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ABSTRACT

CREATING POLITICAL LEADERS: LAWYER STORIES
ABOUT TRANSITIONING INTO POLITICAL
OFFICE IN CANADA

by

Ralph A. Chatoor

Chair: Duane Covrig

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

School of Education

Title: CREATING POLITICAL LEADERS: LAWYER STORIES ABOUT
TRANSITIONING INTO POLITICAL OFFICE IN CANADA

Name of researcher: Ralph A. Chatoor

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Date completed: December 2013

Problem

Sustaining healthy democracies requires citizens to successfully transition from civilian life into political leadership positions. Despite the need for this transition to take place, little is known about the transition. Globally, lawyers are the most represented professional group in politics, therefore, a study of their transition acts as a good starting point in understanding the process. This study used the Nicholson Transition Cycle (NTC) to explore the transition of 65 lawyers into Canadian politics.

Method

An exploratory multiple case study approach was used to gather data from face-to-face interviews, phone interviews, public archives, email, and websites. Interviews

were transcribed, coded, and categorized to fit under the NTC's four phases of transition: preparation, encounter, adjustment, and stabilization. Qualitative Data Analysis software assisted with the organization of the data. Confidentiality and anonymity were maintained by concealing the identity of participants by changing some geographic locations, omitting obvious identifiers, and occasionally changing gender.

Results

Statements about motivation, early exposure or experience with politics, as well as early steps into political activity were classified under the preparation phase. Many participants reported having family members who worked in politics, and that experience prepared them for politics. Reported motivations for entering politics included career advancement, using politics as a stepping stone, and fulfilling a childhood dream. Participants who were unhappy with the status quo regarded politics as an ideal forum for creating change and improving social conditions. Participants reported that the knowledge and skills obtained in law helped them transition into politics. Early exposure to politics and politicians provided advanced insight about the work of politicians. Many participants were encouraged by others to run for political office because of their legal skills and social networking.

Statements about getting through the initial days, weeks, and months of political office were grouped under the encounter phase. Stories about how participants coped with new and unfamiliar experiences in politics were included here. Some participants reported they coped with the transitory nature of employment in politics by maintaining a part-time law practice they could go back to if they lost an election. Developing mentors and relying on peers was regarded as crucial in understanding their new environment,

processes, and procedures; in handling the media, and in communicating with the public. Participants provided numerous examples of how their litigation skills became useful such as when they engaged in heated debate and in withstanding personal attacks during a *Question Period*. Female politicians indicated that they experienced special challenges due to gender discrimination. The experience of helping constituents, meeting fascinating people, and enjoying the privileges of public office were cited by participants as joyful new experiences during the encounter phase.

Personal changes, role development, and relationship building were major areas participants reported working through and were labeled under the adjustment phase. Adjusting to the loss of income and personal privacy, and having to maintain a hectic schedule were part of this transition. Some reported a disruption of the family unit related to prolonged absence from the home. Divorces were reported and some noted that children experienced difficulties in home and school. Participants found that consensus, collaboration, and building bridges were vital in getting things done. Due to the volume of issues requiring attention, delegating to competent staff was imperative for survival. For Anglophone participants, learning French was regarded as a valuable skill in running an efficient constituency office, if they were not already bilingual.

When respondents reported aspects of settling into political life, these were classified under the stabilization phase. Central in this process were reports of beginning to see social problems from broader societal perspectives and not just from legal or policy views. They reported learning how to work with others to identify the core cause of social problems. Some reported harnessing their knowledge of the political process and combining it with the law to advance democratic principles of freedom, equality, justice,

and diversity. Some communicated with constituents by using social media and the internet as well as traditional forms of communication. Being re-elected on multiple occasions was seen by some as an indication that their work was being helpful to others. Others viewed being given a government portfolio as a sign of political competence.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Overall, participants reported that the promise to make a positive change in society was a strong motivation to prepare for and transition into politics. Psychological preparation contained elements of political socialization, previous career skills, prior learning, and consistent exposure to politics and politicians. Participants reported confronting the newness of the job by developing coping mechanisms, learning the new rules of the game, and experiencing the joy of political life. Adjusting to the new requirements of the job meant changing personal habits, reaching out to build bridges, broadening their thinking, and leveraging administrative skills. Learning French presented distinct advantages. As participants matured into their political leadership roles, they transitioned from highly specialized knowledge in the law to civic leaders with social insights.

This study shows the challenges of transitioning from civilian to political office in the lives of 65 lawyers. While these findings can't be generalized to all professions, they raise conclusions that call for more research and for action to create resources that help individuals willing to make the sacrifices to become political leaders. Concern to understand more about the transition process and develop ways of evaluating and mentoring civilians in this transition promises to make a major contribution to the long-term viability of democratic states.

Andrews University

School of Education

CREATING POLITICAL LEADERS: LAWYER STORIES
ABOUT TRANSITIONING INTO POLITICAL
OFFICE IN CANADA

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Ralph A. Chatoor

December 2013

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To my parents,
Sylvia and M. D. Chatoor,
and my son, Lucas

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

Canada is a federal state or a federation where power is distributed among a central authority (federal) and several regional authorities (provincial or state). Under this arrangement every individual is subject to the laws of two authorities, the federal authority and the provincial authority. For instance, anyone living in Ontario would be subject to the laws of the Parliament of Canada (the central authority) and the Legislature of Ontario (the regional authority). Neither the federal nor the provincial authorities are subordinate to each other. Federal authority extends throughout the country as opposed to provincial authority, which is limited to a region (Hogg, 2007).

In Canada, the Constitution Act, 1867, broadly divides the responsibilities of governing between the Parliament of Canada (including the House of Commons and the Senate) and the provincial government. Section 91 of the Constitution Act, 1867, awards specific powers to the Parliament of Canada such as banking, interest, criminal law, navigation, the postal system, the armed forces, Indians, and lands reserved for Indians. Correspondingly, section 92 of the Constitution Act of 1867 awards to the provinces powers in the areas such as the establishment of hospitals, municipal institutions, local works, and businesses (McConnell, 2012).

At the federal level, the job of a Member of Parliament (MP) involves addressing regional and local concerns of the constituents in the House of Commons. The job of an MP is multifaceted with MPs expected to solve problems for constituents on federal issues and provide information on federal government programs and policies. In theory, MPs are constituency representatives, caucus members, orators, lawmakers, and watchdogs over the government and bureaucracy. Although cabinet ministers and civil servants have responsibility for drafting new legislation, MPs influence the formulation of legislation by participating in debates in the House of Commons (Parliament of Canada, 2011). Ultimately, MPs vote on legislation in the House of Commons. MPs may also engage in all-party committee meetings. Committee work is an important part of a Member's job and the law-making process. Committees in the House of Commons have three main areas of operation including: (a) scrutinizing public expenditure of government and bureaucracy (by undertaking a detailed examination of the main estimates of individual departments); (b) investigating policy proposals (by hearing evidence from affected parties that gauge reactions and establish strengths and weaknesses of existing policy); and (c) the detailed clause-by-clause consideration of legislation after a bill has passed second reading in the House of Commons (amendments may be suggested) (Jackson & Jackson, 2006).

MPs can sit on a number of committees that travel across the country (when required to do so) to consult with the public. Although uncommon, MPs can also introduce private members' bills. By participating in House of Commons committees and lobbying ministers, MPs can influence policy as well as legislation. MPs who find

themselves in opposition can use Question Period in the House of Commons to raise concerns and hold the government accountable for its actions.

Holding the government accountable occurs in two ways. First is during Question Period where MPs ask questions on behalf of their constituents and for all Canadians. Second, MPs hold the government accountable for its administrative policies and the conduct of its Ministers. These two facets are recognized as the fundamental principles of parliamentary democracy (Parliament of Canada, 2008). Typically, MPs maintain two offices, one on Parliament Hill in Ottawa and one in the constituency (Jackson & Jackson, 2006; Munroe, 2013).

Provincially elected representatives are termed MLAs in seven provinces, MPPs in Ontario, MHAs in Newfoundland, and MNAs in Quebec. Similar to MPs, provincial representatives represent their constituents in the provincial legislatures, participate in committee meetings, and debate provincial legislation. With the expansion of provincial government activity over the past 30 or 40 years, legislative sessions have become longer, committee work has become more extensive, and members of the legislature have reported increased demands with constituents' problems and dealing with provincial bureaucracy. Many of these positions have become full-time (Dyck, 2004). Although there are many similarities between the duties of an MP and an MPP, the need for an MP to travel longer distances represents a major difference in jobs. Federal MPs must travel from their provincial constituency to the Parliament of Canada, which is located in Ottawa, Ontario. This can be onerous for an MP living on the west coast of Canada as travel typically takes the better part of a day.

Given the role of civilians moving into politics, one group in particular who are represented in greater numbers in politics are lawyers (“There Was a Lawyer,” 2009). Typically, lawyers who are politicians are well connected, possess the ability to communicate, hold knowledge in the law, are skilled in getting laws passed, possess negotiator proficiencies, and are typically well associated in business (Gawalt, 1984). Hain and Piereson (1975) go beyond these generalities and point to the ability of lawyers to carefully plan a career path and market a way to the top by using certain key positions in government as stepping-stones. To this end, lawyers hold elected office at higher rates than do other occupations (Eakins, 2006).

It was pointed out that lawyers involved in politics are a growing global phenomena and this is substantiated with statistics. Globally, the predominant profession holding elected office is lawyers (20%), followed by those in business (16%), medicine (8%), and engineering (6%) (“There Was a Lawyer,” 2009). A survey of Canadian Prime Ministers, serving during the period from confederation in 1867 to present, showed 73% have been lawyers (22 of 30) (Library of Parliament, 2013).

As pointed out, law and politics require “skills such as bargaining, negotiating, mediating, and adherence to norms and roles such as public service and fiduciary duty” (Eakins, 2006, p. 718). In mature democracies such as the United States of America, where there is respect for the rule of law, lawyers have played a key role in political decision-making. In this regard, law has been described as the gateway to politics, business, or other forms of power in an increasingly complex society of laws (M. Miller, 1995). A review of the academic literature revealed no comprehensive study has been undertaken exploring the transition from a career in law to a career in politics. As a

starting point, the work of Eulau and Sprague (1964), M. Miller (1995), and Pasis (1970) suggested certain characteristics might play a role in the professional nexus between law and politics. The authors pointed to influences such as legal specialty, law school experience, professional socialization, parental influence, social class, a high sense of civic duty, elevated political efficacy, dominant personality, above-average sociability, childhood political interests, and demographics. Jacob (1962) added that not all lawyers were able to play political roles, nor were all types of lawyers found in politics. Years later, Bromall (1968) supported this point of view when he identified that the successful transition from one profession to the other was contingent upon the background of the lawyer, professional status, and the environment where the individual was employed. It is suggested that more research is needed to investigate the transition from law to politics, to fill a gap in the literature.

My own interest in the transition from law to politics increased when I ran as a candidate in the 2000 Canadian federal election. As an engineer and lawyer, I believed I had experiences that prepared me for a political career. Although I did not win, this process of running for office helped me realize that those who were elected faced the challenge of transitioning from civilian employment to political careers. Understanding that transition became important for me because I did not find a lot of literature on the topic.

Statement of the Problem

For democracy to function it is essential for citizens to successfully transition from their previous occupations to political office. Despite the global trend of more lawyers becoming politicians, little information is known regarding how lawyers make

the career transition from the profession of law into the profession of politics (“There Was a Lawyer,” 2009). The stories of respondents’ transition into politics promises to inform those concerned with political leadership development in Canada.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore the process of how some lawyers in Canada made the transition into political office. Interview data, emails, website information, social media, public archives, newspaper articles, and other documents were used. The Nicholson Transition Cycle (NTC) framework was used to organize the data into its four phases: (a) the preparation phase where individuals prepared psychologically for the change, (b) the encounter phase where the individual made sense of the new scenario as they explored their new roles, (c) the adjustment phase where employees created their own way of accomplishing tasks and building relationships, and (d) the stabilization phase where the employee felt more integrated into the new system.

Research Question

The central question under examination is: How do politicians who were lawyers describe their career transition into political office?

Research Design

The use of a qualitative exploratory case study design was used in this study to find general themes as described by Creswell (2008). Sixty-five lawyers were interviewed after requesting interviews from 95 persons selected within Canadian federal and provincial politics. These politicians were selected using a mixture of purposeful sampling and snowball sampling (Creswell, 2007, 2008; Robson, 2002). Initially

participants were purposely chosen from the list of lawyers who were politicians representing Ontarians in the provincial Legislature and in federal Parliament. Contact was initiated by cold-calling and writing letters to their constituency offices. After two initial interviews were completed, the snowball sampling technique was employed. This was accomplished by regarding the first few participants as informants to nominate other members of the population who might be willing to cooperate with the study. Those individuals were subsequently interviewed and they were used as informants to secure other participants through their social networks. Participants were interviewed until the information being provided became repetitive and hit the point of saturation.

After conducting a literature review, an interview protocol was developed consisting of 11 questions. Face-to-face interviews, interviews over the phone, and electronic communication were conducted with participants, starting in the summer of 2011 and concluding in summer of 2012. Because the geographic expanse of Canada also posed a barrier in arranging face-to-face meetings, communicating with participants was based on practical and personal preferences.

Before interviews were conducted, consent was obtained from each participant and a promise made that his or her identity would not be revealed. Consequently, participants' identities were concealed, and names and places were omitted that may have provided strong clues. The interview questions were sent to participants in advance so they could apply some thought beforehand to responses. Interviews were transcribed, data coded, and placed into categories. Categories were combined to form themes. Data from politicians' websites were also used. Weft Qualitative Data Analysis software was used to organize the data into the four phases of the Nicholson Transition Cycle (NTC)

(Nicholson, 1990). These phases are known as preparation, encounter, adjustment, and stabilization. Accuracy of coding was ensured by applying inter-rater analysis to 10 of 65 interviews. Themes were supported with quotations from participants.

Conceptual Framework

Previous researchers such as Eulau and Sprague (1964), Hourani (1966), Cohen (1969), M. Miller (1995), and others have identified useful connections between the profession of law and politics. However, researchers have yet to describe the process of how lawyers make the transition from law to politics. The approach taken in this study was to describe the data collected in relation to the four phases of the Nicholson Transition Cycle (Nicholson, 1990). The aim of the Nicholson Transition Cycle (NTC) is to systematically provide a framework allowing for the full range of experiences people encounter as movement occurs between existing jobs and new jobs. As individuals adjust to the new job demands, two independent adjustment processes result: personal development and role development. When employees modify personal habits to accommodate the demands of the new job, this accommodation has been referred to as personal development (Nicholson, 1990). On the other hand, when the job is modified in order to accommodate the new employee, this modification has been referred to as role development. Further elaboration of the Nicholson Transition Cycle is discussed under the sub-section entitled “Career Transition Theory.”

Rationale

This study provides valuable insight into how lawyers report on their career transition into politics. This research uses existing career transition theory with a view to

developing a career transition model representative of the transition from a career in law to a career in politics.

Although previous studies by Eulau and Sprague (1964), Bromall (1968), and M. Miller (1995) have examined this phenomenon, no Canadian research was found exploring the question of how law and politics could be successfully mixed for those holding elected office. Consequently, my research provides an extension to the previous studies by understanding how some lawyers can transition from the status of lawyer to politician. Research results will benefit lawyers interested in making the career transition from lawyer to politician, as they can be better informed about important issues when designing a career path.

Significance of the Study

The information from this study provides guidance for lawyers wanting to enter politics, and will be of value to those who wish to recruit political candidates who are lawyers. On a practical level, an examination of the book *Career Opportunities in Law and the Legal Industry* (Echaore-McDavid, 2002) showed a section dedicated to providing advice to lawyers who wanted to become politicians. Nowhere did it provide advice on political leadership formation for lawyers. This present study will act as a how-to guide for lawyers wanting to transition from a law career to a career in politics.

The biggest contribution of this study will be in the area of political leadership formation. Transition from one job environment to another should be handled properly as individuals make various adjustments along the way.

Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chrétien is an example of a lawyer who successfully made the transition from law to politics. He was a Member of Parliament for

40 years and served as Prime Minister for just over 10 years. Remarkably, he won three consecutive elections in which he held majority governments. Prime Minister Chrétien was born in a small town in Québec and dubbed himself as the “little guy from Shawinigan.” He would use this handle for the rest of his political career to appeal to mainstream Canadians (Bothwell, 2012). He was socialized politically by his father and grandfather who were regional organizers for the Liberal party. Politics came naturally to him, and in his teens he participated in various Liberal party activities. He obtained a degree in law at Université Laval and practiced at a private law firm in Québec. Shortly after launching his political career he served as parliamentary secretary and in subsequent years held various ministerial portfolios including Minister of Finance, Minister of National Revenue, Minister of Justice, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Minister of National Revenue, and Minister of Industry. Jean Chrétien is best remembered for his role in making the Charter of Rights and Freedoms a reality, supporting same-sex marriages, drawing attention to the plight of Africans living in substandard conditions, signing the Kyoto Protocol on environment, refusing to participate in the invasion of Iraq, and being a signatory to the land mines treaty (Chrétien, 2008).

Assumptions

An assumption made in this study was that politicians who were interviewed would provide honest and candid answers. This was achieved by providing my standing as a lawyer that whatever was said would be held in strict confidence. I also described in detail the measures put in place to protect each participant’s identity.

Definition of Terms

Backbencher: A Canadian Member of Parliament or member of a provincial legislative assembly who is not a cabinet minister, leader of his party, or an opposition critic.

Career theory: Explains career choices as they relate to behaviors and as defined by Lent, Brown, and Hackett's Social Cognitive Career Theory (Swanson & Fouad, 2010). This theory advocates that career-related choices are a function of unexpected life-events, cultural orientation, genetic bias, and social orientation.

Career transition theory: The movement from one career to the other and the attendant internal changes an individual must go through.

Career path: The choices and decisions an individual makes about a personal career during a life span.

Career path chosen: Whether the lawyer chose to work as a sole practitioner, to join a law firm of one or more lawyers, worked as in-house counsel, joined government ranks, or worked in a non-law-related field.

Hansard: Official published reports of proceedings from legislative bodies.

Household flyers: Flyers delivered to the home of constituents containing information on the activities of the elected official during a specified time.

Lawyer-politician: Lawyers who held elected public office at the Canadian federal or provincial level.

Memoing: An accumulation of written ideas into a bank of ideas about concepts, and how they relate to each other. This bank contains rich parts of what will later be the written theory.

Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP): Is an elected member of the Legislative Assembly of one of the 10 provincial legislatures in Canada.

Member of Parliament (MP): Is an elected member of the House of Commons.

Participant: Lawyers who currently or formerly held public office.

Political influence: Attributes shown by the lawyers who are politicians holding leadership positions, having special knowledge and expertise, being skillful in role performance, having valued personal characteristics, and interacting with significant others (Kornberg & Mishler, 1976).

Political intelligence: Overlapping qualities used to win elections, juggle many mental balls at the same time, form coalitions, navigate in complex social environments, and manage power dynamics (Westen, 2007).

Political socialization: A process by which attitudes, norms, and behaviors of a political system are transmitted from generation to generation. Information is transmitted via family, schools, media, religious organizations, and community groups.

Queen's Park: A common name for the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

Riding: A colloquial term for a constituency.

Riding Association: The political party organization at a local level.

Weft Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA): Computer software used for the analysis of textual data such as interview transcripts, emails, website information, social media, public archives, newspaper articles, and other documents.

Delimitations

The research sample was delimited to lawyers who currently or formerly held office at the federal or provincial level in Canada. Participants were nominated based on possible interest in the study through the snowball sampling technique.

Summary

Chapter 1 has provided a broad overview of the research project I performed. It has been pointed out that, globally, there has been a selection bias towards lawyers holding political office. My research shows no Canadian study has been conducted exploring how the transition is made from lawyer to politician. The research results become important as the information contributes to the body of knowledge in the career theory field, because it explores how two separate but distinct professions can be successfully mixed.

Chapter 2 of this study reviews the literature identifying applicable Canadian studies, lawyers in politics, potential complementary aspects between law and political careers, career and career transition theory, and an identification of gaps in the literature providing justification for answering my research questions.

Chapter 3 provides a brief introduction to the topic, the research question, the research design, the population and sample, my qualifications to conduct this study, the theoretical framework, data collection methods, data management methods, tools that were used to synthesize the data, insight into how the data were coded, trustworthiness and credibility of the study, and ethical norms that must be observed.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 document findings that fall under the preparation, encounter, adjustment, and stabilization phases of the NTC. Finally, Chapter 8 provides a

summary of the findings and discussion of the findings. Limitations and recommendations are made for future work along with final thoughts.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The literature review explores several areas. Initially, I review the basic research topic and questions guiding my selection of literature. I briefly explain my sources and use of them. Following my explanation, I review the literature organized in three major areas. First, I provide the reader with the relevant context for this study by outlining the structure of federal and provincial government. The reader is provided with a description of what federal and provincial politicians do. I then cite previous Canadian works dealing with the subject under investigation. Second, I explore what research there is of lawyers in politics. Third, I present career theory and career transition models not directly related to the lawyer literature, but will aid in understanding the lawyer-politician transition. Fourth, I articulate the gaps discovered in the literature.

Sources of Material

Articles were obtained by searching a number of databases including Proquest, EBSCO, JSTOR, LexisNexis, Quicklaw, Research Pro, Legaltrac, HeinOnline, Google Scholar, Social Science Index, and Scholars Portal. A thorough citation search was done using the ISI Citation database (Web of Knowledge). In an effort to keep abreast of new

journal articles that might have been published, alerts were set up on Google Scholar and Sage Journals.

The reference librarians at the University of Toronto, York University, the University of Ontario Institute of Technology, Andrews University, Law Society of Upper Canada, Toronto Reference Library, and the Pickering Public library were consulted. Using all of these resources, several journals were accessed and are reported in this paper.

Criteria for Materials Included in Literature Review

Articles were chosen specifically directed toward understanding what characteristics account for lawyers choosing political careers; the predominance of lawyers in politics; skill sets of lawyers compatible with politics; and the relationship between legal specialties and political leadership. Peer-reviewed articles were chosen as well as selected books and credible websites.

Most of the literature cited in this study was drawn from American sources as previous Canadian work on this subject was sparse. This point of view is shared by Canadian researcher Brunet (2009, p. 49) who wrote that “the affinity between the legal profession and politics has been neglected in Canada academic circles, although it has been commented on in popular culture.”

Canadian Context and Applicable Canadian Studies

Canada is a democratic constitutional monarchy and has a federal system of parliamentary government. Government responsibilities and functions are shared among federal, provincial, and territorial governments. The federal executive (the National

Government) is made up of Canada's Prime Minister and cabinet ministers drawn from MPs in the House of Commons selected by the Prime Minister. Citizens who are elected to the federal Parliament are known as a Member of Parliament (MP); in 2012 there were 308 MPs in the federal Parliament. The Prime Minister and cabinet members belong to the political party that has the greatest number of seats in the House of Commons.

Although there have been occasions when coalition governments were formed between two parties, the seat of the federal government is located in Ottawa, Ontario, and is regarded as the political capital of Canada (Canada's System of Government, 2012).

A provincial executive consists of a leader known as the Premier and cabinet ministers. Cabinet ministers are selected by the Premier and hold seats in the respective legislatures. The Premier and cabinet ministers belong to the party that holds the most seats in the provincial legislature. Coalitions are sometimes formed among different parties. Citizens elected to the provincial legislatures are known as MLAs in seven provinces, MPPs in Ontario, MHAs in Newfoundland, and MNAs in Quebec. Each provincial government has a legislature where provincial members of the government sit. The numbers of provincial members differ from province to province. Under the Constitution Act of 1867, powers are divided among the federal government, 10 provincial governments, and three territorial governments (Hogg, 2007). Canada's three territories are defined by federal statute rather than the Constitution Act of 1867. The structure of territorial governments mirrors provincial legislatures and is governed by the Territorial Legislative Assembly, except for Nunavut, a territorial subdivision of the Northwest Territories ("Nunavut," n.d.). Members of Territorial Legislative Assemblies are elected individually and they in turn elect the Premier of their territory.

In Canada, powers are divided among the federal and provincial governments as defined by the Constitution Act, 1867, and the Constitution Act, 1982. Federal powers of Parliament are enumerated in sections 91 and 92 (10) of the Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982, and are concerned with issues of national interest such as: Public Debt and Property, Regulation of Trade/Commerce, Direct/Indirect Taxation, Postal Service, Defense, Navigation/Shipping, Currency/Coinage, Banking, Bankruptcy, Citizenship, and Criminal Law. The exclusive powers of provincial legislatures, enumerated in sections 92, 92(A), and 93 of the Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982, concern matters of a local nature such as: Direct Taxation within Province; Prisons; Hospitals; Municipalities; Property and Civil Rights; Administration of Civil/Criminal Justice; and Education (Constitution Act, 1867; Constitution Act, 1982).

The role of an MP or provincially elected member (MLA, MPP, MHA, MNA) is to help make laws by debating and voting on bills. The MP or provincial members place local, regional, and national issues into the spotlight and represent the views of representative constituents. Constituents expect that their elected member will present, make statements, and ask questions in the House of Commons or legislature. Elected members spend most of their time meeting with constituents and working on committees. Committee work requires MPs and provincial members to examine proposed legislation in greater depth by frequently consulting with the public, and sometimes traveling across the province or country (*Guide to the Canadian House of Commons*, 2011). The committee system provides an outlet for politicians interested in policy questions but who may not necessarily hold a political leadership position in an affiliated political party (Kornberg & Mishler, 1976). Standing committees play a crucial role in the improvement

of legislation and the oversight of government activities. The various standing committees are (O'Brien & Bosc, 2009): Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development; Access to Information; Privacy and Ethics; Agriculture and Agri-Food; Canadian Heritage; Citizenship and Immigration; Environment and Sustainable Development; Finance; Fisheries and Oceans; Foreign Affairs and International Development; Government Operations and Estimates; Health; Human Resources; Skills and Social Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities; Industry, Science and Technology; International Trade; Justice and Human Rights; National Defense; Natural Resources; Official Languages; Procedure and House Affairs; Public Accounts; Public Safety and National Security; Status of Women; Transport; Infrastructure and Communities; and Veterans Affairs.

On the federal level, there are five major political parties: Conservative Party of Canada, New Democratic Party, Liberal Party of Canada, Bloc Québécois, and the Green Party of Canada. On the provincial level, there are four political parties: Conservative Party of Canada, New Democratic Party, Liberal Party of Canada, and the Green Party of Canada. The federal and political parties are loosely affiliated and bound only by political ideology.

Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians

In 2009 and 2010, the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians generated Canada's first-ever series of exit interviews with 65 former Members of Parliament, including 21 cabinet ministers and a former Prime Minister. The major professions represented in the study were lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers, social workers, and business people. Sixty-five former parliamentarians were interviewed with

approximately 25% being involved in education, 20% belonged to the legal profession (by my count), and a larger undefined percentage were involved in business, 10% were engaged in the military and various public sector roles, a few were clergy, and others were journalists.

These reports pulled together valuable information from all political parties and all regions of the country. In total there were four reports produced: *The Accidental Citizen? Exploring Political Leadership in Canada*, detailing the MP backgrounds and paths to politics (Loat & MacMillan, 2011a); *Welcome to Parliament: A Job With No Description*, describing the MP initial orientation and the varied ways roles were defined (Loat & MacMillan, 2011d); *It's My Party: Parliamentary Dysfunction Reconsidered*, summarizing how MPs have spent time in Parliament and the relationship with affiliated political parties (Loat & MacMillan, 2011b); and *The Outsiders' Manifesto: Surviving and Thriving as a Member of Parliament*, disclosing the MPs' advice to future parliamentarians and offering recommendations for change (Loat & MacMillan, 2011c).

The first of the reports entitled *The Accidental Citizen?* (Loat & MacMillan, 2011a) described how politicians got into political life. In preparing for entry into politics citizens came into politics in an accidental fashion. Only a few came from families that were affiliated with an existing political party. Core motivations for entering into politics varied and ranged from those who were inspired by politicians, felt a calling to inspire social reform, craved change, and wanted to advance to another political level. Regardless of their professional training, a fundamental understanding of how the political system worked was crucial to running or being asked to run for office. Prior exposure to politics and politicians came from: parents who encouraged political debate

at the dinner table, holding a degree in law or political science, volunteering with the local political party association, acting as an aide to a politician, or holding elected office at the municipal or provincial level.

In the report entitled *Welcome to Parliament* (Loat & MacMillan, 2011d), participants identified that there was no transition period between the time when they were elected and when they began to work. Most elected officials had very little idea of how government worked and expressed disappointment that the training was unstructured. This made it difficult for them to navigate the complexity of Parliament. MPs reported that they took the initiative to learn the House of Commons rules by referencing *Robert's Rules of Order*. When new MPs asked more experienced parliamentarians for help, they were told that they too had little idea of how things worked. After serving as an MP for over 10 years, there was very little agreement as to what the job of an MP entailed. Practically speaking, many MPs received very little assistance or support in hiring staff or managing an office or understanding the administrative burdens involved in the job.

The report entitled *It's My Party* (Loat & MacMillan, 2011b) examines the way MPs spent their time in Parliament and some of the challenges encountered while they were in office. The focus of their work lay in the collaboration that took place between political parties. However, MPs reported conflicts that occurred within their political party and expressed discontent as decisions ran counter to the MPs' desire to practice politics in a constructive way. When MPs were called upon to describe their challenges, they cited issues within their own political party that caused most of their frustrations. The major source of adjustment lay in determining how to voice an opinion divergent

from the party. Close working relationships with political adversaries were forged by sitting on committees. There was no mechanism in place to rate the quality of an MP's work except of course when elections were called. Thus, the decision for promotion or demotion by the government was the only existing barometer to rate work quality and was viewed as a positive endorsement by constituents.

In *The Outsiders' Manifesto* (Loat & MacMillan, 2011c), the importance of providing better orientation, training, and civics education is reiterated as this would enable MPs to improve the service they provided to constituents. MPs felt that success came from securing the rights of constituents and being an effective intermediary between the individual citizen and the Canadian federal government.

It is important to recognize that because these reports provide limited insight into the process of transitioning from citizen to politician, it does not propose a model that explains the transition. My research proposes to explain the transition process by way of a model.

Kornberg Study

The ground-breaking Kornberg study examined 189 of 264 members of the 28th Parliament of Canada who sat in the House of Commons from 1968 to 1972 (Kornberg & Mishler, 1976). In this Parliament, 43% of the Members of Parliament were lawyers (compared to 15% in 2013). The objective of the study was to gain insight into the factors that determine the patterns of influence that develop among MPs. At the time of its publication it was regarded as one of the most complete legislative behavioral studies in existence.

The amount of influence a Member wields was related to social background, political socialization, recruitment, political attitudes, and motivations of the individuals, within the prevailing political environment. The most influential MP came from the upper to upper-middle class where they were exposed to political messaging primarily from family members. They were socialized from a young age to get involved in party politics and had aspirations of holding political office. In office they became known for their political savvy and effectiveness in advocating a position. A reputation for influence placed them in line for movement into positions of leadership in their respective parties. There were some nuances among parties as researchers came to the conclusion that members of the Liberal Party exerted influence by their past achievement, whereas the Conservatives influenced by ascription. The National Democratic Party (NDP) proved to have the most influential backbenchers. The Kornberg study (Kornberg & Mishler, 1976) will be referred to throughout this dissertation where appropriate.

Lawyers in Politics

In this section of the literature review, connections are explored between law and politics. The reader should note that citations are heavily weighted towards American sources due to the lack of Canadian research being conducted in this area. The dearth of Canadian research in this area is noted by Canadian researcher Brunet (2009).

Recent statistics, as depicted in Table 1, show that globally, in 2009, 20% of politicians were lawyers, with law being listed as the most common profession (“There Was a Lawyer,” 2009). Statistics show that in Canada there is general agreement with this number with 15% (53/308) of the 41st Canadian Federal Parliament sitting members

stating their profession was law (Library of Parliament, 2013). In Ontario, in 2010, 16% of the members of the Provincial Parliament were lawyers (Morton, 2010).

Table 1

Most Common Professions for Politicians Worldwide

Profession	Percentage
Lawyers	20
Business	16
Diplomacy	12
Military	11
Academia	8
Economics	8
Journalism	8
Medicine	8
Engineering	6

Note. Data from “There Was a Lawyer, an Engineer and a Politician . . . Why Do Professional Paths to the Top Vary So Much?” April 16, 2009, *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/13496638>

Although lawyers have played a crucial role in building democracies around the world, little systematic research has examined the lawyer-politician connection outside of the United States (Brunet, 2009). The interaction between the professions of law and politics is practically a tenet of American political ideology (Wells, 1964). The executive branch of the U.S. government has been reflective of the lawyer-to-politician connection. Most notable have been President Obama, Joe Biden (Vice President), Hillary Clinton (Secretary of State), Eric Holder (Attorney General), and Leon Panetta (Director of the CIA). In fact, there have been more lawyers who are politicians in the United States government than any other country of the world (M. Miller, 2007).

Keeping Pace With Societal Changes

The predominance of lawyers in politics has partly been due to deep socioeconomic causes, such as the absence of a hereditary aristocracy. During the post-Civil War period in America, law replaced religion as the controlling element in American society, and lawyers clearly established a role as formulators, advocates, and arbiters (Shapiro, 1984). The phenomena became so much of a societal fixture that lawyers were dubbed as the “high priests of politics” (Eulau & Sprague, 1964, p. 11). With a legal controlling element and the eruption of industrialization, lawyers in urban areas needed to expand in number as areas of new law developed. Contemporary skill sets were coming into demand for areas of administrative, railroad, corporate, and commercial law as society evolved. The net result for post-Civil War America was a highly functional, interdependent, and mutually supportive profession (Gawalt, 1984). The separation of powers among U.S. judicial, executive, and legislative branches of government ensured that each acted as a check on the other two thus “preventing tyranny and promoting liberty” (Greene, 2006, p. 155). Lawyers found themselves comfortable in functioning within this democratic triangle.

Today, lawyers are regarded as social engineers who build institutions, form agreements, and determine how political institutions behave in American society (M. Miller, 1995). The immediate consequence of such a paradigm has led to lawyers eventually being placed in an elite class, filling key positions and dominating decision-making. Notwithstanding the drawbacks associated with such an approach, society as a whole has seemed supportive; lawyers have been seen as dedicated to the peaceful legitimate resolution of conflict (Gordon, 1981) and effectively representing all sides of

the political debate. Lawyers have also been held in high esteem by the public, viewed as insisting on independence of various government organizations including the executive, legislative, and judicial branches (Melone, 1980). M. Miller (1993) advanced the view that lawyer popularity in government was a result of the overly complex nature of laws and, thus, voters entrusted lawyers with the job of overseeing the law-making function.

Structural Advantages

Some lawyers employed in government have utilized certain political positions as stepping stones leading to higher stations in government (Hain & Piereson, 1975).

Positions such as judgeships, office of the public prosecutor, or district attorney were described as lawyer-only positions. Such positions were found to be key titles to hold if a candidate was planning a career path to secure the rank of state governor (Schlesinger, 1957). Two individuals who took advantage of a public prosecutor position were ex-mayor of New York City, Rudy Giuliani (American Academy of Achievement, 2010) and Thomas E. Dewey, governor of the state of New York (Farris, 2012). Both men pursued the Presidency of the United States but did not succeed.

Typically, political positions are untenured seats, and lawyers usually do not assume an office with the idea of remaining in the position for an extended period. If a lawyer so desires, political ambitions can be spun off on the basis of society protections and public policy enforcement in these positions (Engstrom, 1971). Ambitious lawyers, who see themselves as shut out of traditional social mobility channels, often look to the law and politics as a means for going to the top (Ruchelman, 1966). Eulau and Sprague (1964) found lawyer-legislators tended to have higher political aspirations than did non-lawyer-legislators, and speculated this was because ambitious, aspiring politicians sought

to enter politics by embarking upon a legal career. The authors offer that an early “introduction into the political arena may lead to an intent to pursue a political career before the decision is made to enter law” (p. 59). In driving the point home, a prophetic quote is taken from Woodrow Wilson who stated: “The profession I chose was politics; the profession I entered was the law. I entered one because I thought it would lead to the other” (George & George, 1964, p. 198). Although this quote is somewhat dated, obtaining a law degree is still viewed as a valuable tool in leveraging a career in politics. One student indicated:

I have aspirations of becoming a public figure or elected official in the areas of civil rights and constitutional law, and I believe that the well-rounded legal education that The George Washington University Law School would provide me would be integral in my efforts to achieve these goals. (Owens & Princeton Review, 2010, p. 131)

In summary, politics have drawn lawyers into its influence due to an especially close contact with government officials, political party officials, and the very nature of the work. Lawyers can hardly avoid knowing about politics and government, regardless of a choice to participate in politics or not (Cohen, 1966).

Career Planning

Motivated by making political and business contacts, lawyers were found to be younger and more deliberate in planning than were non-lawyers as determined by the Index of Goal Attainment (Hain & Piereson, 1975). Other researchers found lawyers as a group were no more engaged in general political activity than were non-lawyers, but when lawyers were interested in party politics, the lawyers held key leadership positions (Meinhold & Hadley, 1995; Pasis, 1970). Quantitatively, lawyers were found to be 1.33 times more likely than non-professionals, and 1.60 times more likely than other professionals to hold political party leadership positions. In addition, lawyers were 1.18

times more likely than non-professionals and 1.36 times more likely than other professionals to be self-motivated (Schlesinger, 1957). Fishel (1971) found data suggesting lawyers in politics were no more likely than businessmen or other professionals to be drawn to careers in public life.

Flexibility of the Profession

A consistent theory put forward by researchers was the flexibility of the legal profession, drawing lawyers into the political sphere (Cohen, 1969; Engstrom & O'Connor, 1980; Eulau & Sprague, 1964; M. Miller, 1995). Due to the flexible nature of the profession, lawyers may enter into politics and then withdraw themselves, in a self-determination process, without major disruption (Kornberg & Mishler, 1976). Due to the slow rate of change in the law, lawyers have found that leaving the profession for a time and returning to private practice is done without much loss of legal skill. This is especially true if the political activity has anything to do with the making and interpretation of laws (Schlesinger, 1957). As a matter of course, stepping out and then back into practice has enhanced many legal careers, as political activity is an ethical form of advertising. The flexibility has been better available to lawyers in smaller law firms where lawyers have more control over career choices (McIntosh & Stanga, 1976).

In the 1960s, when the study of law became more demanding of a student's time, politics as a sideline lost much career appeal. Coupled with study demands, the role of the general practitioner was displaced by lawyers who specialized; the concept of large law firms evolved, and politics as a profession required the full attention of candidates.

Political Advocacy

Lawyers belong to two distinct hemispheres of roughly the same size. On one hand, there are lawyers who work on the corporate commercial side; on the other, there are lawyers who work on the personal client side. Lawyers who work on the corporate commercial side have corporations as clients. Lawyers working with a personal client have worked in criminal law, civil rights, consumer work, environmental law, family law, racial justice, right-to-life law, and personal injury (Heinz, 1983). Other than securing key positions in government as stepping stones, another way lawyers become engaged politically has been via political advocacy. Advocacy is best seen when lawyers use legal skills to take on a cause with heavy social and political overtones (Sarat & Scheingold, 2006). Social and political causes differ from traditional areas of law where a lawyer serves one client; here the broader social and political mandate has been advanced, benefiting everyone.

“Cause Lawyers,” as they have been normally labeled, draw sustenance from, and give a voice to, the aggrieved and marginalized within society and strive for political transformation. When cause-lawyers have politicized a social or political issue and use the courtroom to go beyond the realm of established law, the courtroom becomes an arena that elevates the lawyer to positions of political leadership. Litigation raises expectations, sparks indignation and hope, and stimulates rights consciousness among movement constituents and supporters, providing advantage in bargaining with powerful elites. Lawyers of this ilk spend time priorities educating the public, rallying existing or potential supporters, coalition building, and political strategizing, even taking to street protest activity. This has been known as the Client-Group approach where public policy

has been attacked and changed (Wells, 1964). Win, lose, or draw; all society benefits as lawyers have challenged the ruling order, and in so doing civilizations profit. As political liberalism has been on the rise in the legal profession, lawyers will need to heed the call and enter politics even more. Halliday (1999, p. 1010) put it this way:

With political liberalism as a central problem for understanding and explanation, the politics of lawyers [*sic*] encounters not only a central axis of modernity but a contemporaneous struggle around the world. Wherever there are debates over human rights, over the independence of judges, over restraints on executive authority, over free speech or the right to own property, over religious and ethnic persecution, over the limits of state power and the rights of individuals, then an opening occurs for lawyers to act collectively.

One of the core motivations for entering public office has been an overwhelming desire to make change, which gave lawyers a clear sense of purpose when seeking office. Most participants in this study were unhappy with the status quo, became frustrated, and wanted to use their expertise to make change. Setting distinctive, purposive goals has proven to be central to political success as lawyers have been evaluated by the voting public (Weinberg, 2011).

Political Aristocracy

After numerous years of practice, many lawyers have been impacted by the perceived unfairness of some laws and desirous of partaking in the law-making apparatus. Politicians make laws and in so doing have a tendency to believe they are above the law or beyond the reach of ordinary ethical restrictions (Mancuso, 2006, p. 24). Mancuso believes that a powerful sense of cohesion exists among politicians as they share a rather exclusive experience and belong to the same “club.” Because the “club” makes rules for everyone, it has remained strongly in favor of informally policing its membership, without interference from outside entities. Others have explained that

government has taken on a singular life that has had much to do with the elevation of political leaders to a particular kind of aristocracy (Paul, Miller, & Paul, 2004). Such a perspective has supported the mind-set of parliamentary privilege, which has been a legal immunity enjoyed by certain legislative members. Legislators are granted protection against civil or criminal liability for actions done or statements made related to one's duties as a politician. The upshot to this high degree of autonomy at an institutional level has given rise to individuals who have seen themselves as above the law and part of the country's elite. A taste of power is intoxicating to some.

Political Personality

One of the distinguishing elements of lawyers who make the career transition from lawyer to politician is those gifted with a political personality and suitable psychological attributes. Typically, when the term *political personality* has been used, such an attribute usually means a person is open to change, is energetic, is extroverted, is accepting of individuals as equals, is concerned for others' welfare, and preserves a sense of self in the face of adversity (Weinberg, 2011). Individuals gifted with political personalities have been found to be highly influential in shaping political structures using emotional expression, processing of perception, memory, judgment, and goal-seeking qualities. Personal appetites, needs, fears, and obsessions have characterized time in office (Winter, 2003).

Lasswell (1948) argued that political motivations have roots in subconscious sources framed during the early periods of human development. Lasswell focused on the compensation hypothesis, claiming that individuals with political personalities are seeking power and searching out the power institutions to compensate for a state of

deprivation, low self-esteem, and feelings of inadequacy. Sniderman (1975) took issue with the work of Lasswell, arguing that individuals with high self-esteem are more likely to become politically involved. Those with high self-esteem exposed themselves to more information and in so doing acquire important information essential to political participation and democratic commitment. Sniderman concluded that the relationship between personality and commitment to democratic values has as much to do with an individual's capacity for social learning as with an impact on the satisfaction of particular personality needs and motives. Social learning forms the basis of Sniderman's Competence Theory.

Agger (1955), who discussed psychological attributes, speculated that legal practice has tended to attract the same sorts of manipulators who have been attracted to politics. The manipulative lawyer uses his law degree to move up the ladder of power in a relatively open and fluid, modern American political structure. The core of this manipulative behavior has been the tendency to distort relevant information using flexible tactics during day-to-day politics. When integrating with all sorts of people and groups, manipulators play a number of interpersonal roles with ease and skill. More specifically, this manipulative personality has manifested itself by the individual who has

few illusions about the world, people and human nature; who adheres to a vague and broad ideology and has little commitment to particular means; who is secure when behaving manipulatively; who enjoys the exercise of skills required in manipulation; who has an urge to have power over people, although the controls can be indirect and not face-to-face; who tends to characterize people in terms of their personal characteristics that are relevant to his power objectives; and who can remain psychologically distant from his organization and not identify himself with the goals of the group, unless his power position and future seems to be dependent on the organization. (Agger, 1955 p. 447)

Jacob (1962) examined the question of what determines the initial elected officials' recruitment and discovered that elected officials possess certain characteristic

personality traits including the need for prestige and power, are altruistic, and enjoy being in the public spotlight. Individuals who had these personality traits were more likely to enter occupations where a mediating role was performed. One such role has been that lawyers act as negotiators between parties in conflict, or who desire to reach a common end through different means (contract negotiations). Building on this speculative line, Cohen (1966) found lawyers who were politicians tended to be more interested in having only a few close friends and had extreme difficulty receiving criticism by others. Cohen's findings have contributed to the emerging theme of a political personality. Fox and Lawless (2005) concluded that a decision to enter politics depended on certain nascent ambition factors such as political upbringing. The influence of the family unit involves instilling an ethos of good citizenship. Typically, individuals who have selected high-prestige occupations and seek to rise to the professional top are more likely to think seriously about political office.

Financial Crises

Factors that cannot be overlooked have included global shifts in the economy brought about by events such as the Great Depression. Events of this nature have called for the establishment of new controlling legislation, thereby enhancing the position of lawyers in firms and governments (Hourani, 1966).

Potential Complementary Aspects Between Law and Political Careers

Fiduciary Duty

Agger (1955) wondered about the connection between law and politics and offered that lawyers were more apt to be politicians because the concept of a fiduciary

duty that is owed to the client corresponds to the fiduciary owed from an elected official towards his constituents. Derge (1959) echoed this view by asserting that the heart of compatibility between lawyer and politics was the concept of fiduciary duty. As part of day-to-day work, lawyers have been devoted to client needs, and in like manner, lawyer-politicians have pursued constituency interests regardless of personal beliefs. Generally speaking, persons who are elected officials have a moral and ethical obligation to promote and implement democratic principles. This is the essence of the fiduciary trust, and if there is a conflict between one's self-interest and one's public responsibilities, the duty of public trust comes first (Mancuso, 2006). Similar to politicians, lawyers have not been required to get to know clients personally, but nonetheless have represented consumers effectively.

Brokerage Skills

Scott (2009), using a case-study approach, argued that because successful political careers in America have not necessarily been made from attending law school, the skills garnered from legal training have translated well into a political career. Both professions required an individual to convince others of a viewpoint and to negotiate effectively. Researchers such as Bowman and Boynton (1966), Jacob (1962), and Gold (1961) stated that a person's occupational role had played a critical role in developing the requisite political competence needed. Professions referred to as providing a brokerage function, such as law, are more closely aligned to political careers. Law is similar to politics in that negotiations take place between conflicting parties as lawyers bargain, find common ground, and inspire confidence. These are important attributes in pursuing a political career.

Derge (1959) reiterated his observation of the role played by lawyers as negotiators in the legislature. Specifically, preparation in the law has equipped lawyer-politicians to pass legislation more effectively. Perhaps an explanation for this lies in the ability of lawyers to defend proposed legislation at committee hearings, and act as coordinators between the House and Senate. Derge suggested that the degree of influence lawyers exert in their day-to-day legislative function should not be minimized. Canadian researchers Kornberg and Mishler (1976) make the same assertion about the ability of lawyers to influence change in the federal Parliament. The ability to influence was brought about by a politician's ability to build bridges within one's own political party, and among opposition parties, public agencies, grassroots organizations, private sector interests, and international governments (Weinberg, 2011).

Implications of Law School Training

M. Miller (2007), referencing the American experience, concluded that the fit between the professions of law and politics was facilitated by law school training. Law school training has imparted the skills of argumentation, verbalization, advocacy, mediation, negotiation, and the ability to master the art of digesting vast amounts of information, putting together policy proposals, and learning about human relations. Earlier writings by M. Miller (1993) on the subject referred to this as professional socialization, making a candidate think like a lawyer. In contrast, subsequent research conducted by Droddy and Peters (2003) found there was no overwhelming support for theories whereby law schools contributed to major changes in political attitudes of students. The contradictions in these studies have implied candidates may have entered school with the same political philosophy they demonstrated later in political life.

Professional socialization of law students in Ontario, Quebec, and Nova Scotia was a factor that led to political leadership in public office. Examination of historical archives of specific jurisdictions between 1920 and 1960 found that law schools in these jurisdictions employed law school professors who were prominent jurists involved in politics (Brunet, 2005). This strategy was built on a belief that law was a noble profession; professors with political interest stressed the importance of community involvement and public service. Law schools had mock parliaments where practicing politicians officiated and where students practiced the skills of debating and mastering parliamentary procedure. Students were advised that Parliament was similar to a court where the lawyer prepares his case, examines case strengths and weaknesses, sifts and marshals evidence, states the governing principles, and persuades the court of parliamentary and public opinion. Students who were selected for specific roles were thought to possess specific independence of means and mind qualities, reason, physical strength, confidence, and ambition.

Family Connections and Social Status

W. Miller (1951) explored the connection of family influence on lawyers who became politicians. In accumulating the data, Miller selected 188 lawyers who held elected office across America during the decade spanning 1901-1910. The individuals included president, vice-president, cabinet members, and United States Supreme Court judges. Twenty-eight percent of lawyers had fathers who were themselves lawyers or public officials. The findings corresponded with research done years later by Derge (1959) and Prewitt (1965). Taking a qualitative approach to Miller's study, Derge and Prewitt found lawyers who were politicians came from politically motivated families, as

compared to non-lawyers. Specifically, lawyers in elected office had either a father or a mother who had held an elected public office. The political socialization in the family was brought about by involvement in school politics, reform movements, or in occupational and civic roles (Pasis, 1970). Impressions made during the formative years of a person's life were likely to stay for a lifetime as the individual was seeking a sense of self and identity. This has come to be known as the Impressionable Years Hypothesis (Winter, 2003).

Derge (1959) found that the majority of lawyers who were politicians were found to have come from families in the upper class (42%), followed by the middle class (53%), and then the lower class (5%). Given the dated nature of the research, determining if these proportions have changed could be of interest. Although dated, the research findings are on point with my hypothesis that family influence is a factor to be considered when examining the career transition from law to politics. Jennings, Stoker, and Bowers (2009) stated that children are more likely to adopt a parent's political orientation when raised in a politicized family, where parents provide consistent cues over time. The early influence of parents is manifested in the subsequent nature of adult political development.

Career Theory

The concept of career development is seminal to our identity as professionals. There is no single unifying theory that enlightens us to the factors that influence our decision to choose certain professions. Arthur, Hall, and Lawrence (1989) point out that careers are an evolving sequence of a person's involvement with people, organizations, and society, and how this relationship fluctuates over time. Today, careers have become a vehicle of self-realization that projects individual growth, while at the same time acts as a

benefit to society. Careers are considered as a tool of social mobility as dictated by market forces.

Due to the lack of consolidation in finding one coherent career theory, the evolution of this discipline will be briefly outlined. As enumerated by Savickas and Lent (1994) and Swanson and Fouad (2010), four main theories evolved over time. The first is known as the Ginzberg, Ginsburg, Axelrad, and Herma Theory, which was proposed in 1951, and advocates that career choices are influenced by emotional factors, individual values, influence of the educational process, and the reality factors. This theory states that individuals pass through the stages referred to as fantasy, tentative, and realistic. Fantasy is the earliest where the child entertains careers of choice starting from pre-teen to high school. The adolescent years further refine the individual's interest in a vocation, and tentative choices are made by taking into account the consequences of the career choice. The realistic stage spans from mid-adolescence to adulthood, and has three distinct sub-stages: exploration, crystallization, and specification. Exploration is where the personal likes, dislikes, abilities, and values are factored into a career choice. This leads to the crystallization stage where a vocational choice is made. The final sub-phase is defined by the pursuance of specific education goals to meet the career of choice. The weakness of this theory is that it does not take into account issues of gender, race, or social class, which either assist or establish barriers in pursuing one's occupational choice.

Super's Theory of Vocational Choice (1953) presents a more refined model where people move through various occupational stages during their life. In this model, a person's occupational life is divided into six stages: (a) crystallization stage, ages 14-18; (b) specification stage, ages 18-21; (c) implementation stage, ages 21-24; (d) stabilization

stage, ages 24-35; (e) consolidation stage, age 35; and (f) readiness for retirement stage, age 55 (Super, 1953).

Holland's Career Typology, proposed in 1959, argues that the choice of vocation is influenced by the need for personal satisfaction and to fulfill individual needs. This theory rests on four assumptions: (a) persons are categorized as realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, or conventional; (b) there are six types of environments: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional; (c) environments are sought that are compatible with one's skills, abilities, attitudes, and values; which in turn allows them to align themselves with appropriate roles; and (d) a person's behavior is determined by an interaction between his or her personality and the characteristics of his or her environment (Holland, 1959).

Lent, Brown, and Hackett's Social Cognitive Career Theory (2002) is more dynamic and posits that career-related choices are a function of unexpected life-events, cultural orientation, genetic bias, and social orientation. Vocational choices are determined by a portfolio of personal accomplishments, vicarious learning, social persuasion, and physiological states. These are brought together when an individual develops competencies to deal successfully with particular endeavors. Self-confidence and self-efficacy are built on this platform. As experiences are encountered in life, successful appraisal points the individual to a particular career choice. What is extremely important is an individual's perception of the probability of success in the career of choice. The fewer barriers perceived by the individual, the higher the probability of success.

Career Transition Theories

The concept of career transition is a familiar concept as individuals find themselves switching careers multiple times during their careers. Career transition is invoked when there is a task change (a shift from one set of tasks to another), position change (a shift in jobs with the same employer or different employer), or occupational change (a transition from one set of duties to a different set of duties in a new setting) (Heppner, 1998). Individuals are motivated to switch careers for reasons of higher material rewards, power and influence, search for meaning, building additional expertise, yearning creativity, seeking affiliation, wanting autonomy, or desiring status (Green, 2008; Meister, 2012). Moreover, career transitions have become more common as lifelong employment has become less prevalent due to less stable organizational structures and reduced employee loyalty (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009). Switching jobs is acknowledged as leading to greater success as new skills sets and competencies are developed that eventually contribute to a person's employability (Hall, 1996; Mangelsdorf, 2010).

Contemporary careers are now characterized by greater mobility across organizations and driven by a self-directed attitude and whole-life perspective toward career management (Briscoe, Hall, & DeMuth, 2006; Chudzikowski, 2012; Sullivan, 1999). Thus understanding the career transition process becomes important for individuals and organizations to minimize disruptions to the person and the workplace (So, 2010).

Three theories of career transition are outlined: the Nicholson Transition Cycle, the Bridges Transition Model, and the Kübler-Ross Change Theory.

Nicholson Transition Cycle

Nicholson (1990) put forward a transition model of job changes, which addresses the various stages that an individual goes through when moving from an old job to a new job. Nicholson identified four dimensions to the transition model, which he referred to as preparation, encounter, adjustment, and stabilization. Each of these will be elaborated briefly:

1. Preparation—Psychological readiness is the key issue here. The individual may experience varying degrees of fear of having to deal with an uncertain future. Readiness for change is a function of how appropriately a person's values and customary modes of behavior have been shaped by previous experiences in education, employment, and social orientation.
2. Encounter—The employee has to make sense of the new scenario as he or she explores new roles. It is customary for the employee to have feelings of regret, shock, and rejection. The degree of reality shock is a function of the psychological readiness of the individual. These feelings are offset by feelings of excitement, the pleasure of discovery, and satisfaction that a person's worse fears have not come true. Encounter can last anywhere from a few days to weeks.
3. Adjustment—Change starts to take hold and employees create their own way of accomplishing tasks and building relationships.
4. Stabilization—The employee is fully integrated into the new system and develops commitments with his or her co-workers. Stabilization sees the individual striving to maintain valued elements of the role, making finely tuned adjustments, and

enjoying or suffering the fruits of success or failure. Stabilization is never achieved if the person is not compatible with the new position.

What happens in one phase exerts a powerful influence over what happens during the next phase (Nicholson, 1990). The Nicholson Transition Cycle has been used in the context of employees moving on to new jobs within the same organization or employees moving between organizations. The model has also been used to examine job changes between or within jobs in various industries (Nicholson, 1990).

The NTC has been used in a number of applications. Studies included the assessment of transformative learning in managerial role transitions (Isopahkala-Bouret, 2008), an analysis of transition stages in academic library leadership (Matthews, 2002), family members who transition through a five-stage process when dementia affects a loved one (Mistic, 2008), and the transition issues faced by students during their first year in university (Purnell, 2002). The application of the NTC to this variety of cases points to a general systematic framework for describing a full range of experiences that people encounter.

Bridges Transition Model

The focus of the Bridges Transition Model (Bridges, 2009) is based on an employee's reactions in the face of organizational change. Bridges indicates that transition takes place in three phases:

1. The first phase involves the loss that people experience when their work circumstances change. It is a time of letting go of old ways and an old identity—it is an ending.

2. The second phase is called the neutral zone, where individuals are caught in a psychological state when they are exploring how things were, compared with where they ought to be. It is a time when critical psychological realignments and reconfiguration take place.

3. There is the new beginning phase where individuals come to accept the reality of the new changes in the workplace. Here, people develop a new identity, experience new energy, and discover a new sense of purpose that makes the change begin to work.

Bridges (2009) pointed out that change is external and unfolds in the external world, whereas transition is internal to the individual and is psychological in nature. His model stresses that the major difficulty in dealing with the transition is in dealing with the ending encountered during the first phase. In this model, transition starts with an ending and finishes with a beginning. Examples of studies that use this model are:

a. Making sense of leaving care: The contribution of the Bridges model of transition to understanding the psychosocial process. In this study the Bridges model is used to understand the complex process of transitioning disabled young people from public care to independent community living (Dima & Skehill, 2011).

b. An auto ethnographic case study of a manager experiencing professional transition: Examines how one manager navigated a period of significant professional transition as a senior health-care executive. The theoretical framework is based on the literature of transition as described by the Bridges Transition Model (Larson, 2011).

c. Transition within transition: How young people learn to leave behind institutional care while their careers are stuck in neutral. This study examines how major systemic changes impact practitioners who themselves have transition needs (Anghel, 2011).

Kübler-Ross Change Theory

In an effort to canvass change theory thoroughly, the Kübler-Ross Change Theory (Kübler-Ross, 1993) was examined. This theory focuses on the emotional response of individuals when faced with the grief brought on by the death of a person.

Notwithstanding its initial focus on death, the Kübler-Ross Change Theory is used to understand the emotional response people face when having to cope with catastrophic personal loss including job loss, income loss, or career transition. There are five stages to the grief process that include: denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance.

When dealing with catastrophic loss, the first stage is to be in denial of what has occurred. Denial acts as a buffer after receiving the unexpected shocking news and allows the individual to collect himself and mobilize other defenses. Second, after the denial stage has passed, it is replaced by feelings of anger. Typically the individual projects their anger in all directions and even against themselves. The third stage is where the individual bargains and makes promises in exchange for a more desirable outcome. In the fourth stage, depression sets in when the present loss and future losses are undeniable. Depression is accompanied by feelings of uncertainty, fear, and regret. In the fifth and final stage, acceptance of one's loss is accompanied by emotional detachment.

This is a personal journey that takes varying degrees of time and may not be in the sequence stated. People may ebb and flow among stages rather than progress in an

orderly fashion. Examples of doctoral studies that used this model are: (a) Doyle's (2012) "Unanticipated Job Loss and Transition: Experiences of Reframing and Redefining Self." This study explored how employees who had been laid off from their workplace experienced transition into a new position; (b) Salazar's (1991) "Retirement Adjustment of Professional Athletes"; (c) Kearney's (2002) "A Study of the Emotional Effects On Employees Who Remain Through Organizational Change: A View Through Kübler-Ross In An Educational Institution"; (d) Ziegler's (1984) "Reactions To Unwanted Change: Implications For Organizations"; and (e) Davey, Fearon, and McLaughlin's (2013) article titled "Organizational Grief: an Emotional Perspective on Understanding Employee Reactions to Job Redundancy."

Model Adopted

For the purposes of examining the career transition phenomenon experienced by lawyers who move into the political sphere, the Nicholson Transition Cycle (1990) was utilized. This was chosen as it links individual personality characteristics with the requirements to cope with the challenges brought on by a new job. Although useful, the Kübler-Ross Change Theory focuses heavily on the emotional impact that an individual is likely to undergo that stems from a negative experience, and the Bridges Transition Model is based on individual psychological responses associated with change. Greater elaboration on why the NTC was chosen will be discussed in the methodology section.

Gap in the Literature

A thorough literature search shows that during the last 30 years, little or no work has been carried out in exploring how lawyers make the career transition into the world of politics.

Although the work of Eulau and Sprague (1964), M. Miller (1995) and Pasis (1970) explored the relationship between law and politics, more research has to be done in exploring the lawyer-politician career transition.

Summary

This preliminary literature review establishes that because there has been some cursory research done that addresses the transition from citizen to elected official, there has been no Canadian study that attempts to model the transition. This study will model the transition using lawyers as they are the most represented profession in politics and it is reasonable to expect that their political participation will continue. By using, the Nicholson Transition Cycle this study promises to fill the gap in the literature and answer the research question: How do politicians who were lawyers describe their career transition into political office?

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to identify how lawyers made the transition to politicians. The central question under examination is the following: How do politicians who were lawyers describe their career transition into political office?

As established in Chapter 2, a thorough literature review on the subject revealed that there has been no qualitative research done on this topic in Canada. Related to the general question of why some lawyers go into politics and others do not, most of the material is 20 to 30 years old. As such, it was advisable to start with an exploratory qualitative study to capture potential variables (Creswell, 2008). Thus, qualitative analysis was used as a means of capturing and identifying the stages as lawyers transition from a career in law to one in politics.

Research Design

The qualitative research strategy used in this study was that of an exploratory case-study design (Creswell, 2008; Merriam, 1998, 2002; Robson, 1993). The guiding principle in choosing an exploratory case-study design is based on painting a complete picture of the problem being discussed. In brief, conducting this exploratory case study consisted of: (a) identifying the lawyers who are politicians being studied; (b) defining

the types of data to be collected, including, but not limited to observations, interviews, newspaper articles, journal articles, internet searches, websites, blogs, and email; and (c) analyzing data by applying a holistic analysis of the collected cases. Common themes were subsequently identified and organized from the cases collected.

Context is extremely important in accurately telling the stories of lawyer-politicians. A comprehensive description of the respondents' experiences was embedded in the study with details of the prevailing political environment, experience of the politician, position secured by the lawyer-politician, political aspirations, cultural bias, the role of political aids, the degree of censorship experienced, and external influences.

Population and Sample

Sixty-five participants were interviewed after requesting interviews from 95 persons selected within Canadian federal and provincial politics. These politicians were selected using a mixture of purposeful sampling and snowball sampling (Creswell, 2007, 2012; Robson, 2002). Initially participants were purposely chosen from the list of lawyers who were politicians representing Ontarians in the provincial legislature and in federal Parliament. Contact was initiated by cold-calling and writing letters to their constituency offices. After two initial interviews were completed, the snowball sampling technique was employed. This was accomplished by regarding the first few participants as informants to nominate other members of the population who may be willing to cooperate with the study. Those individuals were subsequently interviewed and they were used as informants to secure other participants through their social networks. Interviews were conducted until the information being provided became repetitive and hit the point of saturation.

The criteria used for selecting research participants were based on: (a) availability, (b) willingness to participate in the study, (c) inclusion from major political parties, (d) a mix of men and women, and (e) individuals drawn from all age groups. Thus, maximum variation was observed by sampling politicians for heterogeneity, in order to gain insight and understanding of the lawyer-politician phenomena (Huberman & Miles, 2002).

The broad characteristics of the participant group were as follows: (a) 83% were male and 17% female, (b) 60% were retired and 40% active in politics, (c) participants were drawn from the major Canadian political parties, (d) 55% of participants were involved in Canadian federal politics and 45% in Canadian provincial politics, (e) 8 of the 10 provinces were represented, and (f) the average age was 62, with the oldest participant 83 and the youngest 38.

On the federal level, participants served for an average of 12 years in government and ranged in experience from 3 years to 40 years. Ninety percent of participants were re-elected, with participants being re-elected an average of three times (some members never being re-elected and one member re-elected 13 times). Eighty-seven percent of participants held a government portfolio, with 39% having served as ministers.

On the provincial level the average number of years served by members in government was 13 years and their experience ranged from 3 years to 35 years. Eighty-nine percent of participants were re-elected, with participants being re-elected an average of three times (some members were never re-elected and one member was re-elected 6 times). Ninety-four percent held a government portfolio and 76% served as ministers.

Creswell (2007) recommends using four to five participants for in-depth interviews; however, due to the time limitations imposed by the participants, shorter interviews were held over a broad spectrum of participants.

Self as a Research Instrument

Since data do not speak for themselves, interpretation and translation are always needed when the stories of others are told (Merriam, 1998). My background as a professional engineer and trained lawyer, who also ran for public office, gave me the requisite knowledge to conduct this study. Because all participants in this study were lawyers, I had little difficulty relating to their experiences in the law. In 2000 I had the opportunity to be a candidate in the Canadian federal election. I was recruited to represent the Pickering-Ajax-Uxbridge riding (“History of Federal Ridings Since 1867,” 2013). The political party of my choosing at the time was the New Democratic Party. Although I did not secure a seat in the House of Commons, this exposure to politicians and political parties was invaluable. This gave me the opportunity to obtain the party nomination, travel across the riding and partake in debates, be interviewed by the press, handle the media, appear on television, organize volunteers, withstand attack by the opposing parties, forego a salary while I campaigned, knock on doors, distribute campaign literature, be away from family, raise funds, self-regulate and govern myself, account for the campaign funding, subject myself to public scrutiny, and learn some of the tricks that candidates use to win elections. Most importantly, I formed many friendships that survive to this day. During interviews, it was not uncommon for participants to say that they knew of my previous political experience and this provided

the opportunity for me to display a higher degree of credibility and authenticity to the participants (Rew, Bechtel, & Sapp, 1993).

Apart from running in the 2000 election, I had exposure to the political world as I worked as a volunteer, over the past 12 years, on three political campaigns supporting various candidates. I follow politics religiously, and know the political system in Canada very well. This combination of theoretical and practical knowledge gave me a high level of intuition and sensitivity when telling the life stories of the participants.

Selecting the Theoretical Framework

Before settling on a theoretical framework for my study, I considered three models that could explain the career transition phenomenon experienced by lawyers as they moved into the political sphere. They were the Nicholson Transition Cycle (Nicholson, 1990), the Bridges Transition Model (Bridges, 2003), and the Kübler-Ross Change Theory (Kübler-Ross, 1993). Each of these transition models was discussed in the literature review.

After reading about half of the interviews I noted that the transition from law to politics involved two broad elements. The first was the psychological and emotional impact associated with the change as participants moved into the world of politics. The other aspect centered on the adoption of new behaviors, as participants moved through various stages from beginner to seasoned politician. In an effort to tell the stories of participants in a balanced way, my goal was to choose a model capable of accommodating these observations. Consequently, I rejected both the Bridges Transition Model and the Kübler-Ross Change Model on the basis that they focused on the psychological and emotional impact stemming from a negative personal loss. Although

the psychological and emotional impact in my study forms part of the transition, of equal importance is the sequence of activities giving way to the end state of becoming a politician.

In assessing the general suitability of these models, I conducted a literature review to determine which of these models were used by academics to explain job transition. I discovered that the NTC was used in a number of applications. Studies included the assessment of transformative learning in managerial role transitions (Isopahkala-Bouret, 2008), an analysis of transition stages in academic library leadership (Matthews, 2002), family members who transition through a five-stage process when dementia affects a loved one (Misticic, 2008), and the transition issues faced by students during their first year in university (Purnell, 2002). The application of the NTC to this variety of cases points to general systematic framework for describing a full range of experiences that people encounter.

In convincing myself that there were no hidden blind spots, I took the step of contacting the developer of the NTC, Professor Nigel Nicholson at the University of London (London Business School). I discussed the suitability of the model for my study. During my first teleconference, Professor Nicholson indicated that the NTC model seemed suitable and went on to provide useful insights. We also discussed his previous research dealing with work-role transition, but he felt that the approach taken would be too intrusive and required deep psychological investigation (Nicholson, 1990). I also enquired if he knew of any other studies that used his model to understand career transition. He indicated that other researchers had contacted him in the past but he had no spontaneous recall of any studies. At the conclusion of my assessment of the three

models, the NTC was selected as it captured the psychological, emotional, and sequence of activities associated with the transition.

Thus, the approach taken in this study was to describe the data collected in relation to the distinct phases of job transition outlined by the Nicholson Transition Cycle (NTC) (Nicholson, 1990). The aim of the NTC is to systematically provide a framework that allowed for the full range of experiences people encounter as they move between jobs or into new jobs. Nicholson identified four dimensions to the transition model, which he referred to as preparation, encounter, adjustment, and stabilization. What

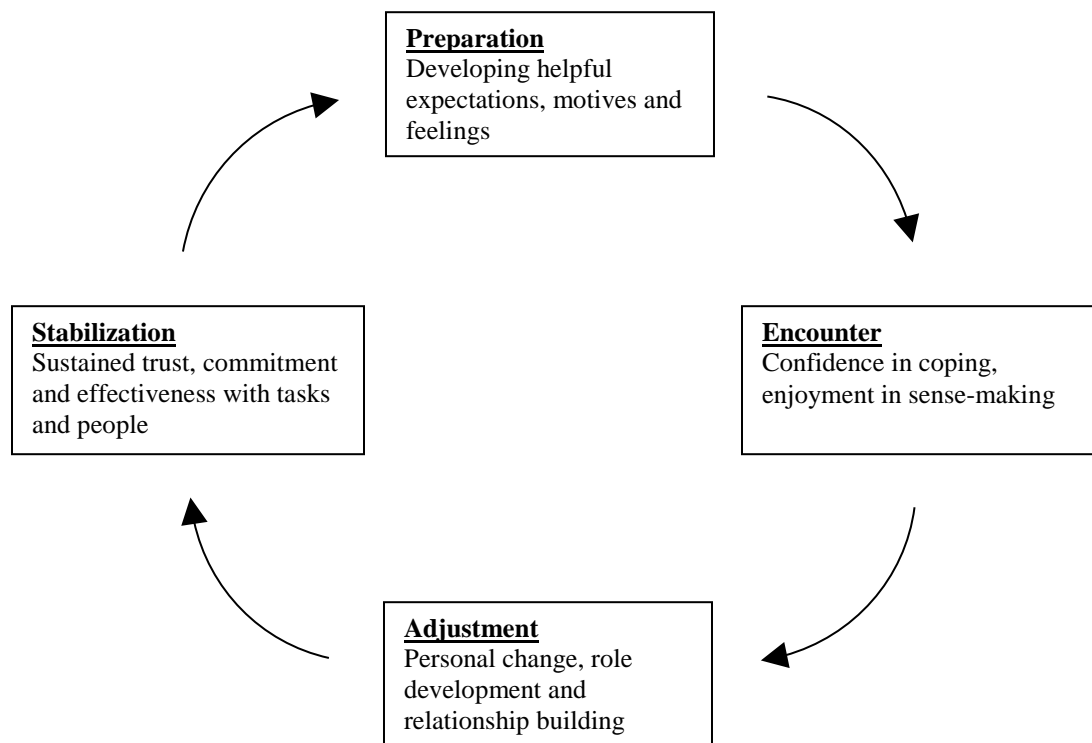


Figure 1. Nicholson transition cycle. From “The Transition Cycle: Causes, Outcomes, Processes and Forms,” by N. Nicholson, in S. Fisher & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), 1990, *On the Move: The Psychology of Change and Transition* (p. 87), New York: J. Wiley.

happens in one phase exerts a powerful influence over what happens during the next phases. Diagrammatically, this is depicted in Figure 1.

Data-Collection Methods

The methods used to collect data were by face-to-face interviews, examination of websites, blogs, biographies, email, and archival records. With 65 participants chosen, the results were expected to yield valid and reliable data to provide an accurate picture of the lawyer-politician phenomenon. As stated earlier, the bounded criteria used for selecting research participants were: (a) availability, (b) willingness to participate in the study, (c) inclusion from all major political parties, (d) a mix of men and women, and (e) varying age groups. These criteria were based on the objective of developing an in-depth understanding of the research question by including multiple perspectives of individuals to represent the complexity of our world (Creswell, 2008). These criteria ensured maximum variation sampling of the population as individuals were chosen that differed in political philosophy, age, and gender. The premise I operated on was that interviewing a very different selection of politicians would provide more representative answers to the research question.

Developing Interview Protocol

A protocol of interview questions was designed after carefully considering the research problem, research question, and the literature review. The literature review made references to the linkages between law and politics. These were: (a) legal specialty, (b) law school attended, (c) undergraduate studies pursued, (d) prior work experience, (e) career path chosen, (f) social upbringing, (g) preconceived notions of pursuing law as a

means of entering politics, (h) the presence of political family affiliations, (i) involvement in extracurricular activities, (j) possessing a political personality, (k) sense of civic duty, (l) high political efficacy, (m) dominant personality, (n) high sociability, and (o) high childhood political interest.

Based on these factors, 11 interview questions were drawn up and developed into an Interview Protocol that is replicated in Appendix B.

Interviews

The primary means of data collection were by conducting interviews with selected politicians. Interviews were arranged by contacting local constituency offices, legislative offices, and parliamentary offices or law firms. Group interviews were considered but these were believed to be impractical given the natural tensions that exist among political parties and the confidences that may be divulged during the interview process. Due to the hectic nature of their work, getting a group of politicians together was close to impossible.

Interviews were audiotaped when possible, but this depended on how comfortable participants were with this procedure. Interview questions were designed to be open-ended so that the interview was exploratory and non-threatening in nature. In this way, participants were encouraged to offer their innermost feelings about issues that arose.

Personal Websites

The websites of politicians contained career information, biographies, current activities, and at times details of a personal nature, including that of family, friends, and hobbies. There is no doubt these personal websites contained highly sanitized

information, so this evidence was triangulated with material from interviews, biographies, and public archives. When combined together, this provided substantial and extensive descriptions of the participants.

Public Archives

In conducting this study, I found that politicians are extremely busy people who wish to remain private. Although they agreed to disclose some details about themselves, the last thing they wanted to do was expose themselves by filling in survey data that could fall into the wrong hands. Therefore, I researched information that existed in the public domain, such as the biographical text from the *Canadian Parliamentary Handbook* (2008) and the *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* (Chambers & Normandin, 2010). Government websites were very useful as well in describing biographical information, the government portfolio held, voting record, election history, and committees in which the politician participated.

Newspaper articles served as an invaluable source of information as journalists pulled a great deal of information together on political scandals that arose. These articles provided insights into personal behaviors, along with the reaction of the public and fellow politicians. Sometimes newspaper articles featured interviews disclosing details on the respondent's background, hobbies, work initiatives in the government, and future political aspirations.

Where possible, biographies and memoirs were accessed, and the information contained therein was used to corroborate or augment information from the interviews. In only a few cases were these available.

Data Management

Managing the data generated from 65 interviews was a monumental task, as special consideration had to be given to the storage of the data, the use of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software, and the transcription of recordings. These considerations are outlined below.

Storage

Recorded interviews were downloaded in two places, my personal computer and backed up on an external hard drive. My personal computer was kept at home but the external hard drive was secured at a remote location in a locked cabinet. If one of these storage devices had been lost or degraded, the data were protected by the duplicated source. The value of the information cannot be understated, as it took 1 year to conduct the interviews. These interviews represented the life stories of lawyer-politicians and are irreplaceable. One of the participants in this study died a few months after being interviewed. When I heard this I felt a deep sense of loss, but was honored to have interviewed her. Passwords were applied to each file to ensure that the data would not, and could not, be accessed from unauthorized sources.

Software

Due to the number of interviews, it became evident that the use of Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) was essential and inevitable. Upon the recommendation of peers, I decided to use the Weft Qualitative Data Analysis (QDA) software. Computer software was particularly useful, as it allowed for the massive task of organizing data associated with the 65 interviews in this study. The software data

assisted with data preparation, data identification, and data manipulation (Merriam, 1998).

Data preparation took the form of uploading transcripts into Weft QDA, along with other data obtained from newspaper articles, journal articles, radio news, social media, email, and lawyer-politician websites. The software was used to identify data by coding the transcript into discrete, meaningful, and easily locatable segments. Data were then manipulated by grouping codes, sorting, retrieving, and rearranging information. Basic queries were developed, and the output imported into a spreadsheet for further manipulation.

Although the software proved useful in managing data, interpretation of the data lay solely in my hands.

Transcription

One of the most difficult and costly parts of the project lay in transcribing the interviews into readable text. Software was purchased that allowed the transcription of the spoken word into the written word (Dragon Naturally Speaking, v.11.5). After using the software to transcribe eight of the 65 interviews, a decision was made to retain a professional transcriber. This was done with a view to saving time, as each hour of voice recordings took approximately 5 hours of effort to transcribe. Before hiring a professional agency, I drew up a confidentiality/non-disclosure agreement that was signed.

Outsourcing this part of the project was a good decision, because the agency had an excellent quality-control program in place to ensure that the accuracy of the transcription was maintained. Notwithstanding, each transcript was read and compared with the audio recordings to ensure that no mistakes were made.

Data Analysis

The goal was to describe the world of the lawyer-politician as they experienced it. Since there can be many interpretations of what may be happening, there is no benchmark to take repeated measures and establish reliability. The best that can be hoped for is an affirmative answer to the question: Given the data collected, do the results of the transition processes and procedures make sense? In other words, are the results consistent with the data collected (Merriam, 1998)?

Using the framework set out by the Nicholson Transition Cycle, data were collected and placed under the Preparation, Encounter, Adjustment, and Stabilization phases. This approach was adopted because it resonated with the problem and research question under examination.

Pre-Coding Data

Before formal coding was started, all interviews were read thoroughly in order to get an idea of what characteristics were unique to the participant, the worldview of the participant, and any other nuances of the participant that became apparent. Abundant and profound quotes were identified and circled for retrieval later on. One participant spoke about when a “lawyer becomes a client,” which eventually became a heading in the discussion, as it captured a common experience of all lawyer-politicians in the transformation.

Coding Data

Saldaña (2009) defines a code as a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of

language-based or visual data. Stated another way, it involves labeling passages of text according to their content so that they can be retrieved later on for analysis (Merriam, 1998). Early on in the process, it was identified that coding the data consistently formed the heart of data analysis, so considerable time and effort was spent on performing this task.

Keeping in mind that coding is an interpretative act and is rarely done correctly the first time, first- and second-cycle coding were performed to increase accuracy. Third- and fourth-cycle coding were deemed unnecessary.

First Cycle

First-cycle coding took the form of identifying single words, full sentences, and blocks of text that identified data related to the four phases of the NTC. Coding was done by electronically tagging the words, phrases, and quotes of interest. Given that I was investigating the process of how lawyers became politicians, I was on the lookout for gerunds (“-ing” words) in the material examined. These process codes were simple, observable activities that politicians took part in, such as running, eating, and playing; and general conceptual actions such as negotiating, delegating, socializing, surviving, and adapting. Value coding was frequently used, as much of the interviews were about the participants’ values, attitudes, and beliefs, and how these changed over time (Saldaña, 2009).

Initially I coded 10 interviews and shared the results with members of the dissertation committee for feedback. Initial coding was also shared for feedback with Professor Nicholson at the University of London. Feedback was used to calibrate my

coding technique. Appendix A contains the coding sheet that was assembled and used to code interviews.

Second Cycle

During second-cycle coding, codes were dropped or merged where overlap was obvious. Sub-categories generated in the first cycle were collapsed and reconfigured in an effort to make the categories tighter and more coherent. By reorganizing codes and categories, a smaller more select list of broader categories led to the formation of concepts and themes (Saldaña, 2009). Patterns in the data started to emerge that described existing social networks present in politics, arrays of human relationships, and established rules.

The coding sheet illustrated in Appendix A was refined and discussed with members of the dissertation committee.

Generation of Themes

When reviewing interviews for material related to the Preparation, Encounter, Adjustment, and Stabilization phases of the NTC I looked for material that characterized each of these phases. As data were identified, they were coded and these bits of information were aggregated to form categories, and categories combined to form themes. As an example, I recognized that participants were influenced by family members who were politically minded and referred to this as Political Socialization and fell into the Preparation Phase of the NTC. Subsequently, I coded interviews where participants talked about role modeling of family members who were involved in politics. Statements on receiving encouragement to enter politics in the form of emotional,

financial, and social support from family members were also coded. In total, 19 themes were developed and are described in further detail in the chapters that describe the findings.

Professor Nicholson of the University of London (London Business School and the developer of the Nicholson Transition Cycle) was consulted to determine if themes were placed into the correct phase. He recommended some minor changes but in total agreed that they were substantially correct. Themes were also shared with fellow lawyers in the legal fraternity and three participants in this study as a rationality check. All agreed that the results were on point with their experiences and felt that they were reliable.

Computerization was of immense help in combining, manipulating, and recognizing patterns in the information. Using Weft QDA, computer queries were developed, and the output from these queries was imported into an Excel spreadsheet where patterns were recognized.

Trustworthiness and Credibility

My objective from the outset was to put together a study that captured what is present in reality. Research criteria were then selected that best applied to this project (Merriam, 1998). As politics is multidimensional and dynamic, measures were put in place to capture the holistic nature of the experience. Because the lawyer-politician phenomenon is not static, I took every opportunity to validate findings and themes formed. Building validation strategies into the study improved the chance that my research results would be accepted by the research community and utilized by practitioners elsewhere (Schwandt, 1997). The measures described below are aimed at answering the question: Do the findings capture what is really there?

I am confident that this study reflected reality by subjecting my coding to inter-rater reliability, triangulation, member checking, long-term observation, and peer review. Each of these methods is discussed below.

Inter-rater Reliability

Acting on the advice of Bloomberg and Volpe (2008), I searched for persons to do inter-rater work for me. I investigated avenues at the Qualitative Studies Department at the York University in Toronto and Niagara University in New York, but eventually decided on a fellow lawyer. He was imminently qualified to do this, as he is an experienced lawyer who had the benefit of working with different ministers in government in the capacity of deputy minister and senior assistant to deputy ministers. In the past he has appeared before the House of Commons and Senate to explain complex matters related to his portfolio. Furthermore, he had a direct hand in the formulation of government policy and legislation. He seemed perfect for the role as he knew law, knew politics, and even knew some of the participants. His services were used only after securing an understanding that the information contained in the transcripts would be held in the strictest confidence.

Subsequently, inter-rater reliability checks were conducted on 10 randomly chosen interviews. A comparison was done and a concurrence rate was calculated that ranged between 83-98%.

In addition to this, during the initial stages of coding, I submitted coded interviews to two dissertation committee members who reviewed and provided feedback on my coding technique. I gathered the feedback and calibrated my coding technique. These were critical in giving me the confidence to go forward.

Triangulation

Triangulation was used as a means of checking the integrity of the inferences being drawn from the data. There are two types: methodical and human triangulation.

Methodical triangulation involves using multiple data sources, multiple theoretical perspectives, and multiple methods to confirm the emerging findings of the study (Merriam, 1998; Schwandt, 1997). In this study, I used multiple methods of collecting data in the form of face-to-face interviews, examination of the politicians' website material, social media, and referencing public archives. This is particularly important given that over-reliance on any one type of data collection can bias the study. This approach strengthened the rigor and quality of this study by producing holistic findings of the lawyer-politician phenomena (Golafshani, 2003; Merriam, 1998).

Human triangulation was achieved as there was strong agreement in the formation of 19 themes drawn from 65 participants. This approach gives a more detailed account of the lawyer-politician transition, which mirrors reality and delves into the richness of the experience.

Member Checking

After the tentative findings were made, it was taken back to three participants, who were asked if the findings corresponded to their experience. All participants were of the opinion that the findings mirrored reality and their own experiences.

Long-Term Observation

The research design, collection of data, and writing of the dissertation took place over the course of 3 years. During this time there has been a federal election and several

provincial elections (Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia). There have also been a number of political leadership races in parties. These events gave me an opportunity to observe many lawyer-politicians at work, campaigning and addressing various issues. Many of the lawyers who were interviewed were followed on television, the radio, and social media, so it was possible to watch how closely the themes corresponded with the day-to-day reality of the lawyer-politician experience. There are many examples, but I will name only a few: issues of election fraud, war crimes, outsourcing of Canadian jobs, aboriginals demanding better living conditions on reserves, speaking out against or in favor of the aggressive crime agenda of the federal government, abolition of the long-gun registry, drawing attention to the concentration of power in the hands of the Prime Minister, and the recent senate expense scandal.

Peer Review

As findings emerged and themes were formed, they were shared with members of my doctoral committee. I also shared the emerging findings and themes with the editors of the peer-reviewed *Manitoba Law Journal* in Canada. One face-to-face session was held with Dr. Lyndon Furst, an adjunct professor with Andrews University, to review the codes, findings, and themes. Findings and themes from the study were also shared for comment and feedback with a dozen fellow lawyers of the legal fraternity.

In 2012, I had the opportunity to share my research findings with the doctoral students at the annual Roundtable Leadership Conference at Andrews University. At this session I reviewed the methodology employed in coding the data, findings, and themes. There was much discussion, and I came away confident that the data were being treated with consistency.

Professor Nicholson, the creator of the Nicholson Transition Cycle, was contacted at the University of London (London Business School) with a request to review the initial coding, findings, and themes. We spent two sessions together that I found very helpful. Feedback was shared with my committee, and minor adjustments were made.

This study was shared with many members of the laity, seasoned professionals in their own right for feedback and comment. During all of this, the identity of participants was never disclosed.

Queen's Park

On May 30, 2013, I had the opportunity to test the applicability of the transition model on a wider audience beyond lawyers. I met informally with Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs) who were currently serving in the Ontario Legislative Assembly as part of a wine and cheese party held at the Ontario Legislature (Queen's Park). This opportunity came about as part of a lobbying effort put on by a union of which I am a member. I was asked to be part of a contingent who lobbied MPPs in Ontario to support various energy initiatives. During this session I made full disclosure that I was a doctoral student at Andrews University and was studying political leadership formation, and they agreed to speak to me about my findings. This group consisted of 21 MPPs, two of whom were lawyers, and the other 19 MPPs had varying professional backgrounds. Though many were seasoned politicians, some were new to the profession of politics, which allowed me to gain a variety of perspectives. Members were present from all the major political parties; ages ranged from those in their 30s to those in their 70s. There were more men than women MPPs. This was a 4-hour session, so I had many opportunities to tell them about my study on political leadership formation and asked them to comment on

the results. This gave me an invaluable opportunity to match my findings with the realities of political leadership formation. Overall, I was very pleased with the response, as all members were very interested in the findings and endorsed many of the themes. Lawyers and non-lawyers alike agreed that the four phases of NTC accurately described their experience. This gave me added confidence that this study captured the reality of the lawyer-politician experience and, more generally, the transition from citizen to political leader.

Many MPPs regaled me with stories of their political leadership formation, as they evolved from private citizen to politician, buttressing the themes uncovered by my research. MPPs spoke of political socialization where they learned about the importance of public service and politics from the previous generation. One MPP spoke about being so proud of his son who also became a politician and was carrying on his father's work. We also chatted about generational differences and the positive influence he had exerted on his son (Preparation Phase). A few were new to politics, serving their first term in office, and spoke of the steep learning curve they were experiencing, acknowledging the importance of finding mentors to survive (Encounter Phase). MPPs spoke of the long hours and the negative impact on their families that resulted from being away from home for protracted periods. They spoke about their health being compromised by not eating properly, about missing their hobbies, and they complained about the excessive amount of time spent travelling to and from Toronto. MPPs made note of how slow the legislative process was, and the importance of building bridges (Adjustment Phase). Many MPPs were experienced and able to get things done because they knew how the political process worked. They were able to set goals and achieve them, as they were able to exert

influence on others in the legislature. A demonstration of this was witnessed by the passing of the Pope John Paul II Act on May 30, 2013. When I arrived at the legislature, the law was being debated; this later culminated in its proclamation. The law proclaimed April 2 as Pope John Paul II Day in Ontario (Stabilization Phase).

I also discussed with MPPs my central finding that in the process of making the transition from citizen to public servant, the individual evolves from having specific knowledge to broad knowledge. All MPPs agreed with this, but provided the caveat that developing a reputation for getting things done meant being expert in government processes.

Generalization of Findings

An exploratory case-study design was chosen for this study as it allowed for the construction of a profuse and plentiful description of the lawyer-politician experience from an individual point of view. Abundant descriptions provide the reader with details on the setting and context from where the data were collected, so that the reader may make his or her own findings about the applicability and significance of the study to his or her scenario (O'Leary, 2005). The reader can more easily generalize the findings from this study as the rich experiences of 65 lawyer-politicians are detailed. It is accompanied by rich imagery that allows readers to determine how closely their situation matches the experiences of the participants. Generalization is further enabled by selecting a diverse mixture of participants who are drawn from the major political parties, a mixture of men and women, as well as a distribution of ages (Merriam, 1998).

Furthermore, the themes formulated in this study may be used by anyone embarking on a career transition. Some themes of general application are: (a) preparing

for entry into politics by leveraging previous career skills, (b) handling new encounters by developing mentors, (c) adjusting to new demands by being aware of personal changes required, and (d) showing signs of stability in the new position by taking a multifaceted approach to problem solving. Specifically, I point to the professional engineers wishing to contribute politically. I am qualified to speak about this because I also am a professional engineer. In 2009, I attended a workshop put on by the Professional Engineers of Ontario, who were actively encouraging engineers to run in elections and get involved politically (Smith, 2009). This was a concerted effort to boost the number of engineers from only 2% -3% of politicians in Canadian federal politics (Lovie & Barbu, 2009). Based on my personal experience, I firmly believe that general themes uncovered in this study can be applied to members of the professional engineering group who are willing to represent and govern. Because this study outlines how to go from individual contributor to public servant, engineers will find this study of general application. The same argument can be made for accountants, physicians, or teachers.

Ethics

Working with politicians introduced a number of sensitivities built around the concept that personal information leaked into the public domain may be potentially damaging and highly embarrassing. Therefore, I implemented measures to protect the identity and anonymity of participants.

Informed Consent

In keeping with the concept of Informed Consent, participants were given a choice of whether to participate. I was guided by Sedlack and Stanley (1992), who

outlined three key elements in discharging this responsibility. The first was to inform participants that participation was voluntary. Second, participants were informed of any aspects of the study that might affect their decision to participate. Last, participants were permitted to exercise a continuous free choice as to whether to continue to participate through the study.

An Informed Consent Form was developed that outlined the purpose of the study and ethical obligations of the researcher, and stated that the identity of participants in the study would not be disclosed. This form is included in Appendix B.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Observing the need for privacy, certain measures were taken to protect the identity of participants. Guarding the identity of participants was regarded as critical, as some of the politicians who were interviewed actively held office. When the dissertation was written, masking was applied to conceal the identity of participants. In order to ensure that the identity of participants was concealed, I asked a peer to review several excerpts from Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 in an effort to discern the identity of politicians, but he could not. This gave me the necessary confidence that I had discharged my promise to the politicians to protect their identity. Making representations that their identity would be guarded gave participants the comfort to respond honestly and candidly during the interviews (Sedlack & Stanley, 1992).

My goal was to be as honest as possible and tell the stories of participants without distortion. After masking information, I was convinced that the core and spirit of the stories being told were still intact. Robson (1993) advises that if a tension arises between the need to accurately report what was said in interviews, versus protecting the privacy of

participant, the latter prevails. In this study, some participants indicated that they did object to being quoted.

Protecting Information

Because politicians were privy to government secrets, extreme care was taken to protect the information collected. The data collected were treated as though they were property, so measures were taken to guard against it being lost or stolen. Recordings of interviews were protected by applying a password to the computer where it was stored. Data that were backed up on a hard drive were locked in a secure place.

IRB Approval

Due to the sensitive nature of the information being offered by politicians, approval and clearance from Andrews University Institutional Review Board (IRB) were sought by submitting the applicable forms, accompanied by an abstract of the project, research protocol, and the Informed Consent Form. After IRB approval was obtained, interviews were scheduled and data collection commenced.

Writing Convention

Direct quotes from participants were placed in italics to make the statements easier for the reader to identify. It also allows for smoother transitions between interviews and themes.

Summary

This chapter provided a brief introduction to the topic, the research questions, the research design, the population and sample, my qualifications to conduct this study,

reasons why the NTC theoretical framework was chosen, data-collection methods, tools that were used to synthesize the data, insight into how the data were coded, trustworthiness and credibility of the study, and ethical norms that were observed.

CHAPTER FOUR

PREPARATION PHASE

Introduction

Chapter 4 attempts to answer the research question: How do politicians who were lawyers describe their career transition into political office? In this multi-case study, 65 lawyers were interviewed to gain their perceptions on how this transition took place. Data from interviews were organized using the four phases of the Nicholson Transition Cycle (NTC) as seen in Table 2 (Nicholson, 1990). Each of the four phases of the NTC will be discussed in its own chapter. Each chapter concludes with a description of how each phase enables lawyers to evolve from the status of legal professionals with highly specialized knowledge, to broadly educated civic leaders who use law and their acquired understanding of government processes in the spirit of public service.

Preparation for change is the first element of the NTC and will be discussed in this chapter. Readiness for change is a function of how appropriately a person's values and customary modes of behavior have been shaped by previous experiences in preparing them for change. This preparation can include experiences in their education, employment, and social orientation (Nicholson, 1990). In reviewing the interview transcripts, five themes were identified under the preparation phase. These were as follows: political socialization, motives for entering politics, previous career

Table 2

Nicholson Transition Cycle Analysis

Preparation	Encounter	Adjustment	Stabilization
<i>Political Socialization (family influence)</i>	<i>Coping Mechanisms</i> Holding on / Winding Down Practice Mentors and Peer Support Dealing with Daily Stressors	<i>Personal Changes</i> Financial Impact Privacy Health Effects Time Demands Impact on Family Life Pressure on Spouse Effect on Female Politicians Pressure on Children Marital Breakdown Favorable Impact Addressing the Problem	<i>Coming of Age</i> Lawyers mature into the role of finding and sharing solutions with others
<i>Motives for Entering Politics</i> Childhood Dream Clear Purpose (wanting change) Career Advancement	<i>Learning the Ropes</i> Process and Procedure Making Changes Handling the Media Communicating with the Public Glass Ceiling for Women	<i>Building Bridges</i> Within One's Own Party Working with Political Adversaries Working with the Community	<i>Building a Civil Society</i> Focus on protecting human rights and basic rights
<i>Previous Career Skills</i> Sifting Through Information Reading and Understanding Legislation Problem Solving Handling Clients Advocacy Running an Office Building Community Goodwill	<i>Making Sense of the Experience</i> Enjoyment of New Job Perks of the Job	<i>Broadened Scope</i> Variety of Issues Wider Audience Official Positions	<i>Public Advocate</i> Fighting for a cause

Table 2—Continued.

Preparation	Encounter	Adjustment	Stabilization
<p><i>Prior Learning</i> Graduate Education Informal Education</p>		<p><i>Administrative Skills</i> Delegating Recruitment and Training Multitasking Learning French</p>	<p><i>Community Relations</i> Tools developed to dialogue and pulse the community dynamically</p>
<p><i>Exposure to Politics and Politicians</i> Constituency Organizations Working for a Ministry Stepping Stone Approach Process Issues (pre-election activity) Exposure to Administrative Tribunals</p>			<p><i>Re-elected: Affirmation from Constituents</i> The ultimate report card from those they serve!</p>
			<p><i>Appointments</i> Vote of confidence in one's abilities to work as Prime Minister, Minister, Premier, Parliamentary Secretary, Parliamentary Assistant</p>
			<p><i>Expert in Government Processes</i> Authority in subject area coupled with a deep understanding of the political process</p>

skills/experiences, prior learning, and exposure to politics and politicians. Using Weft QDA, computer queries were developed that aggregated coded data. Data were then imported into an Excel spreadsheet where patterns were recognized and themes formulated. The list below summarizes the themes discussed under the preparation phase of the NTC. Under each respective heading, I will explain how I came up with the theme.

The themes for the preparation phase included: (a) Political Socialization, (b) Motives for Entering Politics, (c) Previous Career Skills / Experiences, (d) Prior Learning, and (e) Exposure to Politics and Politicians.

Political Socialization

In reading the interviews, I recognized that participants mentioned that they were influenced by family members who were politically minded and I labeled this as “Political Socialization.” This code was used when participants talked about role-modeling family members who were involved in politics, or when mentioning emotional, financial, or social support from close family or friends to enter politics.

Participants had parents and grandparents who were politically motivated as shown by their involvement in school politics, in reform movements, or in civic roles. They were credited with acting as a source of support and role modeling to participants. Several participants recalled how parental involvement in politics fueled their motivation to enter politics. One participant stated:

I was always a political person. My father was one of the founders of the communist party of Canada and he served as an elected municipal councilor for 25 years. I had run for office a few times as a communist but was unsuccessful.

Another respondent claimed to have grown up in a family that was politically active since his parents were volunteer helpers in political campaigns and therefore

exposed to politics at a very young age. This gave an up-close and personal view of politics, exceeding the experience of the average citizen. This bequeathed him with the belief that politics was exciting and worth doing:

I was always raised to believe that it is your duty as a human being and as a citizen to see if you can contribute to your community to make the world a better place; so I thought that maybe politics would be worth doing; but I also thought that it would probably be unlikely that there would be the opportunity to do that.

When he was very young, one participant recalls his involvement in his father's first election campaign in the 1950s. This influenced him to become involved in university politics and ultimately he became president of the university's politics club. Another participant was influenced by his father's very strong political involvement, as he was a city councilor for 25 years. Coupled with this, he recalls his father being more active in the community in helping others than he was—he referred to his father as his role model. Another respondent drew inspiration from his father's involvement in the Pro-Democracy movement in the Third World. After immigrating to Canada, politics became integrated into his upbringing. This put in place deeply rooted values based on social justice, compassion, and giving back to the community.

Another participant described the passion that her family had for politics as just a family pursuit. She went on to speak of the deep political involvement that went back generations and produced numerous well-known politicians in Canada. Evidence of this was adduced by stating that her father, her brother, and she were all leaders of political parties in Canada. In outlining her family legacy she said, *It's similar to asking a family of plumbers why they are into plumbing.*

She analogized her family to that of well-known family dynasties in the United States of America. She said, *You see, my family is a case study in politics, like the*

Kennedys; like the Bushes. Our political involvement can be traced back to four generations.

One respondent considered his position as particularly unique as his mother had been a Canadian federal Member of Parliament and he benefitted from growing up in a political household. Since birth, he was exposed to political life and understood the role of a politician before ever becoming elected. This exposure to politics dominated the first 30 years of his life. As a result, he became well known to the senior leaders of the political party in power, who then prompted him to run in an election. He commented, *I really felt quite comfortable from day one in some ways because of my prior exposure to political life.*

Another participant acknowledged that politics was always a family project in which he was born and raised. He grew up in Ottawa—the home of federal politics in Canada—where his father moved the family. Over the course of his father’s illustrious political career, he observed the victories and defeats that his father had experienced. He witnessed firsthand the betrayal and dishonesty that takes place in politics. During this time he had the opportunity to meet many Prime Ministers and dignitaries. As a young man he also was impressed by his father’s association with prominent sports figures. He claims that he became a lawyer due to his father’s influence and grew up believing that public service is the highest vocation. He remarked, *If it was possible to achieve a certain amount of success, there are very few things in life that are as fulfilling.* He followed closely in the footsteps of his father by attending the same high school and law school, and went on to inherit similar interests and political affiliations. This role modeling influenced him at a young age to become heavily involved in the Young Liberals Club

while in high school. As a young man he regularly accompanied his father when he visited his constituency, and felt overwhelming pride as people would never pass by his father without a greeting, embrace, hug, or warm smile. He recalls multiple occasions after entering coffee shops where seated occupants would rise and offer their seats as a mark of respect. Most importantly, he was able to appreciate how rough politics could be and the duplicity that took place as lawyers aspired to positions of prominence in government. Despite the similarities, there was one respect in which his life was different from his father's: He wanted to avoid the lifelong financial worries that plagued his father. And so he decided that a prerequisite to entering politics would be only after becoming established financially.

Socializing influence was not exclusive to family members who held political office, but also to those who had exposed their children to political environments. A few respondents credited their interest in politics and their left-leaning political ideology to having grown up in a union family where their fathers held elected positions in a trade union. Other respondents recalled following their parents around and observed how they organized political activities in the riding. One participant recognized that although his father ran for political office, he never managed to win a seat. This was enough to place him in the lasting memory of the public mind. This inspired him to carry on his father's deep political involvement and political ambition.

Participants also identified grandparents as having influenced them because they acted as political activists, held positions in local government, or acted as organizers. One participant recalls, *My grandfather was active politically back in the great depression in the prairies in western Canada.* Another remembers his grandfather introducing him to

politics by being an active constituency worker in the Conservative Party of rural Alberta. *In Europe my grandfather had run for parliament but was unsuccessful. I heard about this through family discussions and that is where my motivation came from,* commented another. Other grandparents were found expressing their activism and interest in politics by working for local candidates. Other participants benefitted strongly by having their grandparents involved in municipal politics with a few being mayors. One participant related that his grandmother came to Canada as a child in the arms of her mother from a war-torn Middle Eastern country. *Although she ended up with a grade 3 education, she inspired us to give a little back to the community.* To this day he feels that his commitment and passion for serving others is attributed to her.

Motives for Entering Politics

When participants described their drive to get involved in the political processes, I used the code “Motives.” For example, when participants revealed that they had early dreams of a career in politics from their childhood or teen or college years, I coded this as “Motive.” When they stated a purpose in wanting to enter politics I would group these under “Motive.” Various motives included change the status quo, serve publicly, discharge their civic duty, contribute to democracy, promote social justice, be the voice of the people, and clean up politics. References about moving into politics to build their careers were also labeled as “Motives” for entering politics.

The motivation of respondents fell into three broad categories. Some considered politics as part of their career advancement; some wished to fulfill a childhood dream; and others regarded it as a forum for creating change.

Career Advancement

I suspect that most lawyers who enter politics do so in the expectation of advancing their personal interest, perhaps becoming a judge one day, said one respondent. This respondent felt that lawyers were opportunistic and used political office as a stepping-stone to move on to better things. He went on to say that this was not his personal motivation but rather he entered into the legal profession because he feared that in either of his two alternative vocation choices, education and the ministry, he would not be given sufficient latitude to act on his political views. In other words, being a lawyer gave him freedom to speak his mind!

I got interested in looking at politics as a way to increase my profile as a lawyer, but also because I had an interest in what was going on locally, said one respondent.

Another participant was motivated by the prospect of learning about government and how things worked on Parliament Hill, with the intention to return to his legal practice armed with a greater skill set. When asked how his exposure would deepen and enrich his understanding and application of the law, he stated:

Not enough attention is given when teaching and studying law to the overall process as the role of Parliament gets marginalized. Although those who say that it deserves to be marginalized, the importance of Parliament is not sufficiently appreciated as the executive role and the role of government is not sufficiently understood and explored. A better appreciation of the interaction of all the actors involved in the process should be sought as sometimes law school skewers unduly in favor of the appreciation of what is very important; and that is the role of the judiciary. But sometimes this is done without a sufficient appreciation of the other actors in the process.

He called for a more concerted effort for those studying and teaching law to understand the juncture among government, Parliament, the courts, the public, civil society, and the media.

Childhood Dream

A small number of individuals were clear that their motivation was stimulated in some way by having a childhood dream. These individuals were motivated by a mission that started early in life. *As a young boy I was always interested in politics, read about politics and wondered about a career in politics*, said one lawyer. Although some participants indicated that they had no idea that they would end up being politicians, those with childhood dreams had one unwavering passion—to serve their community and country.

One respondent mentioned that since she was a child, the political arena had always intrigued her and, after practicing for 20 years in the area of criminal law, she felt like she was getting burned out and wanted a change. That is when she made her move. Another respondent decided when he was 7 that he wanted to become the Prime Minister of Canada. In planning his career path he realized that one of the best routes would be to become a lawyer. And so he decided that he would become a lawyer to facilitate his entry into politics. Another lawyer recalls:

I am told by my parents when I was a child I wanted to be a lawyer and a politician. At school in grade eight for example I enjoyed politics and there were mock elections in school. When I was 10 years old I was playing in a park and was recruited by a campaign manager for the local conservative candidate. I was asked to help distribute literature and this got me more interested in politics. I was president of the student council when I was in high school and I actually ran for public office for the first time when I was 19.

Another participant had a burning desire to get involved in politics but provincial laws required him to wait until he was 14 years of age before he could formally engage in politics. He recalls, *The day I turned 14 I joined a political party immediately and became involved provincially and federally.*

As an immigrant child, one respondent thought for many years that he would like to give back to his country in some way. He came from a very strong Irish-Catholic culture and this engrained in him a very strong tradition that, if you had the skills and the talent, you ought to use them to benefit more than oneself, but society as a whole. His mother reinforced this concept and took a great deal of pride in emphasizing the use of whatever talents and skills he possessed to take care of the family and give back to the community. When he decided to go to law school, it was always his intention to use his legal training and influence to help society. This was the same mentality he brought to the job of politician.

Another politician recalls that his cousin was the first to get elected into the House of Commons and invited him to visit:

I must have been 16 I first got invited to the House of Commons. Once I got my driver's license, I started to visit the House of Commons where I would observe its operation. My cousin told me that I could subscribe to Hansard and I started in 1962. It was during that period when I started to follow what went on in Parliament.

Another respondent grew up in a multiracial neighborhood consisting of Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, and Jews where ideological differences had to be accommodated. As a child, many of his friends were of different backgrounds and ethnicities, and belonged to the poorer working class. He was also influenced by his parents who left the Ukraine in search of a better life in Canada but were passionately against USSR domination. He said,

I did not know much about it but it permeated a lot of the discussion at home, it was a discussion which was not academic. It was a discussion that was predicated on personal experience as experienced by my mother and father.

He went on to say that this was enough to plant the seeds of large-scale political debate in him. This interest grew in his university experience as he started reading about various

political ideologies. This prepared him to slip into the real world of politics after completing law school.

Clear Purpose of Creating Change

My respondents entered politics with broad goals of wanting to create change and improve living conditions in their communities, country, and the world. They felt that there were not many jobs on earth where you can do something that can change society and have a direct impact on people. One participant stated, *I would describe myself as a small reformer. You know, I just thought that there was a lot of opportunity which I saw in practicing law to improve the laws for them to be fairer.* Another added that he was motivated to run on a platform that included opposing Trudeau because he had brought in the War Measures Act. *I think that this was and still is one of the low watermarks of human rights in Canada,* recalled another.

One participant focused on bettering the life of others in the Third World and made good on his goal by focusing his efforts on Africa when he received an appointment as minister. He affirmed his faith in the incredible potential of Africa and its people by committing substantial government funds to build its infrastructure. Another respondent recognized that change does not have to be manifested in a macro sense nor is it about obtaining an appointment of cabinet minister, but is fundamentally about being a productive hard-working Member of Parliament. He put it this way:

So why would you go into politics if you can't try to make the world a better place as you see fit? I learned you can do more in five minutes in public life if you were in the right position, than you can almost anywhere else. So I decided to go into public life. Essentially because I felt that was where I could make my greatest contribution.

Another respondent indicated that it was his social awareness that drove him to change certain things in Canada and felt compelled to be a voice on particular issues by making the system fair for people who were disadvantaged. Another felt called to make change by offering her sound decision-making abilities, competence to formulate policy, and zeal to participate in democratic debate, representing people in the process. One participant warned that it is essential that lawyers understand why they are engaged in politics because what sustains them in this line of work was the joy of doing what they believed in. Another participant stated:

I think the tipping point is someone having an issue that appears to be incorrect or unfair which motivates them roll up his or her sleeves and get into the public square in order to improve public life as he or she may see it for our society. Everybody will have different tipping points, and I've had many of them. Medicare in Canada was one that is fundamental but it keeps changing, evolving and you have various points of amendments as you progress and develop.

At her nomination meeting, one participant chose to outline her core purpose for running and made the pledge to devote her experience and enthusiasm to building a better way of life in the constituency. Others had a more defined mission of tackling existing social problems. An example of this was one participant who fought against the privatization of publicly owned utilities that produced electricity in his home province. He stated that his core motivation in pursuing this cause lay in his belief that building a strong economy and social infrastructure depended on what happened to the electricity system. He also wanted to create a better future for his children.

Another respondent focused on improving the safety, security, and school standards in his neighborhood. Issues of the environment were found to be a major motivator for a few respondents, all of whom brought their passion to protect the environment after securing a seat in the legislature or in Parliament. Politicians who

belonged to border towns were concerned about the poor air quality that impacted their community from industrial facilities adjacent to their riding.

One participant came to politics with the intention of improving government services available to parents who had children with disabilities. Being the mother of a disabled child inspired her to do something about the lack of support available to parents. Working with all political parties in a bipartisan manner, she was successful in drafting a private members bill that now provides the necessary support to parents of children with disabilities. It is a narrative of coping and a triumph familiar to thousands of parents in similar situations. One peer commented, *I don't know how she does it.*

Previous Career Skills and Experiences

Participants indicated repeatedly that their legal training prepared them for entry into politics and assisted them once in politics. Thus, career experiences mentioned as part of the transition into politics were coded as “Previous Career” (e.g., talents relating to running an office, advocacy, reading and interpreting law, working with legislation, networking with the community, and working with people were identified as part of previous career skills and experiences that influenced their transition into politics).

All participants had legal training and reported that their legal knowledge and skills gave them excellent preparation for entry into public service. *I approached preparing to speak in the Legislature, preparing to ask a question in the Legislature, and preparing for committee hearings in much the same way I did as a lawyer,* commented one participant.

Another participant agreed that it was a relatively straightforward transition as much of his legal training was conducive to the political processes that he got into. *I think*

in both the legal profession and in politics, you've got to have a fundamental respect for the rule of law, and I think that's got to be a foundation for whatever you do, added another. Many saw politics as a natural evolution from the path that they followed as a lawyer. One respondent commented, *I had people in my caucus who were farmers and had a more difficult transition without legal education.*

Interviews revealed that legal knowledge and skill gave lawyers the ability to sift through vast amounts of information, understand legal instruments, solve problems, handle and advocate for clients, run an office, and build goodwill in the community. Each of these attributes will now be examined.

Sifting Through Information

Previous intellectual and practical skills allowed respondents to sift through vast amounts of information. One respondent described it as:

Separating the wheat from the chaff. Separation of wheat from chaff is absolutely essential if you are a minister and need to quickly ascertain the bottom line and central message.

She went on to say that being a lawyer helped her sense of confidence in terms of reading through, and working through great volumes of material in a fairly efficient way. She described her experience as going home with binders of government briefing materials and having to cull through it and come back the next day with a clear understanding of the main issues. This information allowed her to speak with authority and answer questions in the House of Commons, industry associations, and public interest groups. She added:

I know that it is very hard for some people who are not used to doing that, they read every word, but you can't do that. I think that being a lawyer helps you to figure out pretty quickly what do I need to know to do your job; and the rest of this is nice, but you don't need to know.

Another respondent added that the volume of reading for both professions was roughly the same but in politics the nature of the reading was more mundane. Nonetheless, participants indicated that one of the things they learned from their years of practice was how to gather, assess, and use information for maximum effect in the courtroom. One respondent carried this discipline into politics as he prepared to speak to issues in the House of Commons.

For many in the study, sifting through vast amounts of information was almost a taken-for-granted connection between the work of the lawyer and politician. This is one of the main skills that are taught in law school, as students are required to read cases and identify the rationale for the legal decision. After law school, this skill is further refined as lawyers spend long hours in the library researching past precedents to support their case. Clearly, their legal training and legal practice helped them develop expert skills in reading large quantities of government briefings and material.

The skills you have as a lawyer are enormously helpful to your work as a politician as you're not put off by tremendous amounts of reading and you digest enormous amounts of material quickly, says one lawyer. You have the sort of mental abilities that I think lend quite well to the political environment where issues are complex.

Another respondent added:

I found that my training as a lawyer really helped, because there's an enormous amount of work and reading to do. My legal training meant that I had developed the skills to be able to manage multiple files that could be very complex, be able to read it, comprehend and synthesize the contents. Then I could figure out what the strategy should be to be able to move forward to achieve a particular goal.

Reading and Understanding Legislation

Legal training provides lawyers the necessary familiarity with acts and regulations, equipping them with the necessary comprehension skills required for

political office. In terms of being able to read legislation that was tabled before the House of Commons, *That was easy, that's what I was trained to do*, said one respondent.

To be able to understand legislation quickly and be able to determine if it would achieve what the sponsor of the bill was claiming. And whether it would do so efficiently or effectively, and if not, I had the ability to draft amendments.

Another added that after practicing law for a number of years, he appreciated the complexity of having to draft laws that are useable in the courtroom and in the streets. In particular he recalls his experience of having to wade through the convolution of legislation in his area of personal injury law:

At one time I had files that dealt with four different insurance regimes, so it was quite difficult from that standpoint. We were going through a period of time in Ontario when we were . . . every couple of years, changing the formulas of how we dealt with motor vehicle accidents and the insurance regime we were using; so it was quite an interesting period of time, from an academic experience.

Politicians who did not have legal training relied on their staff, legislative drafters, fellow politicians who had that skill, and their own caucus policy and research team.

Not having the skill to read and understand legislation could be immensely frustrating because if your issue is not a priority for your political party, then you simply got in line and waited!

The skill of understanding legislation was of immense value as lawyers are required to sit on committees to formulate policy, draft legislation, and advise constituents. One respondent described an experience where a constituent asked his advice on a legal problem in the area of criminal law. During the process of advising the constituent on a point of law, he was able to go to the relevant section of the legislation (the Criminal Code), read the section, comprehend it in its entirety, and provide the constituent with the needed direction. This was done with ease because the respondent had helped to write that section of the Criminal Code while he sat on the criminal law committee but had simply forgotten about it. His ability to work on policy and legislative

instruments was deemed of such great use that the Minister of Justice at the time described him as the best weapon he had in his arsenal against the opposition.

Problem Solving

Respondents found their legal training helped by having the ability to find creative solutions to the problems of their constituents. One respondent credited her legal training as providing a strong base for problem solving, which she found useful in political office. Fundamentally this involved thoroughness by ascertaining what the relevant facts were, what the pertinent law was, and whether the law applied with regard to those facts. This ability stemmed from the training received in law school, which is matured by lawyers in practice as they try to find creative solutions to their own clients' problems. One participant put it this way:

People will come to my office and tell me 'I was told that you're the person who can take care of this for me, and you'll be able to fight for us and speak for us, because we don't have the education or the ability to properly communicate what our concern is or how we felt we've been wronged.' I know that I handle matters that my colleagues would never even come close to even touching or that their constituents would never even ask them to deal with. This is because I am a lawyer, so there is a whole different level of respect between those members who have a legal background than those who don't.

One respondent pointed out that although legal training comes in handy in politics, the skill was improved if politicians spent more time listening and less time talking. People typically wanted someone to sit and listen to their challenges and their problems. They did not always expect the politician to come up with the magic answer, but expected them to listen attentively and with sincerity to their problems.

As a politician it is important to appreciate that there are limits placed on their problem-solving abilities due to the complexities of the federal/provincial division of powers in Canada. This does not allow a politician to resolve everyone's problem who

walks into the door. *“The answer quite often is 'I'm sorry, that's a Municipal problem and I can't fix it, or that's a Provincial problem and I can't fix it,”* said one respondent.

Despite, the systemic limitations imposed on lawyers in political office, some felt inspired:

To serve people and to work on issues instead of saying no I cannot help. Instead, I would say here is the problem, here is how to solve it. As lawyers this is what we get paid to do. This is another asset that lawyers bring to the job. It is always important to bring those skill sets and then mold them in a way where you can serve the public at large.

Some participants who served as Attorney General on the Canadian federal and provincial level felt that the skills from years of practicing law enabled them to solve problems in that position, as they were able to readily understand the advice provided by the Department of Justice. *I was lucky to have the experience as a trial lawyer for 17 years; it was a very good preparation for the job as Attorney General,* said one respondent.

Handling Clients

Lawyers are trained to handle clients by carefully listening to them, gathering the facts, simplifying the law, breaking down complex legal concepts, and keeping them focused on the relevant facts. One respondent explained that it was typical when giving advice to people in a family case for them to come in and immediately spend an hour or two going through their situation. He would listen to them and give them some advice that would direct them to get them on track. His approach was the same when he dealt with constituents. Lawyers spoke about managing constituents in a similar manner in which they managed clients. One respondent commented that legal training was very good for politics by treating citizens as clients. *I would always open a file for every*

person who walked into the office. If nothing ever happened then nothing happens. I would also treat the complainer as a client, and determine how much publicity they wanted. He thought that his legal training was used to meet their expectations. As an example, one respondent in the study insisted on getting back to people over the telephone or by email. *It's important to try to get those phone messages or emails answered before you go home, because if they're there the next morning and you don't get to them, people just figure you're not interested,* said one respondent. Another respondent elaborated on his file management technique:

My legal training in file management allows me to be much more effective as it enables me to put arguments together. If someone called me with a concern relating to a transportation issue, while some elected officials would say 'ok I'll make a call for you' I would immediately take and dictate a letter to a transportation official. When a reply is received I would send it to the constituent so they would have a paper trail showing exactly what I said on their behalf. I have found that approach to be an extremely effective way of communicating as having a paper trail provides evidence at their kitchen table right under their nose.

Unlike law, in politics constituents did not always expect a result. Many constituents would come into the constituency office with a particular problem and they knew that there was no solution but they wanted to vent their concerns, said one lawyer. Removing the emotion and remaining objective proved useful to lawyers in identifying the issues and then deciding the most appropriate way forward. One participant provided an example of how he would deal with a constituent who came in and was upset about a letter that he received indicating that his welfare payments had been reduced. He said that there were probably four or five questions that he would ask before coming up with a path forward. *This kind of focus is required to make sure I can get to what people are actually concerned about to see if there is something we can do; and I think that law is a good background for doing that.*

Respondents advised that it was essential that they knew the needs of their constituents and were careful to listen to them and resolve their concerns in a creative fashion. This often required advocating for them in public. One participant put it this way:

When you have been a barrister and you speak in court all the time it isn't difficult to speak in the political arena or in Parliament Hill or at committees. You're comfortable speaking and comfortable on your feet; comfortable in public; all of that comes fairly easy.

Advocacy

The art of advocacy is taught in law school, refined in legal practice, and utilized in political office. One respondent credited his involvement in mock trials that took place in law school and the advocacy work in private practice (as defense counsel for murder trials) before the Court of Appeals, as being important in honing his powers of persuasion. He spoke of the work done in the labor relations field before administrative tribunals as being a vehicle for developing his sense of confidence in assembling arguments and making credible points. He advised that this allowed him to slip easily into a political role. Similar to law, effective advocacy in political office calls for making compromises when advancing a position for one's constituency. One respondent put it this way:

In law all you're doing is you're selling your brains; you're just selling your knowledge of something; whereas in politics you have to sell a lot of your energy and your enthusiasm for an idea; but nonetheless you're still selling something,

Another respondent expressed it similarly:

I can take an idea given to me and argue it as if it was my own. And I think as a lawyer, especially as a litigator, going into court and arguing cases even though you may not necessarily agree with what your client wants, or you may

not agree with the position your client wants to take, you go in there and you do it.

A well-regarded study participant described in painstaking detail how he used his advocacy skills to save failing negotiations with other Canadian Premiers over the adoption of a proposed amendment to the Constitution of Canada (Constitution Act, 1867):

The Prime Minister was on the verge of going to Westminster and I said to him “Sir we have to try once more” and he said it wouldn't work. And I said “Sir we have to try once more,” and he insisted again “it won't work.” Finally, I said “Sir I'm not going to go to London, if we don't try once more.” And we tried once more, and it worked.

One participant spoke unequivocally of the advocacy skills he imported from law into politics to frame arguments on behalf of people who were trying to immigrate to Canada, or bring visitors to Canada. He used his advocacy skills to convince Canadian Citizenship and Immigration to issue visitors visas by convincing them that people would leave Canada after their visas expired. He compared himself with non-lawyers:

Other non-lawyer-politicians who worked in this area would simply write to the minister on behalf of constituents stating that they supported the application. In my view that is not helpful as anybody can do that. I want to write a convincing argument as to why somebody is visiting from Pakistan, Bangladesh, or Mexico. I want to write a convincing argument that there are compelling reasons for them to return home, and that means interviewing the client at length. And I have been reasonably successful with those kinds of letters.

Running an Office

Most respondents reported that they worked in private practice and owned their own law office or functioned as a partner in a law firm. Included in this skill set was the ability to find an appropriate location, design an appealing office layout, design a logo (to be used in all forms of correspondence), staff the offices, manage staff, set up control mechanisms to do trust accounting, deliver quality services, have a filing system

(opening, closing, and archiving files), and install an effective information management system. The experience of running an office was familiar to one respondent, which made it easier to handle, supervise, and manage people. Respondents said that the best way to market was through building a good reputation. *You must ensure that good word spreads in the community*, said one participant.

Participants advised that the skills acquired to run a law office were easily accomplished when their constituency offices were set up due to the huge similarity. *I always thought of my law practice as a small business doing law as the product*, commented one lawyer. Another participant admitted that this was one of the biggest skill sets that he brought to the job when he got elected. Another respondent elaborated:

I noticed when I set up my constituency offices that I was running a million dollar business. When you look at our budgets and the number of people we employ and the telephones and this and that; it boiled down to a million dollar business. Essentially I was running a small business. I have to negotiate salaries, negotiate leases and make sure we are staying within our budget and manage your human resources. And since I was a managing partner at a law firm these were relatively easy things for me.

Setting up an office was hard for some elected representatives who had not been required to do administrative work of this nature. *I was running three offices at one point and a lot of the elected non-lawyer officials had not hired employees and had never even paid rent*, said another respondent.

Building Goodwill by Volunteering and Community Service

Many participants volunteered as board members of various organizations or performed pro-bono work in a community setting such as the Food Bank, Chamber of Commerce, anti-poverty organizations, Children's Aid Societies, Heart Institute, Cultural and Arts Institutes (Ballet), AIDS Research, local curling club, local golf club, and the

Legal Aid Society. In these roles lawyer-politicians could put their legal expertise to work by targeting specific needs in the community. Respondents felt that volunteer work was an expression of political activity as they used this opportunity to formulate policies for NGOs, volunteer community organizations, and community-based organizations. Typically their work became recognized and they were subsequently encouraged from various community groups to seek public office. One participant put it this way:

Volunteering gave me a lot of experience in working with other people; so once I was elected and came into my office I didn't find it difficult at all to begin to cope with the complex tasks of being a member of cabinet.

One respondent explained that her volunteer activity had a lot to do with things that she heard about in her practice. She really wanted to make a difference, particularly for children and adults afflicted with mental health and addiction issues. This need in the community influenced her actions in political office by motivating her to seek changes in existing policy and drive positive change. Her community work was so needed that this inspired her to be one of the co-founders and directors of a community mental health service. Her work was so well received that a group home was named in her honor.

Another participant described himself as an activist in his community who was concerned about matters of both social justice and fiscal responsibility. The values of social justice and fiscal responsibility were always brought to the table on any number of other boards in which he was involved. These values were applied to the school board, the housing authority, hospital foundation, Women's Crisis Board, and Business Enterprise Centre where he volunteered his services. Another participant claims to have become used to running committees when he served as president of a large tennis club in Toronto. And another respondent had for her whole life been interested in policy formulation; this led to her long involvement with a non-partisan organization that

focused on awareness and understanding of domestic and international issues among people in Canada.

Another participant became well known in the Canadian media for his passion regarding issues of the environment for almost 40 years. His expertise is now recognized on both a national and international level. During the year he can be seen marching in protest over government initiatives to build pipelines, expand mining, and enlarge the pulp and paper industry. He is perceived as an environmental expert and his opinion is actively sought out. He is an active participant in various community organizations that promote a healthy environment. Under his stewardship, the support for his party continues to grow in Canada.

In summary, by becoming involved in volunteer organizations, respondents had the opportunity to get engaged in their local communities, which led them to be more involved and ready to enter the political sphere.

Prior Learning

Recognizing that both law and politics are knowledge-based careers, this theme was used when specific elements of legal learning were mentioned. When participants noted formal learning and informal learning as being pertinent to successful transition into politics, this code was used. The code was also used when work for a degree in political science or a graduate degree were cited as useful in the transition. Writing political pieces that were featured in the newspapers, newsletters, books, and journals fell into the informal education subcategory of this theme.

All participants were lawyers who held degrees in law (either an LL.B. or a J.D.) with some going on to do post-graduate work in a formal university setting. Others

pursued informal education tailored to develop their own interests at their own pace. Regardless of the mode of education pursued, it appears that the educational route was personalized to meet their political aspirations. The sub-themes of graduate and informal education will be explored.

Graduate Education

Some lawyers pursued graduate education, which gave them the requisite knowledge to transition into the political sphere. By choosing to pursue graduate studies some lawyers were able to develop the expertise and skill to better understand the political issues. One participant undertook graduate education in International and Human Rights law at Harvard University. After having secured his education he went on to work in the human rights area and also lectured at a major university while practicing law. His knowledge and skill in this area earned him several distinguished professorial roles at universities around the world including Yale Law School. He was awarded the Order of Canada and several honorary doctorates. After winning the election, he served on the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, International Development, and Human Rights. He served as special advisor to the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the International Criminal Court, and was appointed to ministerial portfolio. He recalls, *I had been a law professor and in particular the area that I was teaching was constitutional law, which gave me an appreciation of the workings of Parliament.* The participant explained how he leveraged his education and experience in his new position as parliamentarian:

I came to Ottawa, with a certain degree of intellectual capital that had built up over the years and began to erode over a period of time. This certainly

sustained me especially in the beginning years when I held a Ministerial position.

Take the case of another respondent who chose to pursue a graduate degree in International Affairs at a prestigious Canadian university. Pursuing higher education in this non-law-related area served him well as he went on to work for a large law firm representing clients before the Canadian International Trade Tribunal. This allowed him to work with international clients in transitional-economy countries such as Russia, Belize, and Thailand where he assisted officials to build capacity in areas of trade negotiations and policy development. He also assumed a leading role at a major international trade council. After being elected, his broad education and experience equipped him to take on several Parliamentary Assistant roles.

Another well-known politician completed his Ph.D. in Europe in an effort to meet two objectives: first, to improve his working knowledge of French (the second official language of Canada) and second, to learn about the intricacies of international law. After completing his studies he returned to Canada, and became involved in representing clients needing bilingual abilities in the areas of international trade and commercial law. He further elaborated:

I did a lot of Ottawa tribunal work, I was counsel to the commission of inquiry to bilingual air traffic services and did a fair bit of government work, anywhere they required someone with counseling service but was also bilingual. And then that led me to doing a lot of work in French Africa so I started traveling there a lot. By the end of my career as a lawyer, which was about 10 or 11 years with a large law firm, I was doing about 50% litigation 50% international commercial negotiations with governments for oil, oil, uranium, things like that.

Due to his proficiency in French, he was appointed to promote bilingualism in the provincial courts. He then went on to be a university professor teaching international

trade law as it applied to the European Economic Community. Reflecting on the richness of his career the participant noted:

I had an extraordinary rich parliamentary career. I had many years serving as the chair of many special committees. I also served as the minister of different departments. I was motivated to go into politics specifically because I had a firm grasp of international law. I was very concerned we weren't paying enough attention in Parliament to the international dimension of what we do as a country.

Informal Education

The respondents in this study pursued educational goals by learning things through experience. This was self-taught education achieved by essentially making their own schedules and by disciplining themselves to invest the necessary amount of time to acquire additional knowledge in a given field. Using this approach, careers evolve organically as reputations build simultaneously.

This self-taught strategy was not uncommon and is best illustrated by a well-known Canadian parliamentarian who pursued his passion for protecting the environment over many years. During this time he used a number of forums to educate himself about issues, educate the public, and make his cause known to the public. He used the court system to challenge a number of decisions made by the government on environmental approvals as they related to the fundamental question of social justice. He is now recognized as a foremost authority in the area of environmental law both domestically and internationally. In addition he has authored several books and many articles dealing with issues of the environment and social justice. His activism brought him such acclaim that he has been awarded multiple honorary doctorates, appointed as an Officer of the Order of Canada, and is recognized as one of the world's most influential persons. After establishing his credibility in the sphere of environmental protection, he has now

expanded and speaks on broader issues of social justice, human rights, and building a stronger economy for Canada. He is regarded in Canada as an advocate for a healthier democracy.

Another respondent established himself as a constitutional scholar and won many landmark decisions. In large part this was self-taught. After being elected he was given a ministerial portfolio and was put in charge of constitutional affairs. In this role he was able to strengthen human rights laws, insisted on minority language rights, pressed for gender equality, advocated for same-sex marriage rights, moved on the freedom of information agenda, passed laws that protected the privacy of the individual, ensured the rights of persons to equal and fair representation in the law courts, and took part in repatriation discussions. These achievements earned him high praise from the provincial and federal governments alike, including the Order of Canada.

Exposure to Politics and Politicians

The code “exposure to politics and politicians” was used when participants reported earlier experience or involvement in the constituency organizations (riding associations), working for a ministry, prior experience as a municipal politician, involvement in pre-election activity (running for the nomination) and working with / for administrative tribunals. These opportunities gave participant exposure to how politics and politicians worked.

In reading the book *Career Opportunities in Law and the Legal Industry* (Echaore-McDavid, 2002) the advice that is offered is that joining a political party is the most direct way for lawyers to become acquainted with politics. Other methods noted in interviews were by joining constituency organizations, working in a ministry of the

government, taking a stepping-stone approach, involvement in per-election activities and exposure to administrative tribunals.

Constituency Organizations

I became the president of both the federal and provincial constituency organizations, and then someone said to me “Why don't you think about running for political office?” said one respondent. Between and during elections, constituency organizations recruit and train supporters, accept campaign contributions from the community, manage those contributions in accordance with applicable legislation, and perform candidate searches for individuals who can run and possibly win an election. Respondents who joined the executive ranks of constituency organizations (riding associations) had an opportunity to display their suitability to function in the political arena while being educated about the political process. One respondent found his previous involvement in constituency organizations to be an advantage, as he felt completely comfortable within the first year of becoming a parliamentarian. He recalls coping better than the other 40 politicians in his cohort who took up the entire first 4-year term to feel comfortable with what they were doing.

Involvement in constituency associations does not have to be at an executive level to be of value to participants as exposure to the political dynamic can act as a springboard into a career in politics. A small number of participants became involved in party politics while in university and some at a young age even before they ever went to university. One participant recalled being a member at conventions from the age of 16 and was involved in the Conservative Party both federally and provincially. Another participant was more poignant in explaining the sequence of events that led him into political office:

I got interested in politics before I was called to the bar. In the last year of high school I attended the Liberal election rally and when I went to university I became involved with the Young Liberals. After I went back to my home city I became involved in the liberal party first as an articling law student and then as a lawyer.

Another participant volunteered with a student representative council involved in federal politics around the time the health-care debate was front and center in his home province. At the university he recalls that the doctors had walked out in a strike and ultimately publically funded health care was implemented. *I took the position for publically funded health care, and therefore I drifted ideologically and actively supported the CCF lead by Tommy Douglas.* As president of the student representative council she became a regular at introducing Tommy Douglas at various political meetings, traveling with him, and learning from his style:

I was very much enamored with the style and messaging and personality of Tommy Douglas. In effect, I grew up as a young boy under the influence of his very powerful messaging and his long-term political influences in this province. At the same time I also witnessed John Diefenbaker, a Conservative out of Prince Albert, and I remember him coming to university campuses. Those were large meetings of students and the debate was very stimulating and ruckus at times, and Diefenbaker, as was Douglas, was very adept and capable of handling student bodies and getting their message across. I found them as role models.

Working for a Ministry

One participant stated that his involvement in various ministries for a number of years exposed him to the inner workings of government. Another respondent added that even though a lawyer may gain valuable experience by working for a cabinet minister, the experience serves only as a primer since it does not teach one everything. There is a steep learning curve when one is elected as a Member of the Provincial Parliament. Notwithstanding, this can be a valuable springboard in gaining familiarity with the inner

workings of government. An example that clearly illustrates was one respondent who worked for a senior Minister of the government and was able to become a senior policy advisor to the Canadian Federal Environment Minister. In this role, he was able to create several national parks and was instrumental in negotiating a major piece of the Montreal Protocol (environmental treatise). He developed a very significant environmental policy, was able to be outspoken on environmental issues, and negotiated many agreements among the eastern provinces with the U.S. to reduce sulphur dioxide emissions in order to combat acid rain. With this experience in place he was able to build a profile where the community began to know him, and additionally, he got to know the community.

Another respondent worked as an advisor to several Canadian federal ministers and in so doing befriended many senior politicians in government. One of these people was Mr. Jean Chrétien, who was a senior minister in the liberal government at the time. After becoming Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien asked him to run in an upcoming Canadian federal election. He said:

I thought that it was going to be an interesting challenge and frankly I did not really wake up that morning and think that I was going to get elected. So it was the Prime Minister who drew me into public life.

Another participant was invited by the Premier of Ontario to be legal counsel for the governing party. In this role his friendship with the Premier deepened and he was able to actualize on his belief of serving publicly. He served as legal counsel for 4 years before running for public office and secured a seat in the provincial legislature. After being elected he felt comfortable in the political realm as he was fully acquainted with the customs of the legislature, the Premier, and other members of the caucus.

Stepping-Stone Approach

Some respondents took a graduated approach in entering the political arena by using the local school board as a means of introduction into politics before moving on.

One respondent explained how his involvement on the school board advanced his political ambitions:

I originally became involved politically at the school board level. I had young children in school in the public school system, and I was unhappy with the level of representation we were getting. I ran in 1991 successfully for a board of education, and served one term. During this term I met a number of politicians from different levels of government. I always had some interest in public service of one sort or another . . . and this gave me an opportunity to fully explore that desire for politics. I ran for a second term in 1994 and was lucky enough to be acclaimed as a school trustee. It was after this I successfully sought the nomination in the provincial election.

Other respondents used municipal politics as a vehicle to migrate into provincial or federal politics.

When I got into provincial politics I felt that it was a continuation of the type of work I was doing in municipal politics for over a decade in areas of public relations and constituency work, said one respondent. Municipal politicians learned how to develop policies, manage budgets, collect taxes, budget, make by-laws, and engage in infrastructure development and strategic planning. *I think people who come from a municipal politics background have it easier as they understand the cut and thrust of the debate a little more,* remarked one lawyer. Another respondent surmised that after he was elected the transition to provincial politics was not difficult because he had been in municipal politics. Being a municipal councilor taught him how to address issues of policing, health, social services, roads, water treatment, and public transportation. Another respondent compared his experience as a municipal councilor to lighting the spark for him to seek a broader mandate. So he became involved in the local riding

association where he took on the role of secretary, after which he ran for, and was successful in securing a position as a member of the provincial legislature.

And yet another respondent described how his political career evolved after becoming involved in municipal politics:

I got interested in looking at politics as a way to increase my profile as a lawyer, but was also interested because I had an interest in what was going on locally. So I ran for city council and then ran for mayor and won very handily. The Prime Minister and the crowd suggested after a few meetings that I do something, so I ran and won that election.

Another participant who became a long-serving member of a provincial legislature remarked that in adopting his responsibilities it really wasn't a different experience because he combined his experience on the school board, municipal council, and his appointment to the board of police commissioners.

Pre-election Activities

As respondents considered running in an election, the first step was winning the party nomination. Winning the party nomination requires putting together a team that is very supportive and is drawn from the grassroots membership. This team should be capable of tapping into the existing party network and connecting with key figures in the party. This activity can act as an educative tool that prepares the individual for political office. *Once I began campaigning for the nomination, I fell in love with the dynamic, of campaigning, speaking before an audience, and advocating ideas,* said one participant. Another participant stated: *I felt wonderful from the time of my first debate. The first headline after the first debate was "Battle of The Giants."*

This comes at great personal sacrifice that predates one's election since the nomination process can be highly contested, requiring lawyers to be away from their

practice. Invariably a lawyer's personal income takes a big hit as financial losses are incurred, and this process can go on for several months. Lawyers have to basically transfer most of their clients and business to other lawyers because the nomination requires their full focus. One respondent put it this way:

A lawyer cannot abandon clients for two months while they go off electioneering, and then wind their legal practice down after they get elected. Due to the all-consuming nature of the process, lawyers are advised to transition their clients to their partners earlier on in the process.

Some participants acted as sacrificial candidates, knowing that things would not go well at the ballot box, but did it anyway for the experience. This gave them enjoyment and kept them active politically. Thus the benefit of running and losing an election prepared lawyers for the opportunity to run in a winnable seat in the future.

Exposure to Administrative Tribunals

Appearing before administrative tribunals makes the transition somewhat easier than other professions that are not exposed to this manner of training, said one respondent. Participants regarded practicing in front of administrative tribunals as fertile ground for political training because tribunals are political entities. Their mandate is dictated by the government, and lawyers who appear before or serve as tribunal members learn about how the needs of society are met. Administrative tribunals are a way of life in Canada and are set up by statute to deliver public programs in areas of health, employment, professional trades, communication, nuclear energy production, energy production, social control (prisoner discipline and parole), immigration, taxation, and human rights, to name a few (*Newfoundland Telephone Co. v. Newfoundland*, 1992).

Prior to going into politics, one respondent gained most of her experience from having served on tribunals, of which the transitional value is apparent:

Within a short time of becoming a member of the bar, the government appointed me as a member of a commission—an administrative quasi-judicial body. And then from there I was appointed as a deputy commissioner of another quasi-judicial body; that had exclusive jurisdiction to receive, investigate and treat public complaints regarding police conduct, for all of the police forces. So I was basically an administrative judge for most of my active legal career before going into politics.

Summary

Individuals were influenced from an early stage by modeling those in their family who were involved in politics. Participants had parents and grandparents who were politically motivated as shown by their involvement in school politics, reform movements, or in civic roles. They were credited with acting as a source of support and role modeling to participants. Several participants recalled how parental involvement in politics fuelled their motivation to enter politics. This experience impressed on them the importance of giving back and serving their communities.

Participants were driven by a clear appreciation of why they were entering politics. The motivation for entering politics fell into three broad categories. Some considered politics as part of their career advancement and wished to use this experience as a stepping-stone to other things. Some wished to fulfill a childhood dream arising from the hope of one day becoming a politician. Respondents, who were unhappy with the status quo, regarded it as an ideal forum for creating change by improving the living conditions in their communities, country, and the world.

It was demonstrated that the knowledge and skills amassed in legal training were transferable to politics. Interviews revealed that legal knowledge and skills gave lawyers the ability to sift through vast amounts of information, understand legal instruments, solve problems, handle and advocate for clients, run an office, and build goodwill in the

community. These skills provided excellent grounding for lawyers so that they could start working soon after getting into office.

All participants were lawyers who held degrees in law, either an LL.B. or a J.D. Some pursued post-graduate work in a formal university setting and obtaining a master's degree in law (LL.M) or a doctorate in law (LL.D). Others pursued informal education tailored to develop their own interests at their own pace. Regardless of the educational route chosen, respondents personalized their learning to meet their political aspirations and interests. After getting elected, this training came in useful when working on committees or when placed on special assignments.

Psychological preparation for the role of politician was facilitated by involvement in forums that brought them up close to politicians and the political processes. Participants describe the pre-election activity of running for the party nomination as being an enlightening one. Also, some were involved in the running of constituency organizations. Political experience was also obtained by working as a government lawyer, serving as municipal politician, or practicing law before administrative tribunals.

In the preparatory stage of the NTC, participants possessed highly specialized legal knowledge and skills coupled with valuable insights of what the job of a politician involves. In the encounter phase, respondents came face-to-face with the realities of a politician.

CHAPTER FIVE

ENCOUNTER PHASE

Introduction

This chapter reviews data from interviews related to what Nicholson (1990) called the Encounter Phase. That phase often focused on ways employees make sense of new work situations as they explore their new roles and tasks. During that stage it was not uncommon for an employee to have feelings of regret, shock, and rejection and to talk about ways they coped with the new experience of new work demands. These feelings of shock were often offset by feelings of excitement, the pleasure of discovery, and satisfaction that some of the worst fears about transition were not as bad as they thought it would be. When I looked for evidence of these types of encountering experiences, I was able to see three general themes at work in this phase: (a) Coping Mechanisms, (b) Learning the Ropes, and (c) Making Sense of the Experience. Each of these had subcomponents and those are also reviewed in this chapter.

Coping Mechanisms

Although Nicholson (1990) alluded to developing coping mechanisms, there is no specific elaboration as his interest was in providing a systematic general framework for career transition. Because my goal was to provide insight of how lawyers coped with their initial difficulties, I articulated three coping mechanisms employed: the need to hold

onto or shut down one's law practice, develop mentors and a peer support system, and adequately deal with daily stressors.

In describing the new experience of becoming a politician, participants reported various ways to cope with the new experiences. Some of this had to do with dealing with past issues, specifically one's law practice. Some reported that a full transition to politics was too risky so they held onto their law practice while working as a politician. When this was discussed, I coded the encountering phenomena as "Holding Onto or Winding Down a Law Practice." Others talked about coping by making a full transition into politics, seeking forms of support to get them through their initial time in politics. These coping processes I called "Mentors and Peer Support." During the interviews, various aspects of new work tasks were discussed as daily stressors, and ways they reported dealing with these new stressors were organized under a theme of "Dealing With Daily Stressors." I will now elaborate on each of these coping mechanisms.

Holding Onto or Winding Down a Law Practice

Politics was my first interest and I found law to be a kind of insurance, because I could always fall back on my law practice, commented one respondent. Another stated:

I was basically a lawyer for the purposes of becoming a politician. I thought there might be an insurance policy for me once I got defeated, because I expected that inevitably I will get defeated and not have something to fall back on, and that is something a law degree can hold for you. And I was very fortunate; I have suffered one defeat and was out of politics for four years so law was very important.

These comments capture the feelings of respondents who thought that it was to their advantage to keep a part-time law practice should a career in politics not work out. Participants felt that after they got elected they did not want to shut down their law practice but wanted to keep it going in case they got defeated in the next election. This

was hard to do as it involved accommodating certain limitations, one of which is the conflict-of-interest rules. Under legislative and parliamentary rules, lawyers are allowed to keep their law practice as a going concern unless there is a conflict of interest or they are appointed to a ministerial position in government. Conflict of interest usually means the questioned act may influence or appear to influence a politician's conduct while holding public office. One participant advised to *keep the conflict rules in your head—that's number one, but understand that the real conflict rules in politics are much wider than the ones written*. He went on to offer the advice his grandfather passed on to him: His grandfather's test was: *"Would you like to see this printed on the front page of the newspaper and can you live with it? In the conflict realm it doesn't matter how you try to explain it."* When practicing simultaneous professions of law and politics, a lawyer must be selective in the types of cases he chooses to refuse to avoid conflict-of-interest allegations. One participant advised that cases against the crown should be avoided for fear that the following headline may appear in the newspaper, "Politician takes on client who sued the Queen," whereas taking a case involving a woman who wants to get away from an abusive husband should not be a problem but might even be an advantage. And another participant chose to maintain an association with a law firm that only occasionally sought his advice on specialized questions of law. Under this arrangement there were never any concerns about conflict-of-interest questions.

Another respondent cautioned that political life can be very seductive and it can be challenging to transition back to the private sector if you have not established a reputation for yourself outside of politics. *There is a lot of ego in the practice of law, and*

when you get into politics, there is a temptation to make the ego even larger, and that should be resisted at all costs, said one respondent. Another respondent said:

Within an 18-month period I was on the national stage. Seeing your name appear on the front page of the Globe and Mail occasionally, and you take position on individual issues; having people ask you to attend conferences. I quite enjoyed it.

Without maintaining your professional connections you may lack the confidence and the connections that ease your transition back into the private sector.

Rationalizing why he did not quit his day job, one participant made the observation that many friends of his who were politicians lost in the election of 2011 and had nothing to go back to. His friends who were lawyers were able to re-establish a practice in law. One participant advised that, as much as possible, keep your poker in the fire legally, don't give up your membership from the law society, and keep some loose association, if you can, with your firm because it takes a lot of time to re-establish those connections. *I've been in six general elections, I've won three general elections; I've changed careers back and forth a number of times,* commented one respondent. Each time he went back and forth it did not take long to reacquaint himself with the law.

Another respondent argued in favor of keeping one's law practice since you do lose some of your legal skills if you abandon practice for a long time. He went on to say, *You do not want to become a prisoner of politics or dependent on politics and unable to transition back to law for any number of reasons.* Another respondent added:

Unless you are a former minister, law firms are hesitant to hire you as you no longer have the network to support your return to practice. It is difficult to start from scratch and build a clientele after you have been away from the law for six, seven, or eight years.

This view was shared by other respondents who echoed the idea that you need to stay in contact with your previous life, your clients, and your practice to facilitate your

return and of course to keep you grounded. On the cusp of an election in Ontario, commenting on his plans for the future, one participant summed it up this way:

I am focusing on the election campaign so to be perfectly honest I have not thought beyond politics. It could be if the electorate decided not to elect me I know as a backup I am a lawyer and so I can hang up a shingle if push comes to shove.

Another respondent added:

Politics can be an uncertain business, and it made my transition into politics much easier having the peace of mind knowing that I could go back to my old law firm with my former partners. My advice is to try and get established as a lawyer so you will have confidence that you have something to go back to and that clearly eases the pressure.

Although some respondents decided to maintain a part-time law practice while in public office, others decided to close their practice down altogether. Some respondents found it impractical to combine the demands of public office with their existing law practice. *I realized I couldn't serve two masters, so I took myself out of the practice of law, and devoted myself full-time to the political sphere,* said one respondent. He went on to say:

I think I should have probably bowed out of legal practice faster; because it just put me under unnecessary stress to continue my practice and learning the ropes of being a politician. I mean there was nothing improper about it, and there wasn't any rule that required me to stop doing what I was doing. We still have members in parliament that still have a private practice. But I think that I took too long to come to the realization that I had to do one or the other. If I were to do it again; I would have withdrawn from my practice soon after being elected; not in a "burn your bridges" way because who knows if you're going to get re-elected. You always have to have a plan B.

Some participants expressed concerns over the logistics of accommodating parliamentary activities while at the same time having to return to their city of residence for trials and the reverse as well. So they dropped any effort to practice law actively as it

was too demanding. The demands are even greater today in the 24/7 cycle of news that exists. One respondent stated:

It was a tough transition for me, and maybe because of that I naively thought that I could still keep my hand in the legal work cleaning up the files that I didn't want to pass on to other lawyers. Due to my desire not to let go of my former life as a lawyer, it took me at least a year before I came to the realization that it was foolishness to think that I could do justice to both jobs. And so, I handed over my files to partners in the firm and let them handle them. Looking back, I probably would have said "That's it, I'm done, someone else is going to have to take over these files."

Some respondents were able to sell their practice shortly after getting elected and others were not able to do so. *I probably would have been more diligent at wrapping things up and making a cleaner break by shutting my practice down altogether*, said one lawyer. Most respondents who decided to close their law practice completely expressed that they should have been more diligent in doing so. Another respondent advised, *Work as diligently and quickly to close your files. Taking on new files is a big mistake because you can get into political trouble and sometimes in difficulty with the Law Society*. One respondent admitted that during the transition period, any critical files got cleaned up but there were other files that were just left sitting and unattended. One respondent cautioned that even during the campaigning period, lawyers should pay sufficient attention to the needs of their client; *you can't sort of abandon them for two months while you go off electioneering, and then wind your practice down after you get elected*.

In winding down a law practice, the most difficult part was ensuring that the clients were taken care of by assigning legal files to other lawyers. This process took anywhere from a few months to years, depending on the complexity of the files involved. One participant took almost 3 years to close down his practice as a number of his active files were complex and required his personal attention, whereas less complicated files

were assigned to his colleagues. One participant advised that it took him about 3 years to finish off the work he was doing as a lawyer in private practice.

A respondent who practiced for 15 years was the owner of an office building that was staffed by support personnel as well as a number of junior lawyers. She described the practice as thriving, large, and providing well for her family. So, she was initially hesitant to give it all up should she not like a career in politics. Rather than sell her practice she encouraged the other lawyers to assume the practice. She made the point that holding onto the building preserved the goodwill that was built up in the community should she wish to return to law. Other assets in her portfolio were dealt with by outright divestment and by setting up a blind trust. She kept this arrangement in place for 6 years before deciding that a career in politics held the promise of a bright future. In retrospect, by putting this arrangement in place she indicated: *It was not a negative thing. I could have sold to people who wanted the practice, but I did not want to close the door.*

Another respondent felt that his loyalty towards his clients caused him to want to handle and close their files personally. Some of these files were a work in progress for up to 5 years. He now thinks that he ought to have just passed these files off to other lawyers. Having to work on files personally meant placing a real burden on his legal staff during the first 8 to 9 months of being elected. This meant that they ended up having to work long hours trying to get the files closed before he terminated his relationship with the firm. He also tried to do some trials but managed to negotiate settlements with lawyers on the other side. During the time of shutting down his practice he recalled working up to 20 hours a week on his legal files; and felt rushed by the time limits imposed on him because he still had to fulfill the responsibilities of a politician.

Another participant explained that during the winding down process, the relationship with his law firm continued for several years and that was a concern due to Law Society rules. It was easier once the billings ended and he did not have to worry about any conflict of interest. Another respondent made the decision to give up the practice of law and focus on his job as a politician because he thought there was a risk that he would be bad at both, and he wanted to be good at one endeavor.

Respondents who chose to keep their legal practice for the duration of their time in public office essentially did two jobs and as such had to devise a strategy to accommodate both professions. One respondent worked his law practice aggressively from Friday to Sunday and also during the summer months when the Legislature was not sitting. As work in the Legislature was time consuming he chose good cases that he thought would settle so he could do very little discovery or trial work. His tendency was to have two cases on the go, and if they proved too complex to handle he would farm out some of the work. He was fortunate to have the assistance of his wife in managing the law office and their two children. Another respondent arrived in his law office at 7:00 A.M., worked until noon, and then reported to his legislative office shortly after noon, working into the evening hours. Another respondent reported that maintaining a practice in law was more manageable while they were in opposition ranks and when Parliament was not in session. One respondent commented:

I had the luxury of being in opposition where you have a lot of the rights and privileges but none of the obligations. You could hammer away at a particular issue and so being in opposition as a first time parliamentarian is an advantage.

Respondents wishing to work both jobs found it necessary to choose certain types of legal files over others: *I was doing solicitor's work, but if you are doing barrister's work it's more difficult because if trials come up and you have to be in the house for a*

vote, it gets to be very stressful. The timeline around a barrister's work is driven primarily by the wishes of the court, lawyers on the opposition, and the demands of the client. On the other hand, solicitor-type work allowed them the flexibility to work around their political commitments. With solicitor-type work, managing both jobs is achievable if adequate planning is done in advance. *Since the job of a politician was time consuming, I was selective and cherry-picked the legal issues I chose to work on,* says one lawyer.

Other respondents maintained their law practice but found they took on the role of a rainmaker by bringing in the business. In reality they did less of the day-to-day legal work and relied on other lawyers in the firm to service their clients.

Mentors and Peer Support

Participants indicated that mentoring and peer support were important during the encounter phase as lawyers had to cope with: new job expectations, a change in physical surroundings, loss of privacy, absence of family, and an adjustment to differences in personal finances. Respondents recommended that it was important that lawyers find someone to have a relationship with who was willing to serve as a mentor. Mentors were instrumental in breaking in and teaching new members the written and unwritten rules. Leveraging existing relationships made coping seem easier as many lawyers had friends who had been around the political scene for a while and gave them some idea of what the job was like. One participant spoke of his personal relationship with the Premier of the province and recognized that this made his transition into politics easier than most people. The good fortune of being close to the Premier allowed him to quickly move into the role of Attorney General.

One respondent advised that his mentor taught him everything, such as where the caucus met, where the bathrooms were, how to manage time demands, and how time should be spent between the constituency office and Ottawa. As a result this made him feel comfortable with the rules, protocols, and some traditions. This allowed him to adapt seamlessly in the Legislature by holding his own in debates when he occupied the ranks of the opposition and in the backbenches. *I got myself familiar with the positions and got quite comfortable in public appearances and public speeches and public debating. I suffered my fair share of defeats and humiliations but was able to rationalize it somehow.*

Another respondent found mentors very useful as they integrated him into the political party since he had not possessed a long-term political connection with people in the party. In order to display his talents he attached himself to more experienced members who helped him integrate into the party. However, he went on to say that these mentors were of less use in coping with the vast changes required in his role as a minister of the Crown but worked through the changes together. Another respondent stated that other mentoring relationships were more casual, with many of his colleagues saying to him ‘I’m here if you need some help,’ so in that sense he felt supported. A small number of participants were mentored by friends with whom they went to law school and were elected into office preceding them. One respondent stated that his mentor gave him a copy of his book, which explained parliamentary history and what it was like to be a parliamentarian. It provided unique insights into what the job was like. He said, *One day this book saved me when I almost went over the edge.*

One respondent took a systematic approach by having a few mentors whom she consulted regularly for guidance on a one-to-one basis. One participant described the

advantage of having seasoned members from her party on both sides of the chamber that were really good mentors and took the time to teach her, which made the transition easier. She recalls being guided by her mentor (himself a Minister in the government), who introduced her to the Justice Committee and also met with her every week to answer questions and help her solve problems and develop strategic solutions. During this time she recalls being problem-free as she spent a lot of time working with him. Another mentor was the chief of staff in the ruling party who taught her the necessary skills required to work with the internal caucus.

One respondent adopted the habits of his mentor who displayed the work ethic of dutifully juggling his work done in Parliament on senior policy issues, with the responsibility of serving his constituency in a very personal way. He advised that his mentor passed on the following advice to him: *Remember three things, all the policies in the world don't mean a damn if you can't get elected, second you can't get in trouble for the speeches you don't make, and third, even if you are not so inclined, always be humble.* Another respondent was taught by his mentor that the most powerful people in the political world are not the elected officials, the advisors to the Prime Minister, or senior cabinet ministers; often the more powerful people are those who contribute large amounts of money in campaign contributions! One respondent recalls having a mentor who belonged to a different political party and was willing to put party politics aside and assisted her in getting re-elected.

Where experienced politicians were not available to serve as mentors, heavy reliance was placed on other newly elected members who were part of the same freshman class. Using the background materials provided by parliamentary staff, newly elected

politicians figured out the day-to-day responsibilities of parliamentary life. Newly elected members also depended on parliamentary staff inherited from predecessors to provide advice on administrative matters. One participant put it this way:

Once I got my political staff in place we learned together; we were all new people, whole new generation of political staff. I learnt about my colleagues around the cabinet table, meeting all my fellow members of Parliament and as a minister figuring out the relationship between a Member of Parliament and the minister.

One participant acquired the skill to navigate through various ministries by surrounding himself with peers who knew this strategy. He described one peer as being a wonderful and remarkable person, whom she wished would have been Prime Minister. *I couldn't have worked with a better person*, she says. Another respondent advised that having a mentor meant being prepared to listen and to learn from those around you, *and never let your ego get the better of you! I think all things considered, the job did track along as well as I could hope due to the mentorship and peer support.*

Dealing With Daily Stressors

Respondents felt that law provided adequate grounding in having to deal with the stresses encountered in politics, namely keeping up with all of the constituency work as well as the busy schedule in Parliament. This is the same type of pressure you have to deal with when dealing with a case. Lawyers work long hours. *We were used to that*, commented one participant. Law and politics are very similar in that respect, so there should not be a great deal of difficulty adapting. One respondent indicated that the biggest overlap was in being able to enter into a debate with someone knowing that at the end they would not be happy with you. Training as a lawyer enables you to reconcile

those emotions, knowing it is a normal part of the job and at the end of the day one can head home and still be able to sleep. A participant summed it up this way:

I think law is an excellent practice for becoming a politician . . . having to deal with people; many of whom have legitimate problems, many of whom are charged with high emotions. Politicians who like litigators on the other side make it their job to try and rip you down. I think if you're a lawyer you're just better able to withstand and manage that.

I think as a lawyer you recognize that you're not always going to please everybody all the time and there certainly are no shortages of surprises, said one lawyer. He credited his legal training with helping him to cope with the stresses imposed by those who held radically opposing points of view. He cited examples where he was able to put up with the heckling within the Legislature and withstand disagreements in the community. He routinely had his constituency office picketed by protesters. Protesters complained about bills in Parliament that he championed and accused him of refusing to listen to all sides of the story. The participant commented:

Today, I watched streaming video of people protesting outside my office, it's not the easiest day I've had and it's not bothering me as much as I think it might a number of other people. If I do have a bad day, I sometimes remind myself; I could be back downtown scrambling to try and bill enough hours, and get enough divorces done, and get ready for trial; there's very few days where I ever think I would like to do that again, I'm pretty satisfied where I am.

Another respondent described attending a rally where thousands of citizens protested over the austerity measures being taken by his government. There were people carrying signs with various messages denouncing his position as well as the government. He recalls aggressive shouting and booing, which came from the crowd and being shouted down when he tried to speak to the protesters. His training as a litigator allowed him to depersonalize the attacks of the public as his government attempted to make changes.

Litigation skills also came in handy when lawyers had to engage in question period. During question period, members of opposing political parties call upon the Prime Minister, cabinet ministers, and House of Commons committee chairs to explain their actions for which they are responsible. But in reality this was taken as an opportunity to launch personal attacks and ask questions to make a point that was somewhat critical of the government. One respondent put it this way:

As Parliamentary Secretary I had to assume the role of answering in question period for the minister, and my minister in the first term was away a lot. One day I answered 17 questions in question period; the opposition attacked me because they wanted to see what I was all about.

One respondent admitted that he would react in-kind and launch his own attacks. Being a litigator he used his skills to frustrate the opposition by answering questions in the Legislature that made it really difficult for the opposition to understand what he was saying. *That's something I had to develop over a period of years, which was not easy.* A fellow participant in this study had the opportunity to observe this firsthand:

I learned the skill of obscurity from him as he was a master of that. He would answer a question by not answering the question; by wobbling around and dragging the puck as we used to call it. He appeared to be giving a difficult answer but he was just dancing around the issue.

Another respondent spoke about how his legal training helped him rebuff an attack by another member of the Legislature when he stood up to make a motion:

When I got up to move the motion, one of the political veterans tried to embarrass me and said "Can you define what a motion is?" And he asked me "What is a motion?" and I responded to him that I knew what a motion was because I took municipal law. He was not able to embarrass me but I ended up embarrassing him by giving him a legal explanation of what a motion is. At this point I felt that I got that extra little bit of help because I specifically geared my courses to go into politics.

Learning the Ropes

Participants reported their struggle in learning new elements of a politician's job that were different from the practice of law. These comments were reported under the theme "Learning the Ropes." This subheading was added to the systematic general framework suggested by Nicholson (1990) in an effort to highlight distinct areas where participants reported learning about the formal and informal functions of government.

One such area was in learning about "Process and Procedure" in politics where participants reported learning about how to get things done. They reported learning about these when they attempted to make changes to the system. This was coded as "Making Changes." In interviews, strategies on how to deal with issues related to the media were repeated. This was coded as "Handling the Media." "Communicating With the Public" was a code assigned when reference was made to the communication style of participants as they reached out to constituents. Female participants made observations and related experiences on the differential treatment of women in politics. This was coded as "Glass Ceiling for Women."

One respondent recalls the experience of going into politics as similar to being thrown into a pool where you either sink or swim. *You learn by doing as I was involved very quickly into the thick of things after the election, so the transition was very brief for me because I was up to my neck in responsibilities.* Another commented that he was immersed from the first day and literally received on-the-job training. *My phone started ringing the day after the election with constituents' calls and concerns.* Another participant stated:

I was at a loss frankly for a while in terms of my responsibilities because I was inundated and overwhelmed with my duties as a politician. There is no manual

that tells you how to be a politician or a community activist or a community builder. It is one of those jobs where it is up to your making. To a large degree you end up on this treadmill and you just go.

Respondents focused their learning in six areas: process and procedure, making changes, handling the media, communicating with the public, and female politicians understanding the glass ceiling.

Process and Procedure

Many respondents reported that politics is a world where things are done in a different fashion as compared to the practice of law, and the lawyer-politicians must get used to that. Being able to manage in the system and knowing how it works enabled lawyers to make significant progress. An understanding of who does what was found to be critical by one lawyer:

The hard part in the transition was getting to know who was who and getting some background on individuals, both within my own caucus—my own party—and within other parties. To have a good evaluation and sense of what issues I could approach these people on as I strategized on a particular file. This took a little bit longer because there were 308 other Members of Parliament.

One respondent pointed out that law school did not teach politicians much about practical elements of the legislative process but taught her about what bills are, how bills get passed into law, the role of standing committees in Parliament, the structure of the House of Commons and Senate, the role of the Governor General, and the historical conflict among the Canadian federal and provincial governments.

Most respondents found it difficult to understand their role within the arcane rules of the parliamentary process. There is a lot of just following orders in the beginning until conventions of the Legislature and routines are learned so that lawyers are confident in finding their own way around. One participant shared his personal struggle:

As a new member and someone with a rather independent streak, I hadn't internalized that sensibility yet, so that was an early test of my own sense of making decisions, not only in a parliamentary unit, but as a member of a political party with the exigencies of party discipline particularly on issues of that kind.

However, one respondent found that learning the rules and procedures of the House of Commons was easy for her as it was no different from reading a piece of legislation. Developing an integrated knowledge of how the whole system of law, politics, and parliamentary procedure works takes about a year. A holistic understanding of the processes was important in adjusting and becoming comfortable with one's legislative role in the constituency. Typically, after 1 year a politician has been through an entire legislative cycle and witnessed: the bringing in of the throne speech, the spring budget, the estimates process, the laws that have processed their way through the system, and being familiar enough with the rules of the standing committees to become involved with them. During this initial year the politician also gets an introduction to the community and understands what is expected and creates his or her own way of doing it.

Participants indicated that learning the system required being embedded in Parliament to witness how things are done, not just in theory but in practice. *I was a student of politics; being elected as a Member of Parliament was simply an application of my undergraduate degree in political science. I was now operating behind the scenes observing what was going on,* says one respondent. He went on to say:

In making my own determination I found it fascinating that most of the important legislation comes from the Prime Minister's office and was given to caucus and told "here's the bill we want to go with". . . . The process of government is very dictatorial compared to the process I had studied or was elected into. We're a democratic party that's been elected and when the party is formed, it becomes a dictatorship by the Prime Minister's office.

It was a bit of an eye-opener for respondents to realize that in Canadian federal politics 80% of the time was spent examining the active business of the government and the other 20% was spent attending special committees. A politician would normally expect to be involved in reviewing the estimates provided by the government's special operations committee and learn how to read those numbers when trying to determine how much or how little the government was spending on programs. Learning how to navigate through various ministries was also seen as important. Many members said it was important to experience a sense of independence and integrity, and not forfeit that integrity to the contingencies of party politics. *It is easy to think I'm just a trained seal and I just have to hold my hand up when the Prime Minister stands up*, says one respondent.

One participant shared how she utilized her knowledge of how the process worked to expedite her motions and get her private members' bills through:

I would capitalize on the fact that after an election, you'd have a slew of new politicians and they often had a better chance of being high enough on the list of order of preference for a private member's business. A lot of them would be scrambling an idea, and a piece of legislation; so a number of times I was able to go to another MP and say "look I've got a private member's bill, but I'm so far down the list" and it would take a number of years before my name would come up for a debate at a second reading. So I would propose that they look at it, give them my briefing notes and if they're in agreement with it, table it in their name.

One respondent advised that he learned that one of the realities of the political process is that *the report card is not based on you, it's based on all sorts of factors: the economy, the leaders, and the portion of the party that you are tied to.*

During the 2008 recession, it was not uncommon for politicians to petition the government for funding to save jobs in their constituency. One respondent explained that the threat of having both Chrysler and General Motors shutting down and going bankrupt

prompted him to go to the government seeking financial support. In response to appeals such as his, the government formed a sub-committee to investigate the industry, and he spent many long hours investigating the state of the automobile industry. This experience highlighted the importance of the work done by special committees in Ottawa. Learning about lobbying was especially important to this participant as the concept was foreign to him. During his time in office he spent a lot of time listening to lobbyists who came into his office advocating for a number of causes. He engaged intensely in listening and considered this as an opportunity to be informed about one point of view. He understood that forming a balanced opinion meant appreciating the other side.

Respondents were of the view that law school education provided insufficient grounding in parliamentary procedure, so one respondent took it upon himself to return to his alma mater to teach the students about the legislative process. *I know a lot of law schools are trying to put similar changes in place to include information about the legislature process*, he says. Most procedures on Parliament Hill are informal: how you do business, whom you contact, how you contact them, how far you can go in pushing an issue, and how much compromise is necessary. Recognizing that information on process and procedure was not widely available to new politicians, one respondent found himself invited by many foreign governments to share his many years of political experience. He was also in the process of writing a book on parliamentary procedure as there was no book on that topic in existence.

A small number of respondents spoke about the merits of the orientation program offered by parliamentary staff for new Members of Parliament. Orientation seminars

were important as Members of Parliament all of a sudden became public figures overnight. One respondent stated:

Becoming a Member of Parliament is a job like no other in the country. But just like new jobs, at least the fairly senior level anywhere, you need an orientation. And that orientation is important in terms of making a smooth transition, at least beginning to make the transition from private citizen to public figure . . . because if you haven't been a public figure before, you are now.

One participant who went through the training recalls a couple days of pretty intensive work, where his absorption rate was challenged and *there were probably things that I did not absorb because it was just too much to be taken in at the one time.* Another commented:

The orientation sessions focused on how the system worked, but there is no training in the sense of handing you a mock piece of legislation, asking you to study it, discuss what you are supposed to do, and how you go about drafting an amendment if required.

Topics covered in orientation include: responsibilities of an elected representative, scheduling when the House of Commons sits, Rules of the House of Commons (parliamentary procedure), how to table documents, responsibilities during question period, allowances and services, budgeting, travel (taking spouses on trips, employing family), membership fees (House of Commons gym), housing allowances, family allowances, constituency office allowances, staffing levels, conflict-of-interest issues, overview of committee work (Justice, Immigration, Finance, etc.), time management, life and work balance, running the office, and physical orientation of the House of Commons.

Making Changes

Many respondents felt empowered by their constituents and wanted to have their voice heard on the regional or national stage. Respondents expected that change would occur soon after becoming elected but realized that it was more difficult than expected.

Change is not as fast as the private sector or in a law firm as the government process is an awful lot slower, says one respondent. Another added:

I went to participate to represent my people in that process so I went with the intention and the belief that I could meet with their expectations but it was quite a while before I could act consistent with expectations. There were days and weeks when I found that I was paddling backwards and not making a lot of headway.

Criminal law provides a good analogy, as the making of laws and getting things done in Parliament is quite a bit like plea-bargaining, says one lawyer. Change is brought about by working with the opposition parties and working with one's own caucus. In doing so, it is necessary to learn the procedures on Parliament Hill where nothing is formal including how business is done, who you contact, how you contact them, how far you go in pushing an issue, and how much compromise is necessary.

Participants were hit by the reality that although change could be made, it was incremental in nature and did not happen overnight. *There is always an endless array of problems that cry out for attention and you may be able to affect these in a small way,* said one lawyer. Another added, *It's quite frustrating how slow things go.* Many participants felt that they would enter the system and make an immediate impact but suddenly realized that more often than not, it was their own government departments that did not want to move on things. *It is like pushing that proverbial rock up the hill all the time and then it comes rolling back down on you,* said one respondent. There is a lot of pushback from the system mainly from other parties, but sometimes from within the politician's own party. Trying to reconcile one's ideas with other people within your own party is sometimes easily achieved and sometimes not easily achieved. Difficulties were encountered most often when it came to making changes to national programs such as the Canada Pension Plan and Employment Insurance.

One respondent advised that change is very much caucus oriented. The caucus holds the power, and the challenge is to convince enough people that something needs to be changed and show how it will be changed. *Although I ended up being quite successful in passing a number of pieces of legislation, one has to have a talent for it.* Another insight was that most legislators were not interested in changing anything that involved lawyers because there is a great dislike for lawyers—maybe not on an individual basis, but certainly as a profession!

A well-known politician indicated that it is easier to be a politician, who advocates well-known positions based on fundamental principles and values, *but shaping or attempting to shape new approaches and new solutions to new challenges; that's the difficult part of it*, says one respondent. Another shared his experience:

I think you have to come with a realistic attitude it's a long-term endeavor to change legislation in a sophisticated and complex place as Canada. I've watched some of my colleagues get pretty frustrated by not being able to make the changes as rapidly as they thought they would when they got elected. I think I came with a realistic attitude of what was doable, and I believe . . . I may be deluding myself; but I believe I've been able to accomplish a number of things, I'm satisfied with the effect I've had, certainly the growth of my political party has reinforced that. I was initially working on the environment portfolios and then from about 2003 on I've been working on the justice and public safety, and there's no doubt in my mind that I've had an impact.

Respondents realized that success meant becoming part of the broader narrative, which over time creates momentum. An example was provided by another respondent:

Take an issue like the environment; it's now off the radar of the government. I went up there thinking "Oh this is going to be great, there's going to be an environment committee, we can talk about what we're going to do to clean our environment and reduce our greenhouse gas emission" and I really had a rude awakening, when you just run up against a wall of a government that has absolutely no interest in doing anything other than pretending that they're interested but not really. So it can be deflating, but then you have to realize that it is such a long and broader process, and all you can do is you add your strong voice to all the other strong voices in the hope that everyone at some point will hear it and will force the government to make these changes.

Many respondents became frustrated when they realized that they could not accomplish the great things they expected to accomplish during the first year in office. One respondent indicated that a lawyer can have an impact, but perhaps it is less or different from initial expectations.

Politics is sort of like playing baseball, if you hit 350 you're in the hall of fame. So you don't win all the battles, but what keeps me motivated is that I have made a difference in a number of the committees in specific pieces of legislation. I have made some comments and amendments to legislation that have been brought forward and those small victories, I think, make the job very gratifying because you know I've made a difference in what the law is in the province.

Change could be shown in many ways including working with colleagues, working with cabinet ministers, introducing a private member's bill, or by standing in the house and voting to pass legislation. All of these things help to effectuate change, but it may not occur as quickly or directly as lawyers were expecting when they first went to Parliament.

Respondents advised that it took dogged determination and persistence to actually make the changes one hoped to make, because there were many barriers in public office. Once a politician has chosen a course of action, efforts should be continued even when things don't look too promising. *If you keep banging away it's surprising how many times you will succeed*, said another participant. *Every time you get a no, you are that much closer to getting a yes. No does not mean no, it just means no for now*, added another. Having said this, the net result was often a watered-down version of the change that respondents initially wanted to achieve. One respondent recalled expending tremendous effort over the course of years in opening a recreation center but claimed that what he eventually got was less than what he was envisioning. The net result was a center that had a minor impact on employment for individuals in his community.

Another participant acknowledged that although lawyers may not make monumental changes, they could have an impact in the most meaningful of ways. He provided an example from his own experience:

Sometimes I come across people on the bus or the subway, or in the community and they say “Well you helped me to come to Canada . . . you went to bat for me . . . you helped me get a job. . . .” These are little things that you can do for constituents and they make a big impact on the lives of people. That's because you've taken the time to assist them. I recall going to get a muffler replaced a while ago on my car, and when I went to pay, the owner of the shop said “no charge” and I said “what do you mean?” and he said, for many years now . . . back 15 or 20 years or so, I helped this individual to get his landed immigrant status to Canada, and that individual was working in that muffler shop as a senior foreman. As it turned out he was one of his best workers that contributed to the success of his business. And I don't even remember ever helping this individual.

One respondent pointed to the success of his party in getting Canada's finances back on track by reintroducing funding for research, and injecting money into Canada's health care. *I contributed towards this and felt really good about it. You can make changes and get things done but you've got to play it all the right way by understanding government budgets*, says one respondent. He advised that lawyers should understand the budget-making process as this is a statement of the government's priorities and policy decisions. Budgets determine what community programs and activities are supported, and which are not.

Handling the Media

Remember no reporter is your friend, commented one respondent. A number of respondents reported having to be very careful in their use of their language when communicating with the media. According to one participant,

In the beginning I did not understand how complex it would be dealing with the media. Looking back I would be a little more reserved, as saying too much can get you in trouble. People warned me, but you have to pay for your education.

Several participants felt that the media today is considered far more intrusive compared to a few years ago. Respondents felt that political matters are only noteworthy if the issue made it into the newspaper, and when the newspaper got tired of reporting an issue, coverage ended; and when the coverage stopped, the issue became less significant in people's minds. Respondents understood that an issue which attracted media attention could become a political hot potato. Thus, many participants indicated that the biggest difficulty in making the transition was the amount of media scrutiny. *I remember my first question in Parliament, my knees were knocking and I broke into a cold sweat knowing that the national media was there*, commented one lawyer. *Technology has made this even more pronounced today. I mean, everything you do is under a microscope, is public, and you don't really have any private life, it is all out there for public scrutiny*, said another.

Even if newly elected lawyers think they know what media criticism is going to be like, they really don't know until they have experienced it. One respondent described dealing with media criticism over allegations of conflict of interest as a turning point for him. He explained that facing serious public criticism for some decision that had been made or some action taken was a transitional moment.

I think that before it happens to you, it is easy to delude yourself into thinking it's easy, but that is a big mistake. I think there is a bit of truth that a baptism by fire is a pretty good way to learn.

Another respondent related his experience with the press:

I can remember it was just a matter of weeks, and someone in my local newspaper wrote something nasty about me—you either grow a thick skin or you may as well get out of the business; I mean, people are going to criticize you; that's all there is to it. Especially in our system; it's different than the U.S. system . . . but in the 3-party system or the 4-party system to get 50% who like you that's about as good as you'll ever do; so you just have to take it from whence it comes.

A respondent indicated that the attacks from the media were far reaching, touching those in his family circle and advised:

When papers say bad things about you, most lawyers have a thick enough skin that it won't bother them as much, says one lawyer. But it might bother the spouses or it might bother the children, so they need to be prepared for that and they need to be supportive. Criticism will be harder on them than it will be on you.

Traditional communicative techniques of writing letters, picking up the phone, or emailing people still worked, but methods of handling the media had to be learned. One respondent commented,

I've been told that I've probably broken all the rules when it comes to interviews with the media; I've been told you shouldn't say too much. You have three lines and you stick to those lines no matter the question.

Another participant referred to the media as being cruel at times and stated that he tried to discipline himself by not becoming too emotional when appearing before the media as experience taught him that the message could be lost. *I still have a very strong passionate streak in me, I try to suppress it and I control it on television*, commented one lawyer. He went on to say that modern-day communication is difficult, in particular television as he had to be very concise in his thoughts. This ran contrary to his natural inclination of wanting to state his thoughts in an excessive way before coming to his point. He recalls that changing over into discrete sound bites was very challenging.

It is still the prevalent way to communicate, and I still find it difficult. In fact, I find a lot of difficulty now that I'm older and get on TV from time to time; they want a six-second answer and they want a debate point.

Notwithstanding, respondents availed themselves of media channels where they were not heavily edited such as party magazines, YouTube, websites, text messaging, tweets, and government-funded television such as CPAC.

Over the course of 20 years, one respondent described his relationship with the media as poor at best. He indicated that the relationship soured when he beat someone whom the media had supported for the nomination. The press had deemed his opponent as being the best person to win the election, and when he won this caused huge consternation in the media. The media could not understand how he won the election and began to print false stories about him. Reflecting, he had this to say:

I was new at the game and instead of me letting those false stories just flow off my back—like water off a duck's back. But I took it personally and sued them for libel and issuing false stories. And I won. In winning I lost, because I therefore made an enemy of the media from then on.

Respondents advised that it was best to be pretty crisp and clear when meeting with the media or making a public statement on issues to avoid sending mixed messages. *When you talk to the media, they don't want long complicated answers; they want a simple basic answer; this is important to remember if you want to get quoted,* said one participant. Another added that when communicating with the media he was always cognizant of what his message was and did not give in to the media strategy of knocking you off your focus. *I developed a style where I just kept on my focus, not by just using rhetoric but by staying on point.*

Avoidance of the press is not the solution, as the media can destroy your career if you are not responsive, said one respondent. He would always answer and responded to telephone calls from media, whether they were friends or not, or whether or not he knew it was a difficult question. *You never answered "no comment" and you never said "not available for comment." That was bad. So I always gave some sort of answer.* In return for paying them that courtesy, they returned the favor by making him look more telegenic:

I am relatively short in stature and the TV camera can make you look taller by lowering the camera so that they're looking up at you. Another example of this was when the media used this technique to make Pierre Trudeau look taller than Joe Clark. As a result in the public's mind Joe Clark had the image of being a small guy who was shorter than Trudeau, whereas in reality he was six inches taller. That is just a television technique.

Respondents stated that being open with the media paid dividends as they would occasionally repay the favor. One respondent recalled that the media called and tipped him off about an impending issue and this allowed him to put his thoughts together and be in a position to respond to the public. One respondent rationalized, *you have to understand these guys are just little people with jobs and they need to feed the fire so if you don't call them back they're going to wear that as a grudge, so being accessible is number one.* Cultivating a good working relationship with the press paid off as this allowed for the message to be managed in a time of crisis. This respondent also looked forward to the rush of adrenaline he felt during a scrum or when he appeared on television. One participant noted that if he intended to speak to the national media, his party had to approve of the message. So he avoided the national media as much as he could and dealt with the local press.

One respondent adopted the strategy of breaking down barriers and was very active with the press, stating that he took every opportunity to have a full conversation with them. If they requested 5 minutes for an interview, he allowed 15 minutes as this gave them more to work with and the opportunity to understand and know him better. This strategy worked as they knew they were not just going to get a bunch of sound bites. He advised that, unlike other politicians, he did not misuse press releases but was very selective; that way when he spoke to the press they were more likely to listen, *because they think "Oh wow, we don't get very many of these from him it must be serious."*

Many respondents opined that open, honest, and frank communications were respected by the media even if they did not always appreciate what was being said. One seasoned respondent passed on the following advice on dealing with the press:

You have to pretty well be prepared to ignore the press. They simply don't understand the role of the sitting Member of Parliament or a minister. You have got to make your own judgment call. If what you're looking for is recognition, then go and become a rock star, don't go into public life.

In offering a solution to this problem one respondent suggested the use of communication training to become more comfortable with the media. As Attorney General, another respondent hired a communication person to provide tips on how to handle media scrums every day the Legislature was sitting. He indicated that he learned various ways of expressing himself in short descriptive sentences. One participant recalls taking training from a consultant in the United States who tried to get him off long-winded answers and condense his responses into 3- to 5-second sound clips. He was told by the consultant that in today's world, politicians must speak in clear and concise language because the media would not give him more than that. He admitted that this style of speaking was still a challenge for him.

One respondent described himself as being a maverick, stating that he had absolutely no problems with the media as they knew that they could always get a good controversial story out of him as he regularly opposed the policies of his own party and those of the party in power!

Communicating With the Public

One of the things I remember is in relation to my manner of speaking. My words and my phrases were usually very measured and relatively precise. I've had to acquire

the ability to speak in longer sentences about smaller issues, said one respondent.

Another respondent cautioned:

You have to be very cognizant of not sounding like a lawyer instructing a client or explaining things to a client in the law office, or getting ready for trial, or preparing a witness or preparing your client for a trial; you have to be much more colloquial. And so I had to park some of the attributes of being a lawyer as I was much closer to the public and the realities of the public, as opposed to operating strictly within your world as a lawyer.

Politicians should not underestimate the importance of using very succinct plain language in describing what is being done when dealing with the public. One respondent stated that he had to transition from lawyer-speak to politician-speak. He expressed it this way:

Lawyers tend to move to 'gobbledygook' from plain language, and when you're in politics you have to very quickly move from very plain speaking, because you're communicating with the general public. You learn different ways of expressing yourself and being very short in your description of what you're saying and what you're trying to say. It's very different from expressing yourself in court. I think that lawyers have varying opportunities to speak to the general public, but first and foremost that is a very important skill development that lawyers would have to deal with in public office.

Lawyer-speak involves putting evidence in front of a judge, presenting the law, and driving it to a conclusion. Politics on the other hand is about ideas and conveying them to the public. Your language must be simplified by speaking in shorter sentences without the use of complicated big words. These are things you learn over time.

One respondent recalls being at a demonstration that had to do with the shutting down of some of the VIA Rail passenger service and remembers being wordless when called upon to make a speech publicly. He thought the law and policy were simple but did not know how to expand on the rhetoric. He felt unable to articulate the position on the issue because it really was not a legal issue, but rather a policy one. He advised, *I had to change my gown. I had to change my clothes to suit the needs of my electorate. At*

some point I escaped just being a lawyer. People wanted to hear about the issues so he spoke about it. It was not a question of just thinking something up but speaking more than he would normally speak. The other extreme of that was speaking the way a politician would speak where they cannot put the microphone down and they just talk and talk and talk. He always tried to avoid that in his speeches. Another respondent admitted that being the son of a politician made the transition easy but it took him some time and practice to be able to speak extemporaneously as well as most politicians. He realized that the ability to communicate ideas was a very important part of public life.

The danger when explaining issues to the public is in starting to sound like a lawyer. *I always felt somewhat handicapped being a politician by being a lawyer,* commented one participant. In doing so, one respondent advised that it was wise to be direct, clear, and well briefed. Said another,

You have got to listen to the person who is talking to you and respond in a way that's meaningful to them. This is a technique I have always used in the courtroom and more extensively when I am communicating with the public.

Reflecting on why constituents supported his bid to enter politics, another respondent thought that they saw him as someone who was engaged in the community and as a person who was a good listener, sensitive to their concerns.

Another respondent felt that she had to always be careful at figuring out who the intended audience was and delivering the message accordingly:

You've got to remember that every word you say is going to be taken away and analyzed. So you've got to be honest and clear and sensitive to their feelings, and you ought to be sensitive to the fact that they're going to take every word that you say and analyze it over and over again, to see if there is some hidden meaning that they missed. So you have to be very careful in your communication.

Most respondents reported that they communicated best if they had the time to speak to people in an informal way, but many times this was not possible, so they were forced to speak in sound bites. *I found communication in today's digital world as very challenging. I just think the notion of you getting something out in six seconds is not conducive to good public discussion*, said one participant.

Another respondent thought that changing the manner in which you communicated was necessary as the public is appealed to at about a fifth-grade level, and not on an intellectual level. The most significant adjustment lies in figuring out how to make complex things simple to the point where one is scripted. Moreover, messages need to be coordinated as lawyers are part of a bigger machine, and there needs to be some coordination in the communication the party is trying to communicate. One respondent spoke of making effective use of body language: such as not clenching your hands, a firm handshake accompanied by a warm smile, and making eye contact. When appearing on television, the effective use of body language requires speaking forthrightly and looking straight into the camera, never relying on notes, and not being bothered if sentences and syntaxes are not perfect.

Another participant learned the art of communicating with the media from observing masters of the art in the House of Commons. He spoke about observing Prime Minister Trudeau's academic technique of answering a question by asking a question. In the House of Commons he observed the leader of the Progressive Conservative Party Robert Stanfield and the leader of the New Democratic Party David Lewis and noticed how they made optimum use of the media for the purposes of communicating with the

Canadian public. This experience made him feel confident on the radio and on camera.

He went on to say:

In dealing with the media I answered rhetorically where I appeared to be well briefed on a subject without being verbal. I developed the technique of saying things with fewer words than other lawyers. I took to this technique more naturally than others.

Communicating in simple concise statements was not a Canadian-specific feature of politics but was an international preference. One respondent recalls that during an international tour promoting Canadian interests, he was coached by more than one president of the host country to keep his communication simple because people appreciated that.

Glass Ceiling for Women

Female respondents described the special challenges that many women face because they were not part of the all-boys club. One female respondent informed this study that she did not have the benefit of being a long-time party member so she had not established her independent political profile. It was not uncommon for women to find themselves outside of the established network and not being known to the party hierarchy or officials. One participant stated:

The old boys club still controls the network. I came into politics from the private sector and I did not grow up in politics. I think we should need more people like me, not the people that have been in politics that have been aids to people, who then become politicians. We need people with real-world experiences.

It was often difficult to get onto special committees such as finance committee or international planning as the chairs were invariably male. She recalled during her 15 years in politics there was only one female who was chair of the Canadian Federal

Finance Committee. It was almost unheard of to have a female serve in that capacity. One lawyer put it this way:

There are still certain barriers that are invisible until you walk up against them and you ask yourself "Where's the wall I just walked into?" You really have to work it out, that it's because you're not seen as a natural fit, because of your gender. Getting around this meant forming the necessary connections in order to get things done.

A female participant was optimistic and spoke about the shifting attitudes towards female politicians and remarked: *I think that the last 15 years have made a big difference for women in politics as there is a better understanding for women and their responsibilities.* Despite this shift, a female politician who was single found her ongoing responsibilities in the community to be socially injurious. She commented:

Constituents demand much and they did not appreciate the idea that I would miss an event or a community function because I was out on a date. As a single woman I found that the balance which I thought would be there really was not.

In her experience it was easier for peers and constituents to accept that a married person had family obligations and needed to skip events. However, being single meant that you had no excuse for being absent. *The expectation for me to attend public functions was a lot higher because I wasn't married. I knew there would be a lot of expectations but I wasn't expecting it to be that elevated.* She went on to relay more about her experience:

I found working in Ottawa a bit of a struggle. First of all I had to work twice as hard as my male colleagues to be taken seriously. I had to be extremely careful in how I made presentations from time to time because when women are aggressive, women are interpreted as being a bit 'bitchy' where men are just expected to be aggressive. In Ottawa you sometimes have to be very dominant or very forthright to make your opinion known and to get your point across and to be taken seriously. It's always a bit of a game, and particularly for women I think it's really difficult striking balance at times.

Another female respondent took the opportunity to encourage more women to get involved in politics because she thought that women were still under-represented in the

Legislature and said: *I can see as more women are elected, there's a different tone in the house, and men and women have different styles.*

Making Sense of the Experience

During the interviews participants stated that some of their new encounters brought them a joyful experience and new sense of identity. Nicholson (1990) expressed this as making sense of the new work experience. Within the lawyer-politician transition this is explored under two subheadings: “Enjoyment of New Job” and “Perks of the Job.” For example, when respondents reported enjoying opportunities such as meeting influential people, this enjoyment was coded as “Enjoyment of New Job.” “Perks of the Job” captured discussion on privileges that were offered to them while in public office such as chauffeur-driven cars. I thought it necessary to state these as they seemed to offset the other stresses associated with engaging in the new job.

Enjoyment of New Job

Respondents reported that politics gave them the opportunity to accomplish things that would not otherwise be realized. One respondent elaborated:

I had a few wow moments such as going to cabinet meetings and travelling. The foreign travel, that was kind of impressive. I have had some opportunities to go to Kenya—which was quite touching and emotional. I traveled to Taiwan and met with a couple of presidents of Taiwan.

Another participant described the mental experience as going to an intellectual candy store and stated: *I still miss it, it was the greatest experience I had in my life in terms of mind expansion and intellectual intensity.* He elaborated some more:

When I was doing committee work I was given full or substantially full authority to ask questions of expert witnesses. And from a lawyer's perspective it was a lot of fun because you are allowed to use your skills. I had a huge advantage as I knew how to frame a question and how to challenge an idea. This was an

opportunity to meet with top people who were being brought every day for you to question on a particular piece of legislation that they were advancing.

A few respondents reported that they felt a sense of belonging in Parliament right off the bat with the experience similar to coming home. One of these respondents stated that he never felt particularly smart until he went to Parliament because he found great satisfaction in being a good solid parliamentarian and provided decent service to his constituents. After many years of practicing law, respondents felt that legal practice became repetitious and politics alleviated the feeling of boredom, and made them much more enthusiastic in what they were doing. One politician stated: *Politics is stimulating and there is never a dull day. When things don't go wrong there is no better job in the world.*

One respondent reported that initially he enjoyed the work in Parliament but did not particularly care for the constituency work. Eventually he grew to like constituency work because he got to know a lot of people from diverse cultural backgrounds; and discovered a kind of pleasure in helping people with their problems. Likewise, another lawyer felt that *the reward in holding public office lay in the great joy of giving, as it is what sustains you since you are always going to end up losing or retiring in the long run.* Another participant stated, *I realize after I came into politics that you can measure your day better in terms of helping others.* He found that he could relate to them because of his background in international law. He soon learned that most of his constituents came from some other country and they knew a lot about international affairs. He felt wonderful and had a feeling of success when he helped constituents solve their problems but felt frustrated when he could do little to help. Similarly, another respondent thought that his previous experience as a lawyer and school board trustee explained his success with

constituency work as he was acquainted with attending community gatherings and dealing with issues that came up in the area he represented.

Respondents commented on the liberation they felt because they did not have to worry about converting their time into billable hours. One respondent expressed it this way:

The first change that is enormously practical and I think not trivial was this. The day I was elected I was able to throw my time sheets into the waste basket and that was an enormously liberating experience; to realize you could organize your day in a way that best suited what you needed to do. As opposed to try and fill your time sheet with enough billable hours to justify your existence to the compensation committee in your law firm. This was a great relief. My days were occupied by different things in politics, but you had more control over your life in some respect because it really didn't matter if you decided if you were going to spend Friday in your constituency and go home at lunch. As long as the Legislature wasn't sitting I was able to do that.

Respondents found that the job of a politician gave them freedom and permitted the time to satisfy their own curiosity by learning about things that were helpful to their community. Moreover, they did not have to worry about explaining unbillable time to partners in a law firm. If there was something they were interested in, they could go ahead and learn more about it, or could spend more time with someone without having to worry about recording time and billing. One respondent stated:

That's why this job is so fascinating for people of intelligence that have an interest and intellectual curiosity and display a lot of judgment. I won't describe the transition as difficult because I am happy to do it because I love people and I enjoy working for people.

Another participant explained that if he wanted to spend a day at a First Nation community learning about restorative justice, he could do that; if he wanted to tour a jail and spend an extra hour speaking to staff, he could do that. No one really could complain. He did not have to worry about converting everything into a billable hour. Rather, he

could spend time doing simple things such as giving people reasons to have confidence in our public institutions. Another participant added:

The most liberating part of the transition was realizing that I don't ever have to send somebody a bill. Billings were never one of my favorite parts of being a lawyer and that is one of the nice things about my job as a parliamentarian. Constituents can come in and if they want to spend two hours talking to me, I don't have to look at my watch and think "Oh man, I've got other files, I need to get done or I need to pay the rent and pay the staff at the end of the month."

A radical change was brought about as lawyers could dedicate a significant amount of time to an issue. Having worked in a smaller law firm, one respondent indicated that the usual practice was to have a few hundred files on the go, whereas in politics he found that he had one or two big projects to work on. As he worked on the Justice Committee, he focused on drafting a bill over the course of a month and a half and during this time that was the only file important to him. He said that this change was refreshing rather than having multiple files on the go and systems to remind you to follow up and things of that kind.

In comparing the professions of law and politics, one respondent advised that in private practice it is 80% work and 20% satisfaction, whereas in government it is 20% work and 80% satisfaction.

Every day I get to do something to push the agenda, and be at the table where decision-making is happening. An example of this was one lawyer who had a vision of bringing in public insurance in his province; I became quite wrapped up in it and enjoyed it immensely.

Another respondent felt as though he was called to the role of a lawyer-politician and recalls an incident that made him feel this way:

I had gotten through the first six months of my first term in office. We were having an all-night debate in the House of Commons. I remember getting back to the hotel where I was staying and had a few hours of sleep, and got cleaned up and heading back. As I was rounding the corner facing the Parliament buildings, there was a full moon out that night, and I saw the Canadian flag

with the peace tower behind it. This was sort of an out-of-body experience, a spiritual experience, and as I walked towards the building I thought 'fate has determined' this. This is where I am comfortable and this is where I am supposed to be.

Another participant felt extreme joy in achieving as much as he did in his role as Attorney General, saying, *Every day was pretty exciting, much more than the practice of law because I knew that I could make changes in society.* As Attorney General he had the power to get things done, and indicated that he was not disappointed in that respect. He was of the view that the most boring day in politics was more interesting than his most exciting day as a lawyer. Another participant said that after he came into politics he measured his day in terms of helping others, versus going home and saying to his family that he recorded 'x' number of hours today. He said, *I was able to go home and talk more about many of the issues or the experiences, or the efforts to help people that I was involved with; and I found that very fulfilling.* After serving as Attorney General for 10 years he had a great deal of law reform to show for it.

I wanted to be a member of the Legislature because I thought that I could make change, or help make change, and that was certainly a big attraction. One of the areas I focused on was family reform as women were not fairly treated under matrimonial law. I believed very strongly that access to justice was a serious problem and persons could not afford to get the right legal advice and assistance. Under my leadership the Legal Aid Program was established, French was used in the courts as an official language. I felt very strongly about highway traffic safety and we did a lot about that, whether it was including compulsory seatbelts and implementing the riding program to reduce death by drinking and driving and injury on the highway. In 10 years I managed to reduce death significantly on the highways. This was a very exciting period with a number of other issues that came along which had to be dealt with.

Perks of the Job

Participants reported enjoying opportunities they would not normally have, had they not been politicians. *I still can't believe the opportunity that I have been able to*

have. It's remarkable as to what chances you have to help out as opportunities unfold. It's been very fascinating and I'm very grateful for it, commented one participant. Another respondent was struck by the experience of arriving on Parliament Hill and walking through those impressive doors into center block where the House of Commons and the Centre Chambers are located. He commented, *To think that you're there and to represent your constituents, it is an experience that very few Canadians have; and it is a humbling experience.* Another commented, *I really felt the transition; it was a big change, a big difference passing through Parliament Hill, the beautiful offices—that hit me right away. I had that sense of history immediately.*

Another respondent advised that there were some opportunities that were fabulous that couldn't be replicated in any other field, such as the stimulation one lawyer's children got from meeting fascinating people such as presidents of various countries, the Queen of England, and Bono. *I sat down and talked with Bono about some things I'm doing, not many lawyers from rural Ontario get to chat with Bono,* commented one participant. One participant spoke about his experience when he met Mr. Nelson Mandela:

There were probably about 1000 people at that particular session. I still remember the situation very well, it was at the Civilization Museum here in Gatineau just across the river from Ottawa, and that particular setting is . . . you come in from outside and you're in an upper level, and then you get . . . the people are down below and there's a large escalator that brings you down, so it's an open area; but it's interesting, as he got to the banister and started down the escalator, we all could see him. . . . He had such charisma, and the room just basically fell silent and then we all started to applaud, but for 20 or 30 seconds just his physical presence was enough . . . There's an aura to someone like that; I always remember that. And then he got to come through and we got to shake his hand. The Prime Minister was with him and introducing Members of Parliament as he went through. But it was still one of those moments when he was at the top of the stairs as he was coming down, he dominated the room. I think it was a reflection of the respect that people in the room have for him, and it's still a dynamic that's very impressive.

Respondents spoke about the difficulties they faced after leaving office and the loss of government privileges. One respondent commented:

You go from being a minister with a driver, special benefits, accommodations, expense accounts, special privileges and all of that, and the next moment you're learning to ride the local bus to get to work. It's a huge difficult transition. In some respects, politics was harder to get out of than to get into.

Summary

The encounter phase of the NTC concerns itself with developing adequate coping mechanisms to deal with unfamiliar elements when placed in the new job function.

Coping, for some participants, meant they knew they could return to the practice of law should their political careers end unexpectedly. Thus, some respondents chose to run a part-time law practice while holding public office; so they cherry-picked solicitor work over barrister work as this gave them flexibility of fitting their lawyer work into their busy political schedule. Respondents who chose to close their practice down altogether advised that files should be handed off to other lawyers or closed quickly for reasons of exercising due diligence and avoiding conflict-of-interest allegations.

Developing mentors and relying on peers for support to improve their understanding of the political environment were identified as key. This assisted new politicians in having to cope with: new job expectations, a change in physical surroundings, loss of privacy, absence of family, and an adjustment to differences in personal finances. Mentors were instrumental in breaking in and teaching new members the written and unwritten rules. Leveraging existing personal relationships made coping seem easier as many lawyers had friends who had been around the political scene for a while and gave them some idea of what the job was like.

Participants felt that law provided adequate grounding in having to deal with the stresses encountered in politics. Keeping up with the pace of the work demanded by constituents and their concomitant duties in Parliament were familiar to lawyers who ran busy law practices. Respondents indicated that being able to enter into vigorous debate and quickly reconcile the emotions that arose were also familiar experiences. Furthermore, knowing that people were not happy with their position was a normal part of practicing law and politics. Litigation skills came in handy when lawyers engaged in question period in Parliament or the Legislature, and were heckled and attacked by members of the opposing party.

Respondents spoke of the steep learning curve during the initial months of being elected. They had to learn about processes and procedures, strategic ways of making change, handling the media, and communicating with the public. Female politicians experienced special challenges as they came face to face with the realities of the glass ceiling. Respondents found it difficult to understand how they fit into the arcane rules of the parliamentary process. This was learned by spending time witnessing the political process and absorbing the various conventions. Many respondents felt empowered by their constituents and wanted to have their voice heard on the regional or national stage; but soon realized that making change was more difficult than expected. Respondents were hit by the reality that although change could be made, it was incremental in nature and did not happen overnight. Respondents needed to adjust their expectation that changes in the public sector took place at a much slower rate than those in the private sector. Participants indicated that caucus holds the power, and the first step in getting things done was in using their influence to develop a critical mass of followers who

believed that something needed to be changed. Respondents advised that it took dogged determination and persistence to make the changes contemplated as there were always a lot of barriers in public office.

One of the biggest difficulties in making the transition was in learning effective strategies in handling the media. Care had to be taken as media criticism was extremely hard on both elected officials and families. One participant described it as a transition moment the first time he was criticized publicly. Communicating with the public via the media was seen to be frustrating at times because politicians were required to put their thoughts into discrete sound bites that were seconds in duration. Participants advised that accommodating this new style called for taking communications training in order to become more comfortable in speaking to the media. In communicating with the public, respondents emphasized that they made a deliberate effort to not sound like a lawyer. This meant using very succinct plain language in describing what was being done. Respondents described it as transitioning from lawyer-speak to politician-speak. Lawyer-speak involves putting evidence in front of a judge, presenting the law, and driving it to a conclusion. Politics, on the other hand, is about ideas and conveying them to the public. One participant said that he developed the art of speaking in longer sentences about shorter ideas.

Female politicians felt particularly shut out as they were not part of the all-boys club and found it difficult to develop a solid network of relationships or become known to those in the party hierarchy. It was rare for women to chair special committees such as the finance committee or international planning, as the chairs were invariably male. Although attitudes were changing, there was still an inescapable glass ceiling.

Respondents reported that politics gave them the opportunity to accomplish things they would not otherwise be able to do. One respondent put it this way:

Every day I get to do something to push the agenda, and be at the table where decision-making is happening. Although change was sometimes difficult to make, lawyers received intense satisfaction in seeing their actions result in better life for their constituents.

Participants also spoke of the unique mind expansion and intellectual thrill of the experience. *It was like going to a mental candy store*, commented one participant. Other participants felt that the change was most welcome as the practice of law became mundane, as opposed to politics where there was never a dull day. Years after leaving politics, many respondents indicated that they missed the benefits brought by the job of meeting experts, working on special committees, exposing their children to celebrities, traveling to new countries, and enjoying the trappings of public office, such as chauffeur-driven cars, having an expense account, and enjoying special accommodations.

Moreover, respondents commented on the liberation they felt in not having to worry about converting their time into billable hours. Politics gave them the freedom to satisfy their own curiosity by learning at their leisure about things that mattered to them without having to worry about explaining unbilled time to senior partners in their law firm. Some respondents commented that friends and family saw the instant transformation in personality once they threw away their timesheets. In short, they looked happier.

Although these politicians relied heavily on their previous skills to deal with changes, a concerted effort was made to understand changes observed in their new work environments. Learning about the new challenges presented by the job and making sense of these changes forced lawyers outside of their comfort zone.

In his research Nicholson (1990) made reference to two primary subheadings in the encounter phase. These were referred to as coping mechanisms and making sense of the new experience. I added a third subheading to this phase, “Learning the Ropes,” as I thought it important to capture the challenges that participants experienced during their initial exposure to public office. Under each of these three subheadings elaboration is provided that is unique to the lawyer-politician career transition.

Chapter 6 deals with various adjustments lawyers undertook to function capably in their new environment.

CHAPTER SIX

ADJUSTMENT PHASE

Introduction

In the adjustment phase Nicholson (1990) spoke about the need for personal change and building relationships. In an effort to paint an accurate picture of the lawyer-politician transition, personal changes were broken down into: financial impact, privacy, health effects, time demands, and impact on family life. Due to the heavy emphasis placed on family life, this was further granulated into: pressure on spouse, effect on female politicians, pressure on children, marital breakdown, favorable family impact, and efforts by those in the political party to address the problem.

As suggested by Nicholson, I explored efforts by participants to build new relationships in the new work environment. After getting into politics, relationship building took place within their own party, with political adversaries, and with the community.

I went beyond Nicholson's suggestions and added two subheadings to the adjustment phase, "Broadened Scope" and "Administrative Skills." As interviews were read it became apparent that participants broadened their scope in order to deal with the range of problems presented in the new environment. Broadened scope was further subdivided into three areas: dealing with a variety of issues, serving a wider audience, and compromises brought on when appointed to official positions. Administrative skills

of delegating, recruitment and training of staff, multitasking, and utilizing French were added as it became apparent that these were reported as important when serving constituents.

Themes for this phase are listed below. Each of these are elaborated on with specific examples provided. The themes for the Adjustment Phase are: (a) Personal Changes, (b) Building Bridges (Networking), (c) Broadened Scope, and (d) Administrative Skills.

Personal Changes

Participants reported that they made adjustments to their lifestyle in order to accommodate new work demands. “Financial Impact” was used for the adjustments reported due to changes in income levels. “Privacy” was used when individuals discussed adjustments related to personal or family privacy. Statements addressing concerns around health and well-being were collected under “Health Effects.” “Time Demands” collected reported concerns where participants were stretched thin due to their hectic schedules.

The theme “Impact on Family Life” captured the impact on the personal lives of participants. This was further broken down into the following sub-topics: “Pressure on Spouses,” which reported the challenges exerted on spouses; the special challenges faced by a female spouse were categorized under “Effect on Female Politicians”; difficulties faced by children of politicians were captured under “Pressure on Children”; the reported failure of marriages due to political involvement was dealt with under “Marital Breakdown”; the positive benefits exerted on the family after taking office was captured under “Favorable Family Impact”; and some of the measures taken to abate the negative impact on people’s life was categorized under “Addressing the Problem.”

Financial Impact

The transition into government is a costly one, so much so that I almost went bankrupt! There's no money in politics and you don't make any money as a result of it, says one respondent. Another participant added:

You can make a lot more money in law than you can as a politician—was that a problem for me? No not really as I understood that going in, so it wasn't a surprise. But if I explained what I was doing to people on the street, they would look at me as if I was nuts.

Many respondents found the financial transition difficult as the reduction in the amount of income was significant. One respondent stated:

One aspect of the transition that was difficult, particularly as my efforts to get elected took so long, was that the effort needed precluded a lot of client work, so it was expensive. It was expensive in terms of lost work time.

Another respondent warned, *I think it's worth repeating, some lawyers are big spenders and if they don't have the income, the question then comes, do they have the ability to curb their spending. I am not satisfied that everyone has that ability.* Thus lawyers must be prepared to take a significant pay cut when serving in public office.

Another respondent offered that the financial risk associated with getting into and out of politics was a huge deterrent to entering public life. This participant went on to say:

The lack of interest by lawyers to enter politics in part is probably due to the salary. The earnings are not as significant as what lawyers earn, so it makes it less attractive for them to run. The change in salary going from lawyer to politician can be quite drastic, and that can be very difficult on families.

One respondent reasoned that the rate per hour earned as a politician was less than that of a lawyer due to the significant increase in the number of hours spent on the job. The annual income was one factor, but also the absence of a pension plan was another. He advised that it was important to look at various private pension schemes that lawyers

could access to ensure there was as much economic security as possible. Respondents pointed out that the loss of income started at an early stage, from the point of contesting the nomination and then campaigning. The time involved in winning a nomination and an election can be in the order of months to years. During this time lawyers would be precluded from taking on a lot of client work, so it was expensive in terms of lost work time. One respondent advised that when she went through the battle for the nomination followed by campaigning, this consumed approximately 9 months of her time; during this time she paid other lawyers to handle her practice. Thus lawyers should be prepared financially to withstand significant non-earning time.

One participant stated that her income as a lawyer doubled what she earned as a parliamentarian. As a politician in 1993 she entered at \$78,000 with a \$25,000 tax-free allowance. Another factor to consider was that the tax rules were different for lawyers as the taxation year could be chosen that was different from the calendar year. In doing so, this meant that income earned could be spread out and expenses incurred in the course of running the law practice could be deducted, thereby reducing the amount of personal income tax payable annually. On the other hand, politicians had no special provisions under Canada's taxation laws; so in her first year as a parliamentarian she estimated that 50% of her income was paid in tax. Although there was a tax-free allowance that provided for living quarters away from her principal residence, additional costs had to be incurred to bring it up to standards, otherwise she would have lived like a student. Additionally, conflict-of-interest rules required that when she moved into the role of parliamentary secretary she had to divest herself of existing stock options or set up a blind trust and this resulted in a financial hit. She described this as a bit of an eye-opener.

Many participants urged lawyers to consider careful financial planning to accommodate the adjustment in income, because lawyers will ultimately lose public office someday and will be forced to move on to other things. *I would not go in if I felt that I would be financially devastated if I lost the election*, added one respondent.

Although there was a considerable cut in salary, participants advised that they still entered politics. In the words of one participant:

I don't mean to be patronizing when I say this; but helping others and trying to improve society and the lives of those around you is more important than income. And you just jump in and say I'm going to do it and you don't worry about it, you're going to adjust, and usually successfully.

Some respondents supplemented their income by practicing law on a part-time basis. They did this by first resigning their partnership from respective law firms. This freed them from the day-to-day obligations imposed by being a partner in their law firms but kept providing legal services. One respondent advised that this was helpful because the difference in income between what he earned as a law partner and what he earned as a politician needed to be bridged. *I needed a bit of help to fill in the disparity in income and to minimize the impact on my lifestyle.*

Privacy

Many participants spoke about the loss of privacy after getting into office. Participants and their families had to get used to the invasion of their personal privacy as constituents thought it was their right to access politicians on a 24/7 basis. *When you get elected, you're a public figure so a big aspect of your private life becomes public; you have to get used to that. Once you step into the political arena you never leave the public eye*, says one respondent. *You are in the public eye and you're held to a higher standard, not unlike a lawyer, but you now are doing your business in public.* Respondents were of

the opinion that the internet made every aspect of their life public, and that can have tremendous impact on not only your life but on your family as well.

One respondent remarked that he and his wife could not go out because they would get accosted by someone who wanted something. Getting simple things done in the community became a problem, with the result being that family resisted going out together. One respondent said:

If I went to a grocery store or the theatre or anything I would be stopped to either be talked to or whatever. It was very difficult to spend private time outside the house with my family. My family won't go shopping with me anymore because it takes too long; you are an elected official, and it doesn't matter where you go.

Another respondent made a similar observation:

It was a shock to schedule my own private time and it was not long before I had no private time at all. If you have to get groceries you have to schedule an extra 45 minutes because people stop you in the corn flakes aisle and have to talk. So that was a big transition for me getting used to the public aspect of it. You are on display at all times, and you are expected to be available anywhere at any time, and that's just the public expectation of an elected official. The transition for me and my family was difficult as we had to do things differently. We will split up to get groceries, or my wife will go in and I'll stay in the car with my Blackberry and try to get some work done.

Personal safety was a concern to a few respondents. One participant said that he was open to meeting anyone and rarely said no unless it posed a safety issue. During times when his government was not popular, another respondent had to install an alarm system in his office to protect himself and his staff against picketers. One respondent recalls that he and his family had to be placed under police protection because a convicted killer had escaped from a penitentiary. A threat assessment conducted by the police determined that they were at risk and the police placed them under surveillance. This occurred because he had assisted the sister of a murder victim in blocking a convicted murderer from being released on early parole. He stated: *At times you put your*

family at risk because there are a number of crazy people out there and will want to do things that are harmful to others.

Another respondent stated, *When you have strong forces opposing most of the things you're doing; and there are things like bomb threats twice a week at your offices you develop a fortress mentality where it is we against them.* Another respondent referred to the adverse reactions of the public as baptism by fire and recalls receiving many anonymous phone calls where undisclosed persons would intimidate his family by staying on the line in silence.

Another respondent related how his family was impacted by the events of 9/11:

On the day 9/11 occurred, I came to understand that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police called my office and told my staff that they were getting prepared to spirit my wife and children away to protect them. And I thought to myself, I would have never expected this. This experience showed me the potential peril that my family were in and I don't think that you can ever anticipate that. As a politician you are pretty self-centered. I think that it is because there is so much pressure on you to change who you are to the extent that you have assumed a significantly different role than being a lawyer.

A participant stated that it got to the point where he could not get out publically without someone picking an argument. He could not go to a private cocktail party or social engagements where someone would not want a word with him that challenged him on a policy or position he had taken. He remarked:

In response to this I tried to limit my extracurricular activities in public drastically and tried to keep as much privacy as I could. My own mental health, intellectual and spiritual regeneration was done on weekends when I was away.

Another participant claimed that she was deliberately followed around by a political adversary who tried to discredit her by pointing out her faults. It all started when she defeated her opponent by a few votes in a provincial election. She said:

He followed me around from 1988 until 1991 until we had another election. During this time I tried to do my job, but it was difficult because I had this one

person constantly breathing down my neck, he following me to every community event and just watching me.

Health Effects

A few respondents mentioned the health impact all of these changes had on their personal well-being. There was the physical aspect of becoming rundown by not being able to eat properly and the inability to be fully rested. One respondent stated that longer hours are always expected in Ottawa as there are evening meetings or activities that you are expected to attend. The longer days affected one respondent's ability to maintain normal levels of physical fitness because she used to work out at the gym in the evenings and fitting that into her busy schedule became a bit of a struggle. Another respondent described his first 4 years in office as a rollercoaster of energy and activity. After leaving office, one respondent was so rundown that it took 3 years to be nursed back to personal health: *I was so rundown that I did not realize it. When you are a super elite traveler for eight years you are constantly taking off and coming back. And with time this takes its toll.* Another participant stated that his hectic schedule and being on the road much of the time meant that his nourishment was compromised. He said:

Your lifestyle is significantly different particularly in eating. You miss a lot of meals, or you eat on the fly or you're eating junk food. I've put on nine pounds in two years just from not being able to have regular meals.

Mental health was identified as being equally as important. According to one respondent, there is an adage in politics that when you go to Parliament Hill you can become a workaholic, an alcoholic, or a philanderer.

Time Demands

If you want to be successful as a politician and to be re-elected, be prepared for a lifestyle change that is busier, more frenetic, that requires you to be “on” almost 24 hours a day, says one respondent. You are never really off the record, because if you are going to the grocery store, you cannot look unshaven or have a tear in your pants, because people want to have a conversation with you about something, added another. One participant found the demands all-consuming; I was used to working full days and managing two offices and I found this work harder. I don’t think it’s something someone could do for a long time without quickly getting burnt out.

It is a 24/7 job, every day, all day, as politicians were always subjected to being questioned by constituents:

Accessibility is what's important. This is why I got re-elected. People know that they can call me and book a meeting in a week or receive a telephone call within two days. People are astonished because I usually call them back within 24 hours. When I'm in Ottawa, my instructions to constituency staff are to log the names and phone numbers of anyone who calls the constituency office wanting to speak to me. This information is then sent to me in an email because it is my intention to return their call the very day.

Politicians are expected to be at events and participate. It is an opportunity to immerse oneself in the issues that are ailing people on a daily basis. *In politics, lawyers made themselves available to people, whereas in law, people made themselves available to you,* commented one respondent. Another respondent described the demands placed on him:

The time demands are very challenging because it's not a nine-to-five job, it's not like you're walking into a law practice say at 9:00 A.M. and leave at 6:00 P.M.. There are a lot of events to attend and I learned very quickly that you have to attend these events. It can be something as simple as a graduation ceremony for school, or it could be an anniversary or some kind. People may even invite you to their house for their wedding anniversary, birthday parties, police events, firefighter and retirement parties. A lot of these events take place

at dinner time or after dinner, so sometimes the day is not done until midnight or 1 o'clock in the morning. In my riding there is a huge Chinese community and they are busy building retirement homes and when there are fundraising events I would have to attend at the Metro Convention Centre from 6:00 P.M. and end at about 2:00 A.M.

The stresses of being an elected official are one thing, but being a Minister is another, in terms of the commitment of the time, the travel, etc. If one lives in western Canada and travels to the nation's capital in Ottawa every Sunday night and then returns to the constituency on Thursday or Friday afternoon for the weekend, that amounts to a lot of time traveling. On top of this, on weekends there are community and constituency events. One participant recounted a typical day:

I arrive in the office at 7:00 A.M. in the morning and the morning clippings of the news events were already on my desk, together with the identification of the national and local issues which were facing me that day. Then I would hold the standard meetings, depending on what I was doing, if it's with the budget cycle, I would meet for two hours with the Ministry of Finance, and then would have to go through about 200 pages of briefing notes, and then you move onto another file related to intergovernmental affairs or constitutional issues. And there it goes, you are out of there at 7:30 at night.

In law there is more control of one's time in that lawyers can close their business and choose the days they are going to be away and the hours of work. Appointments with clients can be altered to accommodate this variability. One respondent put it this way:

As a private member, as a backbencher, or as an opposition member, or as a cabinet minister you lose a lot of control over your life. There are always a lot more hours of meetings that people want to have with you than you could ever have in a day, a week, a month or a year. So what you need are people to help you manage your calendar.

One respondent advised that although many people wanted to meet with him in person, his experience was that they wanted to meet for purposes of touching his gown rather than discussing meat-and-potatoes issues. *I think you have to be more discerning and should save more time for things that count, such as your family, says one*

respondent. Many politicians cited extreme difficulty in coming up with an optimum work-and-life balance:

It's a challenge for all of us and when you add in the travel to Ottawa that just exacerbates it. Every Friday night there is something, every Saturday there is something, every Sunday there is something; and during the week you are in Ottawa, so you are stuck in the job, added another.

You are not home all week; and then when you do come home on the weekend you're out at events from the moment you arrive on Friday afternoon or evening until the moment you go back on Monday morning. There are not enough hours in the day.

Another participant stated that she went into politics more prepared, having realistic expectations about the time commitment in politics. As a lawyer she worked many nights, most weekends, took very few holidays, and that was the standard in her firm. She thought that being a politician could not be much worse than what she had done for all these years. And this was very much the case with one exception. She stated:

I don't get to sleep in my bed as much as I had liked. I had a condo near the Legislature and when it was in session I would typically go up on Sunday nights and come home on Thursday nights. Weekends were filled with constituent activity and then it was back to the condo on Sunday. The net result was that I was away from my family a lot more than I would like.

An examination of the schedule of one participant in this study outlined 30 different activities for the month of October 2012. Duties included fulfilling core responsibilities in the House of Commons, meeting with constituents, committee work, and attending receptions and ceremonies. These activities were a necessary part of the job as this was regarded as the means to connecting with the local community, province, and country. One respondent spoke of the time he went to three events one afternoon, and another person he knew was there at all three of these events and was astounded that he was able to attend all three events:

I said “What was I supposed to do? I got invited to all events and I could not go to just one and say I'm not available for the others.” He was impressed because he found it tiring to go to all three events; of course I had to attend a dinner later that night!

Respondents explained how the time demands of their job affected their hobbies:

Although I believe I had a good concept of what was involved in political life when I got into it, I probably underestimated the demands upon my personal time; outside of the actual career obligations; the social life of being a politician, and the fact that your hobbies and pastimes would have to take a backseat. For instance, I'm a hunter and a fisherman, and the hunting season is always in the fall; and I was always sitting in the Legislative assembly in the fall, and I would find my time to pursue my avocation of hunting would be severely restricted.

Another respondent had his hobbies affected:

In the summer I have a cottage at the beach and I do a lot of swimming and in the Winter I curl. But last year I signed up for the curling club but out of the whole season I only got there three or four nights, because of the job commitments. So, I didn't sign up this year because I knew I wasn't going to be able to make the games. And it wasn't fair to the other team members—every other night I said ‘well you're going to have to get someone else, I can't make it’. It's kind of silly in a way, and that sucks because I really enjoyed that, and it's something I've lost because I'm doing this job.

I became a workaholic. I would leave early in the mornings and stay late in the evenings, and on weekends I would go home, said one respondent. Another respondent felt that the demands of law prepared him for the demands of politics. He reflected on the days when he spent long hours preparing for litigation by reading the law, finding precedent, preparing witnesses, and spelling out questions for cross and direct examination of witnesses. This work ethic translated into his political life. He recalls days in the office at 6:00 P.M. when he would be shown into a running car that would be waiting to take him for a dinner speech followed by question period. He did not get out until 10:30 P.M. and then he would have to be back in the office at 7:30 A.M.:

It's very demanding, and apart from the physical demands there's another demanding side of it too; good politics demands good policy and good policy

demands rigid analysis, solid thinking, looking at all the arguments including the pros and cons and you've got to put a lot of time behind the desk. Now you can't handle all the files as Premier, there's no doubt about that; you get good advisors in particular areas who you trust who will be able to assist you in putting it together, but you cannot avoid the work ethic.

Another respondent made a conscious decision not to relocate to the capital city where the Legislature sat but chose to drive to and from the Legislature daily. He explained:

I made it a practice of getting home almost every evening. I had five children at the time and saw the family mostly on mornings; not the best time to communicate with your children, but better that time than no time. If I went to a meeting in Ottawa for a First Ministers Conference I would be there for at least two nights. I was never away from the family for more than two or three days at a time, except for those trips.

The steep learning curve meant that newly elected politicians could expect to put in 12 to 15 hours a day, 7 days a week, and never have a day off. This change was more significant for some lawyers depending on where they worked.

Most lawyers, especially those from a big firm, are used to working long hours, so the time commitment may not be that big of an adjustment for them, but if they worked at smaller firms or as sole practitioners it may be a major adjustment.

One participant advised that it was not like business in a law firm where you could be replaced by a colleague on a file. Politicians are unique in that they are elected to be representatives of people in a defined geography and are expected to solve problems in their constituency. Respondents identified that politics was an all-consuming task where politicians had to be committed to work 7 days, 24 hours a day, as certain problems required immediate attention. Frequently respondents would receive phone calls from constituents vacationing abroad who lost their passports and could not return to Canada until their respective Member of Parliament arranged for boarder clearance. *It*

was not uncommon for me to get these sorts of calls on Saturday night because this kind of matter could not wait until Monday morning, says one respondent.

Another respondent indicated that there were two things that he was unprepared for. First was the extra time spent traveling to and from his constituency office in Ottawa. This added 6 to 7 hours to his weekly schedule. The second difficulty was being unable to prepare adequately for his duties in Parliament due to the extensive reading involved and the limited amount of time to get this done. He estimated that he was currently doing about half of the reading that he would like to be doing. He went on to say: *I averaged about 60 or 70 hours when I practiced law and now I would say on average I put 100 hours a week when Parliament is in session.*

Coping with a busy schedule meant that lawyers had to use the skills developed in legal practice to multitask, manage time effectively, be efficient, and prioritize tasks. This made managing a political vocation relatively manageable, as important tasks went to the top of the list to get completed earlier, and *that was a very useful exercise*, said one respondent. Other respondents disagreed, saying that you have to be intentional in making the transition, because the systems and routine which lawyers use in law do not work in politics.

Impact on Family Life

There's no question that being an elected parliamentarian in this country can be stressful for families as everything you do is subject to scrutiny. It never gets easy on the family and they never get used to it, says one respondent. Another respondent who completed his 25th year in politics observed that

a career in politics is demanding and it will take part of your life. You lead a schizophrenic existence and you will have a personality in Ottawa, a personality in your constituency. I've seen guys where the only existence they have is in Ottawa. They are detached from their electors, detached from their personal life, and when they get defeated in an election, they have nothing.

Although it is hard to combine family and politics, it is advisable that lawyers wishing to go into politics be aware of the challenges and speak to their families about the hardship involved and the new demands of the job. Other respondents felt that your time was really not your own. One participant put it this way:

The time spent with family is time that you do not spend working for your community and there is a greater likelihood of losing your job. If there was anything that I would have done differently is to spend more time with my family knowing that it would not make any difference in the end.

Another respondent stated that you are really asking your family to tolerate your huge hours away from the job and to turn away from the front pages when they would call you all sorts of very unpleasant names. Thus politicians should ensure that the family understands what the job of a politician entails. It is wise to explain why certain things happen, why politicians do certain things, why the phone rings all the time, the role of your political staff, the needs of the Prime Minister's office, and the expectations when a crisis occurs somewhere. Ideally the impact on the family ought to be examined prior to running for elected office. Reflecting on her own experience one respondent noted:

I think I would have tried to do a better job in terms of helping my family understand my job and including them more—not in the business of the nation; that's inappropriate. But including them more in the nature of a new life—and that's what it is, a new life. If you get elected you're starting out on a new life in many respects, and you have to make sure that your family is a part of that new life, otherwise it's very easy for them to get left behind. And you are trying to learn all this while people are watching you and waiting for you to make a mistake.

Pressure on Spouse

Many male lawyers spoke about the stress wives felt when they entered the political arena. While in office many felt that they abandoned the family, because they took off all the time, leaving their wives with the responsibility to raise their children. *It was certainly hard on my spouse raising three kids and me not being around as much as I otherwise would be*, says one respondent. *When I'm gone to Ottawa, which is a lot, I think that creates a huge void in her life. It's harder on her than it is on me. I think that my absence is quite noticeable and difficult for her*, added another. One respondent spoke of the difficulty his wife experienced when she gave up her career to accommodate his political aspirations.

It was difficult for my wife, because she enjoyed the law practice very much and enjoyed working in it. It ended her part of the legal career, because she now was married to a politician and not doing what she enjoyed so much; which was working in the law office.

He went on to say that the transition into politics affected her to a greater extent as he was doing what was in his interest. And yet another stated:

I had an apartment away from home where I spent most of my time; when I went home on weekends it was usually relating to some sort of political event, so it had an effect on the family and placed a lot more strain on my wife. This was because my family was quite young and she was a career person as well.

Another participant who had political aspirations of her own sacrificed by deliberately shelving her plans for entry into the political arena until her sons were in their teens. She thought it was important to have one parent around during the tender years of their life because she knew that politics would monopolize her evenings and weekends. She held the home together and allowed her partner to build a highly successful political career. This was made all the more difficult because her children were born with special needs.

Another politician had the benefit of being born into a political family where his mother supported his father for many decades and saw the pressures that were brought to bear on his mother. He understood at an early stage that the spouse carries a phenomenal load and commented: *You are asking your spouse to really assume a huge load.*

Effect on Female Politicians

Female members of Parliament found it more stressful because they were the primary caregiver of children in the family. If it is a woman in the family who is elected, it takes more adjustment than if a man is elected. Under the traditional approach when a man becomes elected in those cases his wife will sometimes give up her job and move the family to Ottawa. This is borne out by a male participant who tried to keep the family rooted by travelling back and forth, but the stress placed on the family unit was immense: *It was hard on my wife and it was hard on my kids. I'm still married, so we didn't get divorced.*

On the flip side, it is very rare for a man to give up his job and move to Ottawa, if his wife is a Member of Parliament—sometimes this does happen, but it's rare.

Another participant advised that her relationship suffered with someone with whom she had a long-term relationship. She went on to say: *I could not get into another relationship as most men were reluctant to get involved with a female politician.*

Pressure on Children

According to one respondent:

My children didn't see me too much because I was constantly in the Legislature or doing constituency work or traveling. I was not around home much prior to my political days. So they were affected more than I was by the transition into politics.

Another participant advised:

I have a large family consisting of children and a wife and I had to spend more time away from home in the evenings, which I did not like all that much. . . . I was giving speeches all over the province. I was lucky as the Legislature was only a 20-minute drive from my home and unlike a great majority of the members of the Legislature who live outside Toronto, did not have to obtain accommodation, or be away from my children for protracted periods of time.

One participant told the story that his two daughters were really happy when they realized that he had lost the election. They were happy because they had missed him during his years in politics and his defeat meant that he was going to be home a bit more. He remarked: *I did not realize how much my daughters had grown up during my absence and when I started to spend more time at home I found the situation difficult to adjust to as the family dynamics had changed.* Another participant reported that years after he got out of politics the consequences of being an absent father were still evident.

Politicians reported that despite having discussions with their significant other, their children appeared to have challenges of their own in adjusting to changes in the family dynamic. Although they had the support of their wives, adjustments had to be made in response to the needs of their children. One respondent stated:

My wife was an absolute gem. She had managed the difficulties which arose during my time in politics. She was the primary caregiver and single parent for our three young children and took care of them while I was away. It was very onerous for her and if I had known how onerous it was, I may not have gone into the political arena; especially not at that stage with three young children.

He went on to say that their children struggled with his absence during the week when he was required to be in Ottawa. Although he returned home on the weekends, his absence during the week was particularly difficult for one of their children. It got to the point where a teacher noticed his daughter being upset during the day at school over this; and the teacher notified his wife. He then arranged for the whole family to come to Ottawa to

see what he was doing and where he was living, and that calmed her down. She now knew what was happening, where her father went during the week, where he worked during the week, and that gave her peace of mind. The other benefit was that their son had completed high school and they gave him the choice of attending any university in the country and he chose Ottawa University. When he moved to Ottawa he stayed with his father in the apartment that he had rented. That was a great benefit to him because he had this roommate who was his son. He stated:

We had good times and our whole relationship changed from being a 'father/son' to being roommates and then to being friends. This was one of the big advantages for me during my time in Ottawa.

One participant took the opportunity to take his children to public events but reported that his children eventually identified him by the public mold that he had created. At those events they were not treated as normal children, but as the children of a Member of Parliament. He commented, *I call it a Jekyll and Hyde description; it's not a good guy, bad guy routine, but sometimes when you were in public with your children, and you do not behave in ways that would be natural.*

Another respondent had a daughter who was only 4 years old at the time of winning the election and her husband did not have a conventional nine-to-five job. She was faced with a tough choice of either hiring a live-in nanny or move in with her in-laws. She felt conflicted with hiring someone else who would spend more time with their daughter than she could. After careful thought, she decided to sell the family home and move in with her in-laws. The plan was to have her in-laws share in the child care. During the initial year she found that her daughter was missing out on various sporting and cultural activities as she was away in Ottawa for the entire week. Her husband was also working 12- to 13-hour days and unable to be as involved as much as he would have

liked. It got to the point where there was no one to pick her daughter up after school and take her for skating practice or swimming lessons. After discussing this with the family, a decision was made to send their daughter to boarding school for her last three years of elementary school. This allowed her to participate in extra-curricular activities. This was a very difficult decision for her.

It is the family who pays the price, and you have to ask yourself, is that a price you want to pay, says one participant. He described how difficult it was for his 12-year-old son when he was elected to Parliament. His son was the youngest child and they had a very close relationship but he did not appreciate how this was going to affect their relationship. He recalls seeing his son chagrined by the physical distance and not being there during the week and returning home only on the weekends. When asked by reporters why he was so disenchanted by his father's involvement in politics, he stated,

I think my dad is crazy, he is a human rights lawyer. Why does he want to go to Parliament? Nothing ever happens there and they don't do anything, if anything, some of them become corrupt, and there's a Monica Lewinsky scandal waiting around the corner.

Occasionally, the stresses placed on the family are exacerbated if both parents hold public office simultaneously. *It was very difficult because my wife was also a member of the Legislature so our schedules were very busy and we would exchange the kids in the airport,* says one respondent. Typically when he left for his constituency on Thursday his wife was left with their children. Then on his way back, his wife would meet him at the airport with the kids when he got off the plane. She then gave him the children and boarded the plane to fly to her constituency. So it was very hectic.

Due to the known pressures on children, some participants deliberately entered politics late in their life and passed on the advice to delay entering politics until one's

children are grown. It is preferable to go in later when the children are in their teens. Respondents advised others not to go into politics with young children as it is too hard on the family; and you do not necessarily have the life experience to cope with challenges that come up.

In some cases some participants spoke of the positive benefits their children obtained as a result of their involvement in politics. Valuable experiences in the skill of door knocking and communicating with people were regarded as good lessons. Politicians were seen to pass on these unique privileges to their children such as introducing them to famous people they saw on television or read about in the press. *These are life experiences which children remember*, said one participant. Another respondent threw a surprise birthday party for his 10-year-old daughter and her friends and had their picture taken in the Speaker's chair and everyone sang happy birthday to her in the House of Commons. Another respondent said that when newly elected Members of Parliament are sworn in, the family typically gets invited to the Prime Minister's home for a party and has their picture taken with him. This exposure seemed to have an effect, one respondent commented. *After some time had passed I observed that my children were actually more politically astute than I was when I was their age. They have become quite feisty and would not put up with nonsense!*

Marital Breakdown

The divorce and separation rates are ridiculous and the strain placed on families is very high, so every night I spent the government's money and called my wife and family back home, commented one participant. Respondents claimed that their public

responsibilities conflicted with their private needs on the home front and that contributed to their divorces. One respondent stated:

It was hard on my family, there's no question of that because of being away. My wife was not that interested in politics at that time and eventually we grew apart and eventually separated. Once I became a member of cabinet I was in Toronto more than I was in Ottawa.

One participant felt that his marriage did not survive because the relationship with his wife lacked the proper foundation to withstand the stresses that accompanied politics. He commented, *The whole experience of waiting on someone and finding that their agenda had changed is very tough on families. Especially vulnerable are relationships that had not been in existence for a long time.* Another respondent stated that the relationship with her second husband fell apart and she believed that her responsibilities as a politician were a factor for the separation. Another respondent's divorce was caused after he had an affair with a cabinet colleague.

Those who aspire to politics should be conscious of any difference politics might make in regard to their family commitments, as the family unit is the most important and emphasis should be placed on it. The couple should be sure to discuss changes with their family and experienced politicians who can fill them in on stresses that they should be aware. Then knowing the risks they could then decide on the best way of proceeding.

Respondents advised that it was important to pay sufficient attention to their personal life as you want to have a family to go home to. *Make sure you give the family sufficient time because this whole process is an exhaustive game; and it will eat you up along with whatever time you have,* says one participant. *Being away from the family is not an easy thing; and I'm unequivocal in making the statement, and not ashamed to say I miss my family immensely. No one else will care. Ottawa can be a lonely place,* says

another lawyer. *I don't miss the being away from the family for three weeks in a row,* added another.

Favorable Family Impact

Although most respondents felt that a career in politics had negatively impacted their families, a few participants indicated that the career switch yielded some benefits.

One lawyer stated:

During the first couple of months I was elected, friends and family told me 'you look really relaxed' or 'you look great and well rested,' which my wife and I decided was maybe a sign it had been time to leave the law firm.

Prior to entering politics one respondent was a partner in a large law firm and built up a busy, thriving family law practice that was demanding of his time and energy. As a partner he was required to work 3 or 4 nights a week and then on weekends in the law firm. In law, meetings with clients are private as the solicitor-client requires this. Although he had a busy schedule in politics, he was able to do a lot more things with his family by taking them along to public appearances and sometimes they accompanied him on official business:

My family came along with me to Folk-a-Rama, our big festival; going to a hockey game to drop the puck, or going to a Pow-Wow. Right off the hop it meant I was actually spending more time with my family and my family was getting a chance to learn more about the province we live in.

This change allowed him to spend more time with his family.

One respondent remarked that the transition from being a busy litigation partner to being a member of the Legislature meant that he was able to spend more time with his family. He thought there are things you can do in politics to manage your calendar so that you do the things that are important and don't do other things simply to fill your days. He advised:

You get the opportunity to define how you are going to allocate your time and what kinds of things you are going to do. If you have a family that is not good at doing things on their own there is more of an impact. I don't think that anyone feels a big well of bitterness that we somehow did do things as a family. One of the things I did over the course of the last nine years was making time for vacation.

Another participant observed that both as a lawyer and as a politician she routinely put in 7-day work weeks. Both jobs required leaving early in the morning and returning late at night. Notwithstanding, she found managing the time commitments in politics to be straightforward. She attributed this to her personal habit of getting up and leaving the house before her family awoke, and then returned home late at night. Hence, when she switched jobs and became a politician and lived in another city far away and could not see her family for days on end, this was not much of a change in the family dynamic. Reflecting on the experience she said:

I found that politics was not as stressful as the law and I could manage my time reasonably well; particularly when I became a Cabinet Minister. As a result the time spent with my family was better when I was in politics as opposed to when I was practicing law.

Another participant discussed the impending change with his spouse and the potential impact that the job would have on the family unit. He was concerned that he would not be able to meet the expectations that his wife had grown used to, such as performing chores around the house. He anticipated that he would be an absent parent as well. Recognizing the challenges that this change would bring, the couple decided to hire a live-in nanny to do chores and certain things around the house and this eased the difficulty on his wife. After a year and half, they were able to let the nanny go, as his new job became more of a routine, where he would get home on Thursday night and see the children. He also engaged his family and children in the community events that he went to. *I thought there's no sense in my being alone; these experiences would open up and*

broaden the horizons of my children as well. I did this particularly in my work with cross-cultural events in the constituency, says one respondent. This helped in adjusting the family to the new lifestyle. This experience was similar to that of another participant who stated:

The move to politics was difficult on the family because of course I was not there. My wife and I made a conscious decision to not move to Ottawa, because it would take the children away from all of the activities and friends that they currently had. Although I commuted back and forth during the week to Ottawa, this allowed me to spend more time with my children and wife than when I worked as a litigation lawyer. As a politician I recall getting my children involved in experiencing political life and exploring Canada. In contrast, I could not get them involved in any courtroom proceedings. So in that respect, it worked to the family's advantage when I became a politician.

The career switch worked out positively for another respondent who chose to enter politics after his children grew up and moved away from home to pursue their own professions in Toronto. Around the same time his wife had died. So when he traveled to Toronto to meet with fellow politicians in the Legislature he integrated that visit with a visit to his children. *I ended up seeing more of my children than I would have had I not been elected.*

Despite the difficulties experienced by families, individual politicians claimed that the stress level as a Member of Parliament was considerably less than when they worked as a lawyer. They reported managing better than their partners as there was an entire network that supported their political life. *My political work was my priority, says one respondent, and my wife could hardly understand why she wasn't my top priority. Political life is very absorbing and you get a lot out of that life.* One respondent indicated that *it is hard to pull yourself out of it. It's intense, it's exhilarating, and it's exciting. The camaraderie is fantastic, the point that you're doing important work, it's hard to leave that and go home sometimes.*

Addressing the Problem

The difficulty placed on families has not gone unnoticed by administrators in Ottawa, so much so that an initiative was launched to figure out better ways of engaging spouses so that they felt less isolated and lonely when parliamentarians were away from home. It was recognized that a greater team effort was required to involve wives and husbands to make them part of the experience.

One respondent devised his own strategy for dealing with the problem by taking his wife along to constituency events and had a lot of fun doing it. There were other respondents who could not integrate work with family and coped by giving into the pressure as they were pulled in many directions. The key thing is to set some parameters of how much of your personal time is family time and stick with it, says one respondent.

Another respondent put his own limits in place:

I'll say to people 'look I'll be in my office tomorrow morning and you can call me then' and I think that's the only line that I've had to draw, because it's really not fair on family if you're having dinner and the phone is constantly ringing and you're jumping up to answer it; I won't do that. So you really have to maintain some privacy time.

These politicians expressed regret over not putting their families first. *I found in the last few years I've gone to more plays and graduations and all that sort of stuff which I enjoy with my grandchildren, more than I was able to with my children when I was in office,* says another respondent.

I think it was both beneficial and difficult for family. Although I had two young kids, at the time they were five and eight; they liked going to different events, as did my spouse, says one participant. *So it definitely affects your family life, on the other hand, it*

makes you more aware of your quality time with you family, and you bend over backwards to make that quality time.

Building Relationships

Participants reported the need for collaboration and team building in political work and I included those discussions in the adjustment phase. I divided this networking into three subtopics: networking “Within One’s Own Party,” “Working With Political Adversaries,” and “Working With the Community.” “Within One’s Own Party” captured statements that pointed to building rapport and forming alliances within their party. “Working With Political Adversaries” recorded the work that went on behind the scenes to secure good working relationships with those in opposition parties. “Working With the Community” underscored efforts by participants to reach out to community stakeholders.

Within One’s Own Party

Well, you're going from pretty much being a lone wolf to being a member of a team. You gain nothing by going against your party as it's very much a team game and it's a very fulfilling experience, commented one participant. A former provincial Attorney General stated:

I was accustomed to being on center stage, but when I became a member of government and had to work with the civil servants and with cabinet collectively, I was no longer the only one on the center stage and was no longer in a position to make my own decisions.

Another respondent told the story of how a shift in thinking came about when she went to Parliament and thought that she could use her expertise in tax law instantly. She related that she went to see the Minister of Finance regarding the tax implications of the

budget for that year, and, in her words, the finance minister was much less interested in my views than in those of the people who were supporting the budget.

One has to work with people and it's very important to build friendships and rapport with individuals whoever they may be. Without this you are in the wilderness, commented one respondent. *Forming alliances and working in teams is important, as the legislative process can be a lengthy one. It's an environment where there is a lot of consensus based on the give and take,* said one participant. *Building bridges and influencing others was not straightforward and is a complicated business. You learn quickly that your work in politics is a very different matter and you are part of a big team. Practicing law wasn't that way,* said another. One respondent advised that some lawyers may be tempted to take more of an aggressive approach; however, the better path was one of building relationships and building trust with those around you.

One respondent advised that compromises are necessary as you are not making the decisions alone.

You are making it as part of a party and you were elected as a representative of that party. You never want to appear to be embarrassing the party because you are not only making a decision for yourself but you are making it as part of a team.

Another participant offered that the things which came easy to him were advocating a position, going on public outings with party members or being involved in various aspects of political work and understanding policy. However, what made it difficult were the disagreements that took place within the party as there were people to the left and the right. One respondent stated:

Some of the toughest debates I have had are not necessarily the debates with the other parties on the floor of the Legislature, but it was in advancing your political imperatives and the government's political imperatives through your own team.

In keeping with this, a participant identified that a major challenge is to have people in your party know you and understand your position. And then have your colleagues be convinced of your position so that you can work with them behind closed doors where much of government policy is done.

The majority of participants felt that it was important to use their influence to build bridges within one's own party in order to get things done. One participant said:

It is a collaborative process, and I guess everyone has their own style. What works for one person doesn't necessarily work for the other person. My own style is to try to build relationships, and slowly but surely have the opportunity to make my point and maybe get people to see the things my way. In large caucuses there are people with all sorts of backgrounds who think they have something to offer in achieving some change; so you have to be respectful of what everybody else is trying to do and look for the openings and the opportunities where you can maybe make a difference.

A number of respondents felt that within the context of the solicitor-client relationship, the work was much more individual-based compared to politics. In politics it was difficult to be successful or get anything accomplished if you did not work as a group or part of a team. This highlighted the importance for politicians to build friendships and rapport with individuals, whoever they may be in the party. One respondent put it this way, *Politics is about compromise and half a loaf is sometimes better than none, but it is important not to compromise your conscience.*

Another respondent stated that he regrets burning bridges when he was younger and more rambunctious and said, *I think I would be more conciliatory, more apt to try and find middle ground as it is better to get a little bit done as opposed to nothing at all.*

He went on to say:

It is more important to recognize that you are moving in the right direction on a particular policy or piece of legislation. I should have been more results oriented as opposed to just sticking to a particular cause and not accepting the opportunities that certain things present.

Another participant viewed the political process as being responsible for stifling his individuality and discouraging individual thinking:

Unfortunately, all of the leaders with whom I have served tend to want unconditional loyalty, as opposed to reasonable advice. Dissenting opinions are taken as an affront to his or her leadership. However, I think that this may be more a function of the insecurities of the individual leader. Unless you are of the herd mentality you are pushed to the extremities of the parties.

Another politician was self-described as a maverick who routinely went against her party when voting on bills in Parliament. In particular she recalls voting against a key piece of legislation that was supported by the leader of her party. After this she claims to have been a marked person in Ottawa! She went on to say:

If you check the records you'll find that I voted against many key pieces of legislation and that certainly sealed my fate for advancement in the party. I do not regret those votes one bit; I was right then and I'm right now. Bad legislation costs so much money in the billions of dollars, and for what?

Many respondents resolved conflicts and endured the very strict discipline imposed within their own political party by reasoning that even though one is aligned with most of the policies taken by the party, it is expected there are always issues that will come up. There was some give and take within the governing party with regard to the making of laws and getting matters done in Parliament. This was where most of the negotiating takes place. If efforts fail in convincing your party to take a different position and frustration sets in, one respondent cautioned, *never criticize the government publicly. If you didn't know that coming in, it's something you should learn; you don't criticize your colleagues publicly either; if you have to do so, do it privately in caucus.* This is similar to the canons of legal ethics that forbid lawyers from criticizing the court or their colleagues in public.

Working With Political Adversaries

Some respondents found themselves working in an environment where a minority government is formed. This occurs when a political party wins less than half of the total seats in Parliament or the Legislature assembly. Politicians in a minority government have to work constantly with the other political parties via coalitions or alliances in order to get business done. Moreover, minority governments are inherently unstable and can be defeated at any time by opposition parties bringing a motion of non-confidence. Despite the tensions that prevailed in a minority government, another participant was able to have a number of private member bills sponsored into law:

I'm very proud of the fact that I have had 11 private members bills passed by the Legislature and made into law. And I'm told that this is a record for any member to have achieved this in the history of the province. I'm able to look back and say that I was able to make a positive change, and I have no doubt that my legal background certainly played a large role in helping me to move those bills forward and lead them along to become law.

Minority governments pose unique challenges since the government could be defeated at any time without securing the ongoing support of the other parties. Despite the tensions that arise in a minority government, respondents said that it is prudent to work towards a target and be prepared to make compromises as you go along in order to achieve one's vision. One participant commented:

In politics, the search is always for identifying what the true public interest is and how to mediate between competing components. There is never a simple and easy answer; no matter the issue, there are all kinds of competing interests; and the magic is to find a resting place where you're happy with the choices you have made.

Under these conditions, one participant shared factors that should be considered when passing legislation in a minority-status environment. He cited factors of the

prevailing political mood, timing, financial health of the government, ideology, personalities in the opposition, and the organizations that support government.

Laws are the product of compromise and reflect the norms of the society, therefore, when a government is in a minority position there are a lot of people tugging in different directions. In these circumstances one respondent stated:

You start off with a piece of legislation looking like one thing and it comes out looking like something quite different. This involves sitting down with the other parties and briefing them on what's involved and trying to figure out how it can be done, and sometimes even horse training when it comes to getting a bill passed.

Another politician was able to avoid defeat of his government by signing a formal accord after careful negotiation with opposition parties and thus allowing them to govern.

I think what I got done, I got done because I worked with people; I didn't stand up and make cheap shots at people, says one respondent. Another added, *It's more about smoothing relationships, forming connections and working to get to a particular goal in a collaborative fashion.* One respondent spoke about the differences that were apparent when she served in a majority as opposed to a minority government environment:

In a majority government there tended to be much less compromise as the Prime Minister's office would draft legislation and it would be passed in Parliament. Whereas in the minority government my job was to work with the Department of Justice and the Department of Northern Affairs to draft economic regulation and work with the opposition parties to have legislation passed.

She was able to accomplish this by working cooperatively, compromising, and building bridges. The situation changed even more when her government lost the election and she sat in the seat of the opposition. She found the government constantly trying to provoke an election, and found the role dramatically different as the government was uncooperative and kept threatening to call an election. She cited this as probably the lowest point for her as a parliamentarian. Another participant was able to use her

influence to work with the two opposition parties to come up with a report on the disadvantages faced by people with disabilities. The report was well received by health care professionals and eventually turned into a bill that survived all readings in the Legislature and became law. She has been described as a centrist and an alternative to the other right-wing parties.

The public expects that the lawyer holding political office will achieve some betterment, which often requires working with stakeholders in trying to find some commonalities. This means building consensus, engaging in discussion, being cooperative, and not adversarial. *I try to work with all members and would say that I generally have a pretty good relationship with the members of the government as well as members of the other parties,* says one participant. Other respondents felt that there was no magic wand and what carried the day in building coalitions was consulting, compromise, and collaborating with others and in turn getting them to convince other people. *It's a very democratic process in which a lot of different people are involved and you are part of it,* says one respondent. A participant pointed to the collaboration, compromise, and bridge building that went into the constitutional negotiations of 1981 that resulted in the passage of the 1982 Constitution. *A lot of thought went into the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, a lot of people contributed to it,* says one respondent.

Another example of consensus and bridge building was one respondent's experience. This lawyer-politician sat on both sides of the House of Commons and worked routinely with government to secure the release of prisoners of conscience. This involves having no inhibitions about working through Canada's foreign ministry and asking for assistance. Working together they were successful in securing the release of a

number of persons around the world who were being persecuted for their political beliefs. In securing these releases one respondent said: *I think it's a great example where people of different political stripes can work together.* Another example of this was a long-serving member of Parliament who ably worked with opposition parties and Canadian allies to form an all-party parliamentary group, which brought attention and action to end the genocide in Darfur, and address political instability in Haiti and Afghanistan after the fall of those governments.

In situations where there is substantial disagreement with the opposition and it was not possible to secure any movement forward, one respondent stated,

I'm quite prepared even if it's something I don't agree with to get the speaking points and go out and argue it passionately in the face of party opposition because that's one of the things I am trained to do.

Working With the Community

Building bridges and understanding needs of stakeholders in the local, national, and international level were viewed as important by most participants. *In a law practice you thought you had a 360-degree view and then I discovered it was pretty narrow. Making the connections with all of community organizations was a bit of an eye-opener,* said one respondent.

Making the necessary connections with the community to one politician meant mending bridges with various political factions in his constituency. This was brought about when he sought the nomination against an incumbent politician who had been in power for 14 years and had never lost a nomination. He recalls 2,400 people coming out to the nomination and ended up winning by 211 votes. Although he went on to win the election there was still acrimony towards him. There were strong pockets in the

constituency that were not happy with him because he had challenged and unseated a long-time politician. It took approximately a year and a half to be able to take the edge off and wear this resentment away.

One participant systematically built bridges with the community by initially meeting with key community stakeholders to reinforce the idea that he was easily accessible. He advised that the goal of the initial meeting was to make sure he knew constituents and they knew him. Subsequent meetings were focused on identifying what things needed to get done in the community and the timeline for achieving this. Building a face-to-face relationship with key community groups is one of the most important processes one has to go through in the first year. If not, you run the risk of working at cross purposes with community groups, says this respondent. Getting to know the community inside out involved having candid and open conversations with its citizens. To accomplish this he set up town hall meetings so the broader community would become engaged. At these meetings, he asked citizens to prioritize issues that were important to them and from this, he took his marching orders for things that needed to be done. Some practical matters were sorted out including distributing contact details including his phone number, email address, and names of constituency staff. He commented that this strategy paid off, because 4 years later his perception was that the community is far more comfortable and felt open with him. Many friendships had resulted along with positive working relationships. The participant reflected:

Part of the job when you are a public figure is that you are out there talking to people in the community, knocking on doors and doing a lot of community events. That is different from being a lawyer and is one of the most important things one can do in this job. The focus is on bringing people together as opposed to putting people against each other. In this regard any politician who says that they cannot make a difference, in my humble opinion, is not making an

effort as you can make a tremendous amount of impact in the broader community.

Respondents indicated that developing working partnerships with those in the other levels of Canadian government (municipal, provincial, and federal governments), those in business, labor, volunteer groups, constituents, and colleagues in the riding associations was essential for success. Whether it is a majority or minority government, it is rare that a government just comes in and does something, without first consulting with citizens.

Broadened Scope

The main quality evident was that participants reported a progressive broadening of their acquired skill set in order to deal with new job demands. During the interviews, many participants contrasted the narrow nature of their previous legal work with the new breadth of issues they had to cover in public office. They contrasted the fact that their legal work tended to be more clearly defined and they had a choice of what clients and areas they wanted to focus on. This was contrasted to their work in politics where they had to cope with a multitude of issues, with multiple clientele or constituents. These challenges were divided into several sub-topics: as “Variety of Issues” when they had to deal with problems which were diverse; “Wider Audience” was used when participants talked about concerns of thousands of constituents in their riding; and “Official Positions” was used to capture the challenges faced by participants who held a government portfolio. Those holding a government portfolio handled issues of national interest with far-reaching consequences.

Variety of Issues

In recent years law has grown in complexity such that lawyers choose a niche area and work within that area to become experts. One respondent put it this way:

Going into politics the general outlook is universalized. It is impossible to specialize if you get into politics, because you are dealing basically with the political context within which all human activity unfolds. This means you have to be ready, you have to be aware and awake to all circumstances of human experience.

Another respondent stated:

Practicing law is different, obviously; you're interested in helping people on a different level and in a different way, you're more exact or constricted to specific cases on issues that are before you, says one lawyer. This can be contrasted with the passing of laws that change the education system in the province or changing the healthcare system or changing social assistance. The issues are broader and not as narrow.

This shift was described as a bit of an eye-opener to lawyer-politicians, which took some adjusting to. *My legal practice was much more routine and filled with routine challenges. As a politician I found every day filled with new and interesting things. I liked the fast pace and varied issues that one had to deal with,* says one respondent.

Thus problems presented by constituents that are raised in the course of running government may be outside a lawyer's area of expertise. One participant commented,

I quickly realized that instead of working for particular individuals on a case-by-case basis, I was working for a community with a wide variety of concerns. I've had to learn how to manage more issues at once, improve my time management and work with a larger staff.

When bills come forward, politicians are required to educate themselves on a variety of issues whether they are in agriculture, finance, or whatever ministry of the government that is promoting the legislation. This represents an opportunity to grow as a politician. One respondent advised that during this time he became involved in environmental

issues, water conservation, social justice matters, automotive industrial issues, food and agriculture, pension reform policy, and Genetically Modified Foods.

The most exciting day in the law is a lot duller than the dullest day in politics. And no two days are the same, says one respondent. He recalls that every day when he showed up at the office, there were literally a dozen issues that did not exist the day before when he went home late at night!

There are a dozen issues or crises, problems that you have to solve today that didn't exist yesterday on top of the 12 or 24 that were yesterday and they all have to be dealt with. And you're getting exposed to many different things and many different interests that you normally wouldn't be exposed to otherwise. You certainly wouldn't be exposed to them practicing law; it would be infinitesimal the diversity of practicing law, to be blunt, compared to being in a responsible position; such as a cabinet minister; in a major government. So they are two totally different things; and I think one of the difficult things people have when leaving public life—especially after having been there for a while—is trying to duplicate that level of interest.

A former Attorney General made the observation that if you are an active lawyer you are used to working long hours, which means that as a politician you are not going to experience a serious change in terms of general demand. The major difference is that you are going to find that your time will be spent doing a lot of different things than you are used to.

Another respondent felt that in politics he learned how to balance a variety of interests. Being exposed to such a broad range of interests in the community taught him that legal disputes are not as simple as right versus wrong but were a question of one person being right and another person being substantially right. Using this approach he was able to find common ground and won a lot of converts along the way.

Wider Audience

One participant indicated that it was necessary to adjust her working style as she spent significantly more time meeting with groups of people rather than individuals. During a politician's time in office they could expect to deal with a variety of advocacy groups including but not limited to consumer organizations; parent associations; professional bodies; trade associations; lobbyists; anti-poverty groups; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender groups; environmental groups, and those from the labor movement. These meetings are conducted with a view towards influencing government legislation, policy, and programs.

Respondents stated that they represented people in their constituency who were not particularly nice to them and, come election time, they are nowhere to be found.

Another respondent added:

As a politician you act not just for your client but for all those in your constituency for which you represent so you have a broader compass and your accountability moves away from the privatized relationship of solicitor-client and shifts to all those in your constituency whether they voted for you or not. You work on their behalf and that is the mind-set that one has to get into.

Official Positions

Sometimes respondents were appointed as Ministers responsible for programs that addressed the social problems in Canada such as immigration, crime, and poverty.

Ministers are accountable for the actions of all servants of the Crown and are answerable to other members of the House of Commons. Key among the duties of a Minister is to ensure that the department and its public servants are managed efficiently. Duties must be discharged in accordance with statutory powers ascribed to that office. Ministers must work cooperatively with all political parties in discharging the powers vested in that

office. This means that Ministers must get deeply involved in a variety of issues that they never thought they would get involved in. This requires lawyers making the transition not only from private citizen/lawyer to Member of Parliament, but also from lawyer/private citizen to minister of the Crown. One participant held high-profile positions of Minister of Justice, Minister of Energy, and Minister of Health, and was surprised by the variety of issues that were important to people. He was equally surprised by issues that drew no interest from the general population but were of significance to him.

Parliamentary Secretary is the other key position to which lawyers often get appointed. In this position, the parliamentarians answer questions and present reports when the minister is not available in the House of Commons, as well as encounter a wide range of issues. After 22 years as a sole practitioner, specializing primarily in wills and estates, one participant found himself inheriting a complex portfolio of responsibilities after being appointed as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Finance. He pointed out that in this position, one of the keys to success was being able to deal with a spectrum of people from diverse backgrounds including the unemployed, senior politicians, and even the Prime Minister. *I miss the work; there's nothing like it, the intensity, the diversity; it's just totally amazing. It is such a wide pursuit and covers every facet of human interest and behavior; that's why the job never ends,* says one respondent.

Administrative Skills

Another area of adjustment reported by participants was the need to administrate their political offices. Participants reported having staff in the constituency office handling the day-to-day running of the office, interviewing constituents, drafting routine correspondence, attending public functions, and processing requests for lost passports.

When these issues of administration were mentioned as areas of adjustment, they were placed under “Delegating.”

Participants emphasized the importance of building and maintaining a solid reputation in the community. It was reported that one way of accomplishing this was in staffing their offices with competent employees and training them to provide excellent service to the community. Statements that provided credit to staff were collected under “Recruiting and Training of Staff.”

Participants reported that rarely could they focus on one issue at a time but were forced to divide their attention between issues. Having the core skills to switch between tasks and maintain flexibility was captured under “Multitasking.”

“Utilizing French” was assigned to statements made about using the French language to raise a participant’s appeal to their constituents and draw the community together.

Delegating

When you are a lawyer you handle your own file but when you become a member of Parliament or Minister, you need to delegate as there is no way you can put your hands on every file, says a long-time parliamentarian. As a lawyer, I was also doing a lot of the paper work and that declined because my constituency staff was involved in that part of things, says another. Another respondent chose to conduct his constituency work primarily on Saturday, leaving the day-to-day running and management of the office to full-time constituency staff. I always had a good person running the office as that gave me a profile. This allowed me to establish a long-term relationship with my constituency.

One respondent described the delegation process:

Delegating is an evolution, I think it was beginning when I first got elected, I think I was micromanaging too much, and I was proofreading too many letters, and rewriting too many speeches, and now I've been in a position for almost three years and made some staff changes but for the most part my staff has been constant and have been with me for the majority of that time. They know what I want and what I like and what I dislike, I'm able to micromanage less and delegate more, and that too lends to efficient time management.

Many participants advised that when you are a politician you are more like a business person who relies on the experts and legal advisors. This allows you to focus more on policy issues and the big picture and not fixate as much on the detail, with the challenge being able to read and absorb the essence of what was being said. One respondent described his experience:

I have a battery of assistants that I can call in and I can say 'do this' or 'do that' and they jot down notes and stuff materializes on his desk. As Minister, I certainly have the ability to delegate a lot. I have something like 577 lawyers in my ministry and 3000 staff. If I have a question about aboriginal consultation or security regulation, or maintenance enforcement, I only have to ask and someone will quickly provide me with a briefing and bring in one of our experts to explain it to me. I really feel privileged to have access to that.

A participant indicated that he delegated more as he moved up the chain. When he became Deputy Minister, he had a deputy and a department head that he delegated tasks to. Although he was dependent more on staff and advisors as he went up the political ladder, he advised that the ultimate responsibility lay with him. Another respondent agreed, saying that there was not much difference between when he was in business and when he became a Minister. In both cases he had extensive staffs that helped in organizing his life so he could focus on what was pressing and urgent. On the other hand, the job of being a regular Member of Parliament without a portfolio involved having a smaller number of staff, and this required him to do more on his own.

Another respondent commented that delegation allowed him to remove himself from the day-to-day work and think about and read the material that is needed in order to do a good job and stay away from the background noise:

It allows me to do some picking and choosing of things that I can help with like beetles that are devastating the local community—what's the federal government going to do about that? We have a cell tower that went up overnight, what are we going to do about it? And pondering the question of what Canada is going to do about extending the mission in Libya?

Despite delegating, he felt that in some areas this did not seem to help as much as he could not escape the fact that the ultimate decision was his. This meant that he had to make well-informed decisions requiring the studying of material, asking the questions, and learning that he had a good chance of getting it wrong.

In private practice most of a lawyer's time is spent doing research with limited face-to-face time with the client; whereas in public office it is the other way around. Respondents confirmed this, saying that in politics they delegated far more than when they were practicing law, particularly in areas of research and drafting. One respondent put it this way:

Being supplied with briefing notes compiled by researchers allowed me to be in the battlefield the whole time. Delegation is an evolution where micromanaging less and delegating more leads to efficient time management. A politician must be able to trust her experts by accepting the advice given and implementing what is being recommended.

Reflecting, one respondent stated, *We did really good constituency work, not me personally but my staff. We helped a lot of people including the community at large with constituents in turn becoming really supportive of our work.* Another respondent stated,

This freed me up to go around and put out fires! Commenting on the way she delegated tasks between her two offices one lawyer advised that she gave the casework to constituency staff, and the staff on Parliament Hill did the policy work.

Respondents stated that delegation came down to having office staff deal with the finer details of day-to-day work. And yet another respondent stated, *In my absence, she looked after the constituents' problems when they phoned in, mailed their concerns in, or dropped by.* Thus most participants delegated the day-to-day running of the constituency office to their administrative staff while they were away on business in the provincial Legislature or federal Parliament.

Another participant allowed her staff to do more drafting of correspondence and position papers with instructions from her once they became accustomed to her style of writing. She then focused on editing the documents because they were able to capture her voice.

There would have been not much difference between when I was in law and when I became a Minister, says one interviewee. Another added:

In both cases you have extensive staff and you got people who organize your life for you so you can focus on what you need to do. Ninety percent of constituency work should be handled by constituency staff. I must say, I'm a good delegator of responsibilities and I made sure I delegated, so the burden of the work was spread amongst us all.

Recruitment and Training of Staff

A number of participants made reference to the importance of recruiting competent staff to avoid a loss of reputation and to accommodate the increase in workload. *These are important issues for the country and for you politically, thus it was important to hire qualified staff with the set skill to carry on the daily business in the office,* says one respondent.

Elected officials typically have two offices, one in their constituency and the other in the capital city where Parliament or the Legislature sits. One participant described the

setup of his office as a small business and estimated that the annual expenses were estimated to be half a million dollars where he employed five full-time staff. *This job is not that you have to sit in the office, this is a job where you have to get out there to make certain that you have good staff that are good office managers*, says another interviewee. *Thus a great deal of training went into making my staff comfortable with my style and making sure that all of the disciplines I used to run my law office were enshrined in the constituency office*, she added. One participant saw the advantage of bringing over his legal staff and integrating them into his constituency office. They worked with him for 19 years and understood his style, expectations of service, and fiscal responsibility. The mantra of service, service, service was brought from his law office and passed on to his constituents. He noted, *I can't tell you how often I'm complimented for the service to the community that is offered by my staff in the office*. Another respondent stated that the reason he was able to survive longer in politics than his colleagues was because of his staff:

I am very proud of the people that have chosen to associate themselves with me and we run a damn fine office. I'm very blessed. One of my employees is an Afghan refugee, and she's way smarter than any white guy, at figuring out whose bullshitting and who's not. I trust her judgment more than I trust my own. And I got a couple of kids in Ottawa; these kids are whip smart—much smarter than I am. I've got a 21-year-old who is 21 chronologically but she's 45 when it comes to the smarts of politics; she's absolutely brilliant. And I got a guy who is a wonderful writer and he does a fabulous job keeping track of the budget.

At times respondents were fortunate to hire experienced staff that had pre-existing organizational skills as they worked for a number of other politicians. At times when politicians retired or left office due to illness or death, their staff may be absorbed by the incoming politician. One participant recounted:

I was fortunate as I replaced a long-time Conservative member who held this seat for 15 years. The staff I inherited from my predecessor was very helpful. I

kept about half of his staff and his senior staff member who worked for him for seven years. She was quite instrumental in breaking me in on practical and administrative matters such as the rules of expenses, travel, and how much money that you can spend in the riding on advertising. She took care of the administrative business aspect of this office.

The hiring of the right staff was referred to as a turning point for one respondent:

My life changed for the better when I hired my chief of staff. He was my left- and right-hand person for the next 12½ years and made my life possible, in terms of the work, the management of the appointments, meeting with people and the travel. If there was one moment for me that improved my life immeasurably, that was when I hired my chief of staff.

Multitasking

I have learned to multitask even more than I did before. I have had to juggle way more things at the same time, says one respondent. She added,

I have learned to accept that 80% is often all you're going to be able to devote to a particular issue, but that 80% is often much better than only 50% or none at all. The lifestyle is busier, more frenetic, and that requires you to be on almost 24 hours a day.

Many respondents found that leveraging the multitasking habits developed in private practice made their time in office easier when dealing with issues of office management, constituents, and prioritizing tasks. One respondent put it this way:

I had to develop very efficient work habits, multitasking, working on a laptop on a plane which I had never done before. I never travelled all that much previously and I was never that comfortable working on a plane before. Given how much time that I do have to spend on planes, which is about 9 or 10 hours a week, which is a whole day, I can't waste a day per week just sitting on a plane watching movies. I had to quickly develop multitasking skills, time management skills, efficiency skills and prioritizing skills. That way the more important tasks went to the top of the list to get completed earlier and that was a very useful exercise, because when I ceased my practice those skills stayed with me, so it's made managing my political vocation relatively manageable.

Switching tasks on the fly, developing flexible work schedules, and changing gears very quickly were core skills. *What you set out to do in the morning might be*

something very different from what you end up doing, said one participant. *Things changed very quickly and you have to be ready to adapt to change easily; so if you're not that kind of person it might not be the kind of job for you*, added one participant. Another observed that when he worked as a lawyer, the work was more structured with a lot of hard deadlines. However, in his role as politician he needed to be more flexible as meeting dates and times often change or things are often put over to another date, much more so than in law.

Another respondent pointed out that politics is less structured, requiring more flexibility. In legal practice a file is open, the work is confined to a particular issue, concerns are addressed, the file is closed, and the client pays the bill. In politics the file is open, the intake is done, the responsible ministry or bureaucrat is written to, the matter is then pursued with service Canada, or whoever may be the source of the solution; and then it gets done. Finally a report is issued to the constituent and the file is closed. The distinction in politics is that changes tend to be policy-based and can have far-reaching consequences. Therefore politicians ought to anticipate new issues that come up and work to stay ahead of the effects to control the impact on the broader community. An illustration of this was one respondent who launched a job fund for less fortunate constituents, prompting an increase in corporate taxes and an increase in personal income tax on the wealthier members of the community. This created a backlash that had to be managed.

Participants depended on the use of personal communication devices such as Blackberries to attend to matters on the fly. This was more convenient as it was

cumbersome to carry around computer equipment (such as laptops) on the transit system and airplanes in addition to a briefcase filled with files, and a purse.

Utilizing French

Many participants whose mother tongue was English took it upon themselves to learn French while in office. Because French is one of the official languages in Canada, it was seen as giving them an advantage in communicating with constituents, debating in the House of Commons, and in pursuing their international work. *It is an advantage to have fluency in French; my party and the government helped me learn French in Quebec*, says one respondent. French was viewed as such a vital skill that extramural classes are set up by the Canadian federal government to teach parliamentarians conversational French. Participants took the opportunity to broadcast in French, over the French TV channel, or the office of the French-language services Commissioner to those French members of Ontario.

Politicians in this study who communicated well in French were involved in key political initiatives, such as helping the Canadian federalist cause in the buildup to the 1995 Quebec referendum on sovereignty, and the creation of Franco-Ontarian Day on September 25th where Franco-Ontarians would officially recognize the contribution of Ontario's Francophone community to the cultural, historical, social, economic, and political life of the province.

Summary

In this study, the adjustment phase reported changes that helped participants better respond to their political work. Nicholson (1990) had suggested that personal changes

and building relationships were key elements, so these were included in the analysis. However, I also added the subheading Broadened Scope and Administrative Skills as being important to the lawyer-politician transition. This helped them accomplish their work when they were called upon to expand on acquired legal skills.

Many participants experienced some impact on their personal lives after assuming public office in the area of finances, privacy, health effects, time demands, and family life. Respondents indicated that the greatest change requiring adjustment was the loss of income. Many respondents found the financial transition difficult as the reduction in the amount of income started from as early as when they sought the nomination and continued after getting elected. In some instances the reduction in salary was on the order of 50%. The financial risk associated with getting into and out of politics was a huge deterrent to entering public life. Participants saw running a part-time law practice as a means of supplementing their income.

These politicians and their families had to get used to the invasion of their personal privacy as constituents thought it was their right to access politicians on a 24/7 basis. Simple tasks such as going to the grocery store would be a chore because members of the public would show no hesitation in accosting them. Getting simple things done in the community became a problem with the result being that the family resisted going out together. The internet made every aspect of their life public and that had tremendous impact on their whole family. A few respondents mentioned the health impact all of these changes had on their personal well-being. There was the physical aspect of becoming rundown by not being able to eat properly and the inability to be fully rested. After leaving office, one respondent stated that she had to nurse herself back to health. The

nature of the job meant that lawyers had to be on 24/7 as they were always subjected to being questioned by constituents and attending community events.

Demands placed on their time were at a premium with many respondents feeling pulled in different directions. This compromised the time they spent with their families. Many respondents reported that their family unit was disrupted by their prolonged absence from the home and this placed pressure on wives to care for children. Wives felt abandoned and often sacrificed their career by putting it on hold or resigning outright. On many occasions the entire family was uprooted and relocated closer to Parliament or the Legislature. Respondents advised that their public responsibilities conflicted with their private needs on the home front and that contributed to their divorces. Children were seen to experience difficulties in maintaining healthy relationships with peers and parents. Despite the difficulties experienced by families, individual politicians claimed that the stress level as a Member of Parliament was considerably less than when they worked as a lawyer. They reported managing better than their spouses as there was an entire network that supported their political life. The difficulty placed on families has not gone unnoticed by administrators in Ottawa, so much so that an initiative was launched to develop better ways of engaging spouses so that they feel less isolated and lonely when parliamentarians are away from home.

Respondents found that politics was much more collaborative than law as there were teams of people in departments who were involved in different phases for every decision. Even if lawyers secured political office without the mind-set of being a team player, they soon realized that this was the case. One has to learn to work with people by building friendships and rapport with individuals whether or not they could help you in

the interim. Forming alliances and working in teams is important as the legislative process can be a lengthy one. Compromise is necessary as politicians are not making decisions alone but are an elected representative of that party. Politicians are cautioned to never criticize their own party since this is intensely embarrassing for other party members. Thus respondents had to work hard in marketing their position behind closed doors within their own party before trying to go public with their ideas. In short, in politics it is difficult to be successful or get anything accomplished if you do not work as a group or part of a team. This approach also extended to finding commonalities, building consensus, engaging in discussion, and being cooperative with political adversaries. Similarly, making the necessary connections with the community means building bridges with various political factions that may not have supported one's candidacy.

Many respondents were of the view that the scope of their job as a lawyer was pretty narrow and politics required that they take a broader view of issues. It was not uncommon for constituents to raise issues outside a lawyer's area of expertise. When bills come forward, politicians are required to educate themselves on a variety of issues whether they are in agriculture, finance, or whatever ministry of the government that is promoting the legislation. During a person's time in office, he or she could expect to deal with a variety of advocacy groups with a wide range of interests.

Lawyers needed to adjust to changes required in their role as a politician by delegating tasks, recruiting and training staff, multitasking, and learning French. This was done out of practical necessity as politicians were required to be out of the office on a frequent basis so the day-to-day running of the office was left to the administrative staff. This freed the politician to think about the big issues. This meant that it was imperative to

recruit and train competent staff to avoid a loss of reputation and to accommodate the increase in workload. Multitasking by switching tasks on the fly, developing flexible work schedules, and changing gears very quickly was considered a core skill. Many respondents whose mother tongue was English learned French while in office. Because French is one of the official languages in Canada, it was seen as giving them an advantage in communicating with constituents, debating in the House of Commons, and in pursuing their international work.

During the adjustment phase respondents were seen to evolve beyond their rigid work habits and adopt a more flexible, fast-paced, unstructured approach to politics. They were seen letting go of their area of legal expertise and in so doing were willing to make themselves more vulnerable to the unknown. Indications of growth were an admission of mistakes made in the past and how they could have been avoided. The reliance on the advice from their network of peers and staff took them out of their narrow thinking.

Chapter 7 describes how lawyers become more familiarized with the essential facets of being elected officials and exhibit more self-confidence in making law a part of politics.

CHAPTER SEVEN

STABILIZATION PHASE

Introduction

In the stabilization phase the goal is to achieve dynamic equilibrium, which means monitoring internal and external influences in the environment and making adjustments that will sustain effective performance. Stabilization sees the individual striving to maintain valued elements of the role by making adjustments and adapting to consequences of success or failure. In the stabilization phase participants are fully integrated into the new job role and new relationships have been formed with others in the new environment. Stabilization is seldom achieved if an individual is not compatible with the new position (Nicholson, 1990).

Nicholson spoke about the stabilization phase in general terms but went no further as his goal was to put forward a systematic general framework for career transition. I went a step further in categorizing data that fell into seven themes in accordance with the general guidelines articulated above. The themes for the Stabilization Phase are: (a) Coming of Age, (b) Building a Civil Society, (c) Public Advocate, (d) Community Relations, (e) Affirmations and Re-elections, (f) Appointments, and (g) Expert in Government Processes. Each of these will now be explored.

Coming of Age

The theme “Coming of Age” was formulated from statements indicating that participants used a variety of tools in an effort to solve complex social problems. The tools they reported using were the law, an understanding of human nature, and reliance placed on advice from experts. Participants reported that they used an integrative multi-pronged approach when solving social problems.

Although the primary tool used by participants in securing the rights of others is the law, after spending several years in government one participant admitted his experience as a parliamentarian increased awareness of legal power and the limitations. The participant accepted that the mere passing of laws was no guarantee of preventing undesired behaviors but understood that some of society’s problems were often more deeply rooted. Solutions were found by engaging different stakeholders. He reflected on his earlier days as a politician where his first reaction was to fix problems with the passage of new laws to curb deviant behavior. This was especially true in criminal law. Generally, people think if a law has been put into existence, its mere presence will make good events happen or prevent bad incidents from happening. During the participant’s formative years in politics he never understood why the public held this perspective. But after years of service in politics, an understanding of why people acted in this manner became apparent. He commented:

I think it's the fact that the vast majority of Canadians are law-abiding people, and we are brought up to play by the rules, so we think if you just get the rules right we'll be ok. Sometimes that's right; but in other cases, the law is not going to solve the problem, because the root causes of the problem actually lie somewhere else. If the root causes of the problem lie somewhere else, chances are the passage of the law will not ameliorate or prevent that problem in the future.

Participants have understood law as a part of politics not to be considered separated from one another. In other words the law was one of the tools used to achieve a particular legal or political end. One lawyer provided an example of how this was manifested when constituents presented a problem:

As a politician you have an opportunity to influence people; your own caucus, your leader, and civil servants; as to “yes there is a problem here”; “what's happening to this person is not fair,” and “how can we change it.” And you have the persuasive powers plus you can use private bills in order to bring problems of that kind to the attention of the public, and civil servants. You may know they won't pass, but you feel very strongly that they are important enough that you would take your valuable time, which is restricted to private bills to bring the matter to the public's attention.

Another respondent came to an appreciation about the complexity and richness involved in drafting key pieces of legislation that were meant to bring about national change. The participant pointed out that once you have been through the legislative process a deeper understanding of ordinary citizens and of social institutions develops. His three decades of experience in public office taught him how to negotiate with opposing perspectives. He saw the value of competing debates and ideas brought on a party level emphasizing the importance of change. Within political movements there has been an ever-changing dynamic that requires accommodation rather than affirming existing principles and policies. Thus working with other politicians at various political levels and building relationships in the legislature, with other governments provincially, or dealing with the Canadian federal government becomes essential. One lawyer participant related his experience as follows, *I don't know what the other politicians thought, but from my point of view it was a very warm cordial and very interesting period, and I just felt richly rewarded rather than intimidated.*

Another participant felt maturing into the role of a politician had to go beyond helping constituents; it was important to make a difference by changing laws or by transforming what was occurring in the province. The participant demonstrated her belief by extending beyond a narrow legal approach towards solving a problem brought forward by a constituent. She was concerned about the impact Canadian federal taxation law had on small business owners across Canada. The problem was taken to the Minister of Canada Revenue Agency, who legally challenged the manner in which the government had been interpreting taxation law. The participant explained that the government bureaucrats interpreted the particular section of the Canada Taxation Code in question as meaning a whole series of small companies were going to go out of business. The hardest hit were 'mom and pop' shops existing for years, thus threatening the Canadian industry. After completing research, the participant realized the government was incorrect in the analysis of the Canada Taxation Code. She then prepared a report for the Minister and walked him through the entire file, managing to convince him to act on Ministerial authority in the prescribed matter. The Minister ended up briefing the Deputy Minister and a specialist in the taxation department. These individuals returned to the conversation with multiple questions and counter-arguments. The arguments were studied carefully and over the course of a year the participant drafted responses. Following the appointment of a new Minister, the briefing process began again. Neither the initial nor the new Ministers were lawyers, thus the applicable taxation law required review in great detail. The conclusion to the process convinced the Minister that his department had not ruled properly, and he had the authority under the law to act. The Minister took action

resulting in the literal survival and prospering of small mom-and-pop shops by the thousands. The participant engaged in this process commented:

And that's when I said to myself, this was something that was never in the news, I never issued a press statement, it was all behind the scenes, but it was because I was a politician and I was able to do that work. Had I simply been a lawyer I would have been fighting it before the courts.

The results, according to the participant, were not typical of what happens in most cases. Under the law the Minister had authority to act but was hesitant to do so because the consequences of change could be expansive. Making a decision for change can be positive or negative and can have an impact on an entire Canadian entity, a single individual, an industry, or a population segment. She said, *Ministers are too afraid to use their authority, since they themselves don't understand what the consequences are likely to be.*

After involvement in passing legislation and working on special committees, participants gained a deep appreciation for the process that went into developing new legislation. Many spoke of the deep respect for the incredible skill exhibited by legislative drafters and participants who worked with caucus, cabinet, and various ministries. Legislative drafters and participants ensured that proposed legislation was in congruence with public policy and the problems that various ministries wanted to address. An understanding of the process gave them confidence that the connection between policy and legislation was being met. This also instilled a renewed respect for the words that were being used. One respondent said that it was very challenging to get it right considering how many pieces of legislation were generated across the country. In addition to new pieces of legislation, there were many amendments that were in response to the changing circumstances and changing times. Drafting legislation properly was

necessary in order to avoid any unintended consequences. Another respondent commented:

Although people make mistakes and there are some public servants who put more effort into the process, generally speaking people who are responsible for drafting legislation do a hell of a job. So I have this in the back of my mind when I am looking at legislation. I generally have a very high regard for the process that creates legislation.

Another participant admitted that a major turning point for him came when he was faced with a very difficult issue involving the use of the French language, which developed into what is now referred to as the French Language Crisis. His involvement with the issue meant that he had to work closely with the French community to bridge gaps between their interests and the other ethnic factions in the province. If a deal had not been struck between the parties involved, it could have proven disastrous for his province. In coming to a compromise he got very far in negotiating with the various stakeholders but did not adequately consult either cabinet or caucus and consequently ran into a great deal of difficulty both politically and publicly. He commented:

I attributed that mistake in trying to go alone. I learned from that particular dramatic episode, as it turned out to be, that you have to take care as you develop controversial positions, to make sure you're bringing your caucus and cabinet along with you.

Years later he applied this experience to work more cooperatively with the caucus and cabinet, and thereby avoided many pitfalls. Working closely with his caucus he was able to amend the Human Rights Act to address the issue of discrimination due to sexual orientation. Although he was strongly in favor of this change, he stated that not everyone in the caucus or cabinet was. It took him 5 years to develop a critical mass in government and to finalize changes to the Human Rights Act. He went on to say:

It took me that long to bring everybody around and to deal with the inner conflict, in the caucus and cabinet and to deal with the opposition from the

Roman Catholic Church and other bodies. I dealt with that one much better than the French Language Crisis in moving more slowly and carefully to understand people's concerns and to deal with them.

Looking back at the experience, he surmised that through the eyes of a politician he viewed the law very much differently. He was able to appreciate the complexity involved when it came to converting policy into statutes, and stated:

You have to take a lot of time to recognize the different aspects you don't consider when you're just studying law from court decisions. You have to take a look at whether what you're proposing to do can be financed, how it can be financed, how it will mesh with other policies that are being developed, how will the public perceive it, how will those who will be most directly affected deal with it, how do you take them into the confidence; a whole lot of very complex issues in the operation of the law.

During his time in office, he concluded that *politicians come and go, but the senior civil servants really knew the ins and outs of policy development.* They were also knowledgeable about various aspects of putting into practice political decisions, whether it was financial or public relations aspects. He commented:

I began to do something that few others were doing. I began to hold regular meetings in my office with the senior staff, and they really appreciated that I asked for their advice. I found that it really made it possible for me to begin to cope with what I previously describe as the complexities of translating policies and politics into practice.

Another participant believed that there are some lawyers who fulfilled their political ambitions the moment they were sworn into office. Other respondents were intent on serving society and making a difference in the lives of others. Participants looked for ways to bring their knowledge of the law and legal process into their career as politicians, and knew that working in politics is simply not another way of existing as a lawyer. *You have to sound like a good politician and not just a good lawyer*, said one participant. Another participant put it this way, *Politics is its own discipline. Every aspect of a lawyer's life before being elected can be helpful in politics. But lawyers should not*

be deluded into thinking that better governance would follow if politicians were better lawyers.

Several participants pointed out that there must be a fundamental recognition that they are in a place where change happens and, with the right strategy, there is some control over it. One participant commented:

As a lawyer, you go and ask a judge to do something which ultimately is the judge's decision; as a lawyer it's your client who ultimately has to be responsible for a decision; you're just an advisor or an advocate. When you make the transition into politics you are making the transition from being a lawyer, if you will, to being something that is much more like a client. Ultimately, you are at the other end of the phone call receiving the advice and having to make the decision!

One respondent stated, *I am not afraid to take or ask for advice, and that is what I did.* Participants pointed out that the transition had a permanent impact and it was difficult to transition back to a place where they were just an advisor.

Transitioning from a career in law to politics gave participants a full appreciation of the Canadian system of government. Many admitted that although Canada's system of government was not perfect, they had not come across other models that were better. *We were so far in advance in protecting basic civil liberties and human rights,* commented one respondent. Participants were asked by their leadership to travel internationally and share their experience with other countries about the merits of Canada's democratic institutions. Due to the bilingual nature of Canada, participants shared their experience in both the English- and French-speaking world. One respondent stated:

The experience of being a politician broadened me from a philosophical point of view as it gave me a better understanding of the Constitution—Charter of Rights and Freedoms. I shared this experience with the Palestinians in the West Bank as I spoke to them about their struggles for freedoms we have entrenched that they were hoping to have someday.

Another participant travelled to Nazi concentration camps to see evidence of what happened during the Holocaust. After witnessing evidence of atrocities committed against political opponents, he had returned, determined to keep Canada's judiciary independent from its political leadership.

On the day of his interview one participant was getting ready for another of Canada's international missions: *I am leaving for South Africa and seven of us are going to speak to the South African Parliament about how Canadian parliamentary democracy works. I don't know if they'll be listening or not.*

Building a Civil Society

Participants considered the promotion and protection of civil liberties as germane to their work in government. The theme "Building a Civil Society" was constructed from statements that identified issues and pointed to securing fundamental rights of the individual, social justice, law reform, and promoting democratic principles at home and around the world.

Participants were actively involved in advancing the civil rights of citizens while in public office. They were engaged in amending the Constitution, drafting key pieces of legislation, and advocating for the disadvantaged and religious toleration. Participants described the intense work that took place behind the scene to carefully enshrine fundamental human rights principles into the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. One participant recalled the heavy engagement of First Ministers during the time the Charter of Rights and Freedoms was being developed. The daily struggles in securing the rights of their constituents to be free of discrimination were described by some participants. In advancing the case of equality rights one respondent noted:

I was personally somewhat ambivalent when I started. But boy, by the time I was finished travelling across the country and working on a bill I could not say enough about how important and vital it was to make certain that we gave gays and lesbians their whole package of rights. Because I also think it raised the level of respect that they are now able to receive in the broader community.

Participants spoke about the work that had to be done both inside Parliament and in the wider community to educate the public about the impending changes. Similar challenges were encountered when consequential amendments were made to the Criminal Code and the Canadian Human Rights Code, which secured those rights. In illustrating how far we came as a country one participant remarked,

Remember, women did not vote until 1917. When I think of that you say to yourself, 'How could such a thing happen.' That was less than 100 years ago; and we think that we are so high and mighty. Wrongs certainly take a long time to right.

Another participant described his personal commitment to have the rights of aboriginal peoples heard during the framing of the Clarity Act. He went on to say,

The aboriginal people were not to be seen as a party to the process, and I thought this exclusion was inappropriate and wrong and I made those representations because I felt that keeping the aboriginal people out of the process was a mistake.

In large part due to his efforts, the participatory rights of aboriginal peoples were preserved and enshrined in the statute in anticipation of a referendum being held on the separation of any province from Canada. Another respondent advocated strenuously to assert the right of aboriginal peoples and to secure equal educational opportunities. He opined,

I think one thing that really could be seen as a turning point was for me, both personally and as a lawyer, was working with First Nation groups over the post-secondary education funding question that enabled me to perhaps better understand Canada and its peoples.

Other participants used their legal skills to draft legal instruments that significantly altered the rights of others suspected of engaging in gang or terrorist activity, or breaching national security. *If you've been watching Bill C-10, everybody's got an opinion of it. . . . The other piece is coming up with ideas on how to manage, control, and prevent organized crime*, commented another. In defending the rights of others, a small number of participants admitted to carefully strategizing by taking their place on the political stage and using it as a forum to educate and raise awareness. This respondent stated:

As a lawyer you have an opportunity to influence people; your own caucus, your leader, and civil servants. I've used private bills in order to bring problems of that kind to the attention of the public and civil servants.

One participant used his powers of persuasion to convince the government of a foreign country to spare the life of young woman condemned to die for committing adultery. Another participant acknowledged the importance of the humanitarian work he was pursuing on a constituency level:

I changed a lot as a person to understanding about the personal needs of the constituents and their problems. It is all very well to talk about the immigration policy but when some Somali woman comes in and says I've been in this country for three years and I got two teenage boys and I have a husband and I can't get him into the country and he's been trapped in a refugee camp for 4½ years; you know, suddenly this isn't an abstract question, this is a real life problem.

Securing minority language rights was another concern uncovered as some participants entered politics because they belonged to a French minority within the Province of Ontario and felt the need to reinforce those rights. Another respondent took this a step beyond and made French an official language in the law courts, thereby enabling accused persons to make full answer and defense in French. He said, *I believe very strongly that access to justice was a serious problem as people had not been able to*

afford to get the right legal advice and assistance. He also went on to speak about his efforts in reforming the family law; I learned as a lawyer that women were not fairly treated in our matrimonial law, and I felt that was badly in need of change.

Respondents were concerned about the constitutionality of the First-Past-The-Post electoral system in Canada where the candidate with the most votes is elected even if that person has less than 50% of the votes counted. This challenge is currently before the Supreme Court of Canada. Others asserted the right of constituents to enjoy a healthier environment by pursuing land and water conservation matters, demanding the government inform its citizens about genetically modified foods, and starting a special community fund that provided resources to screen constituents for certain diseases.

A defining moment for Canada was when participants spoke of using their influence to support the concept of same-sex marriage. They felt strongly through personal belief that same-sex marriage was a human rights issue. As a result of their actions the Canadian federal government proposed a bill to legalize same-sex marriage across Canada and in 2005 The House of Commons passed the Civil Marriage Act. At the time of passing, Canada was only the third country in the world to legalize same-sex marriage.

Public Advocate

Several participants reported being motivated to improve the lives of constituents by taking on social causes and working to find solutions. The theme “Public Advocate” was formed using statements when participants discussed advocating for the community, elevating issues and matters onto the national stage for attention, building consensus within their caucus, forming coalitions with opposition parties, using their position and

connections in the party to influence change, and even when they departed from the formal party line.

During their time in public office, respondents became proficient in advocating for social issues as they possessed the oratory skill and requisite knowledge of the political process. One respondent used these skills to distinguish himself as an advocate for maintaining public ownership of the local industry in his province. He was vocal on the subject of preserving government ownership of local industry, and worked closely with unions to become a North American spokesperson on the subject. Although he did not completely stop the government, he did manage to slow the sale of assets. His advocacy was displayed in the Legislature where he argued that privatization of publicly owned assets and deregulation offered no concrete vision for the future of the province as it would damage the economy by discouraging industry.

Another participant used his knowledge of criminal law and his profile as a politician to petition other governments to control the movement of an internationally known despot. He appealed on behalf of Canada to international lawmakers, claiming that the international tyrant was guilty of terror, genocide, domestic repression of religious minorities, as well as repression, torture, imprisonment, and execution of citizens. Another participant became a public advocate calling for better nutritional labels on food products. Specifically he introduced a bill that would have required nutritional labels on all foods sold in grocery stores. He argued that this measure would help reduce the risk of heart disease and cancer among consumers. Changes in the labeling criteria allowed consumers to make more prudent choices as to the nutritional composition of food. He advocated that this would reduce Canadian healthcare costs by billions of

dollars in spending and lost productivity. He argued that it would also prevent the unnecessary loss of thousands of deaths each year in Canada due to cardiovascular disease, cancer, and diabetes. Moreover, if the problem went unaddressed, this cost would increase due to the escalating cost of drugs, the aging baby boom population, and rising rates of obesity. The following are a few of the public advocacy groups that supported his work: Community Nutritionists Council of British Columbia; the Ontario Society of Nutrition Professionals in Public Health; the Canadian Women's Health Network; and the Toronto Food Policy Council.

Another participant took on the role of lead spokesperson to amend the Criminal Code, which would legalize certain forms of gambling. She was nominated by her peers to take the lead as she established herself as a credible politician. It was expected that the change would create in excess of 250 jobs, put money into the economy, and remove the gambling stream of revenue from organized crime. Before this legislation, criminal organizations had benefited in a significant way, estimated at \$10 billion to \$40 billion in Canada each year. Due to this legislation, revenue came under the control of government, targeting the funds into social programs.

One respondent traced his development from that of an unknown politician to where he was able to influence change on a national level for the last 10 years. This participant related how in his role he was able to fix a major problem that had plagued Canada. It started when he was confronted with a horrendous car accident, in which a family was killed by a drunk driver, and the drunk driver survived. When the police investigated, it was discovered that the drunk driver had 12 driver's licenses from different jurisdictions in Canada. He was determined to change this, and his efforts

culminated in advocating for and changing the legislation whereby drivers would be able to hold only one driver's license at a time. In addition to making this change in his home province, he was able to convince the other provinces to do the same and worked at setting up a reciprocal driver licensing system. Today, when individuals move from one province to another, they must trade in their driver's license for another and the original is cancelled. In this way a driver's record is always attached to their driving license. *I felt I had been able to make these changes because of my relationship with the Premier and my caucus.* He went on to say that he was able to sell the package to his political counterparts in other provinces, and they eventually passed the same legislation.

I return to this issue of public advocacy in the last chapter where I will discuss how this role combines with the participants' growing abilities to see issues beyond a narrow legal view.

Community Relations

The theme "Community Relations" was used when participants reported their need to establish and foster a dynamic relationship with their constituents. This included a variety of methods of communicating with their community most notably by newsletters delivered by mail, electronic newsletters, newspapers, television, holding town hall meetings, and social media (Facebook, Twitter, Blogs, and websites).

Participants acknowledged that having regular communication with their constituents was important in order to keep them abreast of developments in the community and in government. The use of television was a favorite means of communicating with the public since it allowed participants to get their message straight to constituents in an unfiltered way. Participants worked hard to form a television image

by scheduling regular time on cable TV, Télé-Française d'Ontario (French TV channel), Cable Public Affairs Channel, and La Chaîne d'affaires publiques (French) in Ottawa. These television stations provided facilities to interview guests and broadcast interviews. One respondent described how he interviewed ambassadors, librarians, or anyone of current interest that would fill a half-hour show. For instance, if there was a big health issue, he would have the Minister of Health as a guest. There were also local television stations in the riding that would do a taping and would rebroadcast every show five times, since the shows had content that the stations could not get by themselves. He would also use statements made in the House of Commons as commercials that constituents found very reassuring. *I put a lot of effort into it and in those first years people actually saw me communicating with the Ministers in the government in a comfortable, knowledgeable role and I think that helped me and them.*

Participants indicated that they made use of modern technology to learn about the community and how best to represent the constituency. Others admitted that using social media was essential as it was one of the principal ways to connect with young people. Many spoke about their use of social media including Facebook and Twitter. *I've become quite comfortable with social media, Facebook, Twitter, and Blogs.* Reaching out to constituents in real time was important to constituents so the use of social media was common. Another politician would send a short questionnaire to his constituents two or three times a year and the information was used as an educational tool to focus his efforts and get public support for his initiatives. He went on to say:

When Twitter, Facebook, and other social media came out, I read up on it and found it really interesting, so I immediately opened up accounts, but I found that I didn't have as much time as I wanted to, to manage those accounts, so I had an assistant manage it. I think that is a really good tool to connect with people.

Facebook was found to be commonly used by politicians to let constituents track their daily activity. If a visit was being made to a community event in the constituency such as a hockey or football game, citizens would know that. The press was also linked to Facebook where politicians spoke about the community initiatives that were underway. One lawyer chose to put personal material on Facebook such as his running schedule, musical selections, and so on. Even though social media was thought to be useful by some participants, others were fearful of its use, and careful in the selection of their choice of words when communicating to the public. One respondent stated:

I confess to having a real deficiency in terms of social media; however, I'm not sure that's necessarily a bad thing. There are all kinds of examples out there of people wishing they could take words back that they put on Twitter or Facebook. So I leave it to my staff to do that type of communication when the need arises.

Another common means of communicating with constituents was by the use of electronic newsletters. Depending on the respondent, these were issued at least once a month but some respondents chose to issue them twice a month. One participant indicated that his distribution currently stood at 3,000 or 4,000 people who had signed up for his electronic newsletter.

Another participant used town hall meetings and linked people via telephone and the internet. In order to promote full participation, an external agency was retained that used automated telephone calls inviting 11,000 people to engage in a town hall meeting, finally ending up with 4,000 participants. He commented:

Even the most controversial issue I will deal with people face-to-face in town hall meetings. In that forum I am accountable, I have to answer questions, I have to learn from my community, and there is no better way than that. I would grab the bull by its horns and solve the problem.

Another respondent thought that it was more important to start with relatively short opening remarks, and then invite questions and answers afterwards. Whether this was with small or larger audiences, it gave him a better opportunity to gauge where the interests of his audience were, since the audience would ask the questions that followed their interests. He said, *I developed into a good public speaker as time went on because I was much more interested in dialog with others.*

Other methods were to provide written submissions to the local newspaper every few weeks for publication. Participants also generated throwaway household flyers that identified issues that were important to the community and how the respondents were dealing with them. Household flyers were developed to keep in touch with constituents because the number one fear the constituents had was that their elected representative became Ottawa-centered. One respondent actually paid a consultant to help determine the actual style of the newsletter that she would produce. She recalls that the final design was always full of pictures of constituents and the politician doing business in the community. This gave constituents good positive reinforcement. Another respondent was very particular about the content of his household flyers where he emphasized writing about the issues that mattered to the community and purposely minimized information about himself. He was insistent with constituency staff about this rule when they did the drafting. He made it his practice to minimize himself when he met with people and remarked, *I listen to them and I try to respond to what their needs are and try to communicate that again, but that's always been my practice when I was practicing law and I do the same thing as a politician.*

Regardless of the mode of communication, one participant explained that effective communication involved a basic understanding of human behavior and should be a prerequisite in running for political office. He stated:

Some people have very complex problems and some have very simple problems; regardless, you have to understand and digest their problem and provide them with assistance. The hardest part sometimes is saying 'no' when constituents come to you for help. This is in contrast to your role as a lawyer where you can say 'you want a Will done, I can do that for you' or 'you want me to draft a shareholder agreement, I can do that for you'. But as a politician you have to learn to say 'no' and some people don't like that word.

Some participants set up advisory groups consisting of a panel of representatives from the community that brought opinions back from the general public.

Affirmations and Re-elections

Participants reported several ways of feeling affirmed by their constituents. One of the most notable ways was being elected. Other ways included being affirmed for certain policies or community values they openly supported. These all are captured here under “Affirmations and Re-elections.”

One measure of the confidence that the constituency had in a lawyer-politician’s ability to get the job done was in the willingness of the electorate to re-elect them to serve for subsequent terms in office. After serving for years in office, and campaigning for a subsequent term in office, respondents had an opportunity to come face-to-face with members of the community and obtain feedback. One respondent stated, *The process was very positive and very good, so I suppose that was just to confirm that 'yes you made the right choice' and I was actually out there doing things that people expected of me.*

Another participant acknowledged that she had problems in the early years dealing with her constituents but worked astutely at building a relationship. Her diligence

was rewarded with being re-elected four times by beating her political rivals convincingly. She commented:

This is a very interesting constituency as it is divided between some of the very richest people in Canada who live in the north end, and some of the poorest, largely immigrant populations. You get a variation of society in the constituency and it took me a while to come to grips with what I had to do as a politician. It took me a couple of years to learn what was expected of me and I must say I changed a great deal as a result of it.

In each of these years she garnered in excess of 50% of the popular vote. Her strong support for the same-sex marriage rights aligned her closely with the values held in her constituency, as it contained one of Canada's largest gay neighborhoods. She took on the high profile as a major champion in the drive to legalize same-sex marriage. She became an advocate for protecting the pensions of same-sex couples; and fought for lesbian refugees facing persecution for their sexual identity elsewhere in the world. She has been acknowledged as one of Canada's best politicians and was the recipient of multiple recognitions and achievements from the lesbian community. Even after her party became unpopular by the electorate, she was able to hold on to her elected position.

Another respondent managed to serve his constituents in the House of Commons in excess of 30 years by being returned by his constituency over 10 times. Fellow politicians describe him as an anchor where he is like a fish in water. He said:

I had very competent people in my constituency who believed in working for me and voting for me. There is no magic bullet for being a good politician, but it is a combination of relating to people on a personal level and inspiring them to solve their problems with your words and achieving changes in Canadian life.

His work on Canadian-United States concerns in Parliament addressed issues of economic and industrial development, foreign investment, finance, consumer protection, competition, international trade, Canadian federal law enforcement, and environment and climate change, all of which were concerns held by his constituents. He has been awarded

a Multicultural Award for his promotion of culture, racial diversity, and promotion of human rights. This award is in keeping with the character of his constituency, which has a large immigrant population in Canada and is increasingly becoming more diverse. He is recognized for the implementation of innovative strategies to support and encourage a harmonious society.

Another respondent won his first election in the 1988 election, and voters kept him in power for the next 25 years. On multiple occasions he has marshaled the majority of the popular vote. Roughly 68% of his constituents are of immigrant extraction with the majority of them originating from politically unstable parts of the world. In order to work closely with those in his constituency, he had to learn about the culture, religion, and politics of his various constituents' homelands:

You have to understand how the Jamaican elections can be a bit rough; you had to understand what was happening back in the Philippines with Aquino, you had to understand what was happening between Beijing and China, Punjab and Delhi, and learn those tensions because those tensions manifested themselves here in Canada.

He has been recognized as an individual who is committed to reducing political and religious conflict, and improving human rights. He has visited many war zones of the world where he has encouraged constructive approaches with governments, political factions, and religious groups on both sides of the conflict.

Another participant has been in power for the past 10 years, winning multiple elections. Historically he has been supported by voters of similar ethnicity in his constituency. Despite the unpopularity of his party in the last election, he was returned by the electorate as an affirmation of his activism in championing the human rights claims of constituents. He has fought against human tragedy and global atrocities, which have been committed against the most vulnerable people on the planet.

Appointments

Participants reported or web evidence showed respondents were appointed to many positions as Prime Ministers, Premiers, Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries, and Parliamentary Assistants. Many participants regarded these appointments as promotions and an endorsement by their party stalwarts as confirmation of the ability to influence, lead, learn quickly, understand government processes, network, use their legal knowledge strategically, advocate for a healthy democracy, use their skills in French, and appreciate the inner workings of the government. When these confirmations of their abilities led to such reported advances in political leaders, they were coded “Appointments.”

The Prime Minister is the head of the political party that has won the majority of seats in a Canadian federal election. Federally, Ministers of the Crown (Ministers) are appointed by the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister. Ministers receive assistance from Parliamentary Secretaries who act as representatives for the Minister in his or her absence from the House of Commons. A Premier is the head of government of a province and is the leader of the party that has secured the most seats in a provincial election. The Premier appoints Ministers from elected officials of the party to which he belongs. Provincial Ministers are aided by Parliamentary Assistants and are appointed by the Premier. Parliamentary Assistants ensure government objectives and policies are met and implemented. They represent ministries during legislative debates and are often responsible for special projects.

Generally speaking, Ministers are chosen based on personal qualifications, regional representation, gender, race, internal politics, and efforts to appease interest groups. Ministers are responsible for the department that they head such as finance,

foreign affairs, industry, justice, or health. Parliamentary Secretaries are appointed for a 2-year term by the Prime Minister as a reward for politicians who had never held an official portfolio. Similarly, Parliamentary Assistants are appointed by the Premier.

Many respondents were appointed as Ministers because of their apparent abilities to lead a government department. After being appointed as a Minister, one participant, in his initial role, won the respect of the energy industry by introducing changes to Canada's taxation system, which encouraged the development of oil in Canada. He was subsequently appointed to other ministerial positions, which was seen as a vote of confidence in his abilities. During his career he held an impressive list of portfolios in various ministries. These appointments were made by two Prime Ministers. During his time in government, he was regarded as one of the strongest cabinet Ministers by his peers. Another participant came to public office with a strong background in constitutional law and, after several years, she was appointed as a Minister and successfully made many tribunals more gender-neutral. Using her ministerial position she ensured the passage of key pieces of legislation that protected children and vulnerable persons, criminalized trafficking in persons, and initiated prosecution under the Canadian War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity. She also initiated a national program against racism and hate.

A former Canadian Premier recalls being appointed initially as Minister where he served for a number years before becoming Premier. After being elected as a member of the Legislature, he was a backbencher for several years. During those backbencher years he recalls taking every opportunity to learn as much as he could and work closely with the existing Premier in order to impress him. After the Premier was satisfied that he had

organized his family affairs, and had the requisite knowledge, he was offered a ministerial position. Holding this initial portfolio enabled him to become familiar with the inner workings of government and how caucuses functioned. He developed a reputation as a strongly interventionist Minister, and provided oversight for the increase in educational expenditures. In this portfolio he worked with the government to establish many new schools, community colleges, and universities. He contributed to the development of his province's public educational television network.

Another participant who held public office for over 20 years reflected on his many accomplishments while holding different ministerial portfolios. Most notably, he reduced the number of citizens on the welfare roll, reduced education and healthcare costs, improved highway infrastructure, and proposed changes to the energy industry.

After serving as a Member of Parliament for 7 years, one respondent was appointed and served as Parliamentary Secretary for 2 years to the Minister of Finance. He did so under two Prime Ministers. During his time as Parliamentary Secretary he was given a great deal of autonomy by the existing Prime Minister, as compared to lower-level predecessors who dealt primarily with paper. In this role he was given ministerial responsibility for the improvement of partnerships between the public and private sectors. In the 7 years leading up to his appointment as Parliamentary Secretary, he gained the confidence of the Prime Minister by heading up several committees, sponsored several private members' bills, and chaired his party's caucus. Another participant served as Parliamentary Secretary on three occasions to various Ministers in three different government departments. As she reflected:

I love being Parliamentary Secretary because there were big transitions on the bureaucratic side because you are working with the deputy Minister and then

being responsible for the legislation that is being passed in the house. She described having to answer questions in Parliament a couple of times during the week and would travel to other locations where the Minister was unwilling to go to. I became a super elite traveler during those years.

Another respondent informed this study that going into politics as a lawyer automatically gave her credibility to analyze legislation and develop legal arguments. But she had to earn credibility when it came to developing political strategy and tactics. *I did do that, and that's why I ended up being appointed Parliamentary Secretary on three occasions under three different ministers.*

After serving as a provincial politician for 8 years, one participant received his second appointment as Parliamentary Assistant. The first appointment was Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Labor where he worked to improve employment workplace standards, facilitate labor relations, and achieve safe, fair, and equitable workplaces. A subsequent appointment was made to the Minister of Community Development. His achievements, which led up to this appointment, included the tabling of several private members' bills, and serving as chair of the Standing Committee on Public Policy.

Some participants were appointed to ministerial positions based on their proficiency in French and knowledge of the Francophone culture. Participants with this qualification headed departments that dealt with Francophone affairs and also promoted Canada's interest in the international Francophone community (which is the French equivalent of the Commonwealth of Nations comprised of 55 countries). This community is viewed as an advocate for democracy around the world, for human rights, and good governance in member states. Canadian federal and provincial politicians who attend the annual summit, or have dealings with the Francophone community, are expected to be fully bilingual and understand the underpinnings of the French culture.

Expert in Government Processes

The theme “Expert in Government Processes” captured statements made by participants when they reported accomplishment in politics such as getting laws passed, being selected for committee work, publishing books and articles, building organizational capacity, and being acknowledged as an expert in an area.

Participants reported augmenting their legal knowledge with an understanding of the political process to become experts in discrete areas of government function. They captured and shared this expertise with others by publishing works on various subjects. Some works were specific to the political process, whereas others were more general in nature. A few examples illustrate this.

After serving for over two decades in Parliament one respondent became proficient in parliamentary and government procedures, and published a law book on parliamentary subpoena powers. It is a unique book, and is used as a reference text in many common-law Parliaments around the world. The participant informed this study that

I sold it all over the world but eventually I stopped selling it because of taxation issues. Once I got the book paid for I stopped selling it. I am very proud of that book because it's written on a very unique subject.

He said that it was his ability as a wordsmith that gave him strong legal writing abilities and not his advocacy skills. He has also written major reports for the office of the Privacy Commissioner, the Standing Committee on Government Operations and Estimates, and the Standing Committee on Justice, Human Rights, Public Safety, and Emergency Preparedness.

One participant came to Parliament with a background in human rights law and was able to use his profile in Parliament to augment his work in speaking to the plight of prisoners of conscience and human rights violations around the world. One of the ways in which he did this, while holding public office, was to publish multiple articles and books on the subject of using politics to secure reprieve for prisoners of conscience. He has written articles on the subjects of the International Criminal Court, government secrecy, globalization, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom, hate speech, the Supreme Court of Canada appointment process, tensions between the rights of individuals and the security of its citizens, terrorism security, and human rights. His personal website contains a blog he has written on the subject of aboriginal peoples, reform of criminal law in Canada, terrorism and reform of the law, and efforts to bring war criminals to justice. He is a prolific contributor to all the major newspapers around the world including the *National Post*, *Huffington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Jerusalem Post*, and *Toronto Star*.

Before entering politics, another respondent indicated that he had a natural love for outdoor pursuits, including canoeing, fishing, hunting, and hiking. He had a natural flare for creative writing. Therefore, he combined his passion for the outdoors with his natural ability to write creatively. He also published a series of short stories oriented towards hunting and fishing, as well as legal articles on the duties of corporate secretaries', directors', and officers' liabilities. In his articles he was able to describe process issues that directors and officers should be keenly aware of. He informed this study that:

I consider myself a good writer, so I would say written communication is my forte. I've been least proficient probably when it comes to oral communication; although I've probably improved since I've been elected eight years ago.

Although he has not been appointed to a cabinet post, he has successfully sponsored a large number of government bills, all of which have passed through the Legislature. He has chaired various standing committees, including the Cabinet Policy Committee on Public Safety and Services, and Private Bills Committee. He had also chaired the board of the Province's Forestry Research Institute. He has also been a member of the Public Accounts Committee, the Legislative Review Committee, the Standing Committee on Government Services, and the Cabinet Policy Committee. This experience gave him an appreciation of the political side of law and the significant influence that interest groups have in forming regulations. His involvement allowed him to see how the civil service and the bureaucracy affect the formation of law, beyond even the political spectrum. After serving in office, he utilized his experience and directed his writing ability to politics and has published in peer-reviewed magazines.

Another respondent recalls being fortunate enough to be involved in politics during the time Canada's constitution was being amended. Drawing on his three decades as a politician involved in various ministries, he brought his understanding of governmental processes to advise the government on the consequences of the proposed changes. Working in concert with other high-profile politicians, he helped to ensure that the constitution was amended. His experience came from authoring several peer-reviewed articles and books on the political process, which were enormously helpful given the impact and significance of the amendment. In his more recent writings he discusses the arduous journey that took place from the beginning to the end of the amendment process. Specifically, he analyzed the shift in power that took place and the transfer of some powers from the Canadian federal government to the provinces

regarding natural resources. This shift occurred in order to quell the disputes between the federal and provincial governments over Canadian federal-provincial natural resources, which had taken place in the previous decade. Addressed in his publications are the negotiations and political maneuvers that took place behind the scenes. Speaking about these negotiations, he notes:

If you have been in the mix of those kinds of debates, it doesn't have to be the Constitution, it can be on a provincial statute or the Canadian federal criminal code, after you go through it, you come out at the end of it debating the role of institutions like the judiciary, the bar, and society. This has given me a richer understanding of the complexity involved in these matters.

Another participant discovered that she had a talent for structuring business processes and dealing with financial matters, and used this expertise as she headed various ministries in the government. She had this to say:

When I first became Minister the department I got assigned to was in a very difficult financial condition; it was very close to the tipping point and we could have gone under within a matter of two or three years. As a result the need to focus on the whole issue of spending had to be addressed, so I spent less of my time doing politics and more of my time trying to rectify the financial condition.

Performing in various roles required restructuring departments and putting in place new processes, policies, and spending guidelines, and aggressively decreasing the number of staff. Although these changes were unpopular at times, results followed as spending came under control and services were delivered with efficiency. Working together with her peers, Canada's debt ratings were restored to AAA rating and Canada's debt-to-Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio improved.

Summary

Nicholson (1990) spoke about the stabilization phase in general terms but went no further as his goal was to put forward a systematic general framework for career

transition. I went a step further in categorizing data that fell into seven themes which were: coming of age, building a civil society, public advocate, community relations, affirmations and re-elections, appointments, and expert in government processes.

In the stabilization phase participants were fully integrated into the system of government and were comfortable in their new position. Participants recognized both the powers and limitations of the law. They realized that social problems were not solved entirely by the passage of the laws but in identifying root causes, and by soliciting the help of various stakeholders. Participants realized that law was considered as a vital part of politics and was not to be considered apart from politics. In other words, the law was one of a number of tools used to achieve a particular end.

Participants harnessed their knowledge of the political process and combined it with the law to address social concerns. Bettering life for their citizens meant acting on the civil rights agenda and supporting progressive pieces of legislation that dealt with issues of equality and promoting the principles of a just society (e.g., same-sex marriage). Respondents were observed working hard to provide Canadians with safe consumer products. This was done by designing legislation and information programs, and educating the public to ensure fair competition and the accurate presentation of information.

Communicating with constituents took the form of utilizing traditional media and utilizing the social media. Social media allowed participants to engage in a dynamic exchange with their constituents, enabling them to obtain immediate feedback so that corrective action could be taken. This was considered a fundamental feature in forming a healthy lasting relationship with constituents. Some participants expressed hesitation in

using social media as it mixed important information with trivial information, which led to important social cues being lost. Participants indicated that they felt more like clients as they were constantly on the receiving end of obtaining advice from experts in all areas. Notwithstanding their relationship, they did not follow advice blindly, but displayed a healthy questioning attitude, and when appropriate displayed courage in standing up to Department of Justice lawyers who routinely provided advice.

Many participants saw it as a vote of confidence from their constituency when they were re-elected for subsequent terms in office. This indicated support for their political agenda, which meant that they could continue their work. Subsequent election campaigns involved knocking on doors, thereby giving respondents the opportunity to come face-to-face with members of the community and obtain feedback. Respondents understood that a fundamental feature of a lawyer-politician lay in accepting that society now became their client.

Appointment to an official position in government was also seen as an endorsement from the political structure, as well as a reward for competence. An appointment as a Minister precluded the part-time practice of law because of conflict-of-interest issues. This placed the politicians in a position of influence as they were privy to valuable sources of information and in a position to make important decisions.

Participants combined their legal knowledge with their political savvy to become experts in a particular area of government function. Their expert knowledge of government process was often preserved by publishing academic articles in law journals, books, and newspapers. This combination of skills fitted them with political skills

enabling them to participate in the committees, debate in the Legislature, and influence others to become involved.

The stabilization phase of the Nicholson Transition Cycle shows how participants used the knowledge of the law in concert with their knowledge of government processes to strengthen their advocacy, and secure changes locally and regionally. This unique combination of skills enabled them to make the changes they so desperately wanted to make when they entered office. Knowing that they were able to get things done more quickly, participants were able to formulate more distinctive goals.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION, AND SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS

Introduction and Background of the Problem

Very little systematic research exists on how individuals transition into political office. Given the importance of this transition from civilian work into political leadership, this study used the Nicholson Transition Cycle (Nicholson, 1990) to understand how lawyers transition into politics.

Lawyers were chosen for this study for several reasons. First, lawyers have played an important role in helping to form and lead in democracies around the world (Menkel-Meadow, 2004). Second, there has been some documented connection between law and politics. The connection of lawyer work and politics has been cited as involving the need to be socially connected—both requiring the ability to communicate—and sharing a knowledge of the law, which can include skills in getting laws passed, engaging with negotiators, and typically connecting to businesses (Eulau & Sprague, 1964; Gawalt, 1984; M. Miller, 1995). Both professions require “skills such as bargaining, negotiating, mediating, and adherence to norms and roles such as public service and fiduciary duty” (Eakins, 2006, p. 718). Moreover, the pre-eminence of the law in democratic rule and the legal profession also creates a natural link between the two professions (Weber, 1946). However, beyond these general connections, no systematic examination has been made about those who transition from law to politics, especially in the Canadian context. Third,

those in the law professions represent one of the largest occupational groups that go into politics. The percentages are lawyers (20%), followed by those in business (16%), medicine (8%), and engineering (6%) (“There Was a Lawyer,” 2009).

Canadian politics exist at the federal level, provincial level, and municipal level. The job of a politician consists of debating and voting on legislation, sitting on committees, influencing policy, and holding the government accountable for its actions (Jackson & Jackson, 2006).

Research Problem

In order for democracies to work effectively, they need political leaders who can transition successfully from civilian life to politics. Understanding the transition process can help. Because lawyers tend to get involved in politics at a higher rate than do other professions, it made sense to begin with a study of their transition.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore the process of how some lawyers in Canada made the transition into provincial and federal political office, and the Nicholson Transition Cycle (Nicholson, 1990) was used to explain this process. The Nicholson Transition Cycle organized career transitions into four phases: preparation, encounter, adjustment, and stabilization.

Guiding Concepts

Previous researchers such as Eulau and Sprague (1964), Hourani (1966), Cohen (1969), M. Miller (1995), and others have identified useful connections between the

profession of law and politics. However, researchers have yet to describe the process how lawyers make the transition from law to politics.

The approach taken in this study was to describe the data collected in relation to the Nicholson Transition Cycle. The Nicholson Transition Cycle is a systematic framework that allows for the full range of experiences people encounter as they move from one job to the next. Traditionally, the model has been used in the context of individuals who move to new jobs within the same organization, or employees who move between organizations. As seen in Figure 1 (Chapter 3), the model identifies four dimensions to the transition, which are referred to as preparation, encounter, adjustment, and stabilization. Each of these phases was used as a framework to analyze the research findings.

Research Question and Design

Research Question

How do politicians who were lawyers describe their career transition into political office?

Research Design

An exploratory case-study design was used to find general themes about lawyers transitioning into politicians. Sixty-five lawyers were interviewed after I requested interviews from 95 persons selected from Canadian federal and provincial politics. After conducting a literature review, an interview protocol was developed that consisted of 11 questions. Face-to-face interviews, interviews over the phone, and electronic communication were conducted with participants starting in the summer of 2011 and

concluding in summer of 2012. The geographic expanse of Canada posed a barrier in arranging face-to-face meetings. Therefore, communicating with participants was based on their personal preferences.

Before interviews were conducted, consent was obtained from each participant on the basis that they were participating in a study that explored the phenomena of lawyers who transition into politics. It was agreed that their identity would not be revealed, so particulars relating to location were modified and personalities were concealed. The interview questions were sent to participants in advance so they could apply some thought beforehand to their responses. Interviews were transcribed, and data were coded and then placed into categories. Categories were then combined to form themes. Data from politician websites and information in the public domain were also used. Weft Qualitative Data Analysis software was employed to organize the data into the four phases of the Nicholson Transition Cycle. These phases are known as preparation, encounter, adjustment, and stabilization.

To improve coding processes I had an expert code 10 of the 65 interviews and I compared my coding to his and found that there was high inter-rater reliability. Themes were supported with quotations from participants, which in turn improved validation of the themes.

Summary of Findings

This section reviews sample characteristics and summarizes findings under the four phases of the Nicholson Transition Cycle as seen in Table 2, cited earlier in this paper. Each stage describes how participants evolved from the status of legal professionals, with highly specialized knowledge, to a broader perspective of civic and

social dynamics in political practice. They acquired understanding of government processes in the spirit of public service. Stated another way, as lawyers go through the career transition from being a lawyer to a politician, a change occurs whereby the subject moves from viewing law as apart from politics to accepting the law as a part of politics. In other words, law and politics are no longer considered as distinct and separate realms, but rather law is part of the political realm (Russell, 1991).

Sample Characteristics

A total of 65 politicians were interviewed. The broad characteristics of the participant group were as follows: (a) 83% male and 17% female; (b) 60% were retired and 40% were active in politics; (c) participants were drawn from the major Canadian political parties; (d) 55% of participants were involved in Canadian federal politics and 45% in Canadian provincial politics; (e) 8 of the 10 provinces were represented; and (f) the average age of participants was 62, with the oldest participant 83 and the youngest 38.

On the federal level, participants served in public office for an average of 12 years and ranged in experience from 3 years to 40 years. Ninety percent of participants were re-elected, with participants being re-elected an average of three times (some participants were never re-elected and one respondent was re-elected 13 times). Eighty-seven percent of participants held a government portfolio, and 39% served as Ministers.

On the provincial level, participants served for an average of 13 years in public office, with the range in experience from 3 to 35 years. Eighty-nine percent of participants were re-elected, with participants being re-elected an average of three times (some members were never re-elected and one member was re-elected six times). Ninety-four percent held a government portfolio and 76% served as Ministers.

Synopsis of Findings

Findings under each phase of the four phases of the Nicholson Transition Cycle are described below.

Preparation

This phase of the Nicholson Transition Cycle dealt with how individuals were influenced to move into a new career. Respondents in this study talked about family modeling and being impressed by the importance of giving back and serving their communities. They reported motivations came from childhood dreams, wanting to make a change to the status quo, and advancing their careers. Participants' possessed highly specialized legal knowledge and skills obtained from legal training and their work experience.

The knowledge and skills amassed in law were transferable to politics in the principal areas of dealing with constituents and running their constituency offices. Respondents reported that their exposure to politicians and the political processes—namely pre-election activities, the running of constituency organizations, working in government, and participation in municipal politics—prepared them psychologically for the role of politician.

The preparatory phase of the Nicholson Transition Cycle provided valuable insights of what the job of a politician entails. In the encounter phase, the respondents came face-to-face with the realities of being a politician.

Encounter

The encounter phase of the Nicholson Transition Cycle concerns itself with developing adequate coping mechanisms to deal with the unfamiliar elements of a new job. In this study, that related to new elements in holding a position in public office. One area of encounter was how respondents related to the transitory nature of political office. Some maintained their old practices so they could return to the practice of law should their political careers come to an unanticipated end. Some respondents chose to run a part-time law practice while holding public office; so they cherry-picked solicitor work over barrister work as this gave them flexibility in their busy schedule. Respondents who chose to close their practice altogether advised that diligence should be applied when winding down their law practice to avoid conflict of interests. Developing mentors and relying on peers for support to improve their understanding the new environment were fundamental in dealing with stressors.

Learning the ropes meant learning about formal and informal process and procedure, handling media, and effectively communicating with constituents. Respondents came face-to-face with the reality that change was not as easy to make. Some women respondents reported that there were systemic barriers in place that prevented them from advancing to key government positions.

Recognizing that their work made a difference in the lives of constituents brought immense satisfaction and joy to participants. Unique privileges and incentives of the job were also recognized as important.

Some indicated that experiencing the new challenges of public office forced them outside of their comfort zone and required the making of adjustments. The adjustment

phase of the Nicholson Transition Cycle deals with various adjustments the respondents undertook to function capably in their new environment.

Adjustment

Some respondents indicated that the greatest change requiring adjustment was around the loss of income and loss of personal privacy. Demands placed on their time were at a premium, with many respondents feeling pulled in different directions. A healthy lifestyle was compromised as there was limited time spent on relaxation, exercising, or eating well. Many participants reported that their family unit was disrupted by their prolonged absence from the home, and this placed pressure on spouses to care for children. Wives often sacrificed their careers by putting it on hold. Divorces were seen to occur, and children experienced difficulties in their relationships at school and with peers.

Many respondents stated that collaboration and building bridges within one's own party, opposing political parties, and utilizing community groups were essential in getting things done, as politics was viewed as a team activity. Due to the broad spectrum of issues needing attention, delegating tasks, adjusting to situations on the fly, recruiting competent staff, and learning French were viewed as valuable skills in running an efficient constituency office.

During the adjustment phase some respondents stated they had evolved beyond their rigid work habits, adopting a more flexible, fast-paced, unstructured approach to politics. They talked about letting go of their area of legal expertise and in so doing were required to operate in an uncertain and ambiguous environment. Indications of growth were an admission of mistakes made in the past and how those could be avoided in the

future. The reliance on the advice from their network of peers and staff took them out of their narrow thinking.

As respondents reported becoming comfortable with the essential elements of being an elected official and exhibiting more self-confidence by making law a part of politics, this was seen as stabilizing into their career as politicians. The next section discusses that phase.

Stabilization

Respondents reported recognizing the powers and limitations of the law. They realized that social problems were not solved entirely by the passage of laws but by identifying the root cause and engaging stakeholders. Respondents harnessed their knowledge of the political process and the law to advance various social causes. Advancing the civil rights agenda of citizens was achieved by drafting key pieces of legislation. Communicating with constituents took the form of utilizing traditional media and utilizing social media and the internet. Another indicia of evolution from lawyer to politician occurred when the respondents reported feeling more like a client. Specifically, as they matured and settled into their role as a politician, participants reported that they mastered the art of listening to others.

Many respondents saw it as a vote of confidence from their constituency when they were re-elected for subsequent terms in office. Being appointed to an official position in government was seen as an endorsement from political higher-ups of their competence. Respondents combined their legal knowledge with their political savvy to become experts in an area of government function. Their expert knowledge of government process was often preserved by in-house publications.

In this phase, respondents used the knowledge of the law in concert with their knowledge of government processes to strengthen their advocacy and influence change locally, regionally, and internationally.

Discussion of Findings

In this section, I relate my findings to the main research question and purpose of this study which was to explain how lawyers transition into political leadership. I discuss my overall summary of their transition and relate it to the wider scholarship on both career transition and democratic political leadership. First, I group some of the themes discussed early in the four transition phases into broader themes I call transition factors. I discuss transition factors that seemed to most help or hinder successful transition. I conclude this section by noting how the themes and the transition factors contribute towards developing leaders to support democracy in Canada.

Transition Factors

Some themes discussed above in the findings had common elements and existed across several phases of the Nicholson Transition Cycle. Table 3 displays these themes and their linkage with six identified transition factors. Transition factors will be discussed under the following headings: Modeling and Mentoring, Time Required to Complete the Transition, Influence in Politics, Lawyer Becomes a Client, Lawyers Who Choose an Ongoing Combined Career, and Political Intelligence.

Modeling and Mentoring

After looking over the themes that emerged from the interviews and looking for patterns among the four areas of Nicholson Transition Cycle, modeling and mentoring

Table 3

Connection Between Nicholson Transition Cycle Phase and Transition Factors

Phase	Transition Factors
Preparation Political Socialization Exposure to Politics and Politicians Encounter Coping Mechanisms (mentors) Adjustment Relationship Building Stabilization Appointments	Modeling and Mentoring
Preparation Political Socialization Motives for Entering Politics Previous Career Skills and Experiences Exposure to Politics and Politicians Encounter Mentors and Peer Support Making Sense of the Experience Adjustment Relationship Building Administrative Skills Stabilization Expert in Government Processes	Time Required to Complete the Transition
Preparation Political Socialization Previous Career Skills Experiences Exposure to Politics and Politicians Encounter Learning the Ropes Adjustment Relationship Building Broadened Scope Stabilization Expert in Government Processes	Influence in Politics
Stabilization Coming of Age	Lawyer Becomes a Client
Encounter Coping Mechanisms Adjustment Personal Changes Relationship Building	Lawyers Who Choose an Ongoing Combined Career

Table 3–Continued.

Phase	Transition Factors
Preparation Exposure to Politics and Politicians	Political Intelligence
Encounter Learning the Ropes	
Adjustment Building Relationships Broadened Scope	
Stabilization Coming of Age Expert in Government processes	

emerged as a crucial aspect in transitioning into politics. Mentors and role models were important in coping with new job expectations, a change in physical surroundings, loss of privacy, and absence of family. First, I will discuss the role of family influence and then the role of mentors and role models in political leadership formation.

Family Influence

The background and social context experienced by lawyers in their formative childhood years was reported to have sparked interest in politics as a profession. Many participants noted they grew up in socially connected worlds where politics was part and parcel of their upbringing, and values were transmitted from generation to generation. The attitudes and behavior of the respondents seemed to have been shaped, largely, by their social backgrounds and their political socialization. In this study, participants often named a parent or grandparent who introduced them to the world of politics and were their first teachers. Scholars have recognized this link, and argue that family influence is a core motivator for getting into politics (Derge, 1959; Jennings et al., 2009; Kornberg & Mishler, 1976; W. Miller, 1951; Pasis, 1970; Prewitt, 1965).

The influence of parents and grandparents often was noted as going beyond a perfunctory view of politics. Respondents reported that they believed family planted values in them that motivated them towards civic involvement and politics. Some participants said they adopted the political passions of their parents and vowed to carry it as their legacy. An example of this was one lawyer who observed the mistreatment of his father and vowed to fight back to preserve his father's values. This accords with the impressionable years hypothesis, which espouses that the young are especially open to influence since they are becoming more aware of the social and political world around them. They are more likely to adopt their parents' political orientations if they are raised in a politicized family, and if the parents provide consistent cues over time. This early influence is manifested later on in adulthood (Jennings et al., 2009; Winter, 2003).

Professional Modeling

As participants went through the different phases of the Nicholson Transition Cycle, they had the opportunity to be mentored by others. For instance, in the preparation phase, participants were exposed to politics and politicians when they worked with the executive of the riding association. Correspondingly, in the encounter phase, mentoring opportunities availed themselves as seasoned politicians taught new inductees about the formal and informal rules. During the adjustment phase, participants built relationships and formed alliances with others within their own party; some seized on opportunities to acquire mentors. For the subset of participants who were appointed to positions where they held a government portfolio, they were supported by experienced bureaucrats in their respective ministries and other senior Ministers in the government.

In the new work environment, respondents depended on mentors to keep them on track as they earned the rights of passage to a new profession (Turner, 1987). Participants identified that mentors were particularly savvy and taught them the soft skills of the job, including but not limited to decreasing and controlling conflict among parties; expediting the passage of legislation; maintaining party cohesion; encouraging respect for the existing rules of the Legislature; and providing a sense of protection from political adversaries (Kornberg & Mishler, 1976; Payne, 1984). Theorists refer to this as group-based political cohesion, whereby an individual develops a salient identity, a common political meaning associated with membership, and the types of interests held in common by group members (Winter, 2003).

Time Required to Complete the Transition

Time was mentioned through the interviews as a key issue in the transition at each phase. The time to assimilate into the new position was determined by the degree of political socialization, motives for entering politics, previous career skills, and respondents' exposure to politics and politicians. In the encounter phase, the degree of support they received from mentors propelled them forward. In the adjustment phase, newly formed relationships plugged them into existing networks that created many opportunities. Participants reported that the quality staff in the constituency office enabled them to provide service and to deliver on promises. Becoming comfortable and expert in government processes was also determinative of how rapidly participants stabilized into the new position.

Notwithstanding, participants who identified themselves as coming from politically astute families seemed to settle in to the new job more quickly. Politically

astute families sent their children to private schools and then to law school as a means of preparing them for a career in politics. Preparing children in this fashion finds support in the works of Fox and Lawless (2005) who found that the decision to enter politics depended on nascent ambition laid down by political upbringing.

Influence in Politics

At the heart of leadership lies the ability of individuals to influence (Hughes, Ginnett, & Curphy, 2012). Kornberg and Mishler (1976) put forward a model that identified the factors determinative of politicians' abilities to influence in the Parliament of Canada. Figure 2 shows that model. These factors were stated as: social background, socialization, recruitment, current environment, attitude, position, and participation. I will link each of these factors to the phases of the Nicholson Transition Cycle with a view to explaining how lawyers acquire the ability to influence in public office.

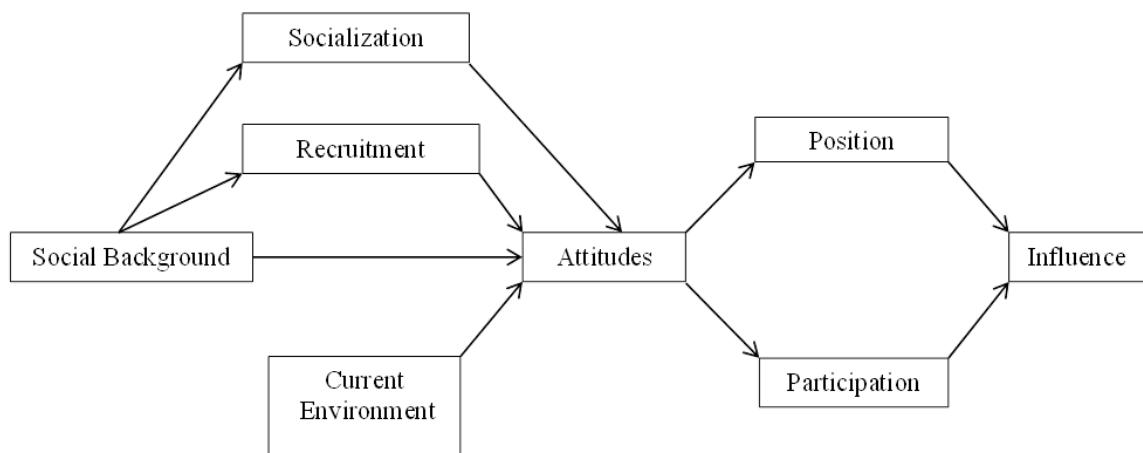


Figure 2. General model of influence. From *Influence in Parliament* (Vol. 76, p. 280), by A. Kornberg and W. Mishler, 1976, Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Social Background, Socialization, and Recruitment

Kornberg and Mishler (1976) studied the social background of politicians and found that those who possessed a university education had the ability to influence more than those who did not. All participants in my study had an undergraduate degree in arts, social science, or science, and then went on to obtain a degree in law and qualified as attorneys. Some went on to do graduate studies and specialized in areas of law. From Kornberg and Mishler's model, it is reasonable to see how education could play a role in helping to explain participants' transition not only into politics but also into their being able to influence others because of the display of expert knowledge. In other words, they are able to influence by their expert power (French & Raven, 1959).

Political socialization by family members taught them about politics and prepared them for the realities of their new profession. As participants ventured into politics, they knew of the sacrifices they had to make and the effect it would have on their family life. Political socialization put them in contact with other families who supported their work in government. Kornberg and Mishler (1976) found political socialization to be key in a politician's ability to influence.

Many participants in this study held formal positions in the riding association—most often as president, treasurer, or secretary—prior to being elected. In these roles, many reported attracting the attention of party stalwarts who encouraged them to run for office. By supporting their candidacy, a clear message was being sent that they were being inducted into an established political family. This gave them a sense of empowerment in having tacit permission from established party operatives to make change.

Current Environment

My findings resonated well with those of Kornberg and Mishler (1976), who found that politicians who were more acquainted with the prevailing strategies and rules of the game were influential and accomplished a great deal. Learning the prevailing culture of the workplace involved securing mentors and role models (in the encounter, adjustment, and stabilization phase) who were willing to share information on how things are done and was viewed as critical (Courtney, Michelmann, Steeves, & Story, 2007).

Attitude

Unlike a lawyer in private practice, where a position is taken for a client and advanced for the private benefit, attitudes among the respondents shifted towards securing solutions that satisfy the public good. Sensing the needs of the public, delivering on promises in a timely fashion, and being accountable to the public were all critical elements to success for these respondents (Weinberg, 2011). My research showed that constant attitudinal adjustments took place as a means of adapting to the realities of politics. Setting priorities in the context of fiscal restraints, the application of justice, equity, respect, fairness, and liberty were critical to a thriving democracy.

Position and Participation

Many participants found themselves elevated to positions of Parliamentary Secretary, Ministers of the Crown, chairs of the standing committees and special committees, house leader, leader of the opposition, provincial secretary, or Speaker of the House. These seats of power and positions of influence gave them legitimate power (French & Raven, 1959). These positions enabled participants to engage fully in the

formal activities of government. These activities include participating in house debates, taking part in question period, working on special committees, and introducing legislation. In doing so, they were able to influence the policy direction of the government. These opportunities were available to all respondents, whether they held a government portfolio or not.

Lawyer Becomes a Client

As they matured and settled into their role as a politician, participants mastered the art of listening to others. Respondents expressed that they transitioned from an expert in law to a public servant. Their focus shifted in building a framework for the efficient delivery of goods and services for those whom they represented. They are successful if they can take bits and pieces of information, and integrate it into a body of knowledge that they formulated into policy or legislation. In an effort to avoid making costly mistakes, politicians seek the advice from many types of experts who bring diverse perspectives from science, economics, behavioral science, organizational behavior, and law. These decisions can be difficult ones as they involve a struggle for power between groups. In finding a happy medium, the participants used their bridge-building skills to bring diverse political interests together. By constantly being on the receiving end of advice, in essence the lawyer now becomes a client.

In agreeing to listen to advisors, blind spots are uncovered, and this keeps lawyer-politicians sensitive to the needs of the political apparatus and serving the interests of their constituents. Modern communication allowed advisors to be in constant communication with the respondents, as tactics needed to be adjusted depending on the circumstances. Similar to a good client, before accepting the advice of experts, politicians

must carefully weigh competing points of view and choose the option that benefits the majority of citizens. As an example of how convoluted this process can be before a Minister takes a position, she must take into account the interest of the: Prime Minister, electorate, Parliament/Legislature, constituents, media, and cabinet.

It is common for Ministers to take binders of briefing materials home the night before an important legislative event, carefully study them, and be prepared to take a position the next day in the House of Commons. Like some clients, choosing not to listen to the advice of experts is often interpreted as a coping mechanism where the politician denies, avoids, or minimizes the problem under consideration (Weinberg, 2011).

Lawyers Who Choose an Ongoing Combined Career

In this study, some respondents chose to maintain a law practice while they held public office. Typically, these were participants without a government portfolio and could attend to the responsibilities of a law office and public office simultaneously. These lawyers routinely stepped in and out of both roles and cherry-picked their legal work to maintain flexibility and to avoid conflict-of-interest. The question that arises is whether respondents who practiced dual professions completed all stages of the Nicholson Transition Cycle or were they stuck in-transit between stages? Although a definitive answer to this question is unknown, it appears that some respondents vacillated between the encounter and adjustment phases. As long as individuals remain uncommitted to one profession, they stand at the threshold and are caught in a permanent liminal state (Turner, 1987).

Participants in this category reported offering solutions to constituents based on their legal acumen rather than drawing on a broader knowledge base.

Political Intelligence

Political intelligence is defined as the constellation of overlapping qualities including: multitasking, forming coalitions, managing complex social relationships, responding spontaneously to questions, and recovering quickly from emotional setbacks. Politicians use political intelligence to navigate in complex social environments by applying their understanding of the prevailing political culture, the unwritten values of the political party, and their ability to quickly read situations and adjust (Westen, 2007).

As participants transitioned through the phases of the Nicholson Transition Cycle, they developed qualities associated with political intelligence. These attributes enabled them to evolve from being narrow legal experts to broadly educated civic leaders committed to public service. In the preparation phase, participants reported being politically socialized by family members who taught about the lifestyle they were about to embark on. During the encounter phase, through mentors they were able to plug in to the formal and informal networks. In the adjustment phase, they learned the art of collaborating with those within their own party, opposing political parties, and working with stakeholders. This was essential in getting things done. In the stabilization phases, participants used the knowledge of the law in concert with their knowledge of government processes to strengthen their advocacy, influence change, and solve social problems.

Conclusions

This study uncovered many of the expectations, tasks, and tensions that may be encountered as individuals' transition into politics. The study focused on lawyers, as this is currently the highest represented profession that transitions into politics.

This study concluded:

1. The background and social context experienced by respondents in their formative childhood years often sparked their interest in politics as a profession.
2. Participants were never fully prepared for the short-term challenges in the new work environment and depended on mentors.
3. Respondents had to learn how to work as part of a team rather than depending on their individual contribution.
4. Respondents transitioned from being experts in law to devoted public servants.
5. Seeking advice from many types of experts made respondents feel more like clients.
6. Respondents who were politically socialized as children tended to transition more quickly into their new work role.
7. Participants who chose to run a part-time law practice while holding political office did so to cope with the job uncertainty associated with politics.
8. Law and politics are separate disciplines, and the evolution from one state to the other requires building the skills of emotional and social intelligence.

I conclude this paper with the limitations of my study, which will, in turn, lead to some recommendations for practice and some suggestions for lawyers transitioning into politics.

Limitations

The primary limitation in this study was that regardless of their experience or position in government, all respondents were placed into a common pool. Some politicians were drawn from different stages of their careers. Some were new to the process, others were seasoned, and some were retired and had already moved on to other careers. Some respondents were backbenchers without a portfolio, while others held a portfolio such as Parliamentary Assistant, Parliamentary Secretary, Minister, or Premier. Each told a story depending on the passage of time and their individual accomplishments. Despite such variation, participants were added to a common pool and experiences were normalized. Participants were segmented into subgroups depending on their time spent in politics and their position in government. Segmenting the population of respondents depended on these characteristics, which will provide a more nuanced approach to the transition experience.

Due to the rise of communicative techniques, interviews were conducted using three modes: face-to-face, by email, and by telephone. The vast majority of interviews were conducted by telephone due to the geographic limitations of accessing participants. In telephone interviews, the development of the relationship between researcher and participant was limited. Even though access to participants was gained, the lack of in-person interviews meant that valuable information in the form of social cues or body language was lost. Another disadvantage was that participants were not observed in their

natural environments but were interviewed during times while they were traveling on trains, in automobiles, and at home with their families around. It was my impression that spontaneity in communication was lost when some participants adhered strictly to the script and were very careful with what was being said. Many interviews started with participants being ultra-cautious, because they had little knowledge of who was at the other end of the call, but then loosened up.

The other limitation of this study lay in masking the identity of participants. In doing so, the richness of their experience found in the details was dropped or altered. In masking identity, valuable information was lost and the study compromised. In addition, being in the presence of such important people was both inspiring and intimidating at the same time. This power imbalance between interviewer and interviewee sometimes led to less conversation and fewer follow-up questions being asked as participants were often pressed for time.

Although I tried my utmost to be objective by telling the stories of participants in their own words, invariably some of my personal perspective went into the study. In the interest of full disclosure, being a lawyer with political ambitions may have colored the way in which questions were asked, and how the data may have been interpreted. I attempted to counteract this by engaging in frequent self-reflection, using inter-rater reliability checks, and searching for disconfirming data (Johnson, 1997). It is understood that since the data collected were based on personal recollection, they carry all the limitations of self-reported data.

Recommendations

The recommendations that come out of this study are meant for both practitioners and researchers.

Practitioners

This study should be made available to lawyers as part of their continuing professional development if they require information about pursuing a career in politics. They stand to benefit as the study provides a comprehensive overview of what is to be expected and some of the adjustments required in political office. Lawyers will learn how to handle the anticipated stresses experienced in making the transition.

The challenges experienced by citizens as they transition from civilian life to political life may be abated by setting up a parliamentary / legislative office that provides support and assistance. This would be particularly useful in helping newly elected officials achieve a healthy work-life balance, learning the unwritten rules, potentially matching mentors with mentees, and adjusting to the isolation associated with being away from their families.

Researchers

Observations were that after leaving politics, lawyers were observed to take on advisory roles as consultants in law firms. This leads to the assumption that the time spent in politics was merely a developmental opportunity. If this is the case, do these individuals short-circuit parts of the Nicholson Transition Cycle? Lawyers should be compared with a control group of non-lawyers who would not have had exposure to

rigorous legal training. Only after this is done can inferences that are more precise be drawn about the lawyer-politician experience.

Identified in this study was a group of lawyer-politicians who ran a part-time law practice while they held political office. It was my impression that the experience of this group was different from other participants who delved into politics without reservation. These two groups should be compared more thoroughly.

Uncovered in the research was the fact that fewer and fewer lawyers are going into politics. Some participants speculated that this fact was due to the low incomes available to politicians, though others state that the invasion of privacy is unnerving. In the interest of encouraging the best and the brightest to enter politics, this is an area worthy of further research.

Final Thoughts

Through this study one of the things that stood out were the sacrifices respondents reported making in their transition into politics. It raised for me the question of why anyone would ever want to transition into political leadership especially if they had a successful career. Many of these individuals transitioned into politics in the latter half of their life when they were fully settled and were about to retire. It is this drive and determination to get involved and make things better that keeps our democracy strong. This study focused specifically on lawyers because they have been the most common profession that pursues political life. However, I believe that this study can be replicated by other professions. My concern as a scholar is that more needs to be done on encouraging, modeling, and mentoring those who do want to make transitions into politics and assume positions of political leadership.

As these respondents told their stories, it caused me to reevaluate my goals in life. My life's ambition is to become a politician, but this study opened my eyes to the difficulties involved with such a career switch. Before understanding the difficulties faced by politicians, my fascination was based on the stories of fame and fortune. However, reality paints a different picture as the life of a politician is often about broken dreams, making enemies, and the potential for ultimate rejection by the electorate. At the conclusion of this study, I have renewed my respect for politicians as they sacrifice and serve the public interest, sometimes with little reward. Hearing their words of sacrifice and successful transition has made me more hopeful about the future of political leadership and democracies.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
CATEGORIES AND CODING

Categories and Coding (Nicholson Transition Cycle)

Preparation (state of readiness):

PS: Political Socialization (Family influence and role modeling, financial support)

PM: Motives for entering politics (civic duty, contribute to democracy, voice of others, passionate about cause, promote social justice, activists, general interest in subject, clean up politics by being fiscally responsible, childhood dream, gender equality, protect environment, vehicle to build career, life altering experience, calling, core values and beliefs)

PC: Previous Career Skills / Experiences (bring in clients, experience / skills related to politics, member of an agency, reading vast amounts, boards or commission, reputation, credibility, volunteering and community service (getting to know the community and community getting to know you, bonding with community, publications, helping in political campaigns))

PL: Prior learning (professional learning specific to politics, formal / informal learning specific to politics, degree in politics, specific courses in law school, reading / writing political pieces, works featured in documentary, lobbyist, travel, multilingual)

PE: Exposure to politics and politicians (politicians, riding association, member of political party, process for getting elected (getting things in order to run, encouraged to run, get advice from existing politicians, nomination process, repeated tries to get into office, campaigning, timing))

Encounter (new and unexpected experiences):

EC: Coping mechanisms (coaching and mentoring, party support, empowerment and self-sufficiency, self-awareness, perseverance, family support, peer support, friendships, training, keep legal practice as a safety net, keep legal qualification as fall back, change according to circumstances, believing core values)

EL: Learning the ropes (new realities, define job description, learn on the job, limits of job, new rules, new work role, follow orders, craft new relationships, manage relationships, understanding processes, new environment, media-relations, communicate differently, alter manner of speech, riding vs. party, political strategy, appropriate ways to meet and greet others, continuous learning), change is incremental (longer process, process based, things take longer, impact not as obvious, more difficult in minority government, persistence, political optics)

EM: Making sense of the experience (uses previous knowledge and skill as lawyer, enjoying discovery of new role, measures of personal satisfaction changed, stimulating,

explore interests, accepting unpredictable nature of politics, counselor, understanding who has the real power, draw on range of life experience)

Adjustment (assimilation and accommodation):

AP: Personal changes (life work balance, family dynamic, making time for family, living arrangements, loss of privacy, health status, social status, politics as a way of life, stress levels, attacks on family, control of time, physical separation from family, definition of success, time commitments (longer hours 24/7, effective time management, travel, control over ones time, accessibility, all consuming, exigencies of job), changes in routines/lifestyle/ schedules, social engagements, accessibility, financial differences (less money when running, financial impact when in office, plan for financial changes)

AB: Building bridges (teamwork within party, between political parties, between countries, between senior civil servants and elected officials, compromise, negotiating, teamwork with community, collaborating, trust, social capital, relationship with media, connecting with constituents, influencing outcomes, publications, security of the person)

AV: Broadened Scope (varied issues, varied interests, varied problems, varied Groups, no choice over “client”/ interests/ problems/issues)

AA: Administrative skills (running offices, staffing, delegating, multi-tasking, flexibility, opening and closing files, shutting down practice, conflict of interests questions, handling constituents, managing expectations, establishing jurisdictional limitations, focus on big picture, prioritizing demands, issue management, less time for decision making, competent staff in place, use of technology)

Stabilization (commitment, building relations and trust):

SCA: Lawyers come of age (law used as a tool, lawyer becomes client, multi-prong approach to solving constituent problems, integrative approach to problem solving, understanding of human nature, import experience other countries)

SCL: Guardian of civil liberties (protector of fundamental rights, social justice, law reform, articles promoting democratic principles and democracy around world)

SA: Public Advocate for the community (community leadership, make a difference in someone’s life, make difference in community, influence, depart from party line, address tension between party and community needs, focus on goals)

SC: Community relations (stakeholder relationships, press, political parties, strategic messaging, coordinated messaging, ethnic groups, facilitator of ideas, publications, effective in parliament and legislature, leverage language advantage, communicate so it resonates, listening skills, portray genuine self, inform community of routine activities via social media, establish connections)

SR: Re-elected and used as an indicator of integration into new role.

SP: Appointments (minister, parliamentary secretary, opposition critic, standing committee member, position in party, upcoming leader, effect change)

SEP: Expert in Government Processes (passing of laws, built organizations, selected for committee work, independent thinker, educate others, develop expert judgment, visionary, acknowledged by peers, publish articles)

APPENDIX B
COMMUNICATIONS AND FORMS

Dear Sirs:

My name is Ralph Chatoor and I am a lawyer located in Toronto, ON, conducting research with fellow lawyers willing to tell their story of how they made the career transition from being a lawyer to a politician. This research will be in partial fulfillment for completing my Ph.D. in Leadership at Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, USA.

The purpose of this study is to describe the process by which some lawyers make the career transition from the practice of law to that of a politician. In describing how this transition is made, individuals who are lawyers and intend to embark on a career in politics will have career transition information, with which to refer. I am interested in aggregated data and not individual data. In this regard, information will be kept in strict confidence. As a lawyer myself, I undertake to do this.

The interview requires 15-20 minutes of your time. The questions are attached at the end of this email. If you wish, the write-up will be sent to you. Your identity in this study will not be disclosed in any published documents.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please email me at ralphchatoor@rogers.com or you may contact me at 416-283-7234 for us to arrange an interview time.

Thank you for your kind consideration in sharing your valuable knowledge and experience.

Ralph Chatoor, B.Sc., P.Eng., J.D., LL.M., MBA
Barrister, Solicitor and Notary Public / Professional Engineer
(416)-283-7234
ralphchatoor@rogers.com

Andrews University

Interview Protocol

1. I'll like you to share a brief overview of your job as a lawyer before you became a politician.
2. What motivated you to go into politics?
3. How long did it take after you were elected before you felt comfortable in your new role as a politician?
4. Please describe the transition process as you see it. And how long did the transition take? Probe for:
 - How difficult or easy was it for you to make the transition?
 - Were there any turning points in the transition?
 - Did you have any notion that the experience would turn out as it did?
 - How did this transition turn out for you?
 - How was this transition for your family?
5. If you had to do it over, what would do differently or the same in making the transition?
6. What advice would you give another lawyer having to cope with the transition from lawyer to politician?
7. How have you changed in the way you work since you have transitioned into a politician from your job as a lawyer?
8. Did you feel empowered make change?
9. Did your approach to the law change after getting political experience?
10. What comes next? / When you think about the future what comes after politics?
11. Over the years what communication style worked best for you?

Andrews University

Informed Consent Form

The purpose of this study is to describe the process by which some lawyers make the career transition from the practice of law to that of a lawyer-politician. In describing how this transition is made, individuals who are lawyers and intend to embark on a career in politics will have career transition information to refer to. Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated as it will help me to complete my doctoral studies in Leadership from the school of Education at Andrews University, Michigan, USA.

_____ I have been told that the purpose of the research is to understand the process by which lawyers go from being a lawyer to that of a lawyer-politician. I have been told that more research is needed regarding this problem to evaluate the effectiveness of support.

_____ I have been told that my participation in the study will add to career transition theory and will ultimately provide useful information on how others can make the career transition from that of a lawyer to a lawyer-politician with greater ease.

_____ I have been told the interview will be face to face with the researcher and will last about one to one and a half hours.

_____ I agree to be audio recorded.

_____ I agree to be interview by phone.

_____ I do not agree to be audio recorded but agree to the taking of notes.

_____ I have been told the interview will be audio recorded for accuracy of questions and answers. If I do not agree to the interview being audio taped, then notes will be taken and immediately after the interview a running log of the interview will be composed.

_____ The interview will take place at my local office, at the Ontario Legislature in a public place, or over the phone.

_____ I have been told that there will be a write up sent to me of my experiences told in the interview for my approval to validate the written, transcribed information if I would like.

_____ I have been told that by my participation in this study there will be no implied liability whether oral or written of my legal rights.

_____ I have been told that the study involves no risks, stress, or discomfort associated with the questions.

_____ I acknowledge that my participation in this study is fully voluntary. I have been told that refusal to participate in the study will involve no penalties or loss of benefits to which I am be entitled.

_____ I have been told that my identity in this study will not be disclosed in any published documents.

_____ I have been told that there will be no cost to me for participating in this study.

_____ I have been told that I will not receive any monetary compensation or other type of inducement for participating in this study.

_____ I have been told that should I have any questions or concerns regarding the study, that I may contact Ralph Chatoor at 18 Usherwood Court, Toronto, Ontario, M1B 3X2, or call (416) 283 7234 (h) or by email ralphchatoor@yahoo.com or his advisor, Dr. Duane Covrig, at Andrews University, School of Education, Bell Hall, Suite # 173, Berrien Springs, MI 49104 or call (269) 471-3475, or he can be emailed at dcovrig@andrews.edu Alternatively, I may contact Dr. Rudolph Bailey the IRB Chairperson who is any impartial third party not associated with this study regarding any complaint that I may have about the study. Dr. Rudolph Bailey can be contacted at Andrews University, Bell Hall, Suite #151, Berrien Springs, MI 49104 or call (269) 471-3346 or he can be emailed at rbailey@andrews.edu

_____ I have read the contents of this consent form and received from Ralph Chatoor verbal explanations to any questions I had. My questions concerning this study have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby give voluntary consent to participate in this study. I am fully aware that if I have any additional question or concerns that I may contact Ralph Chatoor in writing at his home address, 18 Usherwood, Court, Toronto, Ontario, M1B 3X2, by email at ralphchatoor@yahoo.com or phone at (416) 283-7234.

_____ I have been given a copy of this consent.

Signature Date

Witness Date

I have reviewed the contents of this form with the person signing above. I have explained potential risks and benefits of the study.

Signature of Investigator Telephone Date

REFERENCE LIST

REFERENCE LIST

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