James David	Friesen	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
141	Alberta	Grande Prairie—Mackenzie		Reagan	Johnston	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
142	Alberta	Grande Prairie—Mackenzie		Saba	Mossagizi	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated

143	Alberta	Grande Prairie—Mackenzie		Dylan Thompson		Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
144	Alberta	Grande Prairie—Mackenzie		Chris Warkentin		Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
145	Alberta	Lakeland	Edmonton	Robert George	McFadzean	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
146	Alberta	Lakeland	Edmonton	Danielle Montgomery		Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
147	Alberta	Lakeland	Edmonton	Garry Parenteau		Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
148	Alberta	Lakeland	Edmonton	Shannon Stubbs		Conservative Party of Canada	F	Elected
149	Alberta	Lakeland	Edmonton	Duane Zaraska		New Democratic Party		Defeated
150	Alberta	Lethbridge		Geoffrey Capp		Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
151	Alberta	Lethbridge		Rachael Harder		Conservative Party of Canada	F	Elected
152	Alberta	Lethbridge		Solly Krygier-Paine		Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
153	Alberta	Lethbridge		Kas MacMillan		Green Party of Canada		Defeated
154	Alberta	Lethbridge		Cheryl Meheden		New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
155	Alberta	Lethbridge		Mike Pyne		Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
156	Alberta	Medicine Hat—Cardston—Warner		Glen Allan		Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
157	Alberta	Medicine Hat—Cardston—Warner		Jim Hillyer		Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
158	Alberta	Medicine Hat—Cardston—Warner		Brent Smith		Green Party of Canada		Defeated
159	Alberta	Medicine Hat—Cardston—Warner		John Clayton	Turner	Independent		Defeated
160	Alberta	Medicine Hat—Cardston—Warner		Erin Weir		New Democratic Party		Defeated
161	Alberta	Peace River—Westlock		Cameron Alexis		New Democratic Party		Defeated
162	Alberta	Peace River—Westlock		Chris Brown		Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
163	Alberta	Peace River—Westlock		Sabrina Lee	Levac	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
164	Alberta	Peace River—Westlock		Jeremy Sergeew		Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
165	Alberta	Peace River—Westlock		Arnold Viersen		Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
166	Alberta	Red Deer—Lacombe		Blaine Calkins		Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
167	Alberta	Red Deer—Lacombe		Doug Hart		New Democratic Party		Defeated

168	Alberta	Red Deer— Lacombe		Les	Kuzyk	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
169	Alberta	Red Deer— Lacombe		Jeff	Rock	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
170	Alberta	Red Deer— Mountain View		Earl	Dreeshen	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
171	Alberta	Red Deer— Mountain View		Paul	Harris	New Democratic Party		Defeated
172	Alberta	Red Deer— Mountain View		Chandra Lescia	Kastern	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
173	Alberta	Red Deer— Mountain View		Scott	Milne	Pirate Party of Canada		Defeated
174	Alberta	Red Deer— Mountain View		Simon	Oleny	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
175	Alberta	Red Deer— Mountain View		James	Walper	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
176	Alberta	Sherwood Park— Fort Saskatchewan		Stephen C.	Burry	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
177	Alberta	Sherwood Park— Fort Saskatchewan		Joanne	Cave	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
178	Alberta	Sherwood Park— Fort Saskatchewan		James	Ford	Independent		Defeated
179	Alberta	Sherwood Park— Fort Saskatchewan		Rod	Frank	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
180	Alberta	Sherwood Park— Fort Saskatchewan		Garnett	Genuis	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
181	Alberta	Sherwood Park— Fort Saskatchewan		Brandie	Harrop	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
182	Alberta	St. Albert— Edmonton	Edmonton	Michael	Cooper	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
183	Alberta	St. Albert— Edmonton	Edmonton	Beatrice	Ghettuba	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
184	Alberta	St. Albert— Edmonton	Edmonton	Darlene	Malayko	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
185	Alberta	St. Albert— Edmonton	Edmonton	Andrea	Oldham	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
186	Alberta	St. Albert— Edmonton	Edmonton	Brent	Rathgeber	Independent		Defeated
187	Alberta	Sturgeon River— Parkland	Edmonton	Rona	Ambrose	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
188	Alberta	Sturgeon River— Parkland	Edmonton	Ernest	Chauvet	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
189	Alberta	Sturgeon River— Parkland	Edmonton	Guy	Desforjes	New Democratic Party		Defeated
190	Alberta	Sturgeon River— Parkland	Edmonton	Travis	Dueck	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
191	Alberta	Sturgeon River— Parkland	Edmonton	Brendon	Greene	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
192	Alberta	Yellowhead	Edmonton	Jim	Eglinski	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected

193	Alberta	Yellowhead	Edmonton	Ken	Kuzminski	New Democratic Party		Defeated
194	Alberta	Yellowhead	Edmonton	Cory	Lystang	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
195	Alberta	Yellowhead	Edmonton	Ryan Heinz	Maguhn	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
196	Alberta	Yellowhead	Edmonton	Sandra	Wolf Lange	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
197	British Columbia	Abbotsford		Ed	Fast	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
198	British Columbia	Abbotsford		Stephen	Fowler	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
199	British Columbia	Abbotsford		David	MacKay	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
200	British Columbia	Abbotsford		Jen	Martel	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
201	British Columbia	Abbotsford		Peter	Njenga	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
202	British Columbia	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	Carol	Baird Ellan	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
203	British Columbia	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	Terry	Beech	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
204	British Columbia	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	Helen Hee Soon	Chang	Independent	F	Defeated
205	British Columbia	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	Brent	Jantzen	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
206	British Columbia	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	Mike	Little	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
207	British Columbia	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	Lynne	Quarmby	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
208	British Columbia	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	Brian	Sproule	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
209	British Columbia	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	Chris	Tylor	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
210	British Columbia	Burnaby South		Liz	Jaluague	Libertarian Party of Canada	F	Defeated
211	British Columbia	Burnaby South		Adam	Pankratz	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
212	British Columbia	Burnaby South		Grace	Seear	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
213	British Columbia	Burnaby South		Kennedy	Stewart	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
214	British Columbia	Burnaby South		Wyatt	Tessari	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
215	British Columbia	Cariboo—Prince George		Tracy	Calogheros	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
215	British Columbia	Cariboo—Prince George		Tracy	Calogheros	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
216	British Columbia	Cariboo—Prince George		Gordon	Campbell	No Affiliation		Defeated

217	British Columbia	Cariboo—Prince George		Sheldon	Clare	Independent		Defeated
218	British Columbia	Cariboo—Prince George		Adam	De Kroon	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
219	British Columbia	Cariboo—Prince George		Trent	Derrick	New Democratic Party		Defeated
220	British Columbia	Cariboo—Prince George		Todd	Doherty	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
221	British Columbia	Cariboo—Prince George		Richard Edward	Jaques	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
222	British Columbia	Central Okanagan—Similkameen—Nicola		Dan	Albas	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
223	British Columbia	Central Okanagan—Similkameen—Nicola		Robert	Mellalieu	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
224	British Columbia	Central Okanagan—Similkameen—Nicola		Karley	Scott	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
225	British Columbia	Central Okanagan—Similkameen—Nicola		Angelique	Wood	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
226	British Columbia	Chilliwack—Hope		Thomas	Cheney	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
227	British Columbia	Chilliwack—Hope		Louis	De Jaeger	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
228	British Columbia	Chilliwack—Hope		Alexander	Johnson	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
229	British Columbia	Chilliwack—Hope		Seonaigh	MacPherson	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
230	British Columbia	Chilliwack—Hope		Dorothy-Jean	O'Donnell	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
231	British Columbia	Chilliwack—Hope		Mark	Strahl	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
232	British Columbia	Cloverdale—Langley City		John	Aldag	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
233	British Columbia	Cloverdale—Langley City		Scott	Anderson	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
234	British Columbia	Cloverdale—Langley City		Dean	Drysdale	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
235	British Columbia	Cloverdale—Langley City		Rebecca	Smith	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
236	British Columbia	Coquitlam—Port Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	Lewis	Dahlby	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
237	British Columbia	Coquitlam—Port Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	Douglas	Horne	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
238	British Columbia	Coquitlam—Port Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	Ron	McKinnon	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
239	British Columbia	Coquitlam—Port Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	Brad	Nickason	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

240	British Columbia	Coquitlam—Port Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	Sara	Norman	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
241	British Columbia	Courtenay—Alberni		Barbara	Biley	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
242	British Columbia	Courtenay—Alberni		John	Duncan	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
243	British Columbia	Courtenay—Alberni		Gord	Johns	New Democratic Party		Elected
244	British Columbia	Courtenay—Alberni		Carrie	Powell-Davidson	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
245	British Columbia	Courtenay—Alberni		Glenn	Sollitt	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
246	British Columbia	Cowichan—Malahat—Langford		Martin	Barker	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
247	British Columbia	Cowichan—Malahat—Langford		Alastair	Haythornthwaite	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
248	British Columbia	Cowichan—Malahat—Langford		Fran	Hunt-Jinnouchi	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
249	British Columbia	Cowichan—Malahat—Langford		Luke	Krayenhoff	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
250	British Columbia	Cowichan—Malahat—Langford		Alistair	MacGregor	New Democratic Party		Elected
251	British Columbia	Delta		Anthony Edward	Devellano	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
252	British Columbia	Delta		Kerry-Lynne D.	Findlay	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
253	British Columbia	Delta		Jeremy	Leveque	New Democratic Party		Defeated
254	British Columbia	Delta		Carla	Qualtrough	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
255	British Columbia	Esquimalt—Saanich—Sooke	Victoria	Randall	Garrison	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
256	British Columbia	Esquimalt—Saanich—Sooke	Victoria	Frances	Litman	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
257	British Columbia	Esquimalt—Saanich—Sooke	Victoria	Shari	Lukens	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
258	British Columbia	Esquimalt—Saanich—Sooke	Victoria	David	Merner	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
259	British Columbia	Esquimalt—Saanich—Sooke	Victoria	Tyson	Strandlund	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
260	British Columbia	Fleetwood—Port Kells	Vancouver (City)	Garry	Begg	New Democratic Party		Defeated
261	British Columbia	Fleetwood—Port Kells	Vancouver (City)	Nina	Grewal	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
262	British Columbia	Fleetwood—Port Kells	Vancouver (City)	Ken	Hardie	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
263	British Columbia	Fleetwood—Port Kells	Vancouver (City)	Richard	Hosein	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

264	British Columbia	Kamloops—Thompson—Cariboo		Matt	Greenwood	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
265	British Columbia	Kamloops—Thompson—Cariboo		Cathy	McLeod	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
266	British Columbia	Kamloops—Thompson—Cariboo		Steve	Powrie	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
267	British Columbia	Kamloops—Thompson—Cariboo		Bill	Sundhu	New Democratic Party		Defeated
268	British Columbia	Kelowna—Lake Country		Norah Mary	Bowman	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
269	British Columbia	Kelowna—Lake Country		Ron	Cannan	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
270	British Columbia	Kelowna—Lake Country		Stephen	Fuhr	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
271	British Columbia	Kootenay—Columbia		Bill	Green	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
272	British Columbia	Kootenay—Columbia		Don	Johnston	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
273	British Columbia	Kootenay—Columbia		Wayne	Stetski	New Democratic Party		Elected
274	British Columbia	Kootenay—Columbia		David	Wilks	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
275	British Columbia	Langley—Aldergrove	Vancouver (City)	Simmi Saminder Kaur	Dhillon	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
276	British Columbia	Langley—Aldergrove	Vancouver (City)	Leon	Jensen	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
277	British Columbia	Langley—Aldergrove	Vancouver (City)	Margot	Sangster	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
278	British Columbia	Langley—Aldergrove	Vancouver (City)	Lauren	Southern	Libertarian Party of Canada	F	Defeated
279	British Columbia	Langley—Aldergrove	Vancouver (City)	Mark	Warawa	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
280	British Columbia	Mission—Matsqui—Fraser Canyon		Dennis	Adamson	New Democratic Party		Defeated
281	British Columbia	Mission—Matsqui—Fraser Canyon		Arthur Alexander	Green	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
282	British Columbia	Mission—Matsqui—Fraser Canyon		Wyatt	Scott	Independent		Defeated
283	British Columbia	Mission—Matsqui—Fraser Canyon		Jati	Sidhu	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
284	British Columbia	Mission—Matsqui—Fraser Canyon		Brad	Vis	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
285	British Columbia	Mission—Matsqui—Fraser Canyon		Elaine	Wismer	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
286	British Columbia	Nanaimo—Ladysmith		Jack	East	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated

287	British Columbia	Nanaimo—Ladysmith		Mark Allen	MacDonald	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
288	British Columbia	Nanaimo—Ladysmith		Sheila	Malcolmson	New Democratic Party	F	Elected
289	British Columbia	Nanaimo—Ladysmith		Paul	Manly	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
290	British Columbia	Nanaimo—Ladysmith		Tim	Tessier	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
291	British Columbia	New Westminster—Burnaby	Vancouver (City)	Rex	Brocki	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
292	British Columbia	New Westminster—Burnaby	Vancouver (City)	Chloé	Ellis	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
293	British Columbia	New Westminster—Burnaby	Vancouver (City)	Peter	Julian	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
294	British Columbia	New Westminster—Burnaby	Vancouver (City)	Sasha	Ramnarine	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
295	British Columbia	New Westminster—Burnaby	Vancouver (City)	Kyle	Routledge	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
296	British Columbia	New Westminster—Burnaby	Vancouver (City)	Joseph	Theriault	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
297	British Columbia	North Island—Powell River		Rachel	Blaney	New Democratic Party	F	Elected
298	British Columbia	North Island—Powell River		Brenda	Sayers	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
299	British Columbia	North Island—Powell River		Peter	Schwarzhoff	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
300	British Columbia	North Island—Powell River		Laura	Smith	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
301	British Columbia	North Okanagan—Shuswap		Mel	Arnold	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
302	British Columbia	North Okanagan—Shuswap		Cindy	Derkaz	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
303	British Columbia	North Okanagan—Shuswap		Chris	George	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
304	British Columbia	North Okanagan—Shuswap		Jacqui	Gingras	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
305	British Columbia	North Vancouver	Vancouver (City)	Payam	Azad	Independent		Defeated
306	British Columbia	North Vancouver	Vancouver (City)	Claire	Martin	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
307	British Columbia	North Vancouver	Vancouver (City)	Andrew	Saxton	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
308	British Columbia	North Vancouver	Vancouver (City)	Carleen	Thomas	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
309	British Columbia	North Vancouver	Vancouver (City)	Jonathan	Wilkinson	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
310	British Columbia	North Vancouver	Vancouver (City)	Ismet	Yetisen	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated

311	British Columbia	Pitt Meadows—Maple Ridge		Bob	D'Eith	New Democratic Party		Defeated
312	British Columbia	Pitt Meadows—Maple Ridge		Mike	Murray	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
313	British Columbia	Pitt Meadows—Maple Ridge		Steve	Ranta	Independent		Defeated
314	British Columbia	Pitt Meadows—Maple Ridge		Dan	Ruimy	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
315	British Columbia	Pitt Meadows—Maple Ridge		Peter	Tam	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
316	British Columbia	Port Moody—Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	Jessie	Adcock	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
317	British Columbia	Port Moody—Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	Fin	Donnelly	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
318	British Columbia	Port Moody—Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	Tim	Laidler	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
319	British Columbia	Port Moody—Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	Marcus	Madsen	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
320	British Columbia	Port Moody—Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	Roland	Verrier	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
321	British Columbia	Prince George—Peace River—Northern Rockies		Elizabeth	Biggar	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
322	British Columbia	Prince George—Peace River—Northern Rockies		Barry	Blackman	Progressive Canadian Party		Defeated
323	British Columbia	Prince George—Peace River—Northern Rockies		Kathi	Dickie	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
324	British Columbia	Prince George—Peace River—Northern Rockies		W. Todd	Keller	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
325	British Columbia	Prince George—Peace River—Northern Rockies		Matt	Shaw	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
326	British Columbia	Prince George—Peace River—Northern Rockies		Bob	Zimmer	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
327	British Columbia	Richmond Centre	Vancouver (City)	Vincent	Chiu	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
328	British Columbia	Richmond Centre	Vancouver (City)	Jack	Trovato	New Democratic Party		Defeated
329	British Columbia	Richmond Centre	Vancouver (City)	Alice	Wong	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
330	British Columbia	Richmond Centre	Vancouver (City)	Lawrence	Woo	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
331	British Columbia	Saanich—Gulf Islands	Victoria	Robert	Boyd	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
332	British Columbia	Saanich—Gulf Islands	Victoria	Alicia	Cormier	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
333	British Columbia	Saanich—Gulf Islands	Victoria	Tim	Kane	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
334	British Columbia	Saanich—Gulf Islands	Victoria	Elizabeth	May	Green Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected

335	British Columbia	Saanich—Gulf Islands	Victoria	Meghan Jess	Porter	Libertarian Party of Canada	F	Defeated
336	British Columbia	Skeena—Bulkley Valley		Nathan	Cullen	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
337	British Columbia	Skeena—Bulkley Valley		Brad	Layton	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
338	British Columbia	Skeena—Bulkley Valley		Tyler	Nesbitt	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
339	British Columbia	Skeena—Bulkley Valley		Jeannie	Parnell	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
340	British Columbia	Skeena—Bulkley Valley		Don	Spratt	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
341	British Columbia	South Okanagan—West Kootenay		Richard	Cannings	New Democratic Party		Elected
342	British Columbia	South Okanagan—West Kootenay		Connie	Denesiuk	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
343	British Columbia	South Okanagan—West Kootenay		Brian	Gray	Independent		Defeated
344	British Columbia	South Okanagan—West Kootenay		Marshall	Neufeld	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
345	British Columbia	South Okanagan—West Kootenay		Samantha	Troy	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
346	British Columbia	South Surrey—White Rock		Larry	Colero	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
347	British Columbia	South Surrey—White Rock		Judy	Higginbotham	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
348	British Columbia	South Surrey—White Rock		Pixie	Hobby	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
349	British Columbia	South Surrey—White Rock		Bonnie	Hu	Libertarian Party of Canada	F	Defeated
350	British Columbia	South Surrey—White Rock		Brian	Marlatt	Progressive Canadian Party		Defeated
351	British Columbia	South Surrey—White Rock		Dianne L.	Watts	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Elected
352	British Columbia	Steveston—Richmond East	Vancouver Region	Kenny	Chiu	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
353	British Columbia	Steveston—Richmond East	Vancouver Region	Joe	Peschisolido	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
354	British Columbia	Steveston—Richmond East	Vancouver Region	Laura-Leah	Shaw	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
355	British Columbia	Steveston—Richmond East	Vancouver Region	Scott	Stewart	New Democratic Party		Defeated
356	British Columbia	Steveston—Richmond East	Vancouver Region	Matthew	Swanston	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
357	British Columbia	Surrey Centre	Vancouver (City)	Jeremiah	Deneault	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
358	British Columbia	Surrey Centre	Vancouver (City)	Iqbal	Kahlon	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
359	British Columbia	Surrey Centre	Vancouver (City)	Kevin	Pielak	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated

360	British Columbia	Surrey Centre	Vancouver (City)	Jasbir	Sandhu	New Democratic Party		Defeated
361	British Columbia	Surrey Centre	Vancouver (City)	Randeep	Sarai	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
362	British Columbia	Surrey Centre	Vancouver (City)	Sucha	Thind	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
363	British Columbia	Surrey—Newton	Vancouver (City)	Sukh	Dhaliwal	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
364	British Columbia	Surrey—Newton	Vancouver (City)	Pamela	Sangha	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
365	British Columbia	Surrey—Newton	Vancouver (City)	Jinny Jogindera	Sims	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
366	British Columbia	Surrey—Newton	Vancouver (City)	Harpreet	Singh	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
367	British Columbia	Vancouver Centre	Vancouver (City)	Elaine	Allan	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
368	British Columbia	Vancouver Centre	Vancouver (City)	Constance	Barnes	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
369	British Columbia	Vancouver Centre	Vancouver (City)	Lisa	Barrett	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
370	British Columbia	Vancouver Centre	Vancouver (City)	John	Clarke	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
371	British Columbia	Vancouver Centre	Vancouver (City)	Hedy	Fry	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
372	British Columbia	Vancouver Centre	Vancouver (City)	Michael	Hill	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
373	British Columbia	Vancouver East	Vancouver (City)	Anne	Jamieson	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
374	British Columbia	Vancouver East	Vancouver (City)	Jenny	Kwan	New Democratic Party	F	Elected
375	British Columbia	Vancouver East	Vancouver (City)	James	Low	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
376	British Columbia	Vancouver East	Vancouver (City)	Peter	Marcus	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
377	British Columbia	Vancouver East	Vancouver (City)	D. Alex	Millar	Independent		Defeated
378	British Columbia	Vancouver East	Vancouver (City)	Wes	Regan	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
379	British Columbia	Vancouver East	Vancouver (City)	Shawn	Vulliez	Pirate Party of Canada		Defeated
380	British Columbia	Vancouver East	Vancouver (City)	Edward	Wong	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
381	British Columbia	Vancouver Granville	Vancouver (City)	Michael	Barkusky	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
382	British Columbia	Vancouver Granville	Vancouver (City)	Erinn	Broshko	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
383	British Columbia	Vancouver Granville	Vancouver (City)	Mira	Oreck	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
384	British Columbia	Vancouver Granville	Vancouver (City)	Jody	Wilson-Raybould	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected

385	British Columbia	Vancouver Kingsway	Vancouver (City)	Kimball	Cariou	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
386	British Columbia	Vancouver Kingsway	Vancouver (City)	Don	Davies	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
387	British Columbia	Vancouver Kingsway	Vancouver (City)	Matt	Kadioglu	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
388	British Columbia	Vancouver Kingsway	Vancouver (City)	Steven	Kou	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
389	British Columbia	Vancouver Kingsway	Vancouver (City)	Catherine	Moore	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
390	British Columbia	Vancouver Kingsway	Vancouver (City)	Donna	Petersen	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
391	British Columbia	Vancouver Kingsway	Vancouver (City)	Jojo	Quimpo	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
392	British Columbia	Vancouver Quadra	Vancouver (City)	Scott	Andrews	New Democratic Party		Defeated
393	British Columbia	Vancouver Quadra	Vancouver (City)	Marc	Boyer	Marijuana Party		Defeated
394	British Columbia	Vancouver Quadra	Vancouver (City)	Jean-François	Caron	Independent		Defeated
395	British Columbia	Vancouver Quadra	Vancouver (City)	Kris	Constable	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
396	British Columbia	Vancouver Quadra	Vancouver (City)	Blair	Lockhart	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
397	British Columbia	Vancouver Quadra	Vancouver (City)	Joyce	Murray	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
398	British Columbia	Vancouver Quadra	Vancouver (City)	Trevor Clinton	Walper	Pirate Party of Canada		Defeated
399	British Columbia	Vancouver South	Vancouver (City)	Charles	Boylan	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
400	British Columbia	Vancouver South	Vancouver (City)	Raj	Gupta	Progressive Canadian Party		Defeated
401	British Columbia	Vancouver South	Vancouver (City)	Elain	Ng	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
402	British Columbia	Vancouver South	Vancouver (City)	Amandeep	Nijjar	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
403	British Columbia	Vancouver South	Vancouver (City)	Harjit S.	Sajjan	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
404	British Columbia	Vancouver South	Vancouver (City)	Wai	Young	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
405	British Columbia	Victoria	Victoria	Saul	Andersen	Independent		Defeated
406	British Columbia	Victoria	Victoria	Art	Lowe	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
407	British Columbia	Victoria	Victoria	Murray	Rankin	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
408	British Columbia	Victoria	Victoria	Jordan	Reichert	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada		Defeated

409	British Columbia	Victoria	Victoria	John	Rizzuti	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
410	British Columbia	Victoria	Victoria	Jo-Ann	Roberts	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
411	British Columbia	Victoria	Victoria	Cheryl	Thomas	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
412	British Columbia	West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country	Vancouver (City)	Carol	Chapman	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
413	British Columbia	West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country	Vancouver (City)	Pam	Goldsmith-Jones	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
414	British Columbia	West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country	Vancouver (City)	Robin	Kehler	Marijuana Party		Defeated
415	British Columbia	West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country	Vancouver (City)	Larry	Koopman	New Democratic Party		Defeated
416	British Columbia	West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country	Vancouver (City)	Ken	Melamed	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
417	British Columbia	West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country	Vancouver (City)	John	Weston	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
418	Manitoba	Brandon—Souris		Larry	Maguire	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
419	Manitoba	Brandon—Souris		David Michael	Neufeld	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
420	Manitoba	Brandon—Souris		Melissa Joy	Wastasecoot	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
421	Manitoba	Brandon—Souris		Jodi	Wyman	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
422	Manitoba	Charleswood—St. James—Assiniboia—Headingley	Winnipeg	Doug	Eyolfson	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
423	Manitoba	Charleswood—St. James—Assiniboia—Headingley	Winnipeg	Steven	Fletcher	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
424	Manitoba	Charleswood—St. James—Assiniboia—Headingley	Winnipeg	Kevin	Nichols	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
425	Manitoba	Charleswood—St. James—Assiniboia—Headingley	Winnipeg	Tom	Paulley	New Democratic Party		Defeated
426	Manitoba	Churchill—Keewatinook Aski		Niki	Ashton	New Democratic Party	F	Re-Elected
427	Manitoba	Churchill—Keewatinook Aski		Rebecca	Chartrand	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
428	Manitoba	Churchill—Keewatinook Aski		August	Hastmann	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
429	Manitoba	Churchill—Keewatinook Aski		Zachary	Linnick	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
430	Manitoba	Churchill—Keewatinook Aski		Kyle G.	Mirecki	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated

431	Manitoba	Dauphin—Swan River—Neepawa		Laverne	Lewycky	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
432	Manitoba	Dauphin—Swan River—Neepawa		Inky	Mark	Independent		Defeated
433	Manitoba	Dauphin—Swan River—Neepawa		Ray	Piché	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
434	Manitoba	Dauphin—Swan River—Neepawa		Robert	Sopuck	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
435	Manitoba	Dauphin—Swan River—Neepawa		Kate	Storey	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
436	Manitoba	Elmwood—Transcona	Winnipeg	Daniel	Blaikie	New Democratic Party		Elected
437	Manitoba	Elmwood—Transcona	Winnipeg	Kim	Parke	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
438	Manitoba	Elmwood—Transcona	Winnipeg	Andrea	Richardson-Lipon	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
439	Manitoba	Elmwood—Transcona	Winnipeg	Lawrence	Toet	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
440	Manitoba	Kildonan—St. Paul	Winnipeg	Jim	Bell	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
441	Manitoba	Kildonan—St. Paul	Winnipeg	Eduard	Hiebert	Independent		Defeated
442	Manitoba	Kildonan—St. Paul	Winnipeg	Suzanne	Hrynyk	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
443	Manitoba	Kildonan—St. Paul	Winnipeg	MaryAnn	Mihychuk	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
444	Manitoba	Kildonan—St. Paul	Winnipeg	David	Reimer	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
445	Manitoba	Kildonan—St. Paul	Winnipeg	Steven	Stairs	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
446	Manitoba	Portage—Lisgar	Winnipeg	Candice	Bergen	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
447	Manitoba	Portage—Lisgar	Winnipeg	Jerome	Dondo	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
448	Manitoba	Portage—Lisgar	Winnipeg	Beverley	Eert	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
449	Manitoba	Portage—Lisgar	Winnipeg	Dean	Harder	New Democratic Party		Defeated
450	Manitoba	Portage—Lisgar	Winnipeg	Ken	Werbiski	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
451	Manitoba	Provencher		Ted	Falk	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
452	Manitoba	Provencher		Terrance	Hayward	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
453	Manitoba	Provencher		Les	Lilley	New Democratic Party		Defeated
454	Manitoba	Provencher		Jeff	Wheeldon	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
455	Manitoba	Saint Boniface—Saint Vital		François	Catellier	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated

456	Manitoba	Saint Boniface— Saint Vital		Erin	Selby	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
457	Manitoba	Saint Boniface— Saint Vital		Dan	Vandal	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
458	Manitoba	Saint Boniface— Saint Vital		Glenn	Zaretski	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
459	Manitoba	Selkirk— Interlake— Eastman	Winnipeg	James	Bezan	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
460	Manitoba	Selkirk— Interlake— Eastman	Winnipeg	Deborah	Chief	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
461	Manitoba	Selkirk— Interlake— Eastman	Winnipeg	Donald L.	Grant	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
462	Manitoba	Selkirk— Interlake— Eastman	Winnipeg	Wayne	James	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
463	Manitoba	Selkirk— Interlake— Eastman	Winnipeg	Joanne	Levy	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
464	Manitoba	Winnipeg Centre	Winnipeg	Pat	Martin	New Democratic Party		Defeated
465	Manitoba	Winnipeg Centre	Winnipeg	Scott	Miller	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
466	Manitoba	Winnipeg Centre	Winnipeg	Robert- Falcon	Ouellette	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
467	Manitoba	Winnipeg Centre	Winnipeg	Darrell	Rankin	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
468	Manitoba	Winnipeg Centre	Winnipeg	Allie	Szarkiewicz	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
469	Manitoba	Winnipeg Centre	Winnipeg	Don	Woodstock	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
470	Manitoba	Winnipeg North	Winnipeg	Levy	Abad	New Democratic Party		Defeated
471	Manitoba	Winnipeg North	Winnipeg	Kevin	Lamoureux	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
472	Manitoba	Winnipeg North	Winnipeg	John	Redekopp	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
473	Manitoba	Winnipeg North	Winnipeg	Harpreet	Turka	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
474	Manitoba	Winnipeg South	Winnipeg	Terry	Duguid	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
475	Manitoba	Winnipeg South	Winnipeg	Gordon	Giesbrecht	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
476	Manitoba	Winnipeg South	Winnipeg	Brianne	Goertzen	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
477	Manitoba	Winnipeg South	Winnipeg	Adam	Smith	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
478	Manitoba	Winnipeg South Centre	Winnipeg	Joyce	Bateman	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
479	Manitoba	Winnipeg South Centre	Winnipeg	Jim	Carr	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected

480	Manitoba	Winnipeg South Centre	Winnipeg	Matt Henderson		New Democratic Party		Defeated
481	Manitoba	Winnipeg South Centre	Winnipeg	Andrew Park		Green Party of Canada		Defeated
482	New Brunswick	Acadie—Bathurst		Dominique Breau		Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
483	New Brunswick	Acadie—Bathurst		Serge Cormier		Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
484	New Brunswick	Acadie—Bathurst		Riba Girouard-Riordon		Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
485	New Brunswick	Acadie—Bathurst		Jason Godin		New Democratic Party		Defeated
486	New Brunswick	Beauséjour		Ann Bastarache		Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
487	New Brunswick	Beauséjour		Hélène Boudreau		New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
488	New Brunswick	Beauséjour		Kevin King		Green Party of Canada		Defeated
489	New Brunswick	Beauséjour		Dominic LeBlanc		Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
490	New Brunswick	Fredericton		Keith Ashfield		Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
491	New Brunswick	Fredericton		Mary Lou Babineau		Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
492	New Brunswick	Fredericton		Matt DeCoursey		Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
493	New Brunswick	Fredericton		Sharon Scott-Levesque		New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
494	New Brunswick	Fundy Royal		David Amos		Independent		Defeated
495	New Brunswick	Fundy Royal		Stephanie Coburn		Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
496	New Brunswick	Fundy Royal		Alaina Lockhart		Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
497	New Brunswick	Fundy Royal		Jennifer McKenzie		New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
498	New Brunswick	Fundy Royal		Rob Moore		Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
499	New Brunswick	Madawaska—Restigouche		René Arseneault		Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
500	New Brunswick	Madawaska—Restigouche		Françoise Aubin		Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
501	New Brunswick	Madawaska—Restigouche		Rosaire L'Italien		New Democratic Party		Defeated
502	New Brunswick	Madawaska—Restigouche		Bernard Valcourt		Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
503	New Brunswick	Miramichi—Grand Lake		Matthew Ian Clark		Green Party of Canada		Defeated
504	New Brunswick	Miramichi—Grand Lake		Patrick Colford		New Democratic Party		Defeated
505	New Brunswick	Miramichi—Grand Lake		Pat Finnigan		Liberal Party of Canada		Elected

506	New Brunswick	Miramichi—Grand Lake		Tilly	O'Neill Gordon	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
507	New Brunswick	Moncton—Riverview—Dieppe		Robert	Goguen	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
508	New Brunswick	Moncton—Riverview—Dieppe		Luc	LeBlanc	New Democratic Party		Defeated
509	New Brunswick	Moncton—Riverview—Dieppe		Luc	Melanson	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
510	New Brunswick	Moncton—Riverview—Dieppe		Ginette	Petitpas Taylor	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
511	New Brunswick	New Brunswick Southwest		Andrew	Graham	New Democratic Party		Defeated
512	New Brunswick	New Brunswick Southwest		Karen	Ludwig	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
513	New Brunswick	New Brunswick Southwest		Gayla	MacIntosh	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
514	New Brunswick	New Brunswick Southwest		John	Williamson	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
515	New Brunswick	Saint John—Rothesay		AJ	Griffin	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
516	New Brunswick	Saint John—Rothesay		Wayne	Long	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
517	New Brunswick	Saint John—Rothesay		Sharon	Murphy-Flatt	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
518	New Brunswick	Saint John—Rothesay		Rodney	Weston	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
519	New Brunswick	Tobique—Mactaquac		Richard	Bragdon	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
520	New Brunswick	Tobique—Mactaquac		T.J.	Harvey	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
521	New Brunswick	Tobique—Mactaquac		Robert	Kitchen	New Democratic Party		Defeated
522	New Brunswick	Tobique—Mactaquac		Terry	Wishart	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
523	Newfoundland and Labrador	Avalon	St. John's (NF)	Scott	Andrews	No Affiliation		Defeated
524	Newfoundland and Labrador	Avalon	St. John's (NF)	Jeannie	Baldwin	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
525	Newfoundland and Labrador	Avalon	St. John's (NF)	Lorraine E.	Barnett	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
526	Newfoundland and Labrador	Avalon	St. John's (NF)	Krista	Byrne-Puumala	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
527	Newfoundland and Labrador	Avalon	St. John's (NF)	Jennifer	McCreath	Forces et Démocratie	F	Defeated
528	Newfoundland and Labrador	Avalon	St. John's (NF)	Ken	McDonald	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
529	Newfoundland and Labrador	Bonavista—Burin—Trinity		Jenn	Brown	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
530	Newfoundland and Labrador	Bonavista—Burin—Trinity		Tyler John	Colbourne	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

531	Newfoundland and Labrador	Bonavista—Burin—Trinity		Judy Foote		Liberal Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
532	Newfoundland and Labrador	Bonavista—Burin—Trinity		Mike Windsor		Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
533	Newfoundland and Labrador	Coast of Bays—Central—Notre Dame		Claudette Menchenton		New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
534	Newfoundland and Labrador	Coast of Bays—Central—Notre Dame		Kevin George O'Brien		Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
535	Newfoundland and Labrador	Coast of Bays—Central—Notre Dame		Elizabeth Perry		Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
536	Newfoundland and Labrador	Coast of Bays—Central—Notre Dame		Scott Simms		Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
537	Newfoundland and Labrador	Labrador		Yvonne Jones		Liberal Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
538	Newfoundland and Labrador	Labrador		Peter Penashue		Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
539	Newfoundland and Labrador	Labrador		Edward Rudkowski		New Democratic Party		Defeated
540	Newfoundland and Labrador	Long Range Mountains		Devon Babstock		New Democratic Party		Defeated
541	Newfoundland and Labrador	Long Range Mountains		Terry Cormier		Green Party of Canada		Defeated
542	Newfoundland and Labrador	Long Range Mountains		Gudie Hutchings		Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
543	Newfoundland and Labrador	Long Range Mountains		Wayne Ruth		Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
544	Newfoundland and Labrador	St. John's East	St. John's (NF)	Sean Burton		Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
545	Newfoundland and Labrador	St. John's East	St. John's (NF)	Jack Harris		New Democratic Party		Defeated
546	Newfoundland and Labrador	St. John's East	St. John's (NF)	David Anthony Peters		Green Party of Canada		Defeated
547	Newfoundland and Labrador	St. John's East	St. John's (NF)	Deanne Stapleton		Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
548	Newfoundland and Labrador	St. John's East	St. John's (NF)	Nick Whalen		Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
549	Newfoundland and Labrador	St. John's South—Mount Pearl	St. John's (NF)	Ryan Cleary		New Democratic Party		Defeated
550	Newfoundland and Labrador	St. John's South—Mount Pearl	St. John's (NF)	Marek Krol		Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
551	Newfoundland and Labrador	St. John's South—Mount Pearl	St. John's (NF)	Jackson McLean		Green Party of Canada		Defeated
552	Newfoundland and Labrador	St. John's South—Mount Pearl	St. John's (NF)	Seamus O'Regan		Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
553	Northwest Territories	Northwest Territories		Dennis Bevington		New Democratic Party		Defeated
554	Northwest Territories	Northwest Territories		Michael McLeod		Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
555	Northwest Territories	Northwest Territories		John Moore		Green Party of Canada		Defeated

556	Northwest Territories	Northwest Territories		Floyd	Roland	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
557	Nova Scotia	Cape Breton—Canso		Maria Goretti	Coady	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
558	Nova Scotia	Cape Breton—Canso		Rodger	Cuzner	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
559	Nova Scotia	Cape Breton—Canso		Adam Daniel	Rodgers	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
560	Nova Scotia	Cape Breton—Canso		Michelle	Smith	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
561	Nova Scotia	Central Nova	Halifax	Fred	DeLorey	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
562	Nova Scotia	Central Nova	Halifax	Sean	Fraser	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
563	Nova Scotia	Central Nova	Halifax	David	Hachey	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
564	Nova Scotia	Central Nova	Halifax	Ross	Landry	New Democratic Party		Defeated
565	Nova Scotia	Central Nova	Halifax	Alexander J.	MacKenzie	Independent		Defeated
566	Nova Scotia	Cumberland—Colchester		Scott	Armstrong	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
567	Nova Scotia	Cumberland—Colchester		Jason	Blanch	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
568	Nova Scotia	Cumberland—Colchester		Bill	Casey	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
569	Nova Scotia	Cumberland—Colchester		Kenneth	Jackson	Independent		Defeated
570	Nova Scotia	Cumberland—Colchester		Richard Trueman	Plett	Independent		Defeated
571	Nova Scotia	Cumberland—Colchester		Wendy	Robinson	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
572	Nova Scotia	Dartmouth—Cole Harbour	Halifax	Robert	Chisholm	New Democratic Party		Defeated
573	Nova Scotia	Dartmouth—Cole Harbour	Halifax	Jason	Cole	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
574	Nova Scotia	Dartmouth—Cole Harbour	Halifax	Darren	Fisher	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
575	Nova Scotia	Dartmouth—Cole Harbour	Halifax	Brynn	Nheiley	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
576	Nova Scotia	Halifax	Halifax	Allan	Bezanson	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
577	Nova Scotia	Halifax	Halifax	Irvine	Carvery	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
578	Nova Scotia	Halifax	Halifax	Andy	Fillmore	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
579	Nova Scotia	Halifax	Halifax	Megan	Leslie	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
580	Nova Scotia	Halifax	Halifax	Thomas	Trappenberg	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
581	Nova Scotia	Halifax West	Halifax	Joanne	Hussey	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated

582	Nova Scotia	Halifax West	Halifax	Michael	McGinnis	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
583	Nova Scotia	Halifax West	Halifax	Geoff	Regan	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
584	Nova Scotia	Halifax West	Halifax	Richard Henryk	Zurawski	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
585	Nova Scotia	Kings—Hants	Halifax	Scott	Brison	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
586	Nova Scotia	Kings—Hants	Halifax	Megan	Brown-Hodges	Rhinoceros Party	F	Defeated
587	Nova Scotia	Kings—Hants	Halifax	Will	Cooper	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
588	Nova Scotia	Kings—Hants	Halifax	Hugh	Curry	New Democratic Party		Defeated
589	Nova Scotia	Kings—Hants	Halifax	David	Morse	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
590	Nova Scotia	Kings—Hants	Halifax	Edd	Twohig	Independent		Defeated
591	Nova Scotia	Kings—Hants	Halifax	Clifford James	Williams	Independent		Defeated
592	Nova Scotia	Sackville—Preston—Chezzetcook	Halifax	Mike	Montgomery	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
593	Nova Scotia	Sackville—Preston—Chezzetcook	Halifax	Darrell	Samson	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
594	Nova Scotia	Sackville—Preston—Chezzetcook	Halifax	Peter	Stoffer	New Democratic Party		Defeated
595	Nova Scotia	Sackville—Preston—Chezzetcook	Halifax	Robert Thomas	Strickland	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
596	Nova Scotia	South Shore—St. Margarets	Halifax	Ryan	Barry	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
597	Nova Scotia	South Shore—St. Margarets	Halifax	Richard	Biggar	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
598	Nova Scotia	South Shore—St. Margarets	Halifax	Trevor	Bruhm	Independent		Defeated
599	Nova Scotia	South Shore—St. Margarets	Halifax	Richard	Clark	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
600	Nova Scotia	South Shore—St. Margarets	Halifax	Alex	Godbold	New Democratic Party		Defeated
601	Nova Scotia	South Shore—St. Margarets	Halifax	Bernadette	Jordan	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
602	Nova Scotia	Sydney—Victoria		John Douglas	Chiasson	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
603	Nova Scotia	Sydney—Victoria		Monika	Dutt	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
604	Nova Scotia	Sydney—Victoria		Mark	Eyking	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
605	Nova Scotia	Sydney—Victoria		Wayne James	Hiscock	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
606	Nova Scotia	Sydney—Victoria		Adrianna	MacKinnon	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated

607	Nova Scotia	West Nova		Greg	Foster	New Democratic Party		Defeated
608	Nova Scotia	West Nova		Colin	Fraser	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
609	Nova Scotia	West Nova		Arnold	LeBlanc	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
610	Nova Scotia	West Nova		Clark	Walton	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
611	Nunavut	Nunavut		Leona	Aglukkaq	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
612	Nunavut	Nunavut		Jack	Anawak	New Democratic Party		Defeated
613	Nunavut	Nunavut		Spencer	Rocchi	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
614	Nunavut	Nunavut		Hunter	Tootoo	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
615	Ontario	Ajax	Toronto (City)	Chris	Alexander	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
616	Ontario	Ajax	Toronto (City)	Stephanie	Brown	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
617	Ontario	Ajax	Toronto (City)	Jeff	Hill	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
618	Ontario	Ajax	Toronto (City)	Mark	Holland	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
619	Ontario	Ajax	Toronto (City)	Bob	Kesic	United Party of Canada		Defeated
620	Ontario	Algoma—Manitoulin—Kapusking		Carol	Hughes	New Democratic Party	F	Re-Elected
621	Ontario	Algoma—Manitoulin—Kapusking		Calvin John	Orok	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
622	Ontario	Algoma—Manitoulin—Kapusking		André	Robichaud	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
623	Ontario	Algoma—Manitoulin—Kapusking		Heather	Wilson	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
624	Ontario	Aurora—Oak Ridges—Richmond Hill	Scarborough	Leona	Alleslev	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
625	Ontario	Aurora—Oak Ridges—Richmond Hill	Scarborough	Kyle	Bowles	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada		Defeated
626	Ontario	Aurora—Oak Ridges—Richmond Hill	Scarborough	Costas	Menegakis	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
627	Ontario	Aurora—Oak Ridges—Richmond Hill	Scarborough	Brenda	Power	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
628	Ontario	Aurora—Oak Ridges—Richmond Hill	Scarborough	Randi	Ramdeen	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
629	Ontario	Barrie—Innisfil		John	Brassard	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected

630	Ontario	Barrie—Innisfil		Myrna	Clark	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
631	Ontario	Barrie—Innisfil		Gary	Nail	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
632	Ontario	Barrie—Innisfil		Bonnie	North	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
633	Ontario	Barrie—Innisfil		Jeff	Sakula	Canadian Action Party		Defeated
634	Ontario	Barrie—Innisfil		Colin	Wilson	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
635	Ontario	Barrie—Springwater—Oro-Medonte		Ram	Faerber	Independent		Defeated
636	Ontario	Barrie—Springwater—Oro-Medonte		Marty	Lancaster	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
637	Ontario	Barrie—Springwater—Oro-Medonte		Alexander	Nuttall	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
638	Ontario	Barrie—Springwater—Oro-Medonte		Darren	Roskam	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
639	Ontario	Barrie—Springwater—Oro-Medonte		Brian	Tamblyn	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
640	Ontario	Barrie—Springwater—Oro-Medonte		Ellen	White	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
641	Ontario	Bay of Quinte		Terry	Cassidy	New Democratic Party		Defeated
642	Ontario	Bay of Quinte		Neil	Ellis	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
643	Ontario	Bay of Quinte		Jodie	Jenkins	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
644	Ontario	Bay of Quinte		Rachel	Nelems	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
645	Ontario	Bay of Quinte		Trueman	Tuck	Independent		Defeated
646	Ontario	Beaches—East York	Toronto (City)	Bill	Burrows	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
647	Ontario	Beaches—East York	Toronto (City)	Roger	Carter	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
648	Ontario	Beaches—East York	Toronto (City)	Nathaniel	Erskine-Smith	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
649	Ontario	Beaches—East York	Toronto (City)	Matthew	Kellway	New Democratic Party		Defeated
650	Ontario	Beaches—East York	Toronto (City)	Randall	Sach	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
651	Ontario	Beaches—East York	Toronto (City)	James	Sears	Independent		Defeated
652	Ontario	Beaches—East York	Toronto (City)	Peter	Surjanac	Independent		Defeated
653	Ontario	Brampton Centre	Mississauga-Brampton	Saul Marquard T.	Bottcher	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
654	Ontario	Brampton Centre	Mississauga-Brampton	Frank	Chilelli	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated

655	Ontario	Brampton Centre	Mississauga-Brampton	Bal	Gosal	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
656	Ontario	Brampton Centre	Mississauga-Brampton	Rosemary	Keenan	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
657	Ontario	Brampton Centre	Mississauga-Brampton	Ramesh	Sangha	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
658	Ontario	Brampton East	Mississauga-Brampton	Naval	Bajaj	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
659	Ontario	Brampton East	Mississauga-Brampton	Raj	Grewal	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
660	Ontario	Brampton East	Mississauga-Brampton	Harbaljit Singh	Kahlon	New Democratic Party		Defeated
661	Ontario	Brampton East	Mississauga-Brampton	Kyle	Lacroix	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
662	Ontario	Brampton North	Mississauga-Brampton	Parm	Gill	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
663	Ontario	Brampton North	Mississauga-Brampton	Harinderpal	Hundal	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
664	Ontario	Brampton North	Mississauga-Brampton	Ruby	Sahota	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
665	Ontario	Brampton North	Mississauga-Brampton	Martin	Singh	New Democratic Party		Defeated
666	Ontario	Brampton North	Mississauga-Brampton	Pauline	Thornham	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
667	Ontario	Brampton South	Mississauga-Brampton	Shaun	Hatton	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
668	Ontario	Brampton South	Mississauga-Brampton	Amarjit	Sangha	New Democratic Party		Defeated
669	Ontario	Brampton South	Mississauga-Brampton	Kyle	Seeback	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
670	Ontario	Brampton South	Mississauga-Brampton	Sonia	Sidhu	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
671	Ontario	Brampton West	Mississauga-Brampton	Karthika	Gobinath	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
672	Ontario	Brampton West	Mississauga-Brampton	Kamal	Khera	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
673	Ontario	Brampton West	Mississauga-Brampton	Adaoma C.	Patterson	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
674	Ontario	Brampton West	Mississauga-Brampton	Ninder	Thind	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
675	Ontario	Brantford—Brant		Kevin	Brandt	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
676	Ontario	Brantford—Brant		Rob	Ferguson	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
677	Ontario	Brantford—Brant		Marc	Laferriere	New Democratic Party		Defeated
678	Ontario	Brantford—Brant		Phil	McColeman	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
679	Ontario	Brantford—Brant		Danielle	Takacs	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated

680	Ontario	Brantford—Brant		The Engineer	Turmel	Independent		Defeated
681	Ontario	Bruce—Grey—Owen Sound		Chris	Albinati	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
682	Ontario	Bruce—Grey—Owen Sound		Kimberley	Love	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
683	Ontario	Bruce—Grey—Owen Sound		David	McLaren	New Democratic Party		Defeated
684	Ontario	Bruce—Grey—Owen Sound		Larry	Miller	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
685	Ontario	Burlington	Hamilton	Vince	Fiorito	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
686	Ontario	Burlington	Hamilton	Karina	Gould	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
687	Ontario	Burlington	Hamilton	David	Laird	New Democratic Party		Defeated
688	Ontario	Burlington	Hamilton	Mike	Wallace	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
689	Ontario	Cambridge	Kitchener-Waterloo	Michele	Braniff	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
690	Ontario	Cambridge	Kitchener-Waterloo	Manuel	Couto	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
691	Ontario	Cambridge	Kitchener-Waterloo	Gary	Goodyear	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
692	Ontario	Cambridge	Kitchener-Waterloo	Bryan	May	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
693	Ontario	Cambridge	Kitchener-Waterloo	Lee	Sperduti	Independent		Defeated
694	Ontario	Cambridge	Kitchener-Waterloo	Bobbi	Stewart	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
695	Ontario	Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	Deborah	Coyne	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
696	Ontario	Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	Kc	Larocque	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
697	Ontario	Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	Pierre	Poillievre	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
698	Ontario	Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	Chris	Rodgers	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
699	Ontario	Chatham-Kent—Leamington		Katie	Omstead	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
700	Ontario	Chatham-Kent—Leamington		Dave	Van Kesteren	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
701	Ontario	Chatham-Kent—Leamington		Mark	Vercouteren	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
702	Ontario	Chatham-Kent—Leamington		Tony	Walsh	New Democratic Party		Defeated
703	Ontario	Davenport	Toronto (City)	Andrew	Cash	New Democratic Party		Defeated
704	Ontario	Davenport	Toronto (City)	Julie	Dzerowicz	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected

705	Ontario	Davenport	Toronto (City)	Miguel	Figuroa	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
706	Ontario	Davenport	Toronto (City)	Chaitanya	Kalevar	Independent		Defeated
707	Ontario	Davenport	Toronto (City)	Carlos	Oliveira	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
708	Ontario	Davenport	Toronto (City)	Dan	Stein	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
709	Ontario	Don Valley East	Toronto (City)	Khalid	Ahmed	New Democratic Party		Defeated
710	Ontario	Don Valley East	Toronto (City)	Maureen	Harquail	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
711	Ontario	Don Valley East	Toronto (City)	Yasmin	Ratansi	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
712	Ontario	Don Valley East	Toronto (City)	Laura Elizabeth	Sanderson	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
713	Ontario	Don Valley North	Toronto (City)	Caroline	Brown	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
714	Ontario	Don Valley North	Toronto (City)	Joe	Daniel	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
715	Ontario	Don Valley North	Toronto (City)	Akil	Sadikali	New Democratic Party		Defeated
716	Ontario	Don Valley North	Toronto (City)	Geng	Tan	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
717	Ontario	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	John	Carmichael	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
718	Ontario	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	Sharon	Cromwell	Independent	F	Defeated
719	Ontario	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	Elizabeth	Hill	Communist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
720	Ontario	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	Natalie	Hunt	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
721	Ontario	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	John	Kittredge	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
722	Ontario	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	Robert	Oliphant	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
723	Ontario	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	Syeda	Riaz	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
724	Ontario	Dufferin—Caledon	Toronto (City)	Ed	Crewson	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
725	Ontario	Dufferin—Caledon	Toronto (City)	David	Tilson	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
726	Ontario	Dufferin—Caledon	Toronto (City)	Nancy	Urekar	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
727	Ontario	Dufferin—Caledon	Toronto (City)	Rehya	Yazbek	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
728	Ontario	Durham	Toronto (City)	Stacey	Leadbetter	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
729	Ontario	Durham	Toronto (City)	Andrew	Moriarity	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated

730	Ontario	Durham	Toronto (City)	Erin	O'Toole	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
731	Ontario	Durham	Toronto (City)	Derek	Spence	New Democratic Party		Defeated
732	Ontario	Durham	Toronto (City)	Corinna	Traill	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
733	Ontario	Eglinton—Lawrence	Toronto (City)	Rudy	Brunell Solomonovici	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada		Defeated
734	Ontario	Eglinton—Lawrence	Toronto (City)	Ethan	Buchman	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
735	Ontario	Eglinton—Lawrence	Toronto (City)	Matthew	Chisholm	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
736	Ontario	Eglinton—Lawrence	Toronto (City)	Marco	Mendicino	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
737	Ontario	Eglinton—Lawrence	Toronto (City)	Joe	Oliver	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
738	Ontario	Eglinton—Lawrence	Toronto (City)	Andrew	Thomson	New Democratic Party		Defeated
739	Ontario	Elgin—Middlesex—London	London	Lori	Baldwin-Sands	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
740	Ontario	Elgin—Middlesex—London	London	Lou	Bernardi	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
741	Ontario	Elgin—Middlesex—London	London	Michael	Hopkins	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
742	Ontario	Elgin—Middlesex—London	London	Bronagh	Morgan	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
743	Ontario	Elgin—Middlesex—London	London	Fred	Sinclair	New Democratic Party		Defeated
744	Ontario	Elgin—Middlesex—London	London	Karen	Vecchio	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Elected
745	Ontario	Essex	Windsor	Jennifer	Alderson	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
746	Ontario	Essex	Windsor	Audrey	Festeryga	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
747	Ontario	Essex	Windsor	Tracey	Ramsey	New Democratic Party	F	Elected
748	Ontario	Essex	Windsor	Enver	Villamizar	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
749	Ontario	Essex	Windsor	Jeff	Watson	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
750	Ontario	Etobicoke Centre	Toronto (City)	Tanya	De Mello	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
751	Ontario	Etobicoke Centre	Toronto (City)	Ted	Opitz	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
752	Ontario	Etobicoke Centre	Toronto (City)	Shawn	Rizvi	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

753	Ontario	Etobicoke Centre	Toronto (City)	Rob	Wolvin	Progressive Canadian Party		Defeated
754	Ontario	Etobicoke Centre	Toronto (City)	Borys	Wrzesnewskij	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
755	Ontario	Etobicoke North	Toronto (City)	Akhtar	Ayub	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
756	Ontario	Etobicoke North	Toronto (City)	Toyin	Dada	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
757	Ontario	Etobicoke North	Toronto (City)	Anna	Di Carlo	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
758	Ontario	Etobicoke North	Toronto (City)	Kirsty	Duncan	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
759	Ontario	Etobicoke North	Toronto (City)	Faisal	Hassan	New Democratic Party		Defeated
760	Ontario	Etobicoke North	Toronto (City)	George	Szebik	No Affiliation		Defeated
761	Ontario	Etobicoke—Lakeshore	Toronto (City)	James	Maloney	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
762	Ontario	Etobicoke—Lakeshore	Toronto (City)	Janice	Murray	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
763	Ontario	Etobicoke—Lakeshore	Toronto (City)	Angela	Salewsky	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
764	Ontario	Etobicoke—Lakeshore	Toronto (City)	Phil	Trotter	New Democratic Party		Defeated
765	Ontario	Etobicoke—Lakeshore	Toronto (City)	Bernard	Trottier	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
766	Ontario	Etobicoke—Lakeshore	Toronto (City)	Liz	White	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada	F	Defeated
767	Ontario	Flamborough—Glanbrook	Hamilton	Mike	DiLivio	New Democratic Party		Defeated
768	Ontario	Flamborough—Glanbrook	Hamilton	Jennifer	Stebbing	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
769	Ontario	Flamborough—Glanbrook	Hamilton	David	Sweet	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
770	Ontario	Flamborough—Glanbrook	Hamilton	David Allan	Urquhart	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
771	Ontario	Glengarry—Prescott—Russell	Ottawa-Gatineau	Jean-Serge	Brisson	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
772	Ontario	Glengarry—Prescott—Russell	Ottawa-Gatineau	Francis	Drouin	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
773	Ontario	Glengarry—Prescott—Russell	Ottawa-Gatineau	Normand	Laurin	New Democratic Party		Defeated
774	Ontario	Glengarry—Prescott—Russell	Ottawa-Gatineau	Pierre	Lemieux	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
775	Ontario	Glengarry—Prescott—Russell	Ottawa-Gatineau	Genevieve	Malouin-Diraddo	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
776	Ontario	Guelph		Tristan	Dineen	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated

777	Ontario	Guelph		Alexander	Fekri	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
778	Ontario	Guelph		Kornelis	Klevering	Marijuana Party		Defeated
779	Ontario	Guelph		Gloria	Kovach	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
780	Ontario	Guelph		Lloyd	Longfield	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
781	Ontario	Guelph		Gord	Miller	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
782	Ontario	Guelph		Andrew	Seagram	New Democratic Party		Defeated
783	Ontario	Haldimand—Norfolk		Leslie	Bory	Independent		Defeated
784	Ontario	Haldimand—Norfolk		Dave	Bylsma	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
785	Ontario	Haldimand—Norfolk		Wayne	Ettinger	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
786	Ontario	Haldimand—Norfolk		Diane	Finley	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
787	Ontario	Haldimand—Norfolk		John	Harris	New Democratic Party		Defeated
788	Ontario	Haldimand—Norfolk		Joan	Mouland	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
789	Ontario	Haldimand—Norfolk		Dustin	Wakeford	Independent		Defeated
790	Ontario	Haliburton—Kawartha Lakes—Brock		Bill	MacCallum	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
791	Ontario	Haliburton—Kawartha Lakes—Brock		David	Marquis	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
792	Ontario	Haliburton—Kawartha Lakes—Brock		Mike	Perry	New Democratic Party		Defeated
793	Ontario	Haliburton—Kawartha Lakes—Brock		Jamie	Schmale	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
794	Ontario	Hamilton Centre	Hamilton	Maria	Anastasiou	Independent	F	Defeated
795	Ontario	Hamilton Centre	Hamilton	Michael	Baldasaro	Marijuana Party		Defeated
796	Ontario	Hamilton Centre	Hamilton	David	Christopherson	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
797	Ontario	Hamilton Centre	Hamilton	Yonatan	Rozenszajn	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
798	Ontario	Hamilton Centre	Hamilton	Ute	Schmid-Jones	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
799	Ontario	Hamilton Centre	Hamilton	Anne	Tennier	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
800	Ontario	Hamilton Centre	Hamilton	Rob	Young	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
801	Ontario	Hamilton East—Stoney Creek	Hamilton	Bob	Bratina	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected

802	Ontario	Hamilton East— Stoney Creek	Hamilton	Diane	Bubanko	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
803	Ontario	Hamilton East— Stoney Creek	Hamilton	Erin	Davis	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
804	Ontario	Hamilton East— Stoney Creek	Hamilton	Wendell	Fields	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
805	Ontario	Hamilton East— Stoney Creek	Hamilton	Bob	Mann	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
806	Ontario	Hamilton East— Stoney Creek	Hamilton	Wayne	Marston	New Democratic Party		Defeated
807	Ontario	Hamilton Mountain	Hamilton	Raheem	Aman	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
808	Ontario	Hamilton Mountain	Hamilton	Shaun	Burt	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
809	Ontario	Hamilton Mountain	Hamilton	Andrew James	Caton	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
810	Ontario	Hamilton Mountain	Hamilton	Scott	Duvall	New Democratic Party		Elected
811	Ontario	Hamilton Mountain	Hamilton	Jim	Enos	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
812	Ontario	Hamilton Mountain	Hamilton	Al	Miles	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
813	Ontario	Hamilton West— Ancaster—Dundas	Hamilton	Alex	Johnstone	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
814	Ontario	Hamilton West— Ancaster—Dundas	Hamilton	Peter	Ormond	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
815	Ontario	Hamilton West— Ancaster—Dundas	Hamilton	Vincent	Samuel	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
816	Ontario	Hamilton West— Ancaster—Dundas	Hamilton	Filomena	Tassi	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
817	Ontario	Hastings—Lennox and Addington		Betty	Bannon	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
818	Ontario	Hastings—Lennox and Addington		Mike	Bossio	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
819	Ontario	Hastings—Lennox and Addington		Daryl	Kramp	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
820	Ontario	Hastings—Lennox and Addington		Cam	Mather	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
821	Ontario	Humber River— Black Creek	Toronto (City)	Darnel	Harris	New Democratic Party		Defeated
822	Ontario	Humber River— Black Creek	Toronto (City)	Keith	Jarrett	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
823	Ontario	Humber River— Black Creek	Toronto (City)	Christine	Nugent	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
824	Ontario	Humber River— Black Creek	Toronto (City)	Judy A.	Sgro	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
825	Ontario	Humber River— Black Creek	Toronto (City)	Kerry	Vandenberg	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated

826	Ontario	Huron—Bruce		Gerard	Creces	New Democratic Party		Defeated
827	Ontario	Huron—Bruce		Ben	Lobb	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
828	Ontario	Huron—Bruce		Jutta	Splettstoesser	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
829	Ontario	Huron—Bruce		Allan	Thompson	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
830	Ontario	Kanata—Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	John	Hansen	New Democratic Party		Defeated
831	Ontario	Kanata—Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	Karen	McCrimmon	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
832	Ontario	Kanata—Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	Walter	Pamic	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
833	Ontario	Kanata—Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	Andrew	West	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
834	Ontario	Kenora		Kelvin	Boucher-Chicago	Independent		Defeated
835	Ontario	Kenora		Howard	Hampton	New Democratic Party		Defeated
836	Ontario	Kenora		Ember C.	McKillop	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
837	Ontario	Kenora		Robert	Nault	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
838	Ontario	Kenora		Greg	Rickford	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
839	Ontario	Kingston and the Islands		Daniel	Beals	New Democratic Party		Defeated
840	Ontario	Kingston and the Islands		Andy	Brooke	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
841	Ontario	Kingston and the Islands		Mark	Gerretsen	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
842	Ontario	Kingston and the Islands		Luke	McAllister	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
843	Ontario	Kingston and the Islands		Nathan	Townend	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
844	Ontario	King—Vaughan		Ann	Raney	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
845	Ontario	King—Vaughan		Natalie	Rizzo	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
846	Ontario	King—Vaughan		Deborah	Schulte	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
847	Ontario	King—Vaughan		Konstantin	Toubis	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
848	Ontario	Kitchener Centre	Kitchener-Waterloo	Susan	Cadell	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
849	Ontario	Kitchener Centre	Kitchener-Waterloo	Julian	Ichim	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
850	Ontario	Kitchener Centre	Kitchener-Waterloo	Slavko	Miladinovic	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated

851	Ontario	Kitchener Centre	Kitchener-Waterloo	Raj	Saini	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
852	Ontario	Kitchener Centre	Kitchener-Waterloo	Nicholas	Wendler	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
853	Ontario	Kitchener Centre	Kitchener-Waterloo	Stephen	Woodworth	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
854	Ontario	Kitchener South—Hespeler	Kitchener-Waterloo	Elaine	Baetz	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
855	Ontario	Kitchener South—Hespeler	Kitchener-Waterloo	Lorne	Bruce	New Democratic Party		Defeated
856	Ontario	Kitchener South—Hespeler	Kitchener-Waterloo	Marian	Gagné	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
857	Ontario	Kitchener South—Hespeler	Kitchener-Waterloo	Nathan	Lajeunesse	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
858	Ontario	Kitchener South—Hespeler	Kitchener-Waterloo	Marwan	Tabbara	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
859	Ontario	Kitchener South—Hespeler	Kitchener-Waterloo	David	Weber	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
860	Ontario	Kitchener—Conestoga	Kitchener-Waterloo	Harold	Albrecht	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
861	Ontario	Kitchener—Conestoga	Kitchener-Waterloo	Richard	Hodgson	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
862	Ontario	Kitchener—Conestoga	Kitchener-Waterloo	Bob	Jonkman	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
863	Ontario	Kitchener—Conestoga	Kitchener-Waterloo	Tim	Louis	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
864	Ontario	Kitchener—Conestoga	Kitchener-Waterloo	James	Villeneuve	New Democratic Party		Defeated
865	Ontario	Lambton—Kent—Middlesex	London	Ken	Filson	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
866	Ontario	Lambton—Kent—Middlesex	London	Rex	Isaac	New Democratic Party		Defeated
867	Ontario	Lambton—Kent—Middlesex	London	Jim	Johnston	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
868	Ontario	Lambton—Kent—Middlesex	London	Bev	Shipley	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
869	Ontario	Lanark—Frontenac—Kingston		Phil	Archambault	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
870	Ontario	Lanark—Frontenac—Kingston		Mark	Budd	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
871	Ontario	Lanark—Frontenac—Kingston		John	Fenik	New Democratic Party		Defeated
872	Ontario	Lanark—Frontenac—Kingston		Anita	Payne	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
873	Ontario	Lanark—Frontenac—Kingston		Scott	Reid	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
874	Ontario	Leeds—Grenville—Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes		Margaret	Andrade	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated

875	Ontario	Leeds— Grenville— Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes		Gordon	Brown	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
876	Ontario	Leeds— Grenville— Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes		Mary Jean	McFall	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
877	Ontario	Leeds— Grenville— Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes		Lorraine A.	Rekmans	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
878	Ontario	London North Centre	London	Carol	Dyck	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
879	Ontario	London North Centre	London	Peter	Fragiskatos	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
880	Ontario	London North Centre	London	German	Gutierrez	New Democratic Party		Defeated
881	Ontario	London North Centre	London	Marvin	Roman	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
882	Ontario	London North Centre	London	Susan	Truppe	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
883	Ontario	London West	London	Jacques Y.	Boudreau	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
884	Ontario	London West	London	Ed	Holder	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
885	Ontario	London West	London	Dimitri	Lascares	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
886	Ontario	London West	London	Michael	Lewis	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
887	Ontario	London West	London	Matthew	Rowlinson	New Democratic Party		Defeated
888	Ontario	London West	London	Kate	Young	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
889	Ontario	London— Fanshawe	London	Suzanna	Dieleman	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
890	Ontario	London— Fanshawe	London	Ali	Hamadi	Independent		Defeated
891	Ontario	London— Fanshawe	London	Irene	Mathysen	New Democratic Party	F	Re-Elected
892	Ontario	London— Fanshawe	London	Matthew	Pelozza	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
893	Ontario	London— Fanshawe	London	Khalil	Ramal	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
894	Ontario	Markham— Stouffville		Paul	Calandra	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
895	Ontario	Markham— Stouffville		Gregory	Hines	New Democratic Party		Defeated
896	Ontario	Markham— Stouffville		Myles	O'Brien	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
897	Ontario	Markham— Stouffville		Jane	Philpott	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected

898	Ontario	Markham—Thornhill		Senthi	Chelliah	New Democratic Party		Defeated
899	Ontario	Markham—Thornhill		Jobson	Easow	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
900	Ontario	Markham—Thornhill		John	McCallum	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
901	Ontario	Markham—Thornhill		Joshua	Russell	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
902	Ontario	Markham—Unionville	Toronto (City)	Bang-Gu	Jiang	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
903	Ontario	Markham—Unionville	Toronto (City)	Elvin	Kao	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
904	Ontario	Markham—Unionville	Toronto (City)	Bob	Saroya	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
905	Ontario	Markham—Unionville	Toronto (City)	Colleen	Zimmerman	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
906	Ontario	Milton		Alex	Anabusi	New Democratic Party		Defeated
907	Ontario	Milton		Mini	Batra	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
908	Ontario	Milton		Chris	Jewell	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
909	Ontario	Milton		Lisa	Raitt	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
910	Ontario	Milton		Azim	Rizvee	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
911	Ontario	Mississauga Centre	Mississauga-Brampton	Omar	Alghabra	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
912	Ontario	Mississauga Centre	Mississauga-Brampton	Farheen	Khan	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
913	Ontario	Mississauga Centre	Mississauga-Brampton	Linh	Nguyen	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
914	Ontario	Mississauga Centre	Mississauga-Brampton	Julius	Tiangson	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
915	Ontario	Mississauga East—Cooksville	Mississauga-Brampton	Jaymini	Bhikha	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
916	Ontario	Mississauga East—Cooksville	Mississauga-Brampton	Peter	Fonseca	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
917	Ontario	Mississauga East—Cooksville	Mississauga-Brampton	Wladyslaw	Lizon	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
918	Ontario	Mississauga East—Cooksville	Mississauga-Brampton	Ali	Naqvi	New Democratic Party		Defeated
919	Ontario	Mississauga East—Cooksville	Mississauga-Brampton	Tim	Sullivan	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
920	Ontario	Mississauga—Erin Mills	Mississauga-Brampton	Michelle	Bilek	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
921	Ontario	Mississauga—Erin Mills	Mississauga-Brampton	Bob	Dechert	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
922	Ontario	Mississauga—Erin Mills	Mississauga-Brampton	Iqra	Khalid	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected

923	Ontario	Mississauga—Erin Mills	Mississauga-Brampton	Andrew	Roblin	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
924	Ontario	Mississauga—Lakeshore	Mississauga-Brampton	Stella	Ambler	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
925	Ontario	Mississauga—Lakeshore	Mississauga-Brampton	Ariana	Burgener	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
926	Ontario	Mississauga—Lakeshore	Mississauga-Brampton	Eric	Guerbilsky	New Democratic Party		Defeated
927	Ontario	Mississauga—Lakeshore	Mississauga-Brampton	Sven	Spengemann	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
928	Ontario	Mississauga—Lakeshore	Mississauga-Brampton	Dagmar	Sullivan	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
929	Ontario	Mississauga—Lakeshore	Mississauga-Brampton	Paul	Woodworth	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
930	Ontario	Mississauga—Malton	Mississauga-Brampton	Navdeep	Bains	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
931	Ontario	Mississauga—Malton	Mississauga-Brampton	Dianne	Douglas	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
932	Ontario	Mississauga—Malton	Mississauga-Brampton	Jagdish	Grewal	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
933	Ontario	Mississauga—Malton	Mississauga-Brampton	Heather	Mercer	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
934	Ontario	Mississauga—Malton	Mississauga-Brampton	Naresh	Tharani	Independent		Defeated
935	Ontario	Mississauga—Streetsville	Mississauga-Brampton	Brad	Butt	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
936	Ontario	Mississauga—Streetsville	Mississauga-Brampton	Chris	Hill	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
937	Ontario	Mississauga—Streetsville	Mississauga-Brampton	Fayaz	Karim	New Democratic Party		Defeated
938	Ontario	Mississauga—Streetsville	Mississauga-Brampton	Gagan	Sikand	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
939	Ontario	Mississauga—Streetsville	Mississauga-Brampton	Yegor	Tarazevich	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
940	Ontario	Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Chandra	Arya	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
941	Ontario	Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Jean-Luc	Cooke	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
942	Ontario	Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Jesus	Cosico	Independent		Defeated
943	Ontario	Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Sean	Devine	New Democratic Party		Defeated
944	Ontario	Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Hubert	Mamba	Independent		Defeated
945	Ontario	Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Tony	Seed	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
946	Ontario	Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Harry	Splett	Independent		Defeated
947	Ontario	Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Andy	Wang	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated

948	Ontario	Newmarket—Aurora	Toronto (City)	Dorian	Baxter	Progressive Canadian Party		Defeated
949	Ontario	Newmarket—Aurora	Toronto (City)	Lois	Brown	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
950	Ontario	Newmarket—Aurora	Toronto (City)	Yvonne	Kelly	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
951	Ontario	Newmarket—Aurora	Toronto (City)	Vanessa	Long	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
952	Ontario	Newmarket—Aurora	Toronto (City)	Kyle	Peterson	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
953	Ontario	Niagara Centre	Hamilton	Malcolm	Allen	New Democratic Party		Defeated
954	Ontario	Niagara Centre	Hamilton	Vance	Badawey	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
955	Ontario	Niagara Centre	Hamilton	David	Clow	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
956	Ontario	Niagara Centre	Hamilton	Jody	Di Bartolomeo	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada		Defeated
957	Ontario	Niagara Centre	Hamilton	Leanna	Villella	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
958	Ontario	Niagara Centre	Hamilton	Ron	Walker	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
959	Ontario	Niagara Falls	Hamilton	Carolynn	Ioannoni	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
960	Ontario	Niagara Falls	Hamilton	Rob	Nicholson	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
961	Ontario	Niagara Falls	Hamilton	Ron	Planche	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
962	Ontario	Niagara Falls	Hamilton	Steven	Soos	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
963	Ontario	Niagara West	Hamilton	Dean	Allison	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
964	Ontario	Niagara West	Hamilton	Allan	de Roo	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
965	Ontario	Niagara West	Hamilton	Sid	Frere	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
966	Ontario	Niagara West	Hamilton	Harold	Jonker	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
967	Ontario	Niagara West	Hamilton	Nameer	Rahman	New Democratic Party		Defeated
968	Ontario	Niagara West	Hamilton	Phil	Rose	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
969	Ontario	Nickel Belt		Claude	Gravelle	New Democratic Party		Defeated
970	Ontario	Nickel Belt		Aino	Laamanen	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
971	Ontario	Nickel Belt		Stuart	McCall	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

972	Ontario	Nickel Belt		Marc	Serré	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
973	Ontario	Nickel Belt		Dave	Starbuck	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
974	Ontario	Nipissing—Timiskaming		Jay	Aspin	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
975	Ontario	Nipissing—Timiskaming		Kathleen	Jodouin	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
976	Ontario	Nipissing—Timiskaming		Nicole	Peltier	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
977	Ontario	Nipissing—Timiskaming		Anthony	Rota	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
978	Ontario	Northumberland—Peterborough South	Hamilton	Russ	Christianson	New Democratic Party		Defeated
979	Ontario	Northumberland—Peterborough South	Hamilton	Adam	Moulton	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
980	Ontario	Northumberland—Peterborough South	Hamilton	Kim	Rudd	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
981	Ontario	Northumberland—Peterborough South	Hamilton	Patricia	Sinnott	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
982	Ontario	Oakville		David	Doel	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
983	Ontario	Oakville		Che	Marville	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
984	Ontario	Oakville		John	Oliver	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
985	Ontario	Oakville		Terence	Young	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
986	Ontario	Oakville North—Burlington		Janice	Best	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
987	Ontario	Oakville North—Burlington		David	Clement	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
988	Ontario	Oakville North—Burlington		Pam	Damoff	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
989	Ontario	Oakville North—Burlington		Adnan	Shahbaz	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
990	Ontario	Oakville North—Burlington		Effie	Triantafilopoulos	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
991	Ontario	Orléans	Ottawa-Gatineau	Royal	Galipeau	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
992	Ontario	Orléans	Ottawa-Gatineau	Andrew	Leslie	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
993	Ontario	Orléans	Ottawa-Gatineau	Raphaël	Morin	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
994	Ontario	Orléans	Ottawa-Gatineau	Nancy	Tremblay	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
995	Ontario	Oshawa		Colin	Carrie	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
996	Ontario	Oshawa		Michael	Dempsey	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

997	Ontario	Oshawa		Mary	Fowler	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
998	Ontario	Oshawa		David	Gershuny	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
999	Ontario	Oshawa		Tito-Dante	Marimpietri	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1000	Ontario	Ottawa Centre	Ottawa-Gatineau	John	Akpata	Marijuana Party		Defeated
1001	Ontario	Ottawa Centre	Ottawa-Gatineau	Paul	Dewar	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1002	Ontario	Ottawa Centre	Ottawa-Gatineau	Dean T.	Harris	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1003	Ontario	Ottawa Centre	Ottawa-Gatineau	Damian	Konstantinakos	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1004	Ontario	Ottawa Centre	Ottawa-Gatineau	Conrad	Lukawski	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1005	Ontario	Ottawa Centre	Ottawa-Gatineau	Catherine	McKenna	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1006	Ontario	Ottawa Centre	Ottawa-Gatineau	Tom	Milroy	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1007	Ontario	Ottawa Centre	Ottawa-Gatineau	Stuart	Ryan	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
1008	Ontario	Ottawa South	Ottawa-Gatineau	Dev	Balkissoon	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1009	Ontario	Ottawa South	Ottawa-Gatineau	George	Brown	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1010	Ontario	Ottawa South	Ottawa-Gatineau	A.C.	Gullon	Progressive Canadian Party		Defeated
1011	Ontario	Ottawa South	Ottawa-Gatineau	David	McGuinty	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1012	Ontario	Ottawa South	Ottawa-Gatineau	John	Redins	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1013	Ontario	Ottawa South	Ottawa-Gatineau	Larry	Wasslen	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
1014	Ontario	Ottawa South	Ottawa-Gatineau	Damien	Wilson	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1015	Ontario	Ottawa West—Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Abdul	Abdi	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1016	Ontario	Ottawa West—Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Mark	Brooks	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1017	Ontario	Ottawa West—Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Sam	Heaton	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1018	Ontario	Ottawa West—Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Marlene	Rivier	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1019	Ontario	Ottawa West—Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Rod	Taylor	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
1020	Ontario	Ottawa West—Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	Anita	Vandenbeld	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1021	Ontario	Ottawa—Vanier	Ottawa-Gatineau	Mauril	Bélangier	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected

1022	Ontario	Ottawa—Vanier	Ottawa-Gatineau	Coreen	Corcoran	Libertarian Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1023	Ontario	Ottawa—Vanier	Ottawa-Gatineau	Nira	Dookeran	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1024	Ontario	Ottawa—Vanier	Ottawa-Gatineau	Christian	Legeais	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1025	Ontario	Ottawa—Vanier	Ottawa-Gatineau	David	Piccini	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1026	Ontario	Ottawa—Vanier	Ottawa-Gatineau	Emilie	Taman	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1027	Ontario	Oxford		Melody Ann	Aldred	Christian Heritage Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1028	Ontario	Oxford		Zoé	Dorcas Kunschner	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1029	Ontario	Oxford		Mike	Farlow	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1030	Ontario	Oxford		Dave	MacKenzie	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1031	Ontario	Oxford		Don	McKay	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1032	Ontario	Parkdale—High Park	Toronto (City)	Ian	Allen	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1033	Ontario	Parkdale—High Park	Toronto (City)	Lorne	Gershuny	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1034	Ontario	Parkdale—High Park	Toronto (City)	Mark	Jeftovic	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1035	Ontario	Parkdale—High Park	Toronto (City)	Peggy	Nash	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1036	Ontario	Parkdale—High Park	Toronto (City)	Terry	Parker	Marijuana Party		Defeated
1037	Ontario	Parkdale—High Park	Toronto (City)	Adam	Phipps	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1038	Ontario	Parkdale—High Park	Toronto (City)	Carol	Royer	Independent	F	Defeated
1039	Ontario	Parkdale—High Park	Toronto (City)	Arif	Virani	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1040	Ontario	Parry Sound—Muskoka		Duncan	Bell	Pirate Party of Canada		Defeated
1041	Ontario	Parry Sound—Muskoka		Tony	Clement	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1042	Ontario	Parry Sound—Muskoka		Trisha	Cowie	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1043	Ontario	Parry Sound—Muskoka		Glen	Hodgson	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1044	Ontario	Parry Sound—Muskoka		Matt	McCarthy	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1045	Ontario	Parry Sound—Muskoka		Gordie	Merton	Canadian Action Party		Defeated
1046	Ontario	Parry Sound—Muskoka		Albert Gray	Smith	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated

1047	Ontario	Perth—Wellington		Irma	DeVries	Christian Heritage Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1048	Ontario	Perth—Wellington		Roger	Fuhr	No Affiliation		Defeated
1049	Ontario	Perth—Wellington		Stephen	McCotter	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1050	Ontario	Perth—Wellington		John	Nater	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
1051	Ontario	Perth—Wellington		Ethan	Rabidoux	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1052	Ontario	Perth—Wellington		Nicole	Ramsdale	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1053	Ontario	Peterborough—Kawartha		Toban	Leckie	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1054	Ontario	Peterborough—Kawartha		Doug	Mason	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1055	Ontario	Peterborough—Kawartha		Maryam	Monsef	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1056	Ontario	Peterborough—Kawartha		Dave	Nickle	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1057	Ontario	Peterborough—Kawartha		Michael	Skinner	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1058	Ontario	Pickering—Uxbridge		Corneliu	Chisu	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1059	Ontario	Pickering—Uxbridge		Pamela	Downward	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1060	Ontario	Pickering—Uxbridge		Anthony Jordan	Navarro	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1061	Ontario	Pickering—Uxbridge		Jennifer	O'Connell	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1062	Ontario	Renfrew—Nipissing—Pembroke		Hector	Clouthier	Independent		Defeated
1063	Ontario	Renfrew—Nipissing—Pembroke		Cheryl	Gallant	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
1064	Ontario	Renfrew—Nipissing—Pembroke		Stefan	Klietsch	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1065	Ontario	Renfrew—Nipissing—Pembroke		Jeff	Lehoux	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1066	Ontario	Renfrew—Nipissing—Pembroke		Dan	McCarthy	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1067	Ontario	Richmond Hill	Toronto (City)	Adam	DeVita	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1068	Ontario	Richmond Hill	Toronto (City)	Majid	Jowhari	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1069	Ontario	Richmond Hill	Toronto (City)	Michael	Parsa	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1070	Ontario	Richmond Hill	Toronto (City)	Gwendolyn	Veenema	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1071	Ontario	Sarnia—Lambton		Marilyn	Gladu	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Elected

1072	Ontario	Sarnia—Lambton		Jason Wayne	McMichael	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1073	Ontario	Sarnia—Lambton		Dave	McPhail	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1074	Ontario	Sarnia—Lambton		Peter	Smith	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1075	Ontario	Sault Ste. Marie		Kara	Flannigan	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1076	Ontario	Sault Ste. Marie		Bryan	Hayes	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1077	Ontario	Sault Ste. Marie		Skip	Morrison	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1078	Ontario	Sault Ste. Marie		Terry	Sheehan	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1079	Ontario	Sault Ste. Marie		Mike	Taffarel	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1080	Ontario	Scarborough Centre	Scarborough	Katerina	Androutsos	Libertarian Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1081	Ontario	Scarborough Centre	Scarborough	Roxanne	James	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1082	Ontario	Scarborough Centre	Scarborough	Lindsay	Thompson	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1083	Ontario	Scarborough Centre	Scarborough	Alex	Wilson	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1084	Ontario	Scarborough Centre	Scarborough	Salma	Zahid	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1085	Ontario	Scarborough North	Scarborough	Shaun	Chen	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1086	Ontario	Scarborough North	Scarborough	Aasia	Khatoon	Independent	F	Defeated
1087	Ontario	Scarborough North	Scarborough	Eleni	MacDonald	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1088	Ontario	Scarborough North	Scarborough	Ravinder	Malhi	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1089	Ontario	Scarborough North	Scarborough	Raphael	Rosch	Independent		Defeated
1090	Ontario	Scarborough North	Scarborough	Rathika	Sitsabaiesan	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1091	Ontario	Scarborough Southwest	Scarborough	Bill	Blair	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1092	Ontario	Scarborough Southwest	Scarborough	Dan	Harris	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1093	Ontario	Scarborough Southwest	Scarborough	Roshan	Nallarattnam	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1094	Ontario	Scarborough Southwest	Scarborough	Tommy	Taylor	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1095	Ontario	Scarborough—Agincourt	Scarborough	Arnold	Chan	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1096	Ontario	Scarborough—Agincourt	Scarborough	Bin	Chang	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated

1097	Ontario	Scarborough—Agincourt	Scarborough	Jude	Coutinho	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
1098	Ontario	Scarborough—Agincourt	Scarborough	Laura	Patrick	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1099	Ontario	Scarborough—Agincourt	Scarborough	Debra	Scott	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1100	Ontario	Scarborough—Guildwood	Scarborough	Laura	Casselman	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1101	Ontario	Scarborough—Guildwood	Scarborough	Kevin	Clarke	Independent		Defeated
1102	Ontario	Scarborough—Guildwood	Scarborough	Paul	Coulbeck	Marijuana Party		Defeated
1103	Ontario	Scarborough—Guildwood	Scarborough	Kathleen	Holding	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1104	Ontario	Scarborough—Guildwood	Scarborough	Chuck	Konkel	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1105	Ontario	Scarborough—Guildwood	Scarborough	John	McKay	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1106	Ontario	Scarborough—Rouge Park	Scarborough	Gary	Anandasangaree	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1107	Ontario	Scarborough—Rouge Park	Scarborough	Leslyn	Lewis	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1108	Ontario	Scarborough—Rouge Park	Scarborough	KM	Shanthikumar	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1109	Ontario	Scarborough—Rouge Park	Scarborough	Calvin	Winter	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1110	Ontario	Simcoe North		Richard	Banigan	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1111	Ontario	Simcoe North		Jacob	Kearey-Moreland	No Affiliation		Defeated
1112	Ontario	Simcoe North		Liz	Riley	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1113	Ontario	Simcoe North		Bruce	Stanton	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1114	Ontario	Simcoe North		Peter	Stubbins	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1115	Ontario	Simcoe North		Scott	Whittaker	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
1116	Ontario	Simcoe—Grey		JoAnne	Fleming	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1117	Ontario	Simcoe—Grey		K. Kellie	Leitch	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
1118	Ontario	Simcoe—Grey		Mike	MacEachern	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1119	Ontario	Simcoe—Grey		David	Matthews	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1120	Ontario	Simcoe—Grey		Len	Noordegraaf	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
1121	Ontario	Spadina—Fort York	Toronto (City)	Olivia	Chow	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated

1122	Ontario	Spadina—Fort York	Toronto (City)	Sharon	Danley	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1123	Ontario	Spadina—Fort York	Toronto (City)	Nick	Lin	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1124	Ontario	Spadina—Fort York	Toronto (City)	Michael	Nicula	Party for Accountability, Competency and Transparency		Defeated
1125	Ontario	Spadina—Fort York	Toronto (City)	Adam	Vaughan	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1126	Ontario	Spadina—Fort York	Toronto (City)	Sabrina	Zuniga	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1127	Ontario	St. Catharines	Toronto (City)	Chris	Bittle	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1128	Ontario	St. Catharines	Toronto (City)	Rick	Dykstra	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1129	Ontario	St. Catharines	Toronto (City)	Susan	Erskine-Fournier	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1130	Ontario	St. Catharines	Toronto (City)	Jim	Fannon	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1131	Ontario	St. Catharines	Toronto (City)	Saleh	Waziruddin	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
1132	Ontario	Stormont—Dundas—South Glengarry		Patrick	Burger	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1133	Ontario	Stormont—Dundas—South Glengarry		Bernadette	Clement	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1134	Ontario	Stormont—Dundas—South Glengarry		Elaine	Kennedy	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1135	Ontario	Stormont—Dundas—South Glengarry		Guy	Lauzon	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1136	Ontario	Sudbury		Jean-Raymond	Audet	Independent		Defeated
1137	Ontario	Sudbury		Paul	Lefebvre	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1138	Ontario	Sudbury		Paul	Loewenberg	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1139	Ontario	Sudbury		J.	Popescu	Independent		Defeated
1140	Ontario	Sudbury		David	Robinson	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1141	Ontario	Sudbury		Elizabeth	Rowley	Communist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1142	Ontario	Sudbury		Fred	Slade	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1143	Ontario	Thornhill	Toronto (City)	Gene	Balfour	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1144	Ontario	Thornhill	Toronto (City)	Lorne	Cherry	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1145	Ontario	Thornhill	Toronto (City)	Nancy	Coldham	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated

1146	Ontario	Thornhill	Toronto (City)	Margaret Leigh	Fairbairn	Seniors Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1147	Ontario	Thornhill	Toronto (City)	Peter	Kent	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1148	Ontario	Thornhill	Toronto (City)	Josh	Rachlis	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1149	Ontario	Thunder Bay—Rainy River	Thunder Bay	Moe	Comuzzi-Stehmann	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1150	Ontario	Thunder Bay—Rainy River	Thunder Bay	Christy	Radbourne	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1151	Ontario	Thunder Bay—Rainy River	Thunder Bay	John	Rafferty	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1152	Ontario	Thunder Bay—Rainy River	Thunder Bay	Don	Rusnak	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1153	Ontario	Thunder Bay—Superior North	Thunder Bay	Andrew	Foulds	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1154	Ontario	Thunder Bay—Superior North	Thunder Bay	Patty	Hajdu	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1155	Ontario	Thunder Bay—Superior North	Thunder Bay	Richard	Harvey	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1156	Ontario	Thunder Bay—Superior North	Thunder Bay	Bruce	Hyer	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1157	Ontario	Thunder Bay—Superior North	Thunder Bay	Robert	Skaf	Independent		Defeated
1158	Ontario	Timmins—James Bay		Charlie	Angus	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1159	Ontario	Timmins—James Bay		John P.	Curley	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1160	Ontario	Timmins—James Bay		Max	Kennedy	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1161	Ontario	Timmins—James Bay		Todd	Lever	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1162	Ontario	Toronto Centre	Toronto (City)	Mariam	Ahmad	Communist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1163	Ontario	Toronto Centre	Toronto (City)	Colin	Biggin	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1164	Ontario	Toronto Centre	Toronto (City)	Julian	Di Battista	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1165	Ontario	Toronto Centre	Toronto (City)	Philip	Fernandez	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1166	Ontario	Toronto Centre	Toronto (City)	Linda	McQuaig	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1167	Ontario	Toronto Centre	Toronto (City)	Bill	Morneau	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1168	Ontario	Toronto Centre	Toronto (City)	Jordan	Stone	Independent		Defeated
1169	Ontario	Toronto—Danforth	Toronto (City)	Elizabeth	Abbott	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1170	Ontario	Toronto—Danforth	Toronto (City)	Julie	Dabrusin	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected

1171	Ontario	Toronto—Danforth	Toronto (City)	Benjamin	Dichter	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1172	Ontario	Toronto—Danforth	Toronto (City)	John	Richardson	Progressive Canadian Party		Defeated
1173	Ontario	Toronto—Danforth	Toronto (City)	Craig	Scott	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1174	Ontario	Toronto—Danforth	Toronto (City)	Chris	Tolley	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1175	Ontario	Toronto—St. Paul's	Toronto (City)	Carolyn	Bennett	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
1176	Ontario	Toronto—St. Paul's	Toronto (City)	Kevin	Farmer	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1177	Ontario	Toronto—St. Paul's	Toronto (City)	Marnie	MacDougall	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1178	Ontario	Toronto—St. Paul's	Toronto (City)	Noah	Richler	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1179	Ontario	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	David	Berlin	The Bridge Party of Canada		Defeated
1180	Ontario	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	Chrystia	Freeland	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
1181	Ontario	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	Drew	Garvie	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
1182	Ontario	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	Jennifer	Hollett	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1183	Ontario	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	Karim	Jivraj	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1184	Ontario	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	Simon	Luisi	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada		Defeated
1185	Ontario	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	Steve	Rutchinski	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1186	Ontario	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	Jesse	Waslowski	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1187	Ontario	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	Nick	Wright	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1188	Ontario	Vaughan—Woodbridge	Toronto Region	Elise	Boulanger	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1189	Ontario	Vaughan—Woodbridge	Toronto Region	Julian	Fantino	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1190	Ontario	Vaughan—Woodbridge	Toronto Region	Anthony	Gualtieri	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1191	Ontario	Vaughan—Woodbridge	Toronto Region	Francesco	Sorbara	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1192	Ontario	Vaughan—Woodbridge	Toronto Region	Adriana Marie	Zichy	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1193	Ontario	Waterloo	Kitchener-Waterloo	Peter	Braid	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated

1194	Ontario	Waterloo	Kitchener-Waterloo	Bardish	Chagger	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1195	Ontario	Waterloo	Kitchener-Waterloo	Diane	Freeman	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1196	Ontario	Waterloo	Kitchener-Waterloo	Emma	Hawley-Yan	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1197	Ontario	Waterloo	Kitchener-Waterloo	Richard	Walsh	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1198	Ontario	Wellington—Halton Hills	Toronto (City)	Harvey Edward	Anstey	Canadian Action Party		Defeated
1199	Ontario	Wellington—Halton Hills	Toronto (City)	Brent	Bouteiller	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1200	Ontario	Wellington—Halton Hills	Toronto (City)	Michael	Chong	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1201	Ontario	Wellington—Halton Hills	Toronto (City)	Anne	Gajerski-Cauley	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1202	Ontario	Wellington—Halton Hills	Toronto (City)	Don	Trant	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1203	Ontario	Whitby	Toronto Region	Celina	Caesar-Chavannes	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1204	Ontario	Whitby	Toronto Region	Craig	Cameron	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1205	Ontario	Whitby	Toronto Region	Ryan	Kelly	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1206	Ontario	Whitby	Toronto Region	Jon	O'Connor	Independent		Defeated
1207	Ontario	Whitby	Toronto Region	Pat	Perkins	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1208	Ontario	Willowdale	Toronto (City)	Birinder Singh	Ahluwalia	Independent		Defeated
1209	Ontario	Willowdale	Toronto (City)	James	Arruda	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1210	Ontario	Willowdale	Toronto (City)	Ali	Ehsassi	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1211	Ontario	Willowdale	Toronto (City)	Chungsen	Leung	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1212	Ontario	Willowdale	Toronto (City)	Pouyan	Tabasinejad	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1213	Ontario	Windsor West	Windsor	Cora	LaRussa	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1214	Ontario	Windsor West	Windsor	Henry	Lau	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1215	Ontario	Windsor West	Windsor	Brian	Masse	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1216	Ontario	Windsor West	Windsor	Dave	Sundin	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1217	Ontario	Windsor West	Windsor	Margaret	Villamizar	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1218	Ontario	Windsor—Tecumseh	Windsor	Laura	Chesnik	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated

1219	Ontario	Windsor—Tecumseh	Windsor	Jo-Anne	Gignac	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1220	Ontario	Windsor—Tecumseh	Windsor	Cheryl	Hardcastle	New Democratic Party	F	Elected
1221	Ontario	Windsor—Tecumseh	Windsor	David	Momotiuk	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1222	Ontario	Windsor—Tecumseh	Windsor	Frank	Schiller	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1223	Ontario	York Centre	Toronto (City)	Mark	Adler	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1224	Ontario	York Centre	Toronto (City)	Hal	Berman	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1225	Ontario	York Centre	Toronto (City)	Constantine	Kritsonis	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1226	Ontario	York Centre	Toronto (City)	Michael	Levitt	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1227	Ontario	York South—Weston	Toronto (City)	Ahmed	Hussen	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1228	Ontario	York South—Weston	Toronto (City)	John	Johnson	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1229	Ontario	York South—Weston	Toronto (City)	Stephen	Lepone	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1230	Ontario	York South—Weston	Toronto (City)	James	Robinson	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1231	Ontario	York South—Weston	Toronto (City)	Mike	Sullivan	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1232	Ontario	York—Simcoe	Toronto (City)	Sylvia	Gerl	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1233	Ontario	York—Simcoe	Toronto (City)	Shaun	Tanaka	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1234	Ontario	York—Simcoe	Toronto (City)	Peter	Van Loan	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1235	Ontario	York—Simcoe	Toronto (City)	Mark	Viitala	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1236	Prince Edward Island	Cardigan		Billy	Cann	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1237	Prince Edward Island	Cardigan		Teresa	Doyle	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1238	Prince Edward Island	Cardigan		Lawrence	MacAulay	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1239	Prince Edward Island	Cardigan		Julius	Patkai	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1240	Prince Edward Island	Cardigan		Christene	Squires	Christian Heritage Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1241	Prince Edward Island	Charlottetown		Joe	Byrne	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1242	Prince Edward Island	Charlottetown		Sean	Casey	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1243	Prince Edward Island	Charlottetown		Ron	MacMillan	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated

1244	Prince Edward Island	Charlottetown		Becka	Viau	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1245	Prince Edward Island	Egmont		Herb	Dickieson	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1246	Prince Edward Island	Egmont		Nils	Ling	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1247	Prince Edward Island	Egmont		Robert	Morrissey	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1248	Prince Edward Island	Egmont		Gail	Shea	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1249	Prince Edward Island	Malpeque		Wayne	Easter	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1250	Prince Edward Island	Malpeque		Leah-Jane	Hayward	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1251	Prince Edward Island	Malpeque		Lynne	Lund	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1252	Prince Edward Island	Malpeque		Stephen	Stewart	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1253	Quebec	Abitibi—Baie-James—Nunavik—Eeyou		Patrick	Benoît	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1254	Quebec	Abitibi—Baie-James—Nunavik—Eeyou		Pierre	Dufour	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1255	Quebec	Abitibi—Baie-James—Nunavik—Eeyou		Luc	Ferland	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1256	Quebec	Abitibi—Baie-James—Nunavik—Eeyou		Mario	Gagnon	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1257	Quebec	Abitibi—Baie-James—Nunavik—Eeyou		Steven	Hébert	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1258	Quebec	Abitibi—Baie-James—Nunavik—Eeyou		Romeo	Saganash	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1259	Quebec	Abitibi—Témiscamingue		Aline	Bégin	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1260	Quebec	Abitibi—Témiscamingue		Benoit	Fortin	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1261	Quebec	Abitibi—Témiscamingue		Pascal Le Fou	Gélinas	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1262	Quebec	Abitibi—Témiscamingue		Christine	Moore	New Democratic Party	F	Re-Elected
1263	Quebec	Abitibi—Témiscamingue		Yvon	Moreau	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1264	Quebec	Abitibi—Témiscamingue		Claude	Thibault	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1265	Quebec	Ahuntsic-Cartierville	Montreal Island	Nicolas	Bourdon	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1266	Quebec	Ahuntsic-Cartierville	Montreal Island	Catherine	Gascon-David	Rhinoceros Party	F	Defeated
1267	Quebec	Ahuntsic-Cartierville	Montreal Island	Mélanie	Joly	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1268	Quebec	Ahuntsic-Cartierville	Montreal Island	Gilles	Mercier	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

1269	Quebec	Ahuntsic-Cartierville	Montreal Island	William	Moughrabi	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1270	Quebec	Ahuntsic-Cartierville	Montreal Island	Maria	Mourani	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1271	Quebec	Alfred-Pellan	Laval	Lynda	Briguene	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1272	Quebec	Alfred-Pellan	Laval	Rosane	Doré Lefebvre	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1273	Quebec	Alfred-Pellan	Laval	Angelo	Iacono	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1274	Quebec	Alfred-Pellan	Laval	Renata	Isopo	Independent	F	Defeated
1275	Quebec	Alfred-Pellan	Laval	Gabriel	Purcarus	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1276	Quebec	Alfred-Pellan	Laval	Daniel	St-Hilaire	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1277	Quebec	Argenteuil—La Petite-Nation	Ottawa-Gatineau	Jonathan	Beauchamp	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1278	Quebec	Argenteuil—La Petite-Nation	Ottawa-Gatineau	Chantal	Crête	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1279	Quebec	Argenteuil—La Petite-Nation	Ottawa-Gatineau	Maxime	Hupé-Labelle	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1280	Quebec	Argenteuil—La Petite-Nation	Ottawa-Gatineau	Audrey	Lamarche	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1281	Quebec	Argenteuil—La Petite-Nation	Ottawa-Gatineau	Stéphane	Lauzon	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1282	Quebec	Avignon—La Mitis—Matane—Matapédia		Joël	Charest	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1283	Quebec	Avignon—La Mitis—Matane—Matapédia		Kédina	Fleury-Samson	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1284	Quebec	Avignon—La Mitis—Matane—Matapédia		Jean-François	Fortin	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1285	Quebec	Avignon—La Mitis—Matane—Matapédia		Rémi	Massé	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1286	Quebec	Avignon—La Mitis—Matane—Matapédia		Éric	Normand	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1287	Quebec	Avignon—La Mitis—Matane—Matapédia		André	Savoie	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1288	Quebec	Avignon—La Mitis—Matane—Matapédia		Sherri	Springle	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1289	Quebec	Beauce		Maxime	Bernier	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1290	Quebec	Beauce		Céline Brown	MacDonald	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1291	Quebec	Beauce		Daniel	Royer	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1292	Quebec	Beauce		Stéphane	Trudel	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1293	Quebec	Beauce		Adam	Veilleux	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated

1294	Quebec	Beauport—Côte-de-Beaupré—Île d'Orléans—Charlevoix	Quebec Region	Sylvie	Boucher	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Elected
1295	Quebec	Beauport—Côte-de-Beaupré—Île d'Orléans—Charlevoix	Quebec Region	Mario	Desjardins Pelchat	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1296	Quebec	Beauport—Côte-de-Beaupré—Île d'Orléans—Charlevoix	Quebec Region	Sébastien	Dufour	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1297	Quebec	Beauport—Côte-de-Beaupré—Île d'Orléans—Charlevoix	Quebec Region	Patrick	Kerr	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1298	Quebec	Beauport—Côte-de-Beaupré—Île d'Orléans—Charlevoix	Quebec Region	Jonathan	Tremblay	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1299	Quebec	Beauport—Côte-de-Beaupré—Île d'Orléans—Charlevoix	Quebec Region	Jean-Roger	Vigneau	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1300	Quebec	Beauport—Limoilou	Quebec Region	Francis	Bedard	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1301	Quebec	Beauport—Limoilou	Quebec Region	Doni	Berberi	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1302	Quebec	Beauport—Limoilou	Quebec Region	Antoine	Bujold	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1303	Quebec	Beauport—Limoilou	Quebec Region	Alupa	Clarke	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
1304	Quebec	Beauport—Limoilou	Quebec Region	Raymond	Côté	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1305	Quebec	Beauport—Limoilou	Quebec Region	Dalila	Elhak	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1306	Quebec	Beauport—Limoilou	Quebec Region	Bladimir	Laborit	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1307	Quebec	Beauport—Limoilou	Quebec Region	Claude	Moreau	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1308	Quebec	Bécancour—Nicolet—Saurel	Laval	Corina	Bastiani	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1309	Quebec	Bécancour—Nicolet—Saurel	Laval	Claude	Carpentier	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1310	Quebec	Bécancour—Nicolet—Saurel	Laval	Yves	Laberge	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1311	Quebec	Bécancour—Nicolet—Saurel	Laval	Louis	Plamondon	Bloc Québécois		Re-Elected
1312	Quebec	Bécancour—Nicolet—Saurel	Laval	Nicolas	Tabah	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1313	Quebec	Bellechasse—Les Etchemins—Lévis		André	Bélisle	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1314	Quebec	Bellechasse—Les Etchemins—Lévis		Steven	Blaney	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1315	Quebec	Bellechasse—Les Etchemins—Lévis		Jean-Luc	Daigle	New Democratic Party		Defeated

1316	Quebec	Bellechasse—Les Etchemins—Lévis		Antoine	Dubé	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1317	Quebec	Bellechasse—Les Etchemins—Lévis		Jacques	Turgeon	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1318	Quebec	Beloeil—Chambly		Claude	Chalhoub	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1319	Quebec	Beloeil—Chambly		Karine	Desjardins	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1320	Quebec	Beloeil—Chambly		Matthew	Dubé	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1321	Quebec	Beloeil—Chambly		Yves	Lessard	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1322	Quebec	Beloeil—Chambly		Michael	Maher	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1323	Quebec	Beloeil—Chambly		Fodé Kerfalla	Yansané	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1324	Quebec	Berthier—Maskinongé		Ruth Ellen	Brosseau	New Democratic Party	F	Re-Elected
1325	Quebec	Berthier—Maskinongé		Cate	Burton	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1326	Quebec	Berthier—Maskinongé		Pierre	Destremes	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1327	Quebec	Berthier—Maskinongé		Marianne	Foucraut	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1328	Quebec	Berthier—Maskinongé		Yves	Perron	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1329	Quebec	Bourassa	Montreal Island	Claude	Brunelle	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1330	Quebec	Bourassa	Montreal Island	Maxime	Charron	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1331	Quebec	Bourassa	Montreal Island	Julie	Demers	Independent	F	Defeated
1332	Quebec	Bourassa	Montreal Island	Emmanuel	Dubourg	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1333	Quebec	Bourassa	Montreal Island	Dolmine	Laguerre	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1334	Quebec	Bourassa	Montreal Island	Gilles	Léveillé	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1335	Quebec	Bourassa	Montreal Island	Jean-Marie Floriant	Ndzana	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1336	Quebec	Bourassa	Montreal Island	Jason	Potasso-Justino	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1337	Quebec	Brome—Missisquoi		Catherine	Lusson	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1338	Quebec	Brome—Missisquoi		Patrick	Melchior	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1339	Quebec	Brome—Missisquoi		Cindy	Moynan	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1340	Quebec	Brome—Missisquoi		Patrick	Paine	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1341	Quebec	Brome—Missisquoi		Denis	Paradis	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1342	Quebec	Brome—Missisquoi		Charles	Poulin	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated

1343	Quebec	Brossard—Saint-Lambert		Qais	Hamidi	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1344	Quebec	Brossard—Saint-Lambert		Fang	Hu	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1345	Quebec	Brossard—Saint-Lambert		Suzanne	Lachance	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1346	Quebec	Brossard—Saint-Lambert		Hoang	Mai	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1347	Quebec	Brossard—Saint-Lambert		Alexandra	Mendès	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1348	Quebec	Charlesbourg—Haute-Saint-Charles	Quebec Region	Nathalie	Baudet	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1349	Quebec	Charlesbourg—Haute-Saint-Charles	Quebec Region	Jean	Côté	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1350	Quebec	Charlesbourg—Haute-Saint-Charles	Quebec Region	Anne-Marie	Day	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1351	Quebec	Charlesbourg—Haute-Saint-Charles	Quebec Region	Pierre	Paul-Hus	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
1352	Quebec	Charlesbourg—Haute-Saint-Charles	Quebec Region	Marc Antoine	Turmel	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1353	Quebec	Châteauguay—Lacolle	Montreal Region	Sylvain	Chicoine	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1354	Quebec	Châteauguay—Lacolle	Montreal Region	Jency	Mercier	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1355	Quebec	Châteauguay—Lacolle	Montreal Region	Brenda	Shanahan	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1356	Quebec	Châteauguay—Lacolle	Montreal Region	Sophie	Stanké	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1357	Quebec	Châteauguay—Lacolle	Montreal Region	Philippe	St-Pierre	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1358	Quebec	Châteauguay—Lacolle	Montreal Region	Linda	Sullivan	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1359	Quebec	Chicoutimi—Le Fjord		Élise	Gauthier	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1360	Quebec	Chicoutimi—Le Fjord		Denis	Lemieux	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1361	Quebec	Chicoutimi—Le Fjord		Dany	Morin	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1362	Quebec	Chicoutimi—Le Fjord		Caroline	Ste-Marie	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1363	Quebec	Chicoutimi—Le Fjord		Dany	St-Gelais	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1364	Quebec	Compton—Stanstead		Marie-Claude	Bibeau	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1365	Quebec	Compton—Stanstead		France	Bonsant	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1366	Quebec	Compton—Stanstead		Kévin	Côté	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1367	Quebec	Compton—Stanstead		Gustavo	Labrador	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated

1368	Quebec	Compton— Stanstead		Korie	Marshall	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1369	Quebec	Compton— Stanstead		Jean	Rousseau	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1370	Quebec	Dorval—Lachine— LaSalle	Montreal Region	Daniela	Chivu	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1371	Quebec	Dorval—Lachine— LaSalle	Montreal Region	Anju	Dhillon	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1372	Quebec	Dorval—Lachine— LaSalle	Montreal Region	Vincent	J. Carboneau	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1373	Quebec	Dorval—Lachine— LaSalle	Montreal Region	Isabelle	Morin	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1374	Quebec	Dorval—Lachine— LaSalle	Montreal Region	Soulève	Ndiaye	Independent		Defeated
1375	Quebec	Dorval—Lachine— LaSalle	Montreal Region	Jean- Frédéric	Vaudry	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1376	Quebec	Drummond		Diane	Bourgeois	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1377	Quebec	Drummond		François	Choquette	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1378	Quebec	Drummond		Émile	Coderre	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1379	Quebec	Drummond		Pierre	Côté	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1380	Quebec	Drummond		Pascale	Déry	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1381	Quebec	Gaspésie—Les Îles-de-la- Madeleine		Max	Boudreau	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1382	Quebec	Gaspésie—Les Îles-de-la- Madeleine		Diane	Lebouthillier	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1383	Quebec	Gaspésie—Les Îles-de-la- Madeleine		Jim	Morrison	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1384	Quebec	Gaspésie—Les Îles-de-la- Madeleine		Jean-Pierre	Pigeon	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1385	Quebec	Gaspésie—Les Îles-de-la- Madeleine		Nicolas	Roussy	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1386	Quebec	Gaspésie—Les Îles-de-la- Madeleine		Philip	Toone	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1387	Quebec	Gatineau	Ottawa- Gatineau	Luc	Angers	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1388	Quebec	Gatineau	Ottawa- Gatineau	Guy J	Bellavance	Independent		Defeated
1389	Quebec	Gatineau	Ottawa- Gatineau	Philippe	Boily	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1390	Quebec	Gatineau	Ottawa- Gatineau	Françoise	Boivin	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1391	Quebec	Gatineau	Ottawa- Gatineau	Guy	Dostaler	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1392	Quebec	Gatineau	Ottawa- Gatineau	Steven	MacKinnon	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected

1393	Quebec	Gatineau	Ottawa-Gatineau	Pierre	Soublière	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1394	Quebec	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	Marjolaine	Boutin-Sweet	New Democratic Party	F	Re-Elected
1395	Quebec	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	Marianne	Breton Fontaine	Communist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1396	Quebec	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	Christine	Dandenault	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1397	Quebec	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	Alexandre	Dang	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1398	Quebec	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	Nicolas	Lemay	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1399	Quebec	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	Simon	Marchand	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1400	Quebec	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	Marwah	Rizqy	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1401	Quebec	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	Anne-Marie	Saint-Cerny	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1402	Quebec	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	Paulina	Ayala	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1403	Quebec	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	Audrey	Beauséjour	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1404	Quebec	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	Angela	Budilean	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1405	Quebec	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	Guy	Croteau	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1406	Quebec	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	Dayana	Dejean	Forces et Démocratie	F	Defeated
1407	Quebec	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	Yves	Le Seigle	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1408	Quebec	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	Pablo	Rodriguez	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1409	Quebec	Hull—Aylmer	Ottawa-Gatineau	Étienne	Boulrice	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1410	Quebec	Hull—Aylmer	Ottawa-Gatineau	Maude	Chouinard-Boucher	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1411	Quebec	Hull—Aylmer	Ottawa-Gatineau	Luc	Desjardins	Independent		Defeated
1412	Quebec	Hull—Aylmer	Ottawa-Gatineau	Greg	Fergus	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1413	Quebec	Hull—Aylmer	Ottawa-Gatineau	Roger	Fleury	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1414	Quebec	Hull—Aylmer	Ottawa-Gatineau	Gabriel	Girard-Bernier	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1415	Quebec	Hull—Aylmer	Ottawa-Gatineau	Sean J.	Mulligan	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
1416	Quebec	Hull—Aylmer	Ottawa-Gatineau	Nycole	Turmel	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1417	Quebec	Joliette		Michel	Bourgeois	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated

1418	Quebec	Joliette		Soheil	Eid	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1419	Quebec	Joliette		Danielle	Landreville	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1420	Quebec	Joliette		Robert D.	Morais	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1421	Quebec	Joliette		Mathieu	Morin	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1422	Quebec	Joliette		Gabriel	Ste-Marie	Bloc Québécois		Elected
1423	Quebec	Jonquière		Carmen	Budilean	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1424	Quebec	Jonquière		Jean-François	Caron	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1425	Quebec	Jonquière		Marielle	Couture	Rhinoceros Party	F	Defeated
1426	Quebec	Jonquière		Ursula	Larouche	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1427	Quebec	Jonquière		Marc	Pettersen	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1428	Quebec	Jonquière		Karine	Trudel	New Democratic Party	F	Elected
1429	Quebec	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	Mario	Beaulieu	Bloc Québécois		Elected
1430	Quebec	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	Ben 97	Benoit	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1431	Quebec	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	David J.	Cox	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1432	Quebec	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	Jean-François	Larose	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1433	Quebec	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	Guy	Morissette	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1434	Quebec	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	Ève	Péclet	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1435	Quebec	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	Geneviève	Royer	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1436	Quebec	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	Marie-Chantale	Simard	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1437	Quebec	La Prairie		Pierre	Chicoine	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1438	Quebec	La Prairie		Normand	Chouinard	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1439	Quebec	La Prairie		Yves	Perras	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1440	Quebec	La Prairie		Christian	Picard	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1441	Quebec	La Prairie		Jean-Claude	Poissant	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1442	Quebec	La Prairie		Joanne	Tomas	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1443	Quebec	Lac-Saint-Jean		Gisèle	Dallaire	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated

1444	Quebec	Lac-Saint-Jean		Sabin	Gaudreault	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1445	Quebec	Lac-Saint-Jean		Denis	Lebel	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1446	Quebec	Lac-Saint-Jean		Laurence	Requillé	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1447	Quebec	Lac-Saint-Jean		Sabin	Simard	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1448	Quebec	Lac-Saint-Louis	Montreal Island	Gabriel	Bernier	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1449	Quebec	Lac-Saint-Louis	Montreal Island	Bradford	Dean	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1450	Quebec	Lac-Saint-Louis	Montreal Island	Eric	Girard	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1451	Quebec	Lac-Saint-Louis	Montreal Island	Francis	Scarpaleggia	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1452	Quebec	Lac-Saint-Louis	Montreal Island	Ryan	Young	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1453	Quebec	LaSalle—Émard—Verdun	Montreal Island	Lorraine	Banville	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1454	Quebec	LaSalle—Émard—Verdun	Montreal Island	David	Lametti	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1455	Quebec	LaSalle—Émard—Verdun	Montreal Island	Hélène	LeBlanc	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1456	Quebec	LaSalle—Émard—Verdun	Montreal Island	Gilbert	Paquette	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1457	Quebec	LaSalle—Émard—Verdun	Montreal Island	Mohammad	Zamir	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1458	Quebec	Laurentides—Labelle		Sylvain	Charron	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1459	Quebec	Laurentides—Labelle		David de Burgh	Graham	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1460	Quebec	Laurentides—Labelle		Niloufar	Hedjazi	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1461	Quebec	Laurentides—Labelle		Simon-Pierre	Landry	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1462	Quebec	Laurentides—Labelle		Johanne	Régimbald	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1463	Quebec	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	Stéphane	Beaulieu	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1464	Quebec	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	Julien	Bernatchez	Independent		Defeated
1465	Quebec	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	Gilles	Duceppe	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1466	Quebec	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	Pierre	Fontaine	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
1467	Quebec	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	Daniel	Gaudreau	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1468	Quebec	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	Cyrille	Giraud	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1469	Quebec	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	Serge	Lachapelle	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated

1470	Quebec	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	Hélène	Laverdière	New Democratic Party	F	Re-Elected
1471	Quebec	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	Christine	Poirier	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1472	Quebec	Laval—Les Îles	Laval	Yvon	Breton	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1473	Quebec	Laval—Les Îles	Laval	Roland	Dick	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1474	Quebec	Laval—Les Îles	Laval	Fayçal	El-Khoury	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1475	Quebec	Laval—Les Îles	Laval	François	Pilon	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1476	Quebec	Laval—Les Îles	Laval	Nancy	Redhead	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1477	Quebec	Laval—Les Îles	Laval	Faiza	R'Guiba-Kalogerakis	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1478	Quebec	Lévis—Lotbinière	Quebec Region	François	Belanger	Alliance of the North		Defeated
1479	Quebec	Lévis—Lotbinière	Quebec Region	Tina	Biello	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1480	Quebec	Lévis—Lotbinière	Quebec Region	Hélène	Bilodeau	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1481	Quebec	Lévis—Lotbinière	Quebec Region	Claude	Boucher	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1482	Quebec	Lévis—Lotbinière	Quebec Region	Steve	Gagné	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1483	Quebec	Lévis—Lotbinière	Quebec Region	Jacques	Gourde	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1484	Quebec	Longueuil—Charles-LeMoine	Montreal Region	Thomas	Barré	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1485	Quebec	Longueuil—Charles-LeMoine	Montreal Region	Pierre	Chénier	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1486	Quebec	Longueuil—Charles-LeMoine	Montreal Region	Philippe	Cloutier	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1487	Quebec	Longueuil—Charles-LeMoine	Montreal Region	Sadia	Groguhé	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1488	Quebec	Longueuil—Charles-LeMoine	Montreal Region	Mario	Leclerc	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1489	Quebec	Longueuil—Charles-LeMoine	Montreal Region	Matthew Iakov	Liberman	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1490	Quebec	Longueuil—Charles-LeMoine	Montreal Region	Sherry	Romanado	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1491	Quebec	Longueuil—Saint-Hubert	Montreal Region	Affine	Lwalalika	Forces et Démocratie	F	Defeated
1492	Quebec	Longueuil—Saint-Hubert	Montreal Region	Pierre	Nantel	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1493	Quebec	Longueuil—Saint-Hubert	Montreal Region	Michael	O'Grady	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1494	Quebec	Longueuil—Saint-Hubert	Montreal Region	Cassandra	Postras	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1495	Quebec	Longueuil—Saint-Hubert	Montreal Region	John	Sedlak	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated

1496	Quebec	Longueuil—Saint-Hubert	Montreal Region	Denis	Trudel	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1497	Quebec	Louis-Hébert	Quebec Region	Jean-Pierre	Asselin	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1498	Quebec	Louis-Hébert	Quebec Region	Andrée-Anne	Beaudoin-Julien	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1499	Quebec	Louis-Hébert	Quebec Region	Denis	Blanchette	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1500	Quebec	Louis-Hébert	Quebec Region	Stefan	Jetchick	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated
1501	Quebec	Louis-Hébert	Quebec Region	Joël	Lightbound	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1502	Quebec	Louis-Hébert	Quebec Region	Caroline	Pageau	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1503	Quebec	Louis-Saint-Laurent	Quebec Region	G. Daniel	Caron	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1504	Quebec	Louis-Saint-Laurent	Quebec Region	Gérard	Deltell	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
1505	Quebec	Louis-Saint-Laurent	Quebec Region	Youri	Rousseau	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1506	Quebec	Louis-Saint-Laurent	Quebec Region	Michel	Savard	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1507	Quebec	Louis-Saint-Laurent	Quebec Region	Ronald	Sirard	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1508	Quebec	Manicouagan		Yvon	Boudreau	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1509	Quebec	Manicouagan		Jonathan	Genest-Jourdain	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1510	Quebec	Manicouagan		Marilène	Gill	Bloc Québécois	F	Elected
1511	Quebec	Manicouagan		Nathan	Grills	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1512	Quebec	Manicouagan		Mario	Tremblay	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1513	Quebec	Marc-Aurèle-Fortin	Laval	Patrice	Jasmin-Tremblay	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1514	Quebec	Marc-Aurèle-Fortin	Laval	Marie-Josée	Lemieux	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1515	Quebec	Marc-Aurèle-Fortin	Laval	Nicolas	Makridis	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1516	Quebec	Marc-Aurèle-Fortin	Laval	Lorna	Mungur	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1517	Quebec	Marc-Aurèle-Fortin	Laval	Yves	Robillard	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1518	Quebec	Mégantic—L'Érable	Laval	David	Berthiaume	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1519	Quebec	Mégantic—L'Érable	Laval	Luc	Berthold	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
1520	Quebec	Mégantic—L'Érable	Laval	Jean-François	Delisle	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1521	Quebec	Mégantic—L'Érable	Laval	Justin	Gervais	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

1522	Quebec	Mégantic— L'Érable	Laval	Virginie	Provost	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1523	Quebec	Mirabel		Gordon	Ferguson	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1524	Quebec	Mirabel		Mylène	Freeman	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1525	Quebec	Mirabel		Jocelyn	Gifford	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1526	Quebec	Mirabel		Simon	Marcil	Bloc Québécois		Elected
1527	Quebec	Mirabel		Karl	Trudel	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1528	Quebec	Montarville		Olivier	Adam	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1529	Quebec	Montarville		Stéphane	Duranleau	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1530	Quebec	Montarville		Catherine	Fournier	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1531	Quebec	Montarville		Claude	Leclair	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1532	Quebec	Montarville		Michel	Picard	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1533	Quebec	Montarville		Djaouida	Sellah	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1534	Quebec	Montcalm		Yumi Yow Mei	Ang	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1535	Quebec	Montcalm		Gisèle	DesRoches	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1536	Quebec	Montcalm		Martin	Leclerc	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1537	Quebec	Montcalm		Manon	Perreault	Forces et Démocratie	F	Defeated
1538	Quebec	Montcalm		Luc	Thériault	Bloc Québécois		Elected
1539	Quebec	Montcalm		Louis- Charles	Thouin	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1540	Quebec	Montmagny— L'Islet— Kamouraska— Rivière-du-Loup		Chantal	Breton	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1541	Quebec	Montmagny— L'Islet— Kamouraska— Rivière-du-Loup		Bien Gras	Gagné	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1542	Quebec	Montmagny— L'Islet— Kamouraska— Rivière-du-Loup		Louis	Gagnon	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1543	Quebec	Montmagny— L'Islet— Kamouraska— Rivière-du-Loup		Bernard	Généreux	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
1544	Quebec	Montmagny— L'Islet— Kamouraska— Rivière-du-Loup		François	Lapointe	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1545	Quebec	Montmagny— L'Islet—		Marie-Josée	Normand	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated

		Kamouraska— Rivière-du-Loup						
1546	Quebec	Mount Royal	Montreal Island	Jade	Bossé Bélanger	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1547	Quebec	Mount Royal	Montreal Island	Anthony	Housefather	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1548	Quebec	Mount Royal	Montreal Island	Diane	Johnston	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1549	Quebec	Mount Royal	Montreal Island	Timothy	Landry	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1550	Quebec	Mount Royal	Montreal Island	Robert	Libman	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1551	Quebec	Mount Royal	Montreal Island	Mario Jacinto	Rimbao	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1552	Quebec	Notre-Dame-de- Grâce— Westmount	Montreal Island	Lisa Julie	Cahn	Independent	F	Defeated
1553	Quebec	Notre-Dame-de- Grâce— Westmount	Montreal Island	Marc	Garneau	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1554	Quebec	Notre-Dame-de- Grâce— Westmount	Montreal Island	Rachel	Hoffman	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1555	Quebec	Notre-Dame-de- Grâce— Westmount	Montreal Island	James	Hughes	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1556	Quebec	Notre-Dame-de- Grâce— Westmount	Montreal Island	Simon	Quesnel	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1557	Quebec	Notre-Dame-de- Grâce— Westmount	Montreal Island	Richard	Sagala	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1558	Quebec	Notre-Dame-de- Grâce— Westmount	Montreal Island	Melissa Kate	Wheeler	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1559	Quebec	Outremont	Montreal Island	Rachel	Bendayan	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1560	Quebec	Outremont	Montreal Island	Amara	Diallo	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1561	Quebec	Outremont	Montreal Island	Roger	Galland Barou	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1562	Quebec	Outremont	Montreal Island	Rodolphe	Husny	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1563	Quebec	Outremont	Montreal Island	Thomas	Mulcair	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1564	Quebec	Outremont	Montreal Island	Francis	Pouliot	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1565	Quebec	Outremont	Montreal Island	Adrien	Welsh	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
1566	Quebec	Papineau	Montreal Island	Beverly	Bernardo	No Affiliation	F	Defeated
1567	Quebec	Papineau	Montreal Island	Maxime	Claveau	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1568	Quebec	Papineau	Montreal Island	Tommy	Gaudet	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1569	Quebec	Papineau	Montreal Island	Anne	Lagacé Dowson	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated

1570	Quebec	Papineau	Montreal Island	Chris	Lloyd	Independent		Defeated
1571	Quebec	Papineau	Montreal Island	Peter	Macrisopoulos	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1572	Quebec	Papineau	Montreal Island	Danny	Polifroni	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1573	Quebec	Papineau	Montreal Island	Justin	Trudeau	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1574	Quebec	Papineau	Montreal Island	Yvon	Vadnais	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1575	Quebec	Papineau	Montreal Island	Kim	Waldron	Independent	F	Defeated
1576	Quebec	Pierre-Boucher— Les Patriotes— Verchères		Xavier	Barsalou-Duval	Bloc Québécois		Elected
1577	Quebec	Pierre-Boucher— Les Patriotes— Verchères		Raphaël	Fortin	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1578	Quebec	Pierre-Boucher— Les Patriotes— Verchères		Lucie	Gagnon	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1579	Quebec	Pierre-Boucher— Les Patriotes— Verchères		JiCi	Lauzon	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1580	Quebec	Pierre-Boucher— Les Patriotes— Verchères		Clovis	Maheux	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1581	Quebec	Pierrefonds— Dollard	Montreal Island	Valérie	Assouline	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1582	Quebec	Pierrefonds— Dollard	Montreal Island	Frank	Baylis	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1583	Quebec	Pierrefonds— Dollard	Montreal Island	Lysane	Blanchette-Lamothe	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1584	Quebec	Pierrefonds— Dollard	Montreal Island	Natalie	Laplante	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1585	Quebec	Pierrefonds— Dollard	Montreal Island	abraham	Weizfeld	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1586	Quebec	Pontiac	Ottawa-Gatineau	William	Amos	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1587	Quebec	Pontiac	Ottawa-Gatineau	Colin	Griffiths	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1588	Quebec	Pontiac	Ottawa-Gatineau	Louis	Lang	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1589	Quebec	Pontiac	Ottawa-Gatineau	Nicolas	Lepage	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1590	Quebec	Pontiac	Ottawa-Gatineau	Pascal	Médiéu	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1591	Quebec	Pontiac	Ottawa-Gatineau	Mathieu	Ravignat	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1592	Quebec	Pontiac	Ottawa-Gatineau	Benjamin	Woodman	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1593	Quebec	Portneuf— Jacques-Cartier	Quebec Region	David	Gauvin	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1594	Quebec	Portneuf— Jacques-Cartier	Quebec Region	Joël	Godin	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected

1595	Quebec	Portneuf— Jacques-Cartier	Quebec Region	Raymond	Harvey	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1596	Quebec	Portneuf— Jacques-Cartier	Quebec Region	Élaine	Michaud	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1597	Quebec	Portneuf— Jacques-Cartier	Quebec Region	Johanne	Morin	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1598	Quebec	Québec	Quebec Region	Pierre- Thomas	Asselin	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1599	Quebec	Québec	Quebec Region	Jean-Yves	Duclos	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1600	Quebec	Québec	Quebec Region	Normand	Fournier	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1601	Quebec	Québec	Quebec Region	Charles	Mordret	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1602	Quebec	Québec	Quebec Region	Annick	Papillon	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1603	Quebec	Québec	Quebec Region	Danielle	Provost	Forces et Démocratie	F	Defeated
1604	Quebec	Québec	Quebec Region	Philippe	Riboty	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1605	Quebec	Repentigny	Montreal Region	Réjean	Bellemare	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1606	Quebec	Repentigny	Montreal Region	Johnathan	Cloutier	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1607	Quebec	Repentigny	Montreal Region	Adriana	Dudas	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1608	Quebec	Repentigny	Montreal Region	Yoland	Gilbert	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1609	Quebec	Repentigny	Montreal Region	Jonathan	Lefebvre	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1610	Quebec	Repentigny	Montreal Region	Monique	Pauzé	Bloc Québécois	F	Elected
1611	Quebec	Richmond— Arthabaska		Myriam	Beaulieu	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1612	Quebec	Richmond— Arthabaska		Laurier	Busque	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1613	Quebec	Richmond— Arthabaska		Marc	Desmarais	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1614	Quebec	Richmond— Arthabaska		Antoine	Dubois	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1615	Quebec	Richmond— Arthabaska		Olivier	Nolin	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1616	Quebec	Richmond— Arthabaska		Alain	Raves	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
1617	Quebec	Rimouski- Neigette— Témiscouata—Les Basques		Louise	Boutin	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1618	Quebec	Rimouski- Neigette— Témiscouata—Les Basques		Pierre	Cadieux	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1619	Quebec	Rimouski- Neigette— Témiscouata—Les Basques		Johanne	Carignan	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated

1620	Quebec	Rimouski-Neigette—Témiscouata—Les Basques		Guy	Caron	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1621	Quebec	Rimouski-Neigette—Témiscouata—Les Basques		Sébastien	Côrriveau	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1622	Quebec	Rimouski-Neigette—Témiscouata—Les Basques		Francis	Fortin	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1623	Quebec	Rivière-des-Mille-Îles	Montreal Region	Érick	Gauthier	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1624	Quebec	Rivière-des-Mille-Îles	Montreal Region	Linda	Lapointe	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1625	Quebec	Rivière-des-Mille-Îles	Montreal Region	Laurin	Liu	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1626	Quebec	Rivière-des-Mille-Îles	Montreal Region	Félix	Pinel	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1627	Quebec	Rivière-des-Mille-Îles	Montreal Region	Luis	Quinteros	Independent		Defeated
1628	Quebec	Rivière-des-Mille-Îles	Montreal Region	Alec	Ware	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1629	Quebec	Rivière-du-Nord		Janice	Bélaïr Rolland	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1630	Quebec	Rivière-du-Nord		Fobozof A.	Côté	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1631	Quebec	Rivière-du-Nord		Pierre	Dionne Labelle	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1632	Quebec	Rivière-du-Nord		Rhéal	Fortin	Bloc Québécois		Elected
1633	Quebec	Rivière-du-Nord		Joey	Leckman	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1634	Quebec	Rivière-du-Nord		Romain	Vignol	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1635	Quebec	Rosemont—La Petite-Patrie	Montreal Island	Laurent	Aglat	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1636	Quebec	Rosemont—La Petite-Patrie	Montreal Island	Claude	André	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1637	Quebec	Rosemont—La Petite-Patrie	Montreal Island	Alexandre	Boulerice	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1638	Quebec	Rosemont—La Petite-Patrie	Montreal Island	Stéphane	Chénier	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1639	Quebec	Rosemont—La Petite-Patrie	Montreal Island	Peter	d'Entremont	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1640	Quebec	Rosemont—La Petite-Patrie	Montreal Island	Jeremy	Dohan	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1641	Quebec	Rosemont—La Petite-Patrie	Montreal Island	Nadine	Medawar	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1642	Quebec	Rosemont—La Petite-Patrie	Montreal Island	Sameer	Muldeen	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1643	Quebec	Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot		Lise	Durand	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1644	Quebec	Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot		Michel	Filion	Bloc Québécois		Defeated

1645	Quebec	Saint-Hyacinthe— Bagot		Réjean	Léveillé	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1646	Quebec	Saint-Hyacinthe— Bagot		Ugo	Ménard	Independent		Defeated
1647	Quebec	Saint-Hyacinthe— Bagot		Brigitte	Sansoucy	New Democratic Party	F	Elected
1648	Quebec	Saint-Hyacinthe— Bagot		René	Vincelette	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1649	Quebec	Saint-Jean		Stéphane	Guinta	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1650	Quebec	Saint-Jean		Denis	Hurtubise	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1651	Quebec	Saint-Jean		Hans	Marotte	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1652	Quebec	Saint-Jean		Marilyn	Redivo	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1653	Quebec	Saint-Jean		Jean	Rioux	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1654	Quebec	Saint-Laurent	Montreal Island	Alain	Ackad	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1655	Quebec	Saint-Laurent	Montreal Island	Fernand	Deschamps	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1656	Quebec	Saint-Laurent	Montreal Island	Stéphane	Dion	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1657	Quebec	Saint-Laurent	Montreal Island	Pascal- Olivier	Dumas-Dubreuil	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1658	Quebec	Saint-Laurent	Montreal Island	John	Tromp	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1659	Quebec	Saint-Laurent	Montreal Island	Jimmy	Yu	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1660	Quebec	Saint-Léonard— Saint-Michel	Montreal Island	Nicola	Di Iorio	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1661	Quebec	Saint-Léonard— Saint-Michel	Montreal Island	Rosannie	Filato	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1662	Quebec	Saint-Léonard— Saint-Michel	Montreal Island	Jean Philippe	Fournier	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1663	Quebec	Saint-Léonard— Saint-Michel	Montreal Island	Steeve	Gendron	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1664	Quebec	Saint-Léonard— Saint-Michel	Montreal Island	Arezki	Malek	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1665	Quebec	Saint-Léonard— Saint-Michel	Montreal Island	Melissa	Miscione	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1666	Quebec	Saint-Maurice— Champlain		Jean-Paul	Bédard	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada		Defeated
1667	Quebec	Saint-Maurice— Champlain		Sacki	Carignan Deschamps	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1668	Quebec	Saint-Maurice— Champlain		François- Philippe	Champagne	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1669	Quebec	Saint-Maurice— Champlain		Jacques	Grenier	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1670	Quebec	Saint-Maurice— Champlain		Martial	Toupin	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

1671	Quebec	Saint-Maurice—Champlain		Jean-Yves	Tremblay	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1672	Quebec	Salaberry—Suroît		Albert	De Martin	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1673	Quebec	Salaberry—Suroît		Claude	DeBellefeuille	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1674	Quebec	Salaberry—Suroît		Patricia	Domingos	Forces et Démocratie	F	Defeated
1675	Quebec	Salaberry—Suroît		Sylvain	Larocque	Independent		Defeated
1676	Quebec	Salaberry—Suroît		Anne Minh-Thu	Quach	New Democratic Party	F	Re-Elected
1677	Quebec	Salaberry—Suroît		Robert	Sauvé	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1678	Quebec	Salaberry—Suroît		Nicola-Silverado	Socrates	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1679	Quebec	Shefford		Jocelyn	Beaudoin	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1680	Quebec	Shefford		Pierre	Breton	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1681	Quebec	Shefford		Sylvie	Fontaine	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1682	Quebec	Shefford		Claire	Mailhot	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1683	Quebec	Shefford		Simon	McMillan	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1684	Quebec	Sherbrooke		Thomas "Tom"	Allen	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1685	Quebec	Sherbrooke		Caroline	Bouchard	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1686	Quebec	Sherbrooke		Marc	Dauphin	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1687	Quebec	Sherbrooke		Pierre-Luc	Dusseault	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1688	Quebec	Sherbrooke		Benoit	Huberdeau	Independent		Defeated
1689	Quebec	Sherbrooke		Sophie	Malouin	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1690	Quebec	Sherbrooke		Hubert	Richard	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1691	Quebec	Terrebonne	Montreal Region	Michèle	Audette	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1692	Quebec	Terrebonne	Montreal Region	Charmaine	Borg	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1693	Quebec	Terrebonne	Montreal Region	Michel	Boudrias	Bloc Québécois		Elected
1694	Quebec	Terrebonne	Montreal Region	Susan	Moen	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1695	Quebec	Terrebonne	Montreal Region	Louis Clément	Sénat	Forces et Démocratie		Defeated
1696	Quebec	Terrebonne	Montreal Region	Michel	Surprenant	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1697	Quebec	Thérèse-De Blainville	Montreal Region	Ramez	Ayoub	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1698	Quebec	Thérèse-De Blainville	Montreal Region	Andrew	Carkner	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

1699	Quebec	Thérèse-De Blainville	Montreal Region	Alain	Giguère	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1700	Quebec	Thérèse-De Blainville	Montreal Region	Daniel	Guindon	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1701	Quebec	Thérèse-De Blainville	Montreal Region	Alain	Marginean	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1702	Quebec	Thérèse-De Blainville	Montreal Region	Manuel	Puga	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1703	Quebec	Trois-Rivières		Robert	Aubin	New Democratic Party		Re-Elected
1704	Quebec	Trois-Rivières		Yvon	Boivin	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1705	Quebec	Trois-Rivières		Maxime	Rousseau	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1706	Quebec	Trois-Rivières		Dominic	Therrien	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1707	Quebec	Trois-Rivières		Éric	Trottier	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1708	Quebec	Trois-Rivières		André	Valois	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1709	Quebec	Vaudreuil—Soulanges	Montreal Region	Marc	Boudreau	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1710	Quebec	Vaudreuil—Soulanges	Montreal Region	Vincent	François	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1711	Quebec	Vaudreuil—Soulanges	Montreal Region	Jennifer	Kaszal	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1712	Quebec	Vaudreuil—Soulanges	Montreal Region	Jamie	Nicholls	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1713	Quebec	Vaudreuil—Soulanges	Montreal Region	Peter	Schiefke	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1714	Quebec	Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Îles-Soeurs	Laval	Daniel	Green	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1715	Quebec	Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Îles-Soeurs	Laval	Marc	Miller	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1716	Quebec	Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Îles-Soeurs	Laval	Steve	Shanahan	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1717	Quebec	Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Îles-Soeurs	Laval	William	Sloan	Communist Party of Canada		Defeated
1718	Quebec	Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Îles-Soeurs	Laval	Chantal	St-Onge	Bloc Québécois	F	Defeated
1719	Quebec	Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Îles-Soeurs	Laval	Allison	Turner	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1720	Quebec	Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Îles-Soeurs	Laval	Daniel	Wolfe	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1721	Quebec	Vimy		France	Duhamel	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1722	Quebec	Vimy		Brian	Jenkins	Christian Heritage Party of Canada		Defeated

1723	Quebec	Vimy		Barek	Kaddouri	Bloc Québécois		Defeated
1724	Quebec	Vimy		Anthony	Mavros	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1725	Quebec	Vimy		Eva	Nassif	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Elected
1726	Quebec	Vimy		José	Nunez-Melo	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1727	Saskatchewan	Battlefords—Lloydminster		Doug	Anguish	Independent		Defeated
1728	Saskatchewan	Battlefords—Lloydminster		Larry	Ingram	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1729	Saskatchewan	Battlefords—Lloydminster		Gerry	Ritz	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1730	Saskatchewan	Battlefords—Lloydminster		Glenn	Tait	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1731	Saskatchewan	Battlefords—Lloydminster		Mikaela	Tenkink	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1732	Saskatchewan	Carlton Trail—Eagle Creek	Saskatoon	Kelly	Block	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Re-Elected
1733	Saskatchewan	Carlton Trail—Eagle Creek	Saskatoon	Lynn	Oliphant	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1734	Saskatchewan	Carlton Trail—Eagle Creek	Saskatoon	Alexander	Slusar	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1735	Saskatchewan	Carlton Trail—Eagle Creek	Saskatoon	Glenn	Wright	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1736	Saskatchewan	Cypress Hills—Grasslands		David	Anderson	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1737	Saskatchewan	Cypress Hills—Grasslands		William	Caton	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1738	Saskatchewan	Cypress Hills—Grasslands		Trevor	Peterson	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1739	Saskatchewan	Cypress Hills—Grasslands		Marvin	Wiens	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1740	Saskatchewan	Desnethé—Missinippi—Churchill River		Rob	Clarke	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1741	Saskatchewan	Desnethé—Missinippi—Churchill River		Georgina	Jolibois	New Democratic Party	F	Elected
1742	Saskatchewan	Desnethé—Missinippi—Churchill River		Lawrence	Joseph	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1743	Saskatchewan	Desnethé—Missinippi—Churchill River		Warren	Koch	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1744	Saskatchewan	Moose Jaw—Lake Centre—Lanigan	Regina	Dustan	Hlady	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1745	Saskatchewan	Moose Jaw—Lake Centre—Lanigan	Regina	Perry	Juttla	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1746	Saskatchewan	Moose Jaw—Lake Centre—Lanigan	Regina	Tom	Lukiwski	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1747	Saskatchewan	Moose Jaw—Lake Centre—Lanigan	Regina	Shawn	Setyo	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

1748	Saskatchewan	Moose Jaw—Lake Centre—Lanigan	Regina	Robert	Thomas	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1749	Saskatchewan	Prince Albert		Lon	Borgerson	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1750	Saskatchewan	Prince Albert		Randy	Hoback	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1751	Saskatchewan	Prince Albert		Gordon	Kirkby	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1752	Saskatchewan	Prince Albert		Byron	Tenkink	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1753	Saskatchewan	Regina—Lewvan	Regina	Louis	Browne	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1754	Saskatchewan	Regina—Lewvan	Regina	Wojciech	Dolata	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1755	Saskatchewan	Regina—Lewvan	Regina	Trent	Fraser	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1756	Saskatchewan	Regina—Lewvan	Regina	Tamela	Friesen	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1757	Saskatchewan	Regina—Lewvan	Regina	Erin	Weir	New Democratic Party		Elected
1758	Saskatchewan	Regina—Qu'Appelle	Regina	Della	Anaquod	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1759	Saskatchewan	Regina—Qu'Appelle	Regina	Greg	Chatterson	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1760	Saskatchewan	Regina—Qu'Appelle	Regina	Nial	Kuyek	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1761	Saskatchewan	Regina—Qu'Appelle	Regina	Andrew	Scheer	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1762	Saskatchewan	Regina—Wascana	Regina	April	Bourgeois	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1763	Saskatchewan	Regina—Wascana	Regina	Ralph	Goodale	Liberal Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1764	Saskatchewan	Regina—Wascana	Regina	Michael	Kram	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1765	Saskatchewan	Regina—Wascana	Regina	Frances	Simonson	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1766	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon West	Saskatoon	Lisa	Abbott	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1767	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon West	Saskatoon	Sheri	Benson	New Democratic Party	F	Elected
1768	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon West	Saskatoon	Randy	Donauer	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated
1769	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon West	Saskatoon	Bronek	Hart	Libertarian Party of Canada		Defeated
1770	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon West	Saskatoon	Lois Carol	Mitchell	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1771	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon West	Saskatoon	Jim	Pankiw	Canada Party		Defeated
1772	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon—Grasswood	Saskatoon	Scott	Bell	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1773	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon—Grasswood	Saskatoon	Mark	Bigland-Pritchard	Green Party of Canada		Defeated

1774	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon—Grasswood	Saskatoon	Tracy	Muggli	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1775	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon—Grasswood	Saskatoon	Kevin	Waugh	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
1776	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon—University	Saskatoon	Cynthia Marie	Block	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1777	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon—University	Saskatoon	Claire	Card	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1778	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon—University	Saskatoon	Valerie	Harvey	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1779	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon—University	Saskatoon	Eric Matthew	Schalm	Rhinoceros Party		Defeated
1780	Saskatchewan	Saskatoon—University	Saskatoon	Brad	Trost	Conservative Party of Canada		Re-Elected
1781	Saskatchewan	Souris—Moose Mountain		Steven	Bebbington	Liberal Party of Canada		Defeated
1782	Saskatchewan	Souris—Moose Mountain		Bob	Deptuck	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1783	Saskatchewan	Souris—Moose Mountain		Robert	Kitchen	Conservative Party of Canada		Elected
1784	Saskatchewan	Souris—Moose Mountain		Vicky	O'Dell	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1785	Saskatchewan	Yorkton—Melville		Elaine	Hughes	Green Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1786	Saskatchewan	Yorkton—Melville		Brooke Taylor	Malinoski	Liberal Party of Canada	F	Defeated
1787	Saskatchewan	Yorkton—Melville		Doug	Ottenbreit	New Democratic Party		Defeated
1788	Saskatchewan	Yorkton—Melville		Cathay	Wagantall	Conservative Party of Canada	F	Elected
1789	Yukon	Yukon		Melissa	Atkinson	New Democratic Party	F	Defeated
1790	Yukon	Yukon		Larry	Bagnell	Liberal Party of Canada		Elected
1791	Yukon	Yukon		Frank	de Jong	Green Party of Canada		Defeated
1792	Yukon	Yukon		Ryan	Leef	Conservative Party of Canada		Defeated

Appendix II. 2015 Women Candidates and Results⁴³³

Number	Province / Territory	# of women per province	Constituency	Major city/urban	Gender	Election Result	First Name	Last Name	Political Party
1	Alberta	1	Banff—Airdrie		F	Defeated	Joanne	Boissonneault	New Democratic Party
8	Alberta	2	Battle River—Crowfoot	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Katherine	Swampy	New Democratic Party
10	Alberta	3	Bow River		F	Defeated	Rita Ann	Fromholt	Green Party of Canada
13	Alberta	4	Bow River		F	Defeated	Lynn	MacWilliam	New Democratic Party
17	Alberta	5	Calgary Centre	Calgary	F	Defeated	Joan	Crockatt	Conservative Party of Canada
20	Alberta	6	Calgary Centre	Calgary	F	Defeated	Jillian	Ratti	New Democratic Party
24	Alberta	7	Calgary Confederation	Calgary	F	Defeated	Natalie	Odd	Green Party of Canada
33	Alberta	8	Calgary Heritage	Calgary	F	Defeated	Kelly	Christie	Green Party of Canada
41	Alberta	9	Calgary Midnapore	Calgary	F	Defeated	Peggy	Askin	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
42	Alberta	10	Calgary Midnapore	Calgary	F	Defeated	Haley	Brown	Liberal Party of Canada
45	Alberta	11	Calgary Midnapore	Calgary	F	Defeated	Laura	Weston	New Democratic Party
53	Alberta	12	Calgary Rocky Ridge	Calgary	F	Defeated	Stephanie	Kot	New Democratic Party
54	Alberta	13	Calgary Rocky Ridge	Calgary	F	Defeated	Nirmala	Naidoo	Liberal Party of Canada
55	Alberta	14	Calgary Rocky Ridge	Calgary	F	Defeated	Catriona	Wright	Green Party of Canada
61	Alberta	15	Calgary Signal Hill	Calgary	F	Defeated	Kerry	Cundal	Liberal Party of Canada
62	Alberta	16	Calgary Signal Hill	Calgary	F	Defeated	Taryn	Knorren	Green Party of Canada
79	Alberta	17	Edmonton Centre	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Kat	Yaki	Independent
82	Alberta	18	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Maryna	Goncharenko	Libertarian Party of Canada
83	Alberta	19	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Janis	Irwin	New Democratic Party

⁴³³ “42nd General Election.” *Parliament of Canada*. “PARLINFO – Ridings,” *Library of Parliament*. “Women Candidates in General Elections – 1921 to Date.” *Library of Parliament*.

84	Alberta	20	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Mary	Joyce	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada
85	Alberta	21	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Linda	Northcott	Marijuana Party
87	Alberta	22	Edmonton Griesbach	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Heather	Workman	Green Party of Canada
90	Alberta	23	Edmonton Manning	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Mebreate	Deres	Independent
98	Alberta	24	Edmonton Mill Woods	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Naomi	Rankin	Communist Party of Canada
105	Alberta	25	Edmonton Riverbend	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Valerie	Kennedy	Green Party of Canada
113	Alberta	26	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Eleanor	Olszewski	Liberal Party of Canada
117	Alberta	27	Edmonton West	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Pamela Leslie	Bryan	Green Party of Canada
119	Alberta	28	Edmonton West	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Karen	Leibovici	Liberal Party of Canada
120	Alberta	29	Edmonton West	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Heather	MacKenzie	New Democratic Party
122	Alberta	30	Edmonton West	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Peggy	Morton	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada
123	Alberta	31	Edmonton— Wetaskiwin	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Jacqueline	Biollo	Liberal Party of Canada
125	Alberta	32	Edmonton— Wetaskiwin	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Joy-Ann	Hut	Green Party of Canada
129	Alberta	33	Foothills		F	Defeated	Tanya	MacPherson	Liberal Party of Canada
132	Alberta	34	Foothills		F	Defeated	Alison	Thompson	New Democratic Party
133	Alberta	35	Foothills		F	Defeated	Romy S.	Tittel	Green Party of Canada
138	Alberta	36	Fort McMurray— Cold Lake		F	Defeated	Melody	Lepine	New Democratic Party
142	Alberta	37	Grande Prairie— Mackenzie		F	Defeated	Saba	Mossagizi	New Democratic Party
146	Alberta	38	Lakeland	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Danielle	Montgomery	Green Party of Canada
154	Alberta	39	Lethbridge		F	Defeated	Cheryl	Meheden	New Democratic Party
163	Alberta	40	Peace River— Westlock		F	Defeated	Sabrina Lee	Levac	Green Party of Canada
172	Alberta	41	Red Deer— Mountain View		F	Defeated	Chandra Lescia	Kastern	Liberal Party of Canada
177	Alberta	42	Sherwood Park— Fort Saskatchewan		F	Defeated	Joanne	Cave	New Democratic Party
181	Alberta	43	Sherwood Park— Fort Saskatchewan		F	Defeated	Brandie	Harrop	Green Party of Canada
183	Alberta	44	St. Albert— Edmonton	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Beatrice	Ghettuba	Liberal Party of Canada
184	Alberta	45	St. Albert— Edmonton	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Darlene	Malayko	New Democratic Party
185	Alberta	46	St. Albert— Edmonton	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Andrea	Oldham	Green Party of Canada

196	Alberta	47	Yellowhead	Edmonton	F	Defeated	Sandra	Wolf Lange	Green Party of Canada
148	Alberta	48	Lakeland	Edmonton	F	Elected	Shannon	Stubbs	Conservative Party of Canada
151	Alberta	49	Lethbridge		F	Elected	Rachael	Harder	Conservative Party of Canada
50	Alberta	50	Calgary Nose Hill	Calgary	F	Re-Elected	Michelle	Rempel	Conservative Party of Canada
109	Alberta	51	Edmonton Strathcona	Edmonton	F	Re-Elected	Linda	Duncan	New Democratic Party
187	Alberta	52	Sturgeon River—Parkland	Edmonton	F	Re-Elected	Rona	Ambrose	Conservative Party of Canada
200	British Columbia	1	Abbotsford		F	Defeated	Jen	Martel	New Democratic Party
202	British Columbia	2	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	F	Defeated	Carol	Baird Ellan	New Democratic Party
204	British Columbia	3	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	F	Defeated	Helen Hee Soon	Chang	Independent
207	British Columbia	4	Burnaby North—Seymour	Vancouver Region	F	Defeated	Lynne	Quarmby	Green Party of Canada
210	British Columbia	5	Burnaby South		F	Defeated	Liz	Jaluague	Libertarian Party of Canada
212	British Columbia	6	Burnaby South		F	Defeated	Grace	Seear	Conservative Party of Canada
215	British Columbia	7	Cariboo—Prince George		F	Defeated	Tracy	Calogheros	Liberal Party of Canada
224	British Columbia	8	Central Okanagan—Similkameen—Nicola		F	Defeated	Karley	Scott	Liberal Party of Canada
225	British Columbia	9	Central Okanagan—Similkameen—Nicola		F	Defeated	Angelique	Wood	New Democratic Party
229	British Columbia	10	Chilliwack—Hope		F	Defeated	Seonaigh	MacPherson	New Democratic Party
230	British Columbia	11	Chilliwack—Hope		F	Defeated	Dorothy-Jean	O'Donnell	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
235	British Columbia	12	Cloverdale—Langley City		F	Defeated	Rebecca	Smith	New Democratic Party
240	British Columbia	13	Coquitlam—Port Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	F	Defeated	Sara	Norman	New Democratic Party
241	British Columbia	14	Courtenay—Alberni		F	Defeated	Barbara	Biley	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
244	British Columbia	15	Courtenay—Alberni		F	Defeated	Carrie	Powell-Davidson	Liberal Party of Canada
248	British Columbia	16	Cowichan—Malahat—Langford		F	Defeated	Fran	Hunt-Jinnouchi	Green Party of Canada

252	British Columbia	17	Delta		F	Defeated	Kerry-Lynne D.	Findlay	Conservative Party of Canada
256	British Columbia	18	Esquimalt—Saanich—Sooke	Victoria	F	Defeated	Frances	Litman	Green Party of Canada
257	British Columbia	19	Esquimalt—Saanich—Sooke	Victoria	F	Defeated	Shari	Lukens	Conservative Party of Canada
261	British Columbia	20	Fleetwood—Port Kells	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Nina	Grewal	Conservative Party of Canada
268	British Columbia	21	Kelowna—Lake Country		F	Defeated	Norah Mary	Bowman	New Democratic Party
275	British Columbia	22	Langley—Aldergrove	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Simmi Saminder Kaur	Dhillon	Green Party of Canada
277	British Columbia	23	Langley—Aldergrove	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Margot	Sangster	New Democratic Party
278	British Columbia	24	Langley—Aldergrove	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Lauren	Southern	Libertarian Party of Canada
285	British Columbia	25	Mission—Matsqui—Fraser Canyon		F	Defeated	Elaine	Wismer	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
292	British Columbia	26	New Westminster—Burnaby	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Chloé	Ellis	Conservative Party of Canada
294	British Columbia	27	New Westminster—Burnaby	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Sasha	Ramnarine	Liberal Party of Canada
298	British Columbia	28	North Island—Powell River		F	Defeated	Brenda	Sayers	Green Party of Canada
300	British Columbia	29	North Island—Powell River		F	Defeated	Laura	Smith	Conservative Party of Canada
302	British Columbia	30	North Okanagan—Shuswap		F	Defeated	Cindy	Derkaz	Liberal Party of Canada
304	British Columbia	31	North Okanagan—Shuswap		F	Defeated	Jacqui	Gingras	New Democratic Party
306	British Columbia	32	North Vancouver	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Claire	Martin	Green Party of Canada
308	British Columbia	33	North Vancouver	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Carleen	Thomas	New Democratic Party
316	British Columbia	34	Port Moody—Coquitlam	Vancouver Region	F	Defeated	Jessie	Adcock	Liberal Party of Canada
321	British Columbia	35	Prince George—Peace River—Northern Rockies		F	Defeated	Elizabeth	Biggar	Green Party of Canada
323	British Columbia	36	Prince George—Peace River—Northern Rockies		F	Defeated	Kathi	Dickie	New Democratic Party
332	British Columbia	37	Saanich—Gulf Islands	Victoria	F	Defeated	Alicia	Cormier	New Democratic Party
335	British Columbia	38	Saanich—Gulf Islands	Victoria	F	Defeated	Meghan Jess	Porter	Libertarian Party of Canada
339	British Columbia	39	Skeena—Bulkley Valley		F	Defeated	Jeannie	Parnell	Green Party of Canada
342	British Columbia	40	South Okanagan—West Kootenay		F	Defeated	Connie	Denesiuk	Liberal Party of Canada

345	British Columbia	41	South Okanagan—West Kootenay		F	Defeated	Samantha	Troy	Green Party of Canada
347	British Columbia	42	South Surrey—White Rock		F	Defeated	Judy	Higginbotham	Liberal Party of Canada
348	British Columbia	43	South Surrey—White Rock		F	Defeated	Pixie	Hobby	New Democratic Party
349	British Columbia	44	South Surrey—White Rock		F	Defeated	Bonnie	Hu	Libertarian Party of Canada
354	British Columbia	45	Steveston—Richmond East	Vancouver Region	F	Defeated	Laura-Leah	Shaw	Green Party of Canada
364	British Columbia	46	Surrey—Newton	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Pamela	Sangha	Green Party of Canada
365	British Columbia	47	Surrey—Newton	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Jinny Jogindera	Sims	New Democratic Party
367	British Columbia	48	Vancouver Centre	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Elaine	Allan	Conservative Party of Canada
368	British Columbia	49	Vancouver Centre	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Constance	Barnes	New Democratic Party
369	British Columbia	50	Vancouver Centre	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Lisa	Barrett	Green Party of Canada
373	British Columbia	51	Vancouver East	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Anne	Jamieson	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
383	British Columbia	52	Vancouver Granville	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Mira	Oreck	New Democratic Party
389	British Columbia	53	Vancouver Kingsway	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Catherine	Moore	Green Party of Canada
390	British Columbia	54	Vancouver Kingsway	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Donna	Petersen	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
396	British Columbia	55	Vancouver Quadra	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Blair	Lockhart	Conservative Party of Canada
401	British Columbia	56	Vancouver South	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Elain	Ng	Green Party of Canada
402	British Columbia	57	Vancouver South	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Amandeep	Nijjar	New Democratic Party
404	British Columbia	58	Vancouver South	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Wai	Young	Conservative Party of Canada
410	British Columbia	59	Victoria	Victoria	F	Defeated	Jo-Ann	Roberts	Green Party of Canada
411	British Columbia	60	Victoria	Victoria	F	Defeated	Cheryl	Thomas	Liberal Party of Canada
412	British Columbia	61	West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country	Vancouver (City)	F	Defeated	Carol	Chapman	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
254	British Columbia	62	Delta		F	Elected	Carla	Qualtrough	Liberal Party of Canada
288	British Columbia	63	Nanaimo—Ladysmith		F	Elected	Sheila	Malcolmson	New Democratic Party
297	British Columbia	64	North Island—Powell River		F	Elected	Rachel	Blaney	New Democratic Party
351	British Columbia	65	South Surrey—White Rock		F	Elected	Dianne L.	Watts	Conservative Party of Canada

374	British Columbia	66	Vancouver East	Vancouver (City)	F	Elected	Jenny	Kwan	New Democratic Party
384	British Columbia	67	Vancouver Granville	Vancouver (City)	F	Elected	Jody	Wilson-Raybould	Liberal Party of Canada
413	British Columbia	68	West Vancouver—Sunshine Coast—Sea to Sky Country	Vancouver (City)	F	Elected	Pam	Goldsmith-Jones	Liberal Party of Canada
265	British Columbia	69	Kamloops—Thompson—Cariboo		F	Re-Elected	Cathy	McLeod	Conservative Party of Canada
329	British Columbia	70	Richmond Centre	Vancouver (City)	F	Re-Elected	Alice	Wong	Conservative Party of Canada
334	British Columbia	71	Saanich—Gulf Islands	Victoria	F	Re-Elected	Elizabeth	May	Green Party of Canada
371	British Columbia	72	Vancouver Centre	Vancouver (City)	F	Re-Elected	Hedy	Fry	Liberal Party of Canada
397	British Columbia	73	Vancouver Quadra	Vancouver (City)	F	Re-Elected	Joyce	Murray	Liberal Party of Canada
420	Manitoba	1	Brandon—Souris		F	Defeated	Melissa Joy	Wastasecoot	New Democratic Party
421	Manitoba	2	Brandon—Souris		F	Defeated	Jodi	Wyman	Liberal Party of Canada
427	Manitoba	3	Churchill—Keewatinook Aski		F	Defeated	Rebecca	Chartrand	Liberal Party of Canada
431	Manitoba	4	Dauphin—Swan River—Neepawa		F	Defeated	Laverne	Lewycky	New Democratic Party
435	Manitoba	5	Dauphin—Swan River—Neepawa		F	Defeated	Kate	Storey	Green Party of Canada
437	Manitoba	6	Elmwood—Transcona	Winnipeg	F	Defeated	Kim	Parke	Green Party of Canada
438	Manitoba	7	Elmwood—Transcona	Winnipeg	F	Defeated	Andrea	Richardson-Lipon	Liberal Party of Canada
442	Manitoba	8	Kildonan—St. Paul	Winnipeg	F	Defeated	Suzanne	Hrynyk	New Democratic Party
448	Manitoba	9	Portage—Lisgar	Winnipeg	F	Defeated	Beverley	Eert	Green Party of Canada
456	Manitoba	10	Saint Boniface—Saint Vital		F	Defeated	Erin	Selby	New Democratic Party
460	Manitoba	11	Selkirk—Interlake—Eastman	Winnipeg	F	Defeated	Deborah	Chief	New Democratic Party
463	Manitoba	12	Selkirk—Interlake—Eastman	Winnipeg	F	Defeated	Joanne	Levy	Liberal Party of Canada
468	Manitoba	13	Winnipeg Centre	Winnipeg	F	Defeated	Allie	Szarkiewicz	Conservative Party of Canada
476	Manitoba	14	Winnipeg South	Winnipeg	F	Defeated	Brianne	Goertzen	New Democratic Party
478	Manitoba	15	Winnipeg South Centre	Winnipeg	F	Defeated	Joyce	Bateman	Conservative Party of Canada
443	Manitoba	16	Kildonan—St. Paul	Winnipeg	F	Elected	MaryAnn	Mihychuk	Liberal Party of Canada
426	Manitoba	17	Churchill—Keewatinook Aski		F	Re-Elected	Niki	Ashton	New Democratic Party

446	Manitoba	18	Portage—Lisgar	Winnipeg	F	Re-Elected	Candice	Bergen	Conservative Party of Canada
482	New Brunswick	1	Acadie—Bathurst		F	Defeated	Dominique	Breau	Green Party of Canada
484	New Brunswick	2	Acadie—Bathurst		F	Defeated	Riba	Girouard-Riordon	Conservative Party of Canada
486	New Brunswick	3	Beauséjour		F	Defeated	Ann	Bastarache	Conservative Party of Canada
487	New Brunswick	4	Beauséjour		F	Defeated	Hélène	Boudreau	New Democratic Party
491	New Brunswick	5	Fredericton		F	Defeated	Mary Lou	Babineau	Green Party of Canada
493	New Brunswick	6	Fredericton		F	Defeated	Sharon	Scott-Levesque	New Democratic Party
495	New Brunswick	7	Fundy Royal		F	Defeated	Stephanie	Coburn	Green Party of Canada
497	New Brunswick	8	Fundy Royal		F	Defeated	Jennifer	McKenzie	New Democratic Party
500	New Brunswick	9	Madawaska—Restigouche		F	Defeated	Françoise	Aubin	Green Party of Canada
506	New Brunswick	10	Miramichi—Grand Lake		F	Defeated	Tilly	O'Neill Gordon	Conservative Party of Canada
513	New Brunswick	11	New Brunswick Southwest		F	Defeated	Gayla	MacIntosh	Green Party of Canada
515	New Brunswick	12	Saint John—Rothesay		F	Defeated	AJ	Griffin	New Democratic Party
517	New Brunswick	13	Saint John—Rothesay		F	Defeated	Sharon	Murphy-Flatt	Green Party of Canada
496	New Brunswick	14	Fundy Royal		F	Elected	Alaina	Lockhart	Liberal Party of Canada
510	New Brunswick	15	Moncton—Riverview—Dieppe		F	Elected	Ginette	Petitpas Taylor	Liberal Party of Canada
512	New Brunswick	16	New Brunswick Southwest		F	Elected	Karen	Ludwig	Liberal Party of Canada
524	Newfoundland and Labrador	1	Avalon	St. John's (NF)	F	Defeated	Jeannie	Baldwin	New Democratic Party
525	Newfoundland and Labrador	2	Avalon	St. John's (NF)	F	Defeated	Lorraine E.	Barnett	Conservative Party of Canada
526	Newfoundland and Labrador	3	Avalon	St. John's (NF)	F	Defeated	Krista	Byrne-Puumala	Green Party of Canada
527	Newfoundland and Labrador	4	Avalon	St. John's (NF)	F	Defeated	Jennifer	McCreath	Forces et Démocratie
529	Newfoundland and Labrador	5	Bonavista—Burin—Trinity		F	Defeated	Jenn	Brown	New Democratic Party
533	Newfoundland and Labrador	6	Coast of Bays—Central—Notre Dame		F	Defeated	Claudette	Menchenton	New Democratic Party
535	Newfoundland and Labrador	7	Coast of Bays—Central—Notre Dame		F	Defeated	Elizabeth	Perry	Green Party of Canada
547	Newfoundland and Labrador	8	St. John's East	St. John's (NF)	F	Defeated	Deanne	Stapleton	Conservative Party of Canada

542	Newfoundland and Labrador	9	Long Range Mountains		F	Elected	Gudie	Hutchings	Liberal Party of Canada
531	Newfoundland and Labrador	10	Bonavista—Burin—Trinity		F	Re-Elected	Judy	Foote	Liberal Party of Canada
537	Newfoundland and Labrador	11	Labrador		F	Re-Elected	Yvonne	Jones	Liberal Party of Canada
557	Nova Scotia	1	Cape Breton—Canso		F	Defeated	Maria Goretti	Coady	Green Party of Canada
560	Nova Scotia	2	Cape Breton—Canso		F	Defeated	Michelle	Smith	New Democratic Party
571	Nova Scotia	3	Cumberland—Colchester		F	Defeated	Wendy	Robinson	New Democratic Party
575	Nova Scotia	4	Dartmouth—Cole Harbour	Halifax	F	Defeated	Brynn	Nheiley	Green Party of Canada
579	Nova Scotia	5	Halifax	Halifax	F	Defeated	Megan	Leslie	New Democratic Party
581	Nova Scotia	6	Halifax West	Halifax	F	Defeated	Joanne	Hussey	New Democratic Party
586	Nova Scotia	7	Kings—Hants	Halifax	F	Defeated	Megan	Brown-Hodges	Rhinoceros Party
603	Nova Scotia	8	Sydney—Victoria		F	Defeated	Monika	Dutt	New Democratic Party
606	Nova Scotia	9	Sydney—Victoria		F	Defeated	Adrianna	MacKinnon	Green Party of Canada
601	Nova Scotia	10	South Shore—St. Margarets	Halifax	F	Elected	Bernadette	Jordan	Liberal Party of Canada
611	Nunavut	1	Nunavut		F	Defeated	Leona	Aglukkaq	Conservative Party of Canada
616	Ontario	1	Ajax	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Stephanie	Brown	New Democratic Party
623	Ontario	2	Algoma—Manitoulin—Kapuskasing		F	Defeated	Heather	Wilson	Liberal Party of Canada
627	Ontario	3	Aurora—Oak Ridges—Richmond Hill	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Brenda	Power	New Democratic Party
628	Ontario	4	Aurora—Oak Ridges—Richmond Hill	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Randi	Ramdeen	Green Party of Canada
630	Ontario	5	Barrie—Innisfil		F	Defeated	Myrna	Clark	New Democratic Party
632	Ontario	6	Barrie—Innisfil		F	Defeated	Bonnie	North	Green Party of Canada
640	Ontario	7	Barrie—Springwater—Oro-Medonte		F	Defeated	Ellen	White	New Democratic Party
644	Ontario	8	Bay of Quinte		F	Defeated	Rachel	Nelems	Green Party of Canada
656	Ontario	9	Brampton Centre	Mississauga-Brampton	F	Defeated	Rosemary	Keenan	New Democratic Party
666	Ontario	10	Brampton North	Mississauga-Brampton	F	Defeated	Pauline	Thornham	Green Party of Canada
671	Ontario	11	Brampton West	Mississauga-Brampton	F	Defeated	Karthika	Gobinath	Green Party of Canada

673	Ontario	12	Brampton West	Mississauga-Brampton	F	Defeated	Adaoma C.	Patterson	New Democratic Party
674	Ontario	13	Brampton West	Mississauga-Brampton	F	Defeated	Ninder	Thind	Conservative Party of Canada
679	Ontario	14	Brantford—Brant		F	Defeated	Danielle	Takacs	Liberal Party of Canada
682	Ontario	15	Bruce—Grey—Owen Sound		F	Defeated	Kimberley	Love	Liberal Party of Canada
689	Ontario	16	Cambridge	Kitchener-Waterloo	F	Defeated	Michele	Braniff	Green Party of Canada
694	Ontario	17	Cambridge	Kitchener-Waterloo	F	Defeated	Bobbi	Stewart	New Democratic Party
695	Ontario	18	Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Deborah	Coyne	Green Party of Canada
696	Ontario	19	Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Kc	Larocque	New Democratic Party
699	Ontario	20	Chatham-Kent—Leamington		F	Defeated	Katie	Omstead	Liberal Party of Canada
710	Ontario	21	Don Valley East	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Maureen	Harquail	Conservative Party of Canada
712	Ontario	22	Don Valley East	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Laura Elizabeth	Sanderson	Green Party of Canada
713	Ontario	23	Don Valley North	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Caroline	Brown	Green Party of Canada
718	Ontario	24	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Sharon	Cromwell	Independent
719	Ontario	25	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Elizabeth	Hill	Communist Party of Canada
720	Ontario	26	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Natalie	Hunt	Green Party of Canada
723	Ontario	27	Don Valley West	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Syeda	Riaz	New Democratic Party
726	Ontario	28	Dufferin—Caledon	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Nancy	Urekar	Green Party of Canada
727	Ontario	29	Dufferin—Caledon	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Rehya	Yazbek	New Democratic Party
728	Ontario	30	Durham	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Stacey	Leadbetter	Green Party of Canada
732	Ontario	31	Durham	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Corinna	Traill	Liberal Party of Canada
739	Ontario	32	Elgin—Middlesex—London	London	F	Defeated	Lori	Baldwin-Sands	Liberal Party of Canada
742	Ontario	33	Elgin—Middlesex—London	London	F	Defeated	Bronagh	Morgan	Green Party of Canada
745	Ontario	34	Essex	Windsor	F	Defeated	Jennifer	Alderson	Green Party of Canada
746	Ontario	35	Essex	Windsor	F	Defeated	Audrey	Festeryga	Liberal Party of Canada
750	Ontario	36	Etobicoke Centre	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Tanya	De Mello	New Democratic Party
756	Ontario	37	Etobicoke North	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Toyin	Dada	Conservative Party of Canada

757	Ontario	38	Etobicoke North	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Anna	Di Carlo	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
762	Ontario	39	Etobicoke—Lakeshore	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Janice	Murray	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
763	Ontario	40	Etobicoke—Lakeshore	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Angela	Salewsky	Green Party of Canada
766	Ontario	41	Etobicoke—Lakeshore	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Liz	White	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada
768	Ontario	42	Flamborough—Glanbrook	Hamilton	F	Defeated	Jennifer	Stebbing	Liberal Party of Canada
775	Ontario	43	Glengarry—Prescott—Russell	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Genevieve	Malouin-Diraddo	Green Party of Canada
779	Ontario	44	Guelph		F	Defeated	Gloria	Kovach	Conservative Party of Canada
788	Ontario	45	Haldimand—Norfolk		F	Defeated	Joan	Mouland	Liberal Party of Canada
794	Ontario	46	Hamilton Centre	Hamilton	F	Defeated	Maria	Anastasiou	Independent
798	Ontario	47	Hamilton Centre	Hamilton	F	Defeated	Ute	Schmid-Jones	Green Party of Canada
799	Ontario	48	Hamilton Centre	Hamilton	F	Defeated	Anne	Tennier	Liberal Party of Canada
802	Ontario	49	Hamilton East—Stoney Creek	Hamilton	F	Defeated	Diane	Bubanko	Conservative Party of Canada
803	Ontario	50	Hamilton East—Stoney Creek	Hamilton	F	Defeated	Erin	Davis	Green Party of Canada
813	Ontario	51	Hamilton West—Ancaster—Dundas	Hamilton	F	Defeated	Alex	Johnstone	New Democratic Party
817	Ontario	52	Hastings—Lennox and Addington		F	Defeated	Betty	Bannon	New Democratic Party
823	Ontario	53	Humber River—Black Creek	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Christine	Nugent	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
828	Ontario	54	Huron—Bruce		F	Defeated	Jutta	Spletstoesser	Green Party of Canada
836	Ontario	55	Kenora		F	Defeated	Ember C.	McKillop	Green Party of Canada
844	Ontario	56	King—Vaughan		F	Defeated	Ann	Raney	Green Party of Canada
845	Ontario	57	King—Vaughan		F	Defeated	Natalie	Rizzo	New Democratic Party
848	Ontario	58	Kitchener Centre	Kitchener-Waterloo	F	Defeated	Susan	Cadell	New Democratic Party
854	Ontario	59	Kitchener South—Hespeler	Kitchener-Waterloo	F	Defeated	Elaine	Baetz	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
856	Ontario	60	Kitchener South—Hespeler	Kitchener-Waterloo	F	Defeated	Marian	Gagné	Conservative Party of Canada
872	Ontario	61	Lanark—Frontenac—Kingston		F	Defeated	Anita	Payne	Green Party of Canada

874	Ontario	62	Leeds— Grenville— Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes		F	Defeated	Margaret	Andrade	New Democratic Party
876	Ontario	63	Leeds— Grenville— Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes		F	Defeated	Mary Jean	McFall	Liberal Party of Canada
877	Ontario	64	Leeds— Grenville— Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes		F	Defeated	Lorraine A.	Rekmans	Green Party of Canada
878	Ontario	65	London North Centre	London	F	Defeated	Carol	Dyck	Green Party of Canada
882	Ontario	66	London North Centre	London	F	Defeated	Susan	Truppe	Conservative Party of Canada
889	Ontario	67	London— Fanshawe	London	F	Defeated	Suzanna	Dieleman	Conservative Party of Canada
902	Ontario	68	Markham— Unionville	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Bang-Gu	Jiang	Liberal Party of Canada
905	Ontario	69	Markham— Unionville	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Colleen	Zimmerman	New Democratic Party
907	Ontario	70	Milton		F	Defeated	Mini	Batra	Green Party of Canada
912	Ontario	71	Mississauga Centre	Mississauga- Brampton	F	Defeated	Farheen	Khan	New Democratic Party
913	Ontario	72	Mississauga Centre	Mississauga- Brampton	F	Defeated	Linh	Nguyen	Green Party of Canada
915	Ontario	73	Mississauga East— Cooksville	Mississauga- Brampton	F	Defeated	Jaymini	Bhikha	Green Party of Canada
920	Ontario	74	Mississauga—Erin Mills	Mississauga- Brampton	F	Defeated	Michelle	Bilek	New Democratic Party
924	Ontario	75	Mississauga— Lakeshore	Mississauga- Brampton	F	Defeated	Stella	Ambler	Conservative Party of Canada
925	Ontario	76	Mississauga— Lakeshore	Mississauga- Brampton	F	Defeated	Ariana	Burgener	Green Party of Canada
928	Ontario	77	Mississauga— Lakeshore	Mississauga- Brampton	F	Defeated	Dagmar	Sullivan	Marxist- Leninist Party of Canada
931	Ontario	78	Mississauga— Malton	Mississauga- Brampton	F	Defeated	Dianne	Douglas	New Democratic Party
933	Ontario	79	Mississauga— Malton	Mississauga- Brampton	F	Defeated	Heather	Mercer	Green Party of Canada
949	Ontario	80	Newmarket— Aurora	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Lois	Brown	Conservative Party of Canada
950	Ontario	81	Newmarket— Aurora	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Yvonne	Kelly	New Democratic Party
951	Ontario	82	Newmarket— Aurora	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Vanessa	Long	Green Party of Canada
957	Ontario	83	Niagara Centre	Hamilton	F	Defeated	Leanna	Villella	Conservative Party of Canada
959	Ontario	84	Niagara Falls	Hamilton	F	Defeated	Carolynn	Ioannoni	New Democratic Party

970	Ontario	85	Nickel Belt		F	Defeated	Aino	Laamanen	Conservative Party of Canada
975	Ontario	86	Nipissing—Timiskaming		F	Defeated	Kathleen	Jodouin	New Democratic Party
976	Ontario	87	Nipissing—Timiskaming		F	Defeated	Nicole	Peltier	Green Party of Canada
981	Ontario	88	Northumberland—Peterborough South	Hamilton	F	Defeated	Patricia	Sinnott	Green Party of Canada
983	Ontario	89	Oakville		F	Defeated	Che	Marville	New Democratic Party
986	Ontario	90	Oakville North—Burlington		F	Defeated	Janice	Best	New Democratic Party
990	Ontario	91	Oakville North—Burlington		F	Defeated	Effie	Triantafilopoulos	Conservative Party of Canada
994	Ontario	92	Orléans	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Nancy	Tremblay	New Democratic Party
997	Ontario	93	Oshawa		F	Defeated	Mary	Fowler	New Democratic Party
1018	Ontario	94	Ottawa West—Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Marlene	Rivier	New Democratic Party
1022	Ontario	95	Ottawa—Vanier	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Coreen	Corcoran	Libertarian Party of Canada
1023	Ontario	96	Ottawa—Vanier	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Nira	Dookeran	Green Party of Canada
1026	Ontario	97	Ottawa—Vanier	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Emilie	Taman	New Democratic Party
1027	Ontario	98	Oxford		F	Defeated	Melody Ann	Aldred	Christian Heritage Party of Canada
1028	Ontario	99	Oxford		F	Defeated	Zoé	Dorcas Kunschner	New Democratic Party
1035	Ontario	100	Parkdale—High Park	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Peggy	Nash	New Democratic Party
1038	Ontario	101	Parkdale—High Park	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Carol	Royer	Independent
1042	Ontario	102	Parry Sound—Muskoka		F	Defeated	Trisha	Cowie	Liberal Party of Canada
1047	Ontario	103	Perth—Wellington		F	Defeated	Irma	DeVries	Christian Heritage Party of Canada
1052	Ontario	104	Perth—Wellington		F	Defeated	Nicole	Ramsdale	Green Party of Canada
1059	Ontario	105	Pickering—Uxbridge		F	Defeated	Pamela	Downward	New Democratic Party
1070	Ontario	106	Richmond Hill	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Gwendolyn	Veenema	Green Party of Canada
1075	Ontario	107	Sault Ste. Marie		F	Defeated	Kara	Flannigan	Green Party of Canada

1080	Ontario	108	Scarborough Centre	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Katerina	Androutsos	Libertarian Party of Canada
1081	Ontario	109	Scarborough Centre	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Roxanne	James	Conservative Party of Canada
1082	Ontario	110	Scarborough Centre	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Lindsay	Thompson	Green Party of Canada
1086	Ontario	111	Scarborough North	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Aasia	Khatoon	Independent
1087	Ontario	112	Scarborough North	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Eleni	MacDonald	Green Party of Canada
1088	Ontario	113	Scarborough North	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Ravinder	Malhi	Conservative Party of Canada
1090	Ontario	114	Scarborough North	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Rathika	Sitsabaiesan	New Democratic Party
1096	Ontario	115	Scarborough—Agincourt	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Bin	Chang	Conservative Party of Canada
1098	Ontario	116	Scarborough—Agincourt	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Laura	Patrick	New Democratic Party
1099	Ontario	117	Scarborough—Agincourt	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Debra	Scott	Green Party of Canada
1100	Ontario	118	Scarborough—Guildwood	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Laura	Casselman	New Democratic Party
1103	Ontario	119	Scarborough—Guildwood	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Kathleen	Holding	Green Party of Canada
1107	Ontario	120	Scarborough—Rouge Park	Scarborough	F	Defeated	Leslyn	Lewis	Conservative Party of Canada
1112	Ontario	121	Simcoe North		F	Defeated	Liz	Riley	Liberal Party of Canada
1116	Ontario	122	Simcoe—Grey		F	Defeated	JoAnne	Fleming	Green Party of Canada
1121	Ontario	123	Spadina—Fort York	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Olivia	Chow	New Democratic Party
1122	Ontario	124	Spadina—Fort York	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Sharon	Danley	Green Party of Canada
1126	Ontario	125	Spadina—Fort York	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Sabrina	Zuniga	Conservative Party of Canada
1129	Ontario	126	St. Catharines	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Susan	Erskine-Fournier	New Democratic Party
1133	Ontario	127	Stormont—Dundas—South Glengarry		F	Defeated	Bernadette	Clement	Liberal Party of Canada
1134	Ontario	128	Stormont—Dundas—South Glengarry		F	Defeated	Elaine	Kennedy	Green Party of Canada
1141	Ontario	129	Sudbury		F	Defeated	Elizabeth	Rowley	Communist Party of Canada
1145	Ontario	130	Thornhill	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Nancy	Coldham	Liberal Party of Canada
1146	Ontario	131	Thornhill	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Margaret Leigh	Fairbairn	Seniors Party of Canada
1150	Ontario	132	Thunder Bay—Rainy River	Thunder Bay	F	Defeated	Christy	Radbourne	Green Party of Canada

1162	Ontario	133	Toronto Centre	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Mariam	Ahmad	Communist Party of Canada
1166	Ontario	134	Toronto Centre	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Linda	McQuaig	New Democratic Party
1169	Ontario	135	Toronto—Danforth	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Elizabeth	Abbott	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada
1177	Ontario	136	Toronto—St. Paul's	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Marnie	MacDougall	Conservative Party of Canada
1182	Ontario	137	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Jennifer	Hollett	New Democratic Party
1188	Ontario	138	Vaughan—Woodbridge	Toronto Region	F	Defeated	Elise	Boulanger	Green Party of Canada
1192	Ontario	139	Vaughan—Woodbridge	Toronto Region	F	Defeated	Adriana Marie	Zichy	New Democratic Party
1195	Ontario	140	Waterloo	Kitchener-Waterloo	F	Defeated	Diane	Freeman	New Democratic Party
1196	Ontario	141	Waterloo	Kitchener-Waterloo	F	Defeated	Emma	Hawley-Yan	Animal Alliance Environment Voters Party of Canada
1201	Ontario	142	Wellington—Halton Hills	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Anne	Gajerski-Cauley	New Democratic Party
1207	Ontario	143	Whitby	Toronto Region	F	Defeated	Pat	Perkins	Conservative Party of Canada
1213	Ontario	144	Windsor West	Windsor	F	Defeated	Cora	LaRussa	Green Party of Canada
1217	Ontario	145	Windsor West	Windsor	F	Defeated	Margaret	Villamizar	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
1218	Ontario	146	Windsor—Tecumseh	Windsor	F	Defeated	Laura	Chesnik	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
1219	Ontario	147	Windsor—Tecumseh	Windsor	F	Defeated	Jo-Anne	Gignac	Conservative Party of Canada
1232	Ontario	148	York—Simcoe	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Sylvia	Gerl	New Democratic Party
1233	Ontario	149	York—Simcoe	Toronto (City)	F	Defeated	Shaun	Tanaka	Liberal Party of Canada
624	Ontario	150	Aurora—Oak Ridges—Richmond Hill	Scarborough	F	Elected	Leona	Alleslev	Liberal Party of Canada
664	Ontario	151	Brampton North	Mississauga-Brampton	F	Elected	Ruby	Sahota	Liberal Party of Canada
670	Ontario	152	Brampton South	Mississauga-Brampton	F	Elected	Sonia	Sidhu	Liberal Party of Canada
672	Ontario	153	Brampton West	Mississauga-Brampton	F	Elected	Kamal	Khera	Liberal Party of Canada
686	Ontario	154	Burlington	Hamilton	F	Elected	Karina	Gould	Liberal Party of Canada
704	Ontario	155	Davenport	Toronto (City)	F	Elected	Julie	Dzerowicz	Liberal Party of Canada

711	Ontario	156	Don Valley East	Toronto (City)	F	Elected	Yasmin	Ratansi	Liberal Party of Canada
744	Ontario	157	Elgin—Middlesex—London	London	F	Elected	Karen	Vecchio	Conservative Party of Canada
747	Ontario	158	Essex	Windsor	F	Elected	Tracey	Ramsey	New Democratic Party
816	Ontario	159	Hamilton West—Ancaster—Dundas	Hamilton	F	Elected	Filomena	Tassi	Liberal Party of Canada
831	Ontario	160	Kanata—Carleton	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Elected	Karen	McCrimmon	Liberal Party of Canada
846	Ontario	161	King—Vaughan		F	Elected	Deborah	Schulte	Liberal Party of Canada
888	Ontario	162	London West	London	F	Elected	Kate	Young	Liberal Party of Canada
897	Ontario	163	Markham—Stouffville		F	Elected	Jane	Philpott	Liberal Party of Canada
922	Ontario	164	Mississauga—Erin Mills	Mississauga-Brampton	F	Elected	Iqra	Khalid	Liberal Party of Canada
980	Ontario	165	Northumberland—Peterborough South	Hamilton	F	Elected	Kim	Rudd	Liberal Party of Canada
988	Ontario	166	Oakville North—Burlington		F	Elected	Pam	Damoff	Liberal Party of Canada
1005	Ontario	167	Ottawa Centre	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Elected	Catherine	McKenna	Liberal Party of Canada
1020	Ontario	168	Ottawa West—Nepean	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Elected	Anita	Vandenbeld	Liberal Party of Canada
1055	Ontario	169	Peterborough—Kawartha		F	Elected	Maryam	Monsef	Liberal Party of Canada
1061	Ontario	170	Pickering—Uxbridge		F	Elected	Jennifer	O'Connell	Liberal Party of Canada
1071	Ontario	171	Sarnia—Lambton		F	Elected	Marilyn	Gladu	Conservative Party of Canada
1084	Ontario	172	Scarborough Centre	Scarborough	F	Elected	Salma	Zahid	Liberal Party of Canada
1154	Ontario	173	Thunder Bay—Superior North	Thunder Bay	F	Elected	Patty	Hajdu	Liberal Party of Canada
1170	Ontario	174	Toronto—Danforth	Toronto (City)	F	Elected	Julie	Dabrusin	Liberal Party of Canada
1194	Ontario	175	Waterloo	Kitchener-Waterloo	F	Elected	Bardish	Chagger	Liberal Party of Canada
1203	Ontario	176	Whitby	Toronto Region	F	Elected	Celina	Caesar-Chavannes	Liberal Party of Canada
1220	Ontario	177	Windsor—Tecumseh	Windsor	F	Elected	Cheryl	Hardcastle	New Democratic Party
620	Ontario	178	Algoma—Manitoulin—Kapusking		F	Re-Elected	Carol	Hughes	New Democratic Party
758	Ontario	179	Etobicoke North	Toronto (City)	F	Re-Elected	Kirsty	Duncan	Liberal Party of Canada
786	Ontario	180	Haldimand—Norfolk		F	Re-Elected	Diane	Finley	Conservative Party of Canada
824	Ontario	181	Humber River—Black Creek	Toronto (City)	F	Re-Elected	Judy A.	Sgro	Liberal Party of Canada
891	Ontario	182	London—Fanshawe	London	F	Re-Elected	Irene	Mathysen	New Democratic Party

909	Ontario	183	Milton		F	Re-Elected	Lisa	Raitt	Conservative Party of Canada
1063	Ontario	184	Renfrew—Nipissing—Pembroke		F	Re-Elected	Cheryl	Gallant	Conservative Party of Canada
1117	Ontario	185	Simcoe—Grey		F	Re-Elected	K. Kellie	Leitch	Conservative Party of Canada
1175	Ontario	186	Toronto—St. Paul's	Toronto (City)	F	Re-Elected	Carolyn	Bennett	Liberal Party of Canada
1180	Ontario	187	University—Rosedale	Toronto (City)	F	Re-Elected	Chrystia	Freeland	Liberal Party of Canada
1237	Prince Edward Island	1	Cardigan		F	Defeated	Teresa	Doyle	Green Party of Canada
1240	Prince Edward Island	2	Cardigan		F	Defeated	Christene	Squires	Christian Heritage Party of Canada
1244	Prince Edward Island	3	Charlottetown		F	Defeated	Becka	Viau	Green Party of Canada
1248	Prince Edward Island	4	Egmont		F	Defeated	Gail	Shea	Conservative Party of Canada
1250	Prince Edward Island	5	Malpeque		F	Defeated	Leah-Jane	Hayward	New Democratic Party
1251	Prince Edward Island	6	Malpeque		F	Defeated	Lynne	Lund	Green Party of Canada
1259	Quebec	1	Abitibi—Témiscamingue		F	Defeated	Aline	Bégin	Green Party of Canada
1266	Quebec	2	Ahuntsic-Cartierville	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Catherine	Gascon-David	Rhinoceros Party
1270	Quebec	3	Ahuntsic-Cartierville	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Maria	Mourani	New Democratic Party
1271	Quebec	4	Alfred-Pellan	Laval	F	Defeated	Lynda	Briguene	Green Party of Canada
1272	Quebec	5	Alfred-Pellan	Laval	F	Defeated	Rosane	Doré Lefebvre	New Democratic Party
1274	Quebec	6	Alfred-Pellan	Laval	F	Defeated	Renata	Isopo	Independent
1278	Quebec	7	Argenteuil—La Petite-Nation	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Chantal	Crête	New Democratic Party
1280	Quebec	8	Argenteuil—La Petite-Nation	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Audrey	Lamarche	Green Party of Canada
1283	Quebec	9	Avignon—La Mitis—Matane—Matapédia		F	Defeated	Kédina	Fleury-Samson	Bloc Québécois
1288	Quebec	10	Avignon—La Mitis—Matane—Matapédia		F	Defeated	Sherri	Springle	Green Party of Canada
1290	Quebec	11	Beauce		F	Defeated	Céline Brown	MacDonald	Green Party of Canada
1305	Quebec	12	Beauport—Limoilou	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Dalila	Elhak	Green Party of Canada
1308	Quebec	13	Bécancour—Nicolet—Saurel	Laval	F	Defeated	Corina	Bastiani	Green Party of Canada
1319	Quebec	14	Beloeil—Chambly		F	Defeated	Karine	Desjardins	Liberal Party of Canada
1325	Quebec	15	Berthier—Maskinongé		F	Defeated	Cate	Burton	Green Party of Canada

1327	Quebec	16	Berthier—Maskinongé		F	Defeated	Marianne	Foucrault	Conservative Party of Canada
1331	Quebec	17	Bourassa	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Julie	Demers	Independent
1333	Quebec	18	Bourassa	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Dolmine	Laguerre	New Democratic Party
1337	Quebec	19	Brome—Missisquoi		F	Defeated	Catherine	Lusson	New Democratic Party
1339	Quebec	20	Brome—Missisquoi		F	Defeated	Cindy	Moynan	Green Party of Canada
1345	Quebec	21	Brossard—Saint-Lambert		F	Defeated	Suzanne	Lachance	Bloc Québécois
1348	Quebec	22	Charlesbourg—Haute-Saint-Charles	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Nathalie	Baudet	Green Party of Canada
1350	Quebec	23	Charlesbourg—Haute-Saint-Charles	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Anne-Marie	Day	New Democratic Party
1354	Quebec	24	Châteauguay—Lacolle	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Jency	Mercier	Green Party of Canada
1356	Quebec	25	Châteauguay—Lacolle	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Sophie	Stanké	Bloc Québécois
1358	Quebec	26	Châteauguay—Lacolle	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Linda	Sullivan	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
1359	Quebec	27	Chicoutimi—Le Fjord		F	Defeated	Élise	Gauthier	Bloc Québécois
1362	Quebec	28	Chicoutimi—Le Fjord		F	Defeated	Caroline	Ste-Marie	Conservative Party of Canada
1365	Quebec	29	Compton—Stanstead		F	Defeated	France	Bonsant	Bloc Québécois
1368	Quebec	30	Compton—Stanstead		F	Defeated	Korie	Marshall	Green Party of Canada
1370	Quebec	31	Dorval—Lachine—LaSalle	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Daniela	Chivu	Conservative Party of Canada
1373	Quebec	32	Dorval—Lachine—LaSalle	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Isabelle	Morin	New Democratic Party
1376	Quebec	33	Drummond		F	Defeated	Diane	Bourgeois	Bloc Québécois
1380	Quebec	34	Drummond		F	Defeated	Pascale	Déry	Conservative Party of Canada
1390	Quebec	35	Gatineau	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Françoise	Boivin	New Democratic Party
1395	Quebec	36	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Marianne	Breton Fontaine	Communist Party of Canada
1396	Quebec	37	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Christine	Dandenault	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
1400	Quebec	38	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Marwah	Rizqy	Liberal Party of Canada
1401	Quebec	39	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Anne-Marie	Saint-Cerny	Green Party of Canada
1402	Quebec	40	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Paulina	Ayala	New Democratic Party

1403	Quebec	41	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Audrey	Beauséjour	Bloc Québécois
1404	Quebec	42	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Angela	Budilean	Green Party of Canada
1406	Quebec	43	Honoré-Mercier	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Dayana	Dejean	Forces et Démocratie
1410	Quebec	44	Hull—Aylmer	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Maude	Chouinard-Boucher	Bloc Québécois
1416	Quebec	45	Hull—Aylmer	Ottawa-Gatineau	F	Defeated	Nycole	Turmel	New Democratic Party
1419	Quebec	46	Joliette		F	Defeated	Danielle	Landreville	New Democratic Party
1423	Quebec	47	Jonquière		F	Defeated	Carmen	Budilean	Green Party of Canada
1425	Quebec	48	Jonquière		F	Defeated	Marielle	Couture	Rhinoceros Party
1426	Quebec	49	Jonquière		F	Defeated	Ursula	Larouche	Conservative Party of Canada
1434	Quebec	50	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Ève	Péclet	New Democratic Party
1435	Quebec	51	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Geneviève	Royer	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
1436	Quebec	52	La Pointe-de-l'Île	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Marie-Chantale	Simard	Liberal Party of Canada
1442	Quebec	53	La Prairie		F	Defeated	Joanne	Tomas	Green Party of Canada
1443	Quebec	54	Lac-Saint-Jean		F	Defeated	Gisèle	Dallaire	New Democratic Party
1453	Quebec	55	LaSalle—Émard—Verdun	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Lorraine	Banville	Green Party of Canada
1455	Quebec	56	LaSalle—Émard—Verdun	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Hélène	LeBlanc	New Democratic Party
1460	Quebec	57	Laurentides—Labelle		F	Defeated	Niloufar	Hedjazi	Green Party of Canada
1462	Quebec	58	Laurentides—Labelle		F	Defeated	Johanne	Régimbald	Bloc Québécois
1471	Quebec	59	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Christine	Poirier	Liberal Party of Canada
1476	Quebec	60	Laval—Les Îles	Laval	F	Defeated	Nancy	Redhead	Bloc Québécois
1477	Quebec	61	Laval—Les Îles	Laval	F	Defeated	Faiza	R'Guiba-Kalogerakis	Green Party of Canada
1479	Quebec	62	Lévis—Lotbinière	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Tina	Biello	Green Party of Canada
1480	Quebec	63	Lévis—Lotbinière	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Hélène	Bilodeau	New Democratic Party
1487	Quebec	64	Longueuil—Charles-LeMoine	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Sadia	Groguhé	New Democratic Party
1491	Quebec	65	Longueuil—Saint-Hubert	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Affine	Lwalalika	Forces et Démocratie
1494	Quebec	66	Longueuil—Saint-Hubert	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Cassandra	Poitras	Green Party of Canada
1498	Quebec	67	Louis-Hébert	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Andrée-Anne	Beaudoin-Julien	Green Party of Canada

1502	Quebec	68	Louis-Hébert	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Caroline	Pageau	Bloc Québécois
1514	Quebec	69	Marc-Aurèle-Fortin	Laval	F	Defeated	Marie-Josée	Lemieux	New Democratic Party
1516	Quebec	70	Marc-Aurèle-Fortin	Laval	F	Defeated	Lorna	Mungur	Green Party of Canada
1522	Quebec	71	Mégantic—L'Érable	Laval	F	Defeated	Virginie	Provost	Bloc Québécois
1524	Quebec	72	Mirabel		F	Defeated	Mylène	Freeman	New Democratic Party
1530	Quebec	73	Montarville		F	Defeated	Catherine	Fournier	Bloc Québécois
1533	Quebec	74	Montarville		F	Defeated	Djaouida	Sellah	New Democratic Party
1534	Quebec	75	Montcalm		F	Defeated	Yumi Yow Mei	Ang	Green Party of Canada
1535	Quebec	76	Montcalm		F	Defeated	Gisèle	DesRoches	Conservative Party of Canada
1537	Quebec	77	Montcalm		F	Defeated	Manon	Perreault	Forces et Démocratie
1540	Quebec	78	Montmagny—L'Islet—Kamouraska—Rivière-du-Loup		F	Defeated	Chantal	Breton	Green Party of Canada
1545	Quebec	79	Montmagny—L'Islet—Kamouraska—Rivière-du-Loup		F	Defeated	Marie-Josée	Normand	Liberal Party of Canada
1546	Quebec	80	Mount Royal	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Jade	Bossé Bélanger	Bloc Québécois
1548	Quebec	81	Mount Royal	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Diane	Johnston	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
1552	Quebec	82	Notre-Dame-de-Grâce—Westmount	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Lisa Julie	Cahn	Independent
1554	Quebec	83	Notre-Dame-de-Grâce—Westmount	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Rachel	Hoffman	Marxist-Leninist Party of Canada
1558	Quebec	84	Notre-Dame-de-Grâce—Westmount	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Melissa Kate	Wheeler	Green Party of Canada
1559	Quebec	85	Outremont	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Rachel	Bendayan	Liberal Party of Canada
1566	Quebec	86	Papineau	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Beverly	Bernardo	No Affiliation
1569	Quebec	87	Papineau	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Anne	Lagacé Dowson	New Democratic Party
1575	Quebec	88	Papineau	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Kim	Waldron	Independent
1578	Quebec	89	Pierre-Boucher—Les Patriotes—Verchères		F	Defeated	Lucie	Gagnon	Liberal Party of Canada
1581	Quebec	90	Pierrefonds—Dollard	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Valérie	Assouline	Conservative Party of Canada
1583	Quebec	91	Pierrefonds—Dollard	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Lysane	Blanchette-Lamothe	New Democratic Party

1584	Quebec	92	Pierrefonds—Dollard	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Natalie	Laplante	Bloc Québécois
1596	Quebec	93	Portneuf—Jacques-Cartier	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Élaine	Michaud	New Democratic Party
1597	Quebec	94	Portneuf—Jacques-Cartier	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Johanne	Morin	Green Party of Canada
1602	Quebec	95	Québec	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Annick	Papillon	New Democratic Party
1603	Quebec	96	Québec	Quebec Region	F	Defeated	Danielle	Provost	Forces et Démocratie
1607	Quebec	97	Repentigny	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Adriana	Dudas	Liberal Party of Canada
1611	Quebec	98	Richmond—Arthabaska		F	Defeated	Myriam	Beaulieu	New Democratic Party
1617	Quebec	99	Rimouski-Neigette—Témiscouata—Les Basques		F	Defeated	Louise	Boutin	Green Party of Canada
1619	Quebec	100	Rimouski-Neigette—Témiscouata—Les Basques		F	Defeated	Johanne	Carignan	Bloc Québécois
1625	Quebec	101	Rivière-des-Mille-Îles	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Laurin	Liu	New Democratic Party
1629	Quebec	102	Rivière-du-Nord		F	Defeated	Janice	Bélaïr Rolland	Liberal Party of Canada
1641	Quebec	103	Rosemont—La Petite-Patrie	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Nadine	Medawar	Liberal Party of Canada
1643	Quebec	104	Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot		F	Defeated	Lise	Durand	Green Party of Canada
1652	Quebec	105	Saint-Jean		F	Defeated	Marilyn	Redivo	Green Party of Canada
1661	Quebec	106	Saint-Léonard—Saint-Michel	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Rosannie	Filato	New Democratic Party
1665	Quebec	107	Saint-Léonard—Saint-Michel	Montreal Island	F	Defeated	Melissa	Miscione	Green Party of Canada
1667	Quebec	108	Saint-Maurice—Champlain		F	Defeated	Sacki	Carignan Deschamps	Bloc Québécois
1674	Quebec	109	Salaberry—Suroît		F	Defeated	Patricia	Domingos	Forces et Démocratie
1681	Quebec	110	Shefford		F	Defeated	Sylvie	Fontaine	Conservative Party of Canada
1682	Quebec	111	Shefford		F	Defeated	Claire	Mailhot	New Democratic Party
1685	Quebec	112	Sherbrooke		F	Defeated	Caroline	Bouchard	Bloc Québécois
1689	Quebec	113	Sherbrooke		F	Defeated	Sophie	Malouin	Green Party of Canada
1691	Quebec	114	Terrebonne	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Michèle	Audette	Liberal Party of Canada
1692	Quebec	115	Terrebonne	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Charmaine	Borg	New Democratic Party
1694	Quebec	116	Terrebonne	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Susan	Moen	Green Party of Canada
1711	Quebec	117	Vaudreuil—Soulanges	Montreal Region	F	Defeated	Jennifer	Kaszal	Green Party of Canada

1718	Quebec	118	Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Îles-des-Soeurs	Laval	F	Defeated	Chantal	St-Onge	Bloc Québécois
1719	Quebec	119	Ville-Marie—Le Sud-Ouest—Îles-des-Soeurs	Laval	F	Defeated	Allison	Turner	New Democratic Party
1721	Quebec	120	Vimy		F	Defeated	France	Duhamel	New Democratic Party
1267	Quebec	121	Ahuntsic-Cartierville	Montreal Island	F	Elected	Mélanie	Joly	Liberal Party of Canada
1294	Quebec	122	Beauport—Côte-de-Beaupré—Île d'Orléans—Charlevoix	Quebec Region	F	Elected	Sylvie	Boucher	Conservative Party of Canada
1347	Quebec	123	Brossard—Saint-Lambert		F	Elected	Alexandra	Mendès	Liberal Party of Canada
1355	Quebec	124	Châteauguay—Lacolle	Montreal Region	F	Elected	Brenda	Shanahan	Liberal Party of Canada
1364	Quebec	125	Compton—Stanstead		F	Elected	Marie-Claude	Bibeau	Liberal Party of Canada
1371	Quebec	126	Dorval—Lachine—LaSalle	Montreal Region	F	Elected	Anju	Dhillon	Liberal Party of Canada
1382	Quebec	127	Gaspésie—Les Îles-de-la-Madeleine		F	Elected	Diane	Lebouthillier	Liberal Party of Canada
1428	Quebec	128	Jonquière		F	Elected	Karine	Trudel	New Democratic Party
1490	Quebec	129	Longueuil—Charles-LeMoine	Montreal Region	F	Elected	Sherry	Romanado	Liberal Party of Canada
1510	Quebec	130	Manicouagan		F	Elected	Marilène	Gill	Bloc Québécois
1610	Quebec	131	Repentigny	Montreal Region	F	Elected	Monique	Pauzé	Bloc Québécois
1624	Quebec	132	Rivière-des-Mille-Îles	Montreal Region	F	Elected	Linda	Lapointe	Liberal Party of Canada
1647	Quebec	133	Saint-Hyacinthe—Bagot		F	Elected	Brigitte	Sansoucy	New Democratic Party
1725	Quebec	134	Vimy		F	Elected	Eva	Nassif	Liberal Party of Canada
1262	Quebec	135	Abitibi—Témiscamingue		F	Re-Elected	Christine	Moore	New Democratic Party
1324	Quebec	136	Berthier—Maskinongé		F	Re-Elected	Ruth Ellen	Brosseau	New Democratic Party
1394	Quebec	137	Hochelaga	Montreal Island	F	Re-Elected	Marjolaine	Boutin-Sweet	New Democratic Party
1470	Quebec	138	Laurier—Sainte-Marie	Montreal Island	F	Re-Elected	Hélène	Laverdière	New Democratic Party
1676	Quebec	139	Salaberry—Suroît		F	Re-Elected	Anne Minh-Thu	Quach	New Democratic Party
1731	Saskatchewan	1	Battlefords—Lloydminster		F	Defeated	Mikaela	Tenkink	Green Party of Canada
1733	Saskatchewan	2	Carlton Trail—Eagle Creek	Saskatoon	F	Defeated	Lynn	Oliphant	Green Party of Canada
1756	Saskatchewan	3	Regina—Lewvan	Regina	F	Defeated	Tamela	Friesen	Green Party of Canada

1758	Saskatchewan	4	Regina— Qu'Appelle	Regina	F	Defeated	Della	Anaquod	Liberal Party of Canada
1762	Saskatchewan	5	Regina—Wascana	Regina	F	Defeated	April	Bourgeois	New Democratic Party
1765	Saskatchewan	6	Regina—Wascana	Regina	F	Defeated	Frances	Simonson	Green Party of Canada
1766	Saskatchewan	7	Saskatoon West	Saskatoon	F	Defeated	Lisa	Abbott	Liberal Party of Canada
1770	Saskatchewan	8	Saskatoon West	Saskatoon	F	Defeated	Lois Carol	Mitchell	Green Party of Canada
1774	Saskatchewan	9	Saskatoon— Grasswood	Saskatoon	F	Defeated	Tracy	Muggli	Liberal Party of Canada
1776	Saskatchewan	10	Saskatoon— University	Saskatoon	F	Defeated	Cynthia Marie	Block	Liberal Party of Canada
1777	Saskatchewan	11	Saskatoon— University	Saskatoon	F	Defeated	Claire	Card	New Democratic Party
1778	Saskatchewan	12	Saskatoon— University	Saskatoon	F	Defeated	Valerie	Harvey	Green Party of Canada
1784	Saskatchewan	13	Souris—Moose Mountain		F	Defeated	Vicky	O'Dell	New Democratic Party
1785	Saskatchewan	14	Yorkton—Melville		F	Defeated	Elaine	Hughes	Green Party of Canada
1786	Saskatchewan	15	Yorkton—Melville		F	Defeated	Brooke Taylor	Malinoski	Liberal Party of Canada
1741	Saskatchewan	16	Desnethé— Mississippi— Churchill River		F	Elected	Georgina	Jolibois	New Democratic Party
1767	Saskatchewan	17	Saskatoon West	Saskatoon	F	Elected	Sheri	Benson	New Democratic Party
1788	Saskatchewan	18	Yorkton—Melville		F	Elected	Cathay	Wagantall	Conservative Party of Canada
1732	Saskatchewan	19	Carlton Trail— Eagle Creek	Saskatoon	F	Re-Elected	Kelly	Block	Conservative Party of Canada
1789	Yukon	1	Yukon		F	Defeated	Melissa	Atkinson	New Democratic Party

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