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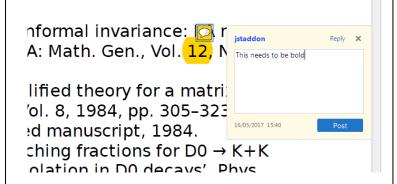
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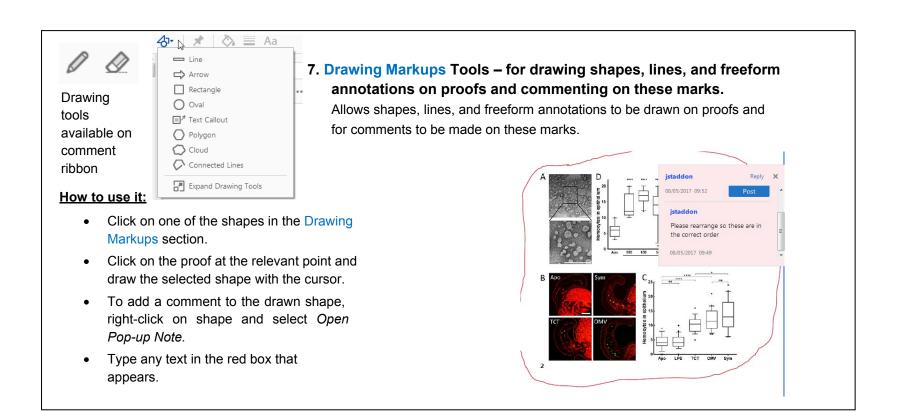


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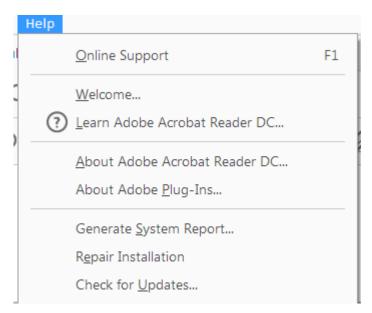
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Valerie Jepson Apparent conflicts of interest, elected officials and codes of conduct

Abstract: This article examines the concept of an apparent conflict of interest and asserts that it is well established that elected officials ought to avoid both actual and apparent conflicts. The article then examines why there is a reluctance to include an appearance standard in applicable codes of conduct. The article

concludes by situating the debate within the broader context of ethics programs for elected officials and encourages a view that such programs be viewed as sui generis frameworks designed for democratic systems of accountability rather than professional regulatory frameworks.

AQ2 Sommaire: In translation

> officials. I observe that a consensus has formed that the prevailing standard ought to be avoidance of both actual and apparent conflicts of interest. 20 Nonetheless, the debate about the propriety of an apparent conflict of 21 interest standard persists. I suggest that there has never really been any meaningful debate about 23 whether elected officials ought to avoid placing themselves in situations of an apparent conflict of interest; rather, the debate has only been about what

In this article, I discuss the notion of apparent conflicts of interest as distinct from actual conflicts of interest and its application to elected

consequences should flow from a failure to avoid an apparent conflict of interest. I also suggest that the latter concern is a genuine issue in need of debate but that it should be separated from the larger question of whether elected officials ought to avoid apparent conflicts of interest. 29 30

To inform the discussion, I revisit the important 1987 Report by The Honourable Justice Parker which is most-often credited for developing

Valerie Jepson is the Integrity Commissioner for the City of Toronto. She has practised in this field as a legal advisor and a commissioner since 2007 and, as such, has read innumerable papers, legislative submissions, annual reports, investigation reports, and blogs. Every effort has been made to accurately cite when specific ideas or concepts are referenced. However, in this growing field there is often a consensus among practitioners about many of the key concepts and, therefore, she wishes to acknowledge that the ideas set out herein are a product of the close study of the prior works of commissioners, academics, commentators and judges who have built the foundation for the practice of the Canadian model of parliamentary ethics, a term coined by former Senate Ethics Officer Jean Fournier (see Fournier 2009).

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the nomenclature of apparent versus real conflicts of interest. I highlight that Justice Parker applied a broad and purposive approach to understanding the obligations of elected officials and one that focused on how individual actions could impact on trust and confidence in government institutions. Justice Parker emphasized that only political consequences flow from a finding of a contravention and that therefore a more strict approach, appropriate when "legal" or criminal consequences could arise, is not appropriate.

The landscape has changed since 1987. The House of Commons, all provincial parliaments and many municipalities have ethics or integrity commissioners who have jurisdiction to recommend remedial actions, sanctions or penalties to be imposed by the legislative body to which the official belongs. Time and again elected officials found to have contravened codes of conduct, stand and successfully win re-election. In this way, the consequences that flow from findings of contravention remain political, not "legal" and certainly not criminal.

Through the examination of the issue of apparent conflicts of interest, I hope to advance a perspective of the purpose of codes of conduct, integrity commissioners and ethics programs for elected officials. Ethics programs for elected officials ought not to be viewed as punitive in the criminal or quasi-criminal sense and unless they lead to disqualification from standing for office, they ought not to be viewed as professional regulatory programs. Modern Canadian ethics programs are best understood as mechanisms to encourage the best behaviour; and, to provide non-partisan, transparent fact-finding for the benefit of the electorate to help make an informed choice about who to vote for at the next election.

The Parker report

The Commission of Inquiry into the Facts of Allegations of Conflict of Interest Concerning the Honourable Sinclair M. Stevens presided over by the Honourable W. D. Parker released its report in December 1987 (Parker 1987) (referred to in this article as the Parker Report). The terms of reference required Justice Parker to inquire and report "whether [Mr. Stevens] was in a real or apparent conflict of interest as defined by the Conflict of Interest and Post Employment Code for Public Office Holders and the letter from the Prime Minister to [Mr. Stevens]." The Report therefore contains a comprehensive discussion of the meaning of conflict of interest for elected officials and identifies three types of conflicts: real, apparent and potential.

In 2004, seventeen years after its transmittal, the Parker Report was quashed on judicial review (Stevens v. Canada (Attorney General), 2004 FC 1746). The Federal Court held that it was outside of Commissioner Parker's jurisdiction to define the term "conflict of interest" because the applicable

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CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

code(s) of conduct in place at the time of Mr. Stevens' impugned conduct contained no such definition. The Court held that when Justice Parker measured Mr. Stevens' actions against standards that were not articulated at the time of the conduct at issue, the Commissioner acted outside of its jurisdiction. Further, the Court determined that Mr. Stevens had not been provided with adequate notice and consequent ability to respond to the Commissioner's formulation of the standards.

Simply put, the Federal Court was persuaded that the conclusion of the

Inquiry was unfair to Mr. Stevens because it measured his *individual* conduct against previously unarticulated standards. In so finding, the Federal Court made no comment about the merits of Commissioner Parker's discussion regarding how to understand conflicts of interest relating to elected officials.

Even in the aftermath of the judicial review, the Parker Report remains an important component of the modern understanding of public sector conflicts of interest and, as will be described more fully below, has been cited and relied on in significant public inquiries into similar matters. Professor Greg Levine has written that the definitions of conflict of interest developed by Justice Parker "have had a critical influence on the development of government ethics law in Canada" (Levine 2015: 10).

Long before the judicial review, the Parker Report and the definitions of conflict of interest formed the basis for significant legal reform. In 1992, the British Columbia Members' Conflict of Interest Act was amended to expressly incorporate a duty to avoid apparent conflicts of interest in direct reliance on the Parker Report (Members' Conflict of Interest Act, RSBC 1996, Ch. 287, s. 2(2)).

Justice Parker embraces a purposive approach

The Parker Report's chapter on conflict of interest contains a careful examination of the role and function of codes of conduct for elected officials: one
that takes into consideration the realities and privileges of *elected* office.

With respect to actual conflicts of interest, ¹ Justice Parker determined that elected officials are in a conflict of interest if there is a private interest that is known to the elected official and has a connection or nexus with the official's public duties sufficient to influence those duties. Justice Parker projected the submission that if an elected official's interests align with the public, there can be no conflict. He said, "It is clear that a conflict of interest and exist even where private interests and public duties coincide..." (Parker 1987: 26).

Justice Parker also rejected the submission that a minister would only be 112 deemed to be in a real conflict of interest if the minister actually made a 113

decision that conferred a benefit. Such an interpretation would exclude 114 incidents where a minister was lobbied by a third party to make a decision 115 that could further the minister's private interest, as long as the minister did 116 not act. Justice Parker determined that such a definition was "much too 117 narrow" and failed to meet the overall objectives of a "modern ethics-in- 118 government-regime." He said that to adopt such a narrow test would mean 119 that the code of conduct prohibited only criminal conduct. 121

Justice Parker said:

It is important not to blur the demands of the criminal law with the requirements of a 122 conflict of interest code. The former consists of carefully legislated provisions with attendant 123 penal consequences for actions that fall below the line of what is socially acceptable. The 124 object of the criminal provisions is to ensure that, at a minimum, public office holders will not engage in fraudulent, corrupt, or otherwise criminal behaviour. The provisions of the 126 conflict of interest code are of a different character. First, the provisions are guidelines at 127 most. No legal consequence flow from their violation. The sanctions, if any, are political rather than legal. Their overall objective is to enhance public confidence in the integrity of 129 130 government.

demand more of public office holders than mere compliance with the criminal law of 132 Canada (1987: 27).

... Further, the guidelines and the code that I must interpret and apply themselves 131

Justice Parker then turned to the concept of apparent conflicts of interest. 135 He began with the following statement:

The concern about appearance of conflict as an important ethical postulate of modern 137 government is one that is well founded. The reasons are obvious. Trust and confidence in government can be maintained and enhanced only if the occasions for apparent conflict are kept to a minimum. Public perception is important. Indeed, the perception that government business is being conducted in an impartial and even-handed manner goes a long way to 142 enhancing public confidence in the overall integrity of government (1987: 31).

He explained that there was support for his analysis in the common law, 144 which has interestingly remained relatively static since the Parker Report. 145 Noting there was little judicial consideration of the appearance standard, 146 he turned to the concept of "reasonable apprehension of bias," a concept - 147 both then and now – well developed in the field of administrative law. He 148 relied on the following passage from the 1904 decision in Re L'Abbe and 149 Blind River (1904), 7 O.L.R. 230: 150

The plain principle of justice, that no one can be a judge in his own cause, pervades every 151 branch of law, and is as ancient as the law itself'; Paley on Summary Convictions ... thus sums up the old law. And in Allinson v. General Council of Medial Education and 153 Registration ..., we have the modern exposition: 'In the administration of justice, whether by 154 a recognized legal Court, or by persons who, although not a legal public Court, are acting 155 in a similar capacity, public policy requires that, in order that there should be no doubt 156 about the purity of the administration, any person who is to take part in it should not be in 157 such a position that he might be suspected of being biased'...

... '[t]his fundamental rule in the administration of the law is equally venerable and pervasive in the consuetudinary practice of parliaments and legislative bodies' ... (as cited in 160

Parker 1987: 31-32). 162 Justice Parker was persuaded that "an appearance of conflict exists when 163 there is a reasonable apprehension, which a reasonably well-informed person could properly have, that a conflict of interest exists," as distinct from a real conflict. Justice Parker considered whether actual knowledge by the 166

official was a necessary element. He rejected this argument stating that the 167 submission, "proceeds from the erroneous assumption that the code is designed 168 to punish wrong-doers" (1987: 33, emphasis added). He elaborated:

... the code and particularly the provisions dealing with appearance of conflict are not penal 170 in nature. The consequences for breaching these standards of ethical behaviour are moral and political, not legal and certainly not penal. The object and purpose of the code is to enhance the 172 impartiality and integrity of public office holders. The prevention of apparent conflict is one 173 174 way in which this objective is achieved (1987: 33, emphasis added).

He then turned to the issue of whether an apparent conflict of interest 176 exists when an inquiry into the "true" situation establishes that the elected 177 official did not know about the private interest. In rejecting this standard, 178 Justice Parker endorsed the reasonable apprehension of bias test to 179 formulate the standard, holding that, "An apparent conflict of interest 180 exists when there is a reasonable apprehension, which reasonably well- 181 informed persons could properly have, that a conflict of interest exists" 182 (1987:35).

Throughout the analysis, Justice Parker advances a principles-based 184 approach to codes of conduct, one that is animated by its over-arching 185 objective to enhance public confidence by minimizing both actual and 186 apparent conflicts of interest. Justice Parker set a high and onerous bar for 187 elected officials to live up to, one that clearly requires more than mere com- 188 pliance with the criminal law. He justified this high bar by emphasizing 189 that the only consequences that flow from contraventions are political - 190 meaning that elected officials are responsible to the electorate for their 191 actions and must withstand the scrutiny of the ballot box at election time.

Administrative lawyers will recognize² the definition of apparent conflict of interest from the leading case on the rule against bias for administrative decision makers: Committee for Justice and Liberty v. Canada (National Energy Board), [1978] 1 S.C.R. 369 at 394, in which the Supreme Court of 196 Canada fashioned the following standard to determine when an administrative decision maker ought to be disqualified due to bias:

... the apprehension of bias must be a reasonable one, held by reasonable and right minded 199 persons, applying themselves to the question and obtaining thereon the required 200 information.... [The] test is "what would an informed person, viewing the matter realisti- 201 cally and practically - and having thought the matter through - conclude. ..."

In administrative law, it is clear that an appearance of bias rather than an 203 actual bias is disqualifying. The policy rationale behind the appearance 204 standard in administrative law is that it would be improper and impossible 205 to inquire into the mind of an administrative decision maker (e.g., a quasijudicial decision maker) (Van Harten et al. 2015: 440–41).³

The administrative law concept of reasonable apprehension of bias does 208 not neatly transfer to the political arena. In politics, an elected official's 209 point of view (i.e., their mind) is well known and showcased during an 210 election campaign. The common law recognizes that elected officials come 211 to their role with some degree of prejudgement and therefore that the strict 212 rule against bias should not be applied to all decisions made by elected 213 officials (Old St. Boniface Residents Assn. Inc. v. Winnipeg (City), [1990] 3 SCR 214 1170, 1990 CanLII 31 (SCC)).

However, there are other virtues of the appearance standard in adminis- 216 trative law that make it suitable for consideration in the political arena. 217 First, as noted by Professor Sossin, it recognizes that it may not be possible 218 to accurately inquire into the mind of a decision maker. Second, the reason- 219 able apprehension of bias standard achieves the objective of ensuring that 220 justice is not only done but seen to be done (Van Harten et al. 2015: 221 439–41). As described above, Justice Parker was persuaded that an appear- 222 ance standard achieved the objective of helping to build confidence in 223 government decision making.

In the next section of this article, I review a recent interpretation of the 225 term conflict of interest and the analyses of three reports into significant 226 and comprehensive public inquiries into public sector ethics matters to 227 illustrate that a consensus has been reached on the issue of whether the 228 duty to avoid conflict of interest in the realm of public sector ethics 229 includes a duty to avoid the appearance of a conflict of interest, as that 230 concept was understood and described by Justice Parker. 231

The appearance standard prevails

In 2015, the Toronto Lobbyist Registrar was required to interpret the duty 233 of a lobbyist to avoid placing a "public office holder in a conflict of interest 234 or in breach of the public office holders' codes of conduct or standards of 235 behaviour" (Paragraph 140-45B of Toronto Municipal Code, Chapter 140, 236 Lobbying; Gehrke 2015: 6). The duty arises from the Code of Conduct for 237 Lobbyists at the City of Toronto, which forms part of the City of Toronto's 238 bylaws (Toronto Municipal Code, Chapter 140, Lobbying). The term 239 "conflict of interest" is not defined in the Lobbying Bylaw, nor was any 240 reference made to the notion of "apparent conflict of interest."

The Registrar considered a 2009 federal court ruling on a similar 242 interpretation matter relating to lobbyists conduct (Democracy Watch v. 243 Oliphant Report).

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Campbell, [2010] 2 FCR 139, 2009 FCA 79), the Parker Report, the 2005 244

Report of the Honourable Denise Bellamy into the Toronto Computer Leasing 245 Inquiry and Toronto External Contracts Inquiry (the Bellamy Report) and the 246 2010 Report of the Honourable Jeffrey J. Oliphant in the Commissioner of 247 Inquiry into Certain Allegations respecting Business and Financial Dealings 248 between Karlheinz Schreiber and The Right Honourable Brian Mulroney (the 249

Applying a broad and purposive approach, Registrar Gehrke concluded: 251

The purpose of [the Bylaw] is to enhance public confidence in the integrity of City govern- 252 ment by preventing lobbyists from placing public office holders in a conflict of interest, whether real or apparent.... 254

In my view, the purpose [of the Bylaw] is best achieved by interpreting 'conflict of interest' 256 consistently with the common law as including both 'real' and 'apparent' conflict of interest. The nature and purpose of [the Bylaw] is preventative, not punitive (Gehrke 2015: 6–11). 258

260 Three major public inquiries into public sector ethics have affirmed that public officials ought to avoid 262 conflicts of interest, both apparent and real

Registrar Gehrke was persuaded that the common law meaning of conflict 265 of interest included a duty to avoid an apparent conflict. Interestingly, 266 there has arguably long been support for the proposition that the duty to 267 avoid conflicts of interest in the public realm includes the duty to avoid 268 apparent conflicts of interest. Consider the 1990 decision of the Supreme 269

Court of Canada's leading case with respect to bias of municipal elected 270 officials. In Old St. Boniface Residents Assn. Inc. v. Winnipeg (City), [1990] 3 271 SCR 1170, 1990 CanLII 31 (SCC), the Court stated:

It is not part of the job description that municipal councillors be personally interested in 273 matters that come before them beyond the interest that they have in common with the other 274 citizens in the municipality. Where such an interest is found, both at common law and by 275 statute, a member of Council is disqualified if the interest is so related to the exercise of public duty 276 that a reasonably well-informed person would conclude that the interest might influence the exercise 277 of that duty. This is commonly referred to as a conflict of interest. See Re Blustein and Borough 278 of North York, 1967 CanLII 350 (ON SC), [1967] 1 O.R. 604 (H.C.); Re Moll and Fisher 279 (1979), 1979 CanLII 2020 (ON SC), 23 O.R. (2d) 609 (Div. Ct.); Committee for Justice and 280 Liberty v. National Energy Board, supra; and Valente v. The Queen, 1985 CanLII 25 (SCC), 281 [1985] 2 S.C.R. 673 (emphasis added).

Three major public inquiries into public sector ethics have affirmed that 284 public officials ought to avoid conflicts of interest, both apparent and real.

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In February 2002, Toronto City Council voted to pursue a public inquiry 286 into certain computer and computer leasing contracts with MFP Financial 287 Services. Commissioner Bellamy released her report concluding the inquiry 288 in 2005, bringing forward a number of recommendations that led to 289 significant reform of procurement procedures and the development of an 290 accountability framework at the City of Toronto. Specifically, Commis- 291 sioner Bellamy recommended the permanent establishment of an Integrity 292 Commissioner and Lobbyist Registry. With respect to apparent conflicts of 293 interest, Commissioner Bellamy stated:

An apparent conflict of interest exists when someone could reasonably conclude that a 295 conflict of interest exists. In other words, it is a matter of public perception. Public perceptions of the ethics of public servants are critically important. If the public 297 perceives, even wrongly, that public servants are unethical, democratic institutions will suffer from the erosion of public confidence.

... public servants should not dismiss the importance of apparent conflicts of interest just 301 because they can arise even where there is no wrongdoing. By disregarding perception, the 302 public servant runs the risk of eroding public confidence, not only in himself or herself but also in 303 government generally.

Experienced elected officials know all about public perception. They tend to have good 305 antennae, and they apply the "newspaper test." As Ontario's integrity commissioner, the Honourable Coulter A. Osborne, put it during the Good Government hearings, "If you wake up tomorrow morning and see this matter explored on the front page of one of 308 Toronto's newspapers, how's it going to affect you politically? How's it going to look?"

This is sound advice. Before they act, public servants should ask how their proposed action 310 or inaction would look spread across page one (2005: 39-40, emphasis added).

The Bellamy Report recommended that the City's codes of conduct include 313 rules about apparent and real conflicts of interest and that to assist with 314 meeting this obligation, public officials should seek advice of the integrity 315 commissioner.

The issue of apparent conflict of interest was also considered in the 2010 317 Oliphant Report. Justice Oliphant was asked to review the relationship and 318 dealings between Prime Minister Mulroney and an international lobbyist 319 in the period of time leading to and after the Prime Minister left public 320 office. In the policy review component of the Inquiry, Justice Oliphant 321 adopted Justice Parker's interpretation of apparent and real conflicts of 322 interest and recommended that the appearance standard be expressly 323 incorporated into the federal statutory framework.

The Oliphant Report recounts that the appearance standard was once 325 incorporated into the federal code of conduct for elected officials, only to 326 be removed because "the apparent standard 'would undermine the ability 327 of public office holders to discharge their duties and substitute the Conflict 328 of Interest and Ethics Commissioner for Parliament or the public as the 329 final arbiter of an appearance of conflict by expanding the definition of 330 'conflict of interest' under the Conflict of Interest Act to include 'potential' 331 and 'apparent' conflicts of interest'" (Oliphant 2010: 532). Justice Oliphant 332 rejected this concern and recommended that the applicable code of conduct 333 be amended to expressly incorporate apparent conflict of interest. He said:

A narrow definition of conflict of interest excluding apparent conflicts risks rendering the 335 Act ineffectual in dealing with activities that, in the public eye, deserve scrutiny - that is, 336 circumstances where a reasonably well-informed observer would perceive a conflict. I note 337 that the purpose of ethics rules is not only to guard against actual instances where public 338 office holders pursue their private interest at the expense of the public interest, but also to 339 generate public confidence in the exercise of public power. Exclusion from the ambit of the 340 Act of situations where a reasonable observer could conclude a conflict exists may 341 grievously undermine public confidence in the federal ethics system. This is a point that the 342 BC conflict of interest commissioner made in testimony before the Commission. Commissioner Fraser described the concept of apparent conflict of interest in the BC law as a 344 "valuable tool" in his toolbox and said that the distinction drawn between real and apparent 345 conflicts "gives to the public a sense of confidence in the fair workings of our government 346 machinery." Dr. Levine, Dr. Greene, and Dr. Sossin were all of the view that apparent conflicts of interest should fall within the scope of the Conflict of Interest Act (2010: 532-3).

Commissioner Oliphant's recommendation to include apparent conflict of 350 interest has not been implemented.

In 2011, the Honourable Justice Cunningham issued a report in the 352 Mississauga Judicial Inquiry (the Cunningham Report). Justice 353 Cunningham was required to review the actions of Mississauga Mayor 354 McCallion in relation to her son's company. As a preliminary matter, 355 Justice Cunningham was asked to define how he would determine whether 356 the Mayor was in a conflict of interest. He faced the argument that the 357 Mayor, a municipal official, was bound only to avoid conflicts of interest as 358 defined in the Municipal Conflict of Interest Act, which includes a notoriously 359 narrow definition of conflicts of interest. Justice Cunningham concluded 360 that was sufficient guidance within the common law, the Bellamy and 361 Parker Reports to understand the concept. Justice Cunningham formulated 362 the following statement to describe the common-law obligations of 363 public officials:

[Elected officials] are entrusted by those who elected them to act in the public interest. 365 Optics are important. In other words, members of a municipal council must conduct themselves in such a way as to avoid any reasonable apprehension that their personal interest could 367 in any way influence their elected responsibility. Suffice it to say that [elected officials and 368 their staff] are not to use their office to promote private interests, whether their own or 369 those of relatives or friends. They must be unbiased in the exercise of their duties. That is 370 not only the common law, but the common-sense standard by which the conduct of municipal representatives ought to be judged (Cunningham 2011: 380, emphasis added).

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As can be seen, Commissioners Bellamy, Cunningham and Oliphant 373 concluded that the duty to avoid conflicts of interest implicitly includes the 374 duty to avoid apparent conflicts of interest. Commissioners Bellamy and 375 Oliphant recommended an amendment to relevant codes or legislation to 376 expressly incorporate the standard.

The more recent ruling of Toronto Lobbyist Registrar is an example of a 378 modern application of the appearance standard and is an approach that 379 recognizes the existence of a common law duty.

In hindsight, one wonders whether the duty to avoid conflicts of 381 interests would have been interpreted to include avoiding apparent 382 conflicts of interest much sooner if the BC legislature had not expressly 383 incorporated the appearance standard into its legislation. The decision of 384 the BC legislature to expressly recognize the appearance standard has 385 created a stark contrast from other legislative frameworks and is accord- 386 ingly used as evidence – in the statutory interpretation sense – that without 387 express reference, the duty to avoid conflicts of interest does not include 388 apparent conflicts.

Why does the debate about apparent conflict of interest persist?

Even though it appears that a consensus has been reached, the propriety of 392 codifying an appearance standard remains.

In 2013, the Federal Parliamentary Standing Committee on Access to 394 Information, Privacy and Ethics conducted a mandatory statutory review of the Conflict of Interest Act. The Committee heard extensive evidence 396 about the notion of apparent conflict of interest and the BC legislation was 397 held out as uniquely including a duty to avoid apparent conflicts of inter- 398 est. The Committee declined to recommend that any amendments be made 399 to the Federal Act to comprehensively deal with apparent conflicts of interest and so, going forward, elected officials will likely be able to argue that 401 the refusal to amend the act is further evidence, in the statutory interpretation sense, that elected officials have no duty to avoid apparent conflicts.⁵

In a 2016 investigation report, Ontario Integrity Commissioner David 404 Wake determined that he was bound to interpret the conflict of interest 405 provision of the Members Integrity Act, 1994 as one that does not include 406 apparent conflicts of interest (Wake 2016: 1, 16–17). Commissioner Wake 407 referred to an oft-cited 1991 statement by Ontario's first Conflict of Interest 408 Commissioner The Honourable Gregory Evans that "the Act does not 409 concern itself with a perceived conflict of interest as opposed to an 410 actual conflict" (Wake 2016: 17, citing Evans in 1991). In consideration of 411 Commissioner Evans' 1991 opinion, among other factors, Commissioner 412 Wake stated, "...it is not clear to me that the Legislature intended the 413

appearance of conflicts of interest" (2016: 17).

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conflict provisions of the Act to apply to the appearance of conflicts of 414 interest. As such, I am unable to conclude that the Ministers contravened 415 section 2 of the Act, as it is written. I would encourage the Legislature to 416 review the Act with a view to clarifying whether it should apply to the 417

If the experience at the Federal standing committee is any indication, it 419 seems unlikely that the Ontario legislature will expressly incorporate an 420 appearance standard.

> elected officials, in fact, do try to avoid involving 424 themselves in situations that give rise to an appear- 425 ance standard – and they often even seek the advice of 426 an integrity commissioner to do so. Why then the 427 resistance to the standard?

> It is my experience as a practitioner in the field that 423

It is my experience as a practitioner in the field that elected officials, in 430 fact, do try to avoid involving themselves in situations that give rise to an 431 appearance standard – and they often even seek the advice of an integrity 432 commissioner to do so. Why then the resistance to the standard? I offer 433 three commonly-raised concerns, all of which could be resolved if there 434 was a greater consensus about the purpose of ethics programs for elected 435 officials. I suggest that the objectives and purpose of a modern ethics 436 program for elected officials can only be understood if the fact that the 437 programs exist within a democracy is taken into account. To use Justice 438 Parker's phrasing, such programs can only be understood if we accept that 439 the outcomes that flow from them are political.

A concern about unfairly presuming a nefarious intent

Some reject an appearance standard because it presumes a nefarious 443 intention on the part of elected officials: a presumption that their every 444 move will be self-interested. This concern misunderstands the objective of 445 modern codes of conduct for elected officials. Codes of conduct for elected 446 officials are not personal moral codes. The primary purpose of codes of 447 conduct – and integrity or ethics commissioners – is to emphasize that the 448 actions of individual members of legislative bodies can impact on the 449 reputation of the body as a whole. Modern codes of conduct highlight areas 450 where an elected official's conduct, regardless of intention, could harm 451 public confidence in the legislative body. When elected officials - and the 452 public - construe many obligations set down in codes of conduct as 453

personal or moral guidebooks, they misunderstand the main purpose and 454 function of the program.

Of course, this is not to say that elected officials ought not to strive to be 456 respected, moral and ethical people of good judgement. As a practitioner in 457 this field, I start from the proposition that elected officials who volunteer to 458 run for public office are people of good will and intention. However, as a 459 commissioner or advisor to a commissioner, I would not purport to pass 460 moral or ethical judgement on any elected official. I can provide objective 461 scrutiny of whether the elected acted mindfully of his or her privileged role 462 and took reasonable steps to improve trust and confidence in the legislative 463 body by striving to meet the standards set down in a code of conduct.

A concern about lack of clarity

Some elected officials reject the appearance standard because they say that 466 it is too dependent on uninformed public opinion and difficult or 467 unpredictable to apply in practice. Ontario's first Integrity Commissioner 468 articulated the former concern and the Federal Court judicial review 469 decision regarding the Parker Report concluded that it was unfair to hold 470 Mr. Sinclair to unarticulated standards. Arguably, the concerns about 471 unpredictability raised by Ontario's first Integrity Commissioner in 1991 472 and the Federal Court reviewing the 1987 Parker Report are no longer 473 pertinent when one considers the current state of permanent ethics and 474 integrity commissioners across Canada.

> The programs exist within a democracy is taken into 477 account. To use Justice Parker's phrasing, such 478 programs can only be understood if we accept that the 479 outcomes that flow from them are political

In my view, with the benefit of Justice Parker's definition of apparent 482 conflict of interest, there is sufficient clarity about how to understand an 483 appearance standard, and if there is doubt, elected officials can access 484 advice from an ethics or integrity commissioner. All provincial and federal 485 elected officials (and a growing number of municipal politicians) have 486 access to an integrity commissioner to consider and objectively determine 487 whether a situation gives rise to an apparent conflict that ought to be 488 avoided or managed in another appropriate way such as disclosure.

Including an appearance standard in codes of conduct could, in fact, 490 lead to greater clarity for elected officials and the public. The long-serving 491 Conflict of Interest Commissioner for New Brunswick, The Honourable 492 Patrick Ryan, made this case when he recommended that New Brunswick 493

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embrace an appearance standard and an accompanying mechanism to 494 ensure that elected officials could be provided with timely advice to avoid 495 apparent conflicts (Ryan 2011: 9-10). Commissioner Ryan first began 496 making the case for reform in 2008, at which time he said:

By [amending the legislation to include apparent conflicts of interest], New Brunswick 498 would be leading the way in Atlantic Canada in the matter of ethics as ethics relate to conflicts of interest between the members' responsibilities in their public office vis-à-vis their private interests. The rationale is that if the conflict of interest is apparent, a structured procedure should be in place to enable it to be resolved efficiently. Whether the conflict is actual or is apparent, the stigma of an underlying conflict pervades and must be dealt with logically or left dangling in the rumour mill with a perception by the public that all is not 504 so transparent as is claimed by various political forces. Prompt resolution of an apparent 505 conflict of interest, employing a summary procedure, would be in each member's best interest as well as that of the Legislature and would emphasize to the public that transparency is one of the Legislature's paramount concerns (Ryan 2009: 4).

A concern about risk of penalties or consequences

Elected officials may be concerned that an appearance standard is too oner-512 ous in consideration of the possible penalties or consequences that could 513 flow from a finding of breach. Recall that Justice Parker dismissed this con- 514 cern on the basis that the only consequences that could flow from a breach 515 were political. As I outline below, while the landscape has changed, it is 516 my view that the consequences remain as they ever were: political.

A brief discussion about penalties and consequences is necessary. In 518 general, at the provincial or federal level, if an elected official is found by 519 an independent commissioner to have contravened a code of conduct, 6 the 520 commissioner reports this finding to the applicable legislature – and to the 521 public – and can recommend sanctions to be imposed by the legislature. A 522 public report in and of itself – without any recommendation as to penalty – 523 is certainly of consequence to an elected official. The types of sanctions 524 available range from reprimands, conditional suspension from sitting, 525 suspension of pay or apologies. The most serious possible sanction is a 526 recommendation that a member's seat be vacated for the term (Ontario), a 527 sanction that has never been recommended in the 30 years that Canada has 528 had ethics and integrity commissioners. There is no commissioner-based 529 framework that contemplates that a member would be restricted from 530 running for elected office at the next election.⁷

The current landscape can be contrasted with the landscape in 1987 532 when Justice Parker wrote his report. As noted, Justice Parker reasoned 533 that because consequences flowing from a failure to meet the standards 534 were political – not legal or criminal – a broad and purposive approach 535

applied. While there certainly are a greater range of consequences in the 536 form of sanctions possible, the framework is certainly not a criminal or 537 quasi criminal system nor is it a professional regulatory system. This is 538 because, even in the face of the most extreme sanction, an elected official 539 can still stand for office and be successful. For this reason alone, the conse-540 quences that flow from a finding remain political. The experience of the 541 past twenty years affirms my view.

There are many examples across the country where elected officials 543 determined to have contravened the code of conduct - and who are the 544 subject of sanctions - stand for re-election and are returned to office.8 545 Questions are sometimes asked about the efficacy of the system when 546 elected officials are re-elected in the face of a finding of a code breach. 547 However, the system is working. The alleged misconduct is investigated 548 by an independent, non-partisan commissioner, it is reported and made 549 available to the public. (Misconduct that may be criminal in nature can be 550 referred to the police.) Elected officials are properly concerned about 551 sanctions but this concern should not interfere with the overall purpose of 552 modern public sector ethics programs: to enhance trust and confidence in 553 the applicable legislature. While remedial actions are sometimes necessary 554 to adjust and improve behaviour, these are not punitive actions on par 555 with criminal breaches or professional regulatory consequences where a 556 person's livelihood is at stake. In fact, it may be that more lenient or no 557 sanctions are appropriate for breaches of an apparent conflict of interest 558 than for a real conflict of interest. The way to address this concern is to 559 consider what consequences ought to flow from failures to meet the 560 appearance standard rather than to resist the standard itself. Including this 561 standard in a code of conduct, either expressly or by implication of the 562 common law, affirms only that elected officials aspire to meet the highest 563 standards of conduct.

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Elected officials found to have contravened a code of conduct are 572 required to face questions about the finding on the campaign trail and per- 573 suade enough voters to cast a ballot in their favour. The elector is required 574 to balance all of the available information – including the ethics breach – 575 and decide. As long as elected officials are elected, the consequences of a 576

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breach of the code of conduct, even if sanctions followed, are *political* in the same sense that Justice Parker wrote about in 1987.

Conclusion

A consensus has emerged that elected officials ought to avoid conflicts of interest, both apparent and real. In my view, unless there is a firm precedent by a previous commissioner, Court or an express exclusion, restrictions against conflict of interest for elected officials ought to be interpreted in a broad and purposive manner, consistent with the common law, which includes the duty to avoid apparent conflicts of interest. The duty to avoid apparent conflicts of interest is consistent with the overall duties of public officials to promote trust and confidence in the government and recognizes that the actions of elected officials, regardless of intent, can impact upon public trust in government.

The only debate that should remain is whether the same kinds of 590 sanctions or penalties ought to flow from a finding of an apparent conflict 591 of interest. While it may be a topic of further discussion, it is a matter that 592 is likely best left to the discretion of ethics and integrity commissioners, 593 and legislatures or councils charged with imposing recommended 594 penalties on a case-by-case basis.

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As long as elected officials are elected, the conse-597 quences of a breach of the code of conduct, even if 598 sanctions followed, are political in the same sense that 599 Justice Parker wrote about in 1987 600

Legislatures, elected officials, commissioners and courts reviewing the actions of commissioners should return to the Parker Report to understand the concept of an apparent conflict of interest and – more importantly – to conceptualize the unique features associated with applying codes of conduct to elected officials, who while obliged to adhere to relevant codes of conduct are primarily accountable to the electorate. This reality gives rise to two important considerations. First, the expectations set down in codes of conduct should align with reasonable public expectations of propriety in public office. Second, accountability for failure to meet the standards is oved to the electorate.

While a discussion about appropriate sanctions is necessary, it 612 should not distract from the consensus that elected officials should avoid 613 activities that place them in apparent conflict of interest, when judged by a 614 "reasonably well-informed person." To fixate on penalties risks treating 615 modern ethics programs for elected officials as quasi-criminal or 616

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professional re	gulatory regir	nes when th	ey are not.	At present,	they are <i>sui</i>	617
generis framew	orks carefully	designed to	co-exist wi	ithin a demo	cracy.	618

Notes									619					
1	Iustice Parke	r acknowledged	that	there	will	often	be	a	period	of	time	between	the	620

realization that an elected official has an interest and the opportunity presents itself to 621 advance the interest. He terms this as a "potential conflict of interest," emphasizing that 622 what is important is what the elected official does when faced with the potential conflict. Does she act on it to disclose and recuse herself? As is often said by senior practitioners 624 in the field, it is not wrong to have a conflict of interest but it is wrong to fail to act

responsibly and appropriately with respect to the conflict. 2 This parallel has been noted by Professor David Mullan in his research work commissioned by the Mississauga Judicial Inquiry and by Professor Lorne Sossin in testimony at the Commission of Inquiry into Certain Allegations Respecting Business and Financial Dealings Between Karlheinz Schreiber and the Right Honourable Brian Mulroney and

the 2013 hearings of the Standing Committee on Access to Information, Privacy and 632 Ethics, Statutory Review of the Conflict of Interest Act. 3 Professor Sossin also made this observation and connection in relation to the appearance standard in evidence at the 2013 Standing Committee hearings into the review of the Conflict of Interest Act. (See Standing Committee on Access to Information, Privacy and

Ethics 2013: 38.) 4 This connection was highlighted by Professor David Mullan in his important paper 637 commissioned for the Mississauga Inquiry (Mullan 2010; http://www.mississauga

inquiry.ca/exhibits/pdf/Exhibit_A_COM008001611.pdf). 5 It is important to note that the Federal Conflicts of Interest and Ethics Commissioner did not recommend express inclusion of an appearance standard, noting that there were

many parts of the Act (outside of the definition of conflict of interest) that already 642 incorporated an appearance standard (e.g., the rules relating to gifts). 6 With respect to the Federal level, this refers to the Conflict of Interest and Ethics 644 Commissioner's administration of the Code of Conduct for MPs, not the Conflict of Interest Act, which does not contemplate recommendations for sanctions but is made to

the Prime Minister for consideration and action. 7 The Ontario Municipal Conflict of Interest Act does contemplate a future restriction 648

against running but this is determined by a Court, not a legislative body on the 649 recommendation of a commissioner.

8 Consider Mayor Hazel McCallion who was re-elected by a significant majority after the 651 Cunningham Report concluded that she was in an improper conflict of interest for the benefit of her son; consider the Honourable Harinder Takhar, the first Minister found to have contravened the Members' Integrity Act, 1994 who was re-appointed to Cabinet 654 and re-elected as an MPP.

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