

Dyadic Representation and Legislative Behaviour

Kelly Blidook

Department of Political Science

McGill University, Montreal

August, 2007

A thesis submitted to McGill University in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

© Copyright Kelly Blidook 2007

Acknowledgements

Many people aided in both the conception and completion of this project. While it is not possible to recognize every form of contribution, those whose help was most direct are noted here. Those whose contributions were indirect will hopefully take as thanks enough that the work in the pages that follows would not be what it is without their comments, friendship or encouragement.

Thank you to the many McGill University students who aided with the data collection and analysis. These people include Lori Young for coding, Jason Roy and Erin Penner for helping to make the data useable, and Marc-Andre Bodet who, on top of providing advice on the data analysis, conducted an interview in French and translated my abstract.

Thank you also to those at the Library of Parliament who graciously shared both data and advice, including Cynthia Hoekstra, Denise Ledoux and Peter Nemczak.

Professor Jerome Black provided invaluable advice on my ethics proposal and on conducting MP interviews. Professors Elisabeth Gidengil and Richard Schultz both provided extensive advice for improving the dissertation as members of my committee, but were also exceptionally encouraging and aided tremendously in ensuring that the project progressed at each step.

Finally, and most importantly, my supervisor, Professor Stuart Soroka, aided in virtually every way mentioned above, and far exceeded the call of duty in terms of time, attention, and dedication to this project.

Thank you all.

Abstract

This project seeks to answer two questions related to representative behaviour by MPs in Canada: 1.) *What drives the legislative participation of individual representatives?* and 2.) *Are the actions of individual parliamentarians representative of those who elect them?* Despite relatively strong institutional constraints – executive dominance and party discipline – upon individual parliamentary behaviour, there appears to be, based primarily upon Canada’s Single Member Plurality electoral system, an electoral incentive for individual representatives to gain personal recognition over and above depending upon their party’s profile. This incentive should accordingly increase participation and representative behaviour in policy venues that are conducive to individual representative behaviour.

Here, the policy venue of focus is Private Members’ Business (PMB). It should especially be true for those MPs experiencing electoral pressure that their participation in PMB reflects the “electoral connection” (Mayhew 1974) between these MPs and their constituencies. MPs’ looking to bolster their electoral prospects should tend to take advantage of PMB for both advertising and position-taking opportunities. “Dyadic representation” – that is, MPs acting on behalf of their constituencies’ interests – should be the result.

Using statistical analyses of legislative, electoral, MP and constituency data, as well as qualitative analyses of face-to-face interviews with MPs, strong evidence is provided that suggests MPs substantively represent constituency interests through PMB, though this varies by MP and by the action taken. The analyses suggest that MPs with greater electoral pressure are more likely to engage in the more symbolic PMB avenue of motions, rather than the more time-consuming and policy-focused avenue of bills.

These results indicate rather convincingly that dyadic representation does occur, and much of it appears to be the result of an electoral connection. MPs engage in actions which they hope will gain recognition and result in electoral payoff. Further analyses suggest that MPs may also have a small policy impact, both by having legislation pass, and through influencing government policy actions. In short, the study suggests that MPs may have an important role both as individual representatives of their constituencies, and as “legislators” in the Canadian Parliament.

Sommaire

Ce projet vise à répondre à deux questions se rapportant au comportement des élus de la Chambre des Communes à Ottawa. Tout d'abord, quels sont les facteurs qui influencent le travail législatif des élus ? Ensuite, est-ce que ce travail vise spécifiquement une représentation fidèle des électeurs de leurs circonscriptions ?

Les parlementaires canadiens doivent négocier avec de fortes contraintes institutionnelles (domination de l'exécutif, discipline de parti) affectant leur champ d'action. Pourtant, certains facteurs, dont notamment le système électoral uninominal à un tour, offrent des incitatifs aux élus pour chercher des gains électoraux dans leurs comtés en allant au-delà de l'intérêt du parti. Conséquemment, ces incitatifs devraient pousser les parlementaires à augmenter leur participation et à se positionner stratégiquement sur des enjeux de politiques publiques qui leur semblent saillants. Ici, l'outil législatif privilégié est le projet de loi privé (PLP). Le parlementaire en situation d'incertitude électorale sera particulièrement porté à utiliser cette avenue que ce soit comme outil publicitaire ou encore comme moyen de prendre position sur des enjeux importants pour ses électeurs. C'est ce que David Mayhew (1974) a appelé la « connection électorale » entre élu et électeurs.

Deux sources de données sont mises à profit. D'abord, de données couvrant l'activité législative, les élections ainsi que les caractéristiques des parlementaires et des circonscriptions fédérales sont utilisées dans le cadre d'une analyse statistique. Ensuite, des entrevues individuelles auprès de parlementaires complètent le portrait. L'analyse suggère que les parlementaires fédéraux expriment de façon importante les intérêts et préférences de leurs électeurs en utilisant les PLP. Il y a par contre une certaine variance entre députés dans leurs façons d'intervenir au Parlement. L'analyse suggère également que la pression électorale influence le comportement des élus puisque ceux représentant des comtés serrés utilisent davantage les PLP – forme plus symbolique de représentation – plutôt que d'opter pour le travail en commission qui exigerait trop de temps et de ressources pour la reconnaissance obtenue.

Ces résultats indiquent de façon convaincante que la représentation dyadique existe et semble être intimement liée à la « connection électorale ». Les élus s'engagent bel et bien dans des actions visant la reconnaissance et les gains électoraux dans leurs

circonscriptions. Aussi, les députés ont un léger impact sur le choix des politiques publiques, à travers le processus législatif et leur influence sur la machine gouvernementale. En conclusion, cette étude suggère que les députés jouent un rôle important à la fois comme représentants de leurs électeurs et comme « législateurs » au Parlement canadien.

Contents

1. Representation and MPs in Canadian Parliament.....	6
Political Representation.....	9
The Canadian Context.....	17
Is there reason to expect individual legislative behaviour by MPs in Canada? ...	25
Data	33
Chapter Outline	34
2. Dyadic Representation, the Electoral Connection, and Individual Legislative Behaviour in Canada.....	39
The Electoral Connection.....	39
Beyond the Electoral Connection: Personal Influence and Good Policy	54
Summary.....	58
3. Legislation in the House: Government and Private Members’ Business	60
How Private Members’ Business Works	60
Bills versus Motions	69
Legislation in the House of Commons.....	72
Introducing Private Members’ Business.....	79
Passing Private Member’s Business	87
Summary.....	93
4. Private Members’ Business: Participation and Motivation	95
Why might MPs participate in PMB?.....	97
Modeling PMB Participation	100
Results	111
Summary.....	124
5. Dyadic Representation: Constituency Voting Preference, Constituency Interests and Private Members’ Business	126
Private Members’ Business and MPs’ personal priorities.....	127
MP Representation of Generalized Constituency Interests	134
Results for General Representation	146
MP Representation of Specific Constituency Interests	155
Results for Specific Representation.....	159
Summary.....	170
6. Conclusion	172
Individual Action and Dyadic Representation	172
Does it matter? The (potential) Policy Impact of Private Members’ Business ..	178
Dyadic Representation and Policy Impact.....	196
PMB Policy Impact: Implications for Canadian Government	198
Future Research	200
Appendix.....	203
Bibliography	233

Chapter One

Representation and MPs in Canadian Parliament

On February 14, 2007, the Canadian House of Commons passed Bill C-288, *An Act to ensure Canada meets its global climate change obligations under the Kyoto Protocol*, by a substantial majority. The Private Members' Bill, first introduced by Pablo Rodriguez of the opposition Liberal Party in May 2006, calls for the Conservative government to introduce a plan in Parliament outlining how it will meet targets of the Kyoto Protocol on climate change, an international agreement to which Canada became a signatory under a previous Liberal government. What is so striking about the passing of this bill, beside the fact that Private Members' Bills rarely pass third reading in the House, is that it directly contradicts the current government's stated policy of not meeting Kyoto requirements. What this event signifies is that MPs, through the use of Private Members' Bills, are no longer limited to simply questioning government policies and proposing new ideas – they may now, with enough support, pass legislation that can potentially affect government policy. Of course, the success of this particular bill is the result of recent rule changes combined with both high public salience for environmental issues and a minority government.¹

Specific items of Private Member's Business (PMB) have nevertheless seemed to have some influence long before the current era of minority Parliaments. Barry Mather (NDP – New Westminster) introduced Canada's first Access to Information legislation (C-39)², which was given first reading in the House of Commons in 1965. Though it was not adopted, Mather continued to introduce bills, as did Gerald Baldwin (PC – Peace River) beginning in 1971. Baldwin finally withdrew one such bill in 1974 following the government's publication of guidelines for public access to government documents. This was followed by the production of an extensive government Green Paper on the topic in 1977. The first Government Bill (C-15) was introduced in 1979 during the Clark minority Progressive Conservative government, though it was not until a similar bill (C-43), introduced by the following Liberal majority government that the Access to

¹ These issues are dealt with in upcoming chapters.

² The current system for numbering Private Members' Bills, which begins with C-201, was not implemented until the 1970s.

Information Act came into existence. It received Royal Assent in 1982. Mather and Baldwin are both credited with having pressured the government, through the use of Private Members' Bills, in a report by the Access to Information Review Task Force (Stephens 2001).

Despite the rather broad scope of the above proposals, PMB is not only a place where issues of a national scope are pursued by MPs. Some items are more specific in terms of the region or people of focus, such as Wally Mirth's (NDP – Northwest Territories) *An Act respecting increased representation for the Northwest Territories* (C-135, 29th Parliament, 2nd session) or Ronald Duhamel's (Liberal – Saint Boniface) *An Act respecting Iranian New Year's Day* (C-338, 34th Parliament, 3rd session). In some cases items may be clearly local in nature, as well as competitive. In the third session of the 34th Parliament, Gilbert Parent (Liberal – Niagara Centre) asked the Canadian Parliament to pass *An Act declaring the City of Welland to be the mural city of Canada* (C-378) only to be followed after the Christmas recess by Dave Stupich's (NDP – Naniamo-Cowichan) introduction of the more aptly worded *An Act declaring Chemainus the Mural Capital of Canada* (C-398). Neither bill reached second reading.

The current project is the first large scale study of PMB in Canada. It asks whether PMB matters, but not primarily with regard to policy change. It goes much deeper, suggesting that as one of the few, and perhaps the best, venues for individual action in Canada's House of Commons, PMB is a window into what motivates MP behaviour. PMB should provide evidence of whether “dyadic representation” – that is, MPs acting on behalf of their constituencies' interests – exists in Canada. To explore this, the project involves an empirical study of legislative initiatives (bills and motions) as a means of examining the policy actions of Members of Parliament (MPs) over time and across space, and determining whose interests appear to be best represented by these actions. The two key questions to be answered are:

- 1.) What drives the legislative participation of individual representatives?
- 2.) Are the actions of individual parliamentarians representative of those who elect them?

Answering these questions is accomplished using three main sources of information. The first includes a thorough investigation of what the academic literature and other sources – such as government papers and publications – can tell us about the nature of legislative politics and individual MP behaviour in Canada. The second is an analysis of topic-coded legislation data, census data, MP and electoral data in Canada using econometric methods to assess the relationship between public preferences, MPs' political parties and institutional positions, and legislative actions. The third is a qualitative investigation using face-to-face interviews and journalistic accounts to better understand MPs' priorities and choices of action both as representatives and as parliamentarians.

Whether PMB ultimately has a significant effect on policy outputs generally, not only in specific cases as outlined above, is also of importance to the overall discussion, because it suggests whether the actions of MPs can have policy relevance beyond simply the possibility of being representative. While this topic is not the primary focus of this project, it is addressed briefly in the third chapter and more extensively in the final chapter.

This research provides new and valuable insight into the role of MPs in Canada. It is the first study to directly compare public preferences and actual legislative initiatives by individual MPs in Canada. On a broad level, this project speaks to a key question at the core of democratic theory: What does political representation entail? More specifically, it probes a form of representation that has received little attention in the Canadian context. In cases such as Canada's, where individual members of the legislature are directly elected by geographic constituencies, the dyadic representational relationship between the constituency and the elected representative is important for understanding the nature of legislative representation. In Canada, where political decision-making has become increasingly centralized (Savoie 1999, though for an alternate viewpoint see Thomas 2003), and where there is a comparatively limited role for individual Members of Parliament (Franks 1987; Docherty 1997, 2005), concerns about the existence of meaningful, substantive representation by these elected members are clearly relevant.

Indeed, in an era classified by some as one when the “democratic deficit” looms large (Jenson 1995; Martin 2002; Aucoin and Turnbull 2003; Docherty 2005; Anderson and Goodyear-Grant 2005), the degree to which publics are represented by their elected MPs and the degree to which that representation has any impact on governance are of vital importance.

This introductory chapter begins by reviewing some of the theoretical and comparative work on political representation. It distinguishes several dimensions across which representational “styles” (for example, *trustee* versus *delegate*) and “focuses” (for example, constituency- versus nationally-focused) may vary. This is followed by a look at literature on representation and legislative behaviour in the Canadian and UK parliamentary systems. The insights from these Westminster systems are used to then formulate expectations regarding MP behaviour in Canada. Finally, this chapter outlines both the data sources to be used in later chapters, and the chapters themselves.

Political Representation

Two Dimensions: Focus and Style

Political representation is a multi-faceted phenomenon, and so we require a definition of the kind of representation that is the focus of the chapters that follow. First, this manuscript focuses on “substantive” representation, as it has been defined by Pitkin (1967). Pitkin distinguishes between “substantive” and “descriptive” representation, where the former is regarded as “acting for”, and the latter as “standing for”, a given electorate. More specifically, descriptive representation requires a given likeness or similarity between the electorate and representative – being male is “representative” of males, for instance. In contrast, “substantive” representation involves observable actions that representatives engage in. Pitkin argues that focusing upon the substance of representational activities “... supplies us with standards for judging the representative’s action, for deciding whether he [*sic*] has represented well or ill” (142).³

³ A note on writing style: I have chosen to “*sic*” written works that refer to people as “he” when the subject could be either male or female. In the case of Burke and Mill below, their choice of “he” can be forgiven as no female elected representatives were permitted at the time of writing.

It is this substantive version of representation that occupies the burgeoning literature on public preferences and policy, at both the individual and aggregate levels (e.g., Miller and Stokes 1963; Weissberg 1978; Page and Shapiro 1983; Stimson et al. 1995; Erikson et al. 2002; For the Canadian case see Petry 1999; Soroka and Wlezien 2004; Petry and Mendelsohn 2004). And it is this version of *active* representation that is the focus in the current project.

That representation is “substantive” is just the beginning, however – even within this version of representation there are a wide range of representative behaviours. Wahlke et al. (1962) provide a useful framework within which to view different types of representation. These authors distinguish two dimensions – the “focus” and “style” of representation. “Focus” is best described as the “who” of representation: for example, does the representative *focus* on a partisan, geographical, or national constituency in choosing who to best represent? “Style” is best described as the “how” of representation: for example, is the representative a *delegate* who takes orders, or a *trustee* who acts more independently? Thus, focus and style are two separate (though perhaps related in practice) components of representation. Each also highlights a classic dimension in the theoretical work on political representation.

Wahlke et al.’s “style” draws mainly on the distinction between *trustee* and *delegate* forms of representation, evident in the writing of Edmund Burke and later John Stuart Mill. Burke makes the apparent distinction between the two styles in his *Speech to the Electors of Bristol*. Advocating the trustee style of representation, he tells his audience: “Your representative owes you, not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion” (1975: 157). Burke’s “trustee” is understood to be one who should be dutifully aware of constituents’ interests, and maintain those interests above his/her own personal self-interest. Yet he/she must weigh most heavily the interest of the whole nation over any local or specialized interest.

In a similar vein, Mill argues that those who hold office are to be those of “Superior powers of mind” and that “electors will not do wisely, if they insist on absolute conformity to their opinions” (1991: 376). Nevertheless, he points out that:

If it is important that the electors should choose a representative more highly instructed than themselves, it is no less necessary that this wiser man should

be responsible to them; in other words, they are the judges of the manner in which he fulfils his trust; and how are they to judge, except by the standard of their own opinions? ... Neither ... ought they to allow him altogether to judge for them, without any reference to their own opinions (376).

Mill, then, also advocates the trustee concept of elected representative, suggesting that while one of the representative's roles remains that of voicing the concerns and interests of constituents, the constituency should not be the focus of position-taking or decision-making.⁴ Mill believes that all interests or perspectives (ideally) should be voiced within the representative body in a deliberative fashion, but that the individual representative should then rely upon his/her own judgment in determining what the best option for the nation is.

In contrast, a delegate concept of representation holds that representatives should act primarily upon the interests or expectations of constituents (geographically-defined), and that decision-making should be made to suit the best interests of the people who elected him or her. Simply put, there is much less independence in the decision-making process. This notion of representation has become particularly dominant in the US. Indeed, it was dominant from the beginning. In considering the House of Representatives specifically, Madison wrote:

As it is essential to liberty that the government in general should have a common interest with the people, so it is particularly essential that the branch of it under consideration should have an immediate dependence on, and an intimate sympathy with, the people (*The Federalist*, Hamilton et al. 2003: no. 52).

And while one of the Federalists' goals was certainly that the institutions of the US federal government would deliberate for the good of the whole (See e.g. Hamilton et al. 2003: no. 10), they did not generally advocate systems to greatly increase the independence of representatives from their constituents.

Wahlke et al.'s "style" captures much of this trustee versus delegate distinction; "focus" centres on the population of citizens that an elected official chooses to represent.

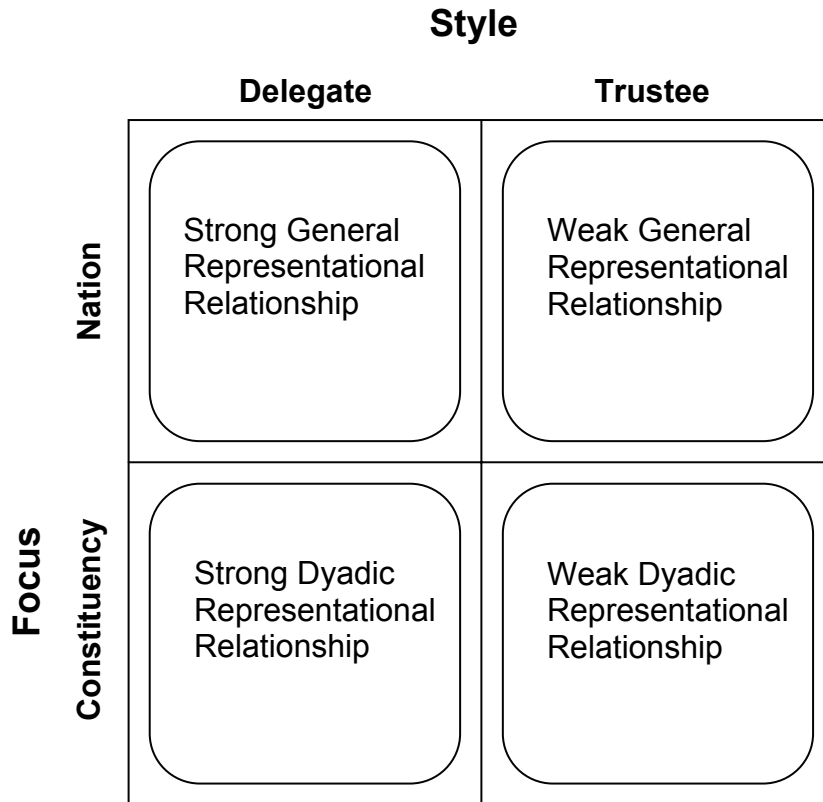
⁴ Mill, accordingly, advocates a form of dyadic representation, though this is for deliberation only.

The common foci in the classical literature tend to be either the nation or the geographic constituency, but there are in fact a number of other foci that could come into play, such as a focus on region or province/state or sub-constituencies based on, for example, minorities, economic interests, or an ideological/partisan interest (See e.g. Wahlke et al. 1962; Fenno 1978).

Note that Wahlke et al.'s distinction between focus and style is in contrast to Burke's writing, where the two concepts are artificially combined. Burke implies that a trustee is both a *trustee in style* (displaying independence) and *focused on the nation*. Nevertheless, there is no reason why a representative could not have a delegate style with a national focus, or a trustee style with a constituency focus, though these are probably less common. Indeed, the concepts are not even truly dichotomous – as indicated by Wahlke et al.'s notion of the “politico”, or a representative that acts as a delegate or a trustee as he/she feels the style fits the issue at hand.

Figure 1 below illustrates how we can use Wahlke et al.'s two dimensions of representation, and suggests where we might expect the dyadic relationship to be strongest.

Figure 1.1: Two Dimensions of Representation – Focus and Style



The above diagram illustrates the basic expectations with regard to representational outcomes based on the degree to which representatives tend to follow these foci and styles. The suggestion is that substantive representation is likely to be stronger where the representative acts a delegate (i.e. takes direction) with regard to his/her focus. Where that focus is the electoral constituency, dyadic representation is more likely to occur. Therefore the most likely source of dyadic representation is the constituency-focused, delegate combination. The suggestion that a weaker relationship occurs with trustees reflects the greater independence of such representatives in decision-making. Focus – whether constituency or national – will play a lesser role in the judgment of the more independent trustee. But this independence does not necessarily lead to an absence of substantive representation. Rather, the suggestion here is that the trustee is less likely than the delegate to make decisions that are a direct product of preferences (no matter the focus) due to this independence.

A third dimension: Political Parties

Wahlke et al. (1962) also point to political parties as a factor in affecting legislative representation. So too does Beer (1969) in his description of “party representation”, where the elected member is primarily a representative of his/her party, chosen by the electorate principally because of the party’s platform. Voters in constituencies may elect individuals to hold office, but their reasons for choosing any particular individual may have little to do with the individual him/herself. The party representative thus takes office with the understanding that he/she has committed to a course of action by being elected under the party banner.

According to this theory, voters organize or join a political party and by means of its conference agree on a program; they then nominate candidates who advocate this program before the electorate at large. Candidates elected on this program must stand by it. This is precisely how they fulfil their responsibility to the electorate (Beer 1969: 90).

Party behaviour, then, or a lack thereof, is another dimension across which representation may vary. The party can reduce the independence of the individual representative, though in a distinctively different manner than the individual’s “style” (that is, orientation toward being a trustee as opposed to a delegate). This reduced independence is justified, as Judge (1981) points out, by the theory of the electoral mandate. In short, this holds that if members present themselves as affiliated with a party that adheres to a particular set of values and objectives, and these members are subsequently returned through the democratic process, then the stated party values and objectives should be acted upon by the member. As Hockin (1966) puts it: “If an MP is a ‘delegate’ at all in the Canadian political process, he [*sic*] is not so much a delegate of his constituency, as a ‘delegate’ of his party to his constituency” (176; See also Hoffman and Ward 1970: 67-69).

It is important to distinguish the terminology used here in order to clarify the two uses of the term “delegate”. An MP’s “style” may be that of either a *delegate* or a *trustee* with regard to his/her focus. Separately, a member may also act, in Hockin’s terms, as a delegate of his/her party, which speaks directly to the degree to which that member acts under the collectivist umbrella of the party, or alternatively the degree to which the

member steps out from under that umbrella and acts in a more individualist manner. In cases where an MP acts a delegate of his/her party, he/she is likely to have a trustee style, as the actions of that member will tend to be dictated by the party, not the constituency or nation.

Party representation is closely connected to the concept of “party government”, which further utilizes the “mandate” concept.⁵ According to Norton (2005):

Party government is sustained by the doctrine of the mandate. ... A *permissive mandate* is one in which a party, by virtue of enjoying a majority of seats in the House of Commons, is deemed to have legitimacy to govern: ‘we have the people’s mandate’. The prescriptive mandate is one in which a party is elected to fulfil particular promises laid before the electorate in a general election (164 – *italics added*).

Party representation can affect representatives’ behaviour. Indeed, *party behaviour* may be viewed as a third dimension of representation, where the degree of party (rather than individual) behaviour affects a member’s propensity to act more or less independently.

This third dimension can vary independently, or at least somewhat independently, of both style and focus. A party might encourage MPs to focus more collectively on the collection of geographic constituencies that elect it, and to act in a delegate-like style in representing those interests. On the other hand, the party might appear to facilitate a broadly national focus, or govern based on its “permissive mandate”, which may coincide with a stronger collectivist form of party behaviour – or “party delegate” behaviour by MPs – where the representative’s style as it relates to his/her constituency alone would

⁵ The degree to which Canada fits a “party government” model, as opposed to a “cabinet government” or “Prime-ministerial government” model (See Müller 1994) is less important for the current purposes than simply establishing the degree to which any of these models effectively changes the degree to which a “permissive mandate” concept can be attached to the governing model and, subsequently, the degree to which it affects MP behaviour (it is difficult to say that any given system completely fits a given model, see e.g. Muller 1994; Blondel 1995). For the purposes of the current discussion, it seems the modern Canadian system can be regarded as one of party government in terms of the constraints placed on individual MPs, though whether this model is the best overall fit for the Canadian system is debatable (For example, Savoie 1999 suggests a model closer to “Prime-ministerial government” in the current era in Canada; while Ward 1963 refers to Canada’s “cabinet system of government” p.13, and Thomas 2003 seems to prefer this classification in the current era). Certainly the role of parties in facilitating both the operational and substantive values of “parliamentary party government” in Canada as described by Hockin (1966: 186-7), has varied over time (See e.g. Savoie 1999: 72-108; Aucoin 1994).

best fit the definition of a trustee. In short, the same possibilities which are open to individuals are also open to parties, and the party may have an impact in terms of how individual MPs behave. On the other hand, a member can choose to act less under the direction of a party and more on an independent basis, whereby the MP makes his/her own choices about focus and style.

Note that party representation, or being a “party delegate”, is the norm that is described in the Canadian literature. MPs have, for the most part, acted principally as delegates of parties, with a national focus and a trustee style in regard to public preferences.⁶ Smith (1999) states that “The disciplined character of parliamentary parties helps to strengthen their capacity to advance national policies while at the same time to resist the importunities of those seeking policy decisions that favour only themselves” (405). This mode of representation has certainly characterized the party structure of the first three party systems in Canada, and to a lesser extent the fourth party system (Carty et al. 2000).⁷ It is further evidenced in Canada’s tradition of executive-centred government and collectivist policy-making (Franks 1987). In short, the literature suggests that most Canadian MPs – while they vary in their responses to survey questions about their representative roles and focuses regarding constituency and party (See e.g. Docherty 1997: 145-147; Kornberg and Mishler 1976: 88-95; Hoffman and Ward 1970: 71-75) – tend to be *party delegates* for most of their legislative duties. In regard to government legislation, for example, extremely few votes occur where parties do not vote as cohesive units. Franks states:

The honourable member is the basis of the system of representation, but in comparison with the prominence of party leaders, and the clarity of the contest between parties, his [*sic*] role is confused and obscure. The prime minister and party are the central, stable elements of representation (1987: 79).

⁶ The exception is during the very early years following confederation, when party structure was relatively weak (Hockin 1966, Carty et al 2000).

⁷ While the fourth party system is described as being more “regional” in nature, this is probably more descriptive of the support bases of parties, and to a lesser extent descriptive of the focus of these parties. Political parties often maintained a national focus in their attempts to govern (in the case of the Liberal Party) or in their attempts to grow (See e.g. Young and Archer 2002). The sole exception among major parties is the Bloc Quebecois.

Ward (1963) brings together the possibilities as well the realities of individual representation in the House of Commons this way:

...[MPs] are free to define their own functions as they like. They are free to follow their leaders blindly, free to bolt the party, free to vote as their constituents want them to, or free to consider their constituents mistaken, and on each of these matters the responsibility is entirely their own. Yet this apparent freedom ... becomes illusory when one considers the nature of party organization. ... the freedom of parliamentary representatives is ordinarily incompatible with the workings of the cabinet system of government, and the theory that a representative is free to use his [*sic*] personal judgment ... can remain acceptable only so long as the majority of representatives identify the national interest with their party's interest; in effect, they must use their freedom to subjugate themselves (13).

For the purposes of this study then, the representational orientations that Wahlke et al. introduce help to define a starting point. Recognizing that the behavioural norm in Canada across the three dimensions will be that of *Party/ national/ trustee*, the focus of this project is to find evidence of exactly the opposite: *Individual/ constituency/ delegate* behaviour. This is not to suggest that other combinations on these dimensions are not possible, but this particular combination should be the most likely to result in dyadic representation by the MP of the constituency.

The Canadian Context

Parliament

There is little doubt that the role of the individual Canadian MP in parliament is relatively limited, yet the exact nature of the limits and the possibility of moving beyond them are rarely touched upon in Canadian research. For the most part, research on Canadian parliamentary government stops at highlighting the limited role of Canada's MPs in actually legislating, and some have appeared to even discourage moving beyond simply looking at the role of institutions in facilitating collective behaviour in Canada. Stewart (1977) suggests that using US congressionalism as a model for research

misinforms studies of the Canadian legislature, and that only insider accounts of informal (non-public) interactions can shed light on the role of individual MPs. This view appears to be widely held within the Canadian literature. With only a few exceptions, the role of individual MPs, both as representatives and as policy actors, is all but ignored. Probing the purposive and representative roles of a large number of individual MPs – as was done by Kornberg and Mishler (1976) regarding perceptions of influence of (and by) individual MPs, and Hoffman and Ward (1970) regarding the difference in perception of representational roles (or lack thereof) among French and English MPs⁸ – has been criticized as inappropriate in the Canadian context (Stewart 1977). Why is this the case?

Among the most important factors shaping Canadian policy and governance is the powerful position of the executive vis-à-vis the legislature. Even on a collective basis, the legislature is not regarded as wielding substantial power regarding substantive representation or governance. Atkinson and Thomas state that: “Parliament’s role in lawmaking is restricted to refining, ratifying, and legitimating decisions” (1993: 425). Pross (1992) similarly points to the legislature’s function as simply bestowing democratic legitimacy upon decisions made elsewhere.

When it comes to governance, it is the executive in Canada that performs the major policy role, even as far as parliament is concerned. It is the Cabinet that presents most legislation, and which must maintain the confidence of the House. It is also the Cabinet that is empowered to raise and spend money; an exclusive power not permitted to backbench government MPs or opposition MPs (Franks 1987: 11). In 1977, Stewart stated: “The remorseless slaughter of private members’ motions and public bills reveals the modern constitution. It is the ministers, not the private members, who are held responsible for the governing of the country. They are expected to take the initiative” (75; see also Bakvis and MacDonald 1993:47).

It is widely accepted that the executive holds most of the power in the Canadian Parliament (Mallory 1971; Stewart 1977; Franks 1987). Savoie (1999) traces the declining role of both parliament and even cabinet in recent years, which he attributes to the centralization of power within the Prime Minister’s Office and other central agencies,

⁸ Some attention has also been given to the role of females as individual MPs or candidates from a representational perspective in Canada. See Tremblay 1998; Erickson 1997.

though it is notable that some attribute more power to cabinet than Savoie (see Thomas 2003). Savoie refers to the cabinet as simply a “focus group” for the Prime Minister and questions the very relevance of Parliament as a collective body, let alone the relevance of individual members (339).⁹ Savoie also points out that confidence measures, which are meant in theory to keep the executive accountable to the legislature, in practice often work in reverse. MPs in the government backbench rarely withdraw support for government policies for fear of having to fight another election, or at the very least being punished by their party leader.

It is the confidence principle, then, that can be, and often is, effectively used by the Prime Minister to shape policy outcomes to his/her liking, and ensures that proposals are passed by the legislature.¹⁰ Critics including the Reform party, which rose to prominence in Canada in the 1990s, have suggested that this principle be relaxed to allow MPs to be more independent (Savoie 1999, Smith 1999).¹¹ While there have been recent changes to how votes in the House are classified for the purpose of confidence, the Prime Minister still decides whether to make any given vote one of confidence, which in practice tends to result in the executive exerting power over the legislature as opposed to being a means of the legislature keeping the executive accountable to it.¹²

The centrality and pre-eminence of the executive vis-à-vis the legislature is complemented by a second institutional feature of similar (and related) importance: the powerful role of political parties and their leaders (Franks 1987; Docherty 1997). Thomas notes that “the Canadian cabinet parliamentary system elevates parties over individual politicians ... and most actions by individuals are, in fact, forms of party behaviour” (1985:43). Franks similarly suggests that political parties are “the most important determinant of the control and use of power in the Canadian parliamentary

⁹ A tendency for long-serving Prime Ministers and short-term MPs (“Amateurism”) is a key factor that leads to executive dominance of the House (Franks 1987; See also Atkinson and Docherty 1992; Docherty 1997; Ward 1963). Longer and more secure parliamentary careers, Franks suggests, would help MPs gain greater independence from their party and mildly increase their influence in the legislature vis-à-vis the executive.

¹⁰ This true generally of Parliamentary systems; see Huber 1996.

¹¹ Whether the confidence measures that hold the government responsible to the House are enhanced or relaxed to facilitate a different degree of constituency representation does not necessarily suggest that a given outcome is necessarily more “democratic” than another (Smith: 1999:412-3).

¹² The new method of classifying votes is a “three-line whip” system similar to that used in the U.K. (see Martin 2002:11).

system” (1987:35).¹³ In the UK, Weir and Beetham (1999) state: “In practice, a single-party government, backed by a parliamentary majority, can legislate as it wishes on whatever it wishes and can evade parliamentary criticism almost without compunction” (372). Within the governing party, MPs follow the executive’s lead in part because of confidence votes. There are other rewards and punishments which might be used by the party leadership, though the most powerful rewards tend to rest in the hands of the Prime Minister, including patronage appointments and ministerial appointments. Punishments might include demotions from ministerial positions or committee chairs for government MPs, and from critic portfolios for opposition MPs, as well as caucus expulsion in more extreme cases.¹⁴ MPs from all parties are held in check because they may risk losing their party’s electoral candidacy if they lose favour with the party leader (Docherty 1997; Savoie 1999; Carty et al.2000). The result is a form of MP behaviour that rarely deviates from partisan lines.¹⁵

With the clear-cut division of individual members along partisan lines, Stewart (1977) suggests that prioritizing constituency is actually in conflict with traditional understandings of political representation in Canada.

Because the private members are divided into two groups [opposition and government backbenchers] we do not depend on them as individuals to assure that the House performs its democratic function. We rely instead largely on the self-interest of the two groups. ... assuming that there is an opposition, the probability is higher that the two groups, each playing its role, will ‘govern’ the government than if we were relying on the zeal, perceptiveness, and dutifulness of unorganized, individual members (Stewart 1977:19).

This statement appears to hinge on a normative perception of what the House’s “democratic function” should be, or perhaps on what the norm of behaviour tends to be.

¹³ Party discipline is also thought to render the work of individual MPs on committees relatively meaningless (Thomas 1978), though Skogstad has found that individual members can use committee roles to represent their particular constituencies (1985).

¹⁴ Weir and Beetham also mention that rumors of blackmail being used for inducing party loyalty in the U.K. surface on occasion (1999: 373).

¹⁵ Party behaviour itself is not only the result of ‘carrots and sticks’, though Kam (2001) provides evidence that it is not simply the result of similar interests among all MPs of a given party either; party imposed constraints do matter. Nevertheless, Docherty (1997) suggests that MPs become increasingly favourable toward the institutions of government over time, which suggests that they tend to see greater value in party behaviour the longer that they have sat as an MP.

Hockin argues that the democratic function of the House depends strongly upon the role of the “The Opposition”, meaning the parties who sit in opposition to the government, and whose normative role it is to check, to prod, to replace the government (1966: 191-191a). The democratic function that is served by the “adversarialism” in the House (Hockin 1966, 1979; Franks 1987; Smith 1999) – where the opposition virtually always opposes the government – is not trivial, and Hockin argues that it may even lead to the Canadian House of Commons “[emerging] as a legislature as deeply involved in the political process as most other legislatures” (1979: 325). Nevertheless, it tends to result in parties representing positions on topics of broad and national significance that the parties themselves or their leadership take notice of, and, as Hockin notes, often for electoral reasons (1966: 9). The issues dealt with may often be those which fit into a larger philosophy or system that is adhered to in the longer term by that party. This type of representation, usually facilitated by political parties, necessarily differs from the democratic function of representing and debating topics of a more specific or localized matter or interest at the federal level. Here, the role of the MP does not need to fit the adversarial nature of partisan politics. In this sense, one *type* of democratic function tends to hold the attention of most study into the Canadian Parliament, to the exclusion of other *types* that may also be present.

In a statement that may reflect Pross’ (1992) suggestion about Parliament’s legitimization role, Hockin (1979) states that “the essential day-to-day business of the Canadian House of Commons is not decision-making but representation” (314; see also Dawson and Ward 1987: 85-86). Representation, in part, provides a form of democratic legitimacy, which is what Pross is referring to. It is notable, however, that Hockin’s view of representation remains one that is very much partisan and collective in nature. Hockin continues: “the natural vocation of the MP while in Opposition is to use the House for the representation of ideas – most of them critical – about what the Government is doing or not doing. Across the isle, the backbench MP on the Government’s side finds himself [*sic*] in a more delicate ... representational role. ... In public, he will expend much of his energy in attempts to blunt the attacks of the Opposition and to expose their shortcomings.” (314). Increasing the influence of individual MPs on both sides of the House in actual policy-making, Hockin suggests, requires significant changes to the

competitive nature by which parties represent ideas. To look the more recent writings of Franks, Docherty, and Savoie, this does not appear to have occurred.

MPs in Parliament

According to Malloy (2003), one conception of the purpose of Parliament may include the ability of Parliament to produce and scrutinize legislation, and hold the Government to account, while another may include the role and influence of individual parliamentarians. In Canada, while little has been done to probe the aspect of individual MP action or dyadic representation, some work has dealt with the roles and behaviours of MPs. Allan Kornberg (1967) helped to lay a foundation for researching individual legislative behaviour in Canada during a period when behavioural studies in political science were on the rise, though this research is now rather dated. Nevertheless, Kornberg (1967) and Kornberg and Mishler (1976) point to the orientation of some MPs as more focused upon constituency or region than others, and to differences in terms of MP focus of representation (national or constituency) as well as difference in terms of a personal focus toward either re-election or affecting policy. What these studies suggest is that, while most studies in Canada have pointed to the uniform behaviour of MPs as party delegates, there is indeed some variance in behavioural patterns and perceptions across MPs.

The idea of probing the influence of individual MPs, which is the main thrust of Kornberg and Mishler (1976), was not and is not a popular approach in Canadian political science. Nevertheless, their *Influence in Parliament: Canada* points to early evidence of the type of relationships in role orientation and policy behaviour that this current project analyzes. One factor of clear importance is the low level of constituency-focused orientations among MPs in 1971-1972.¹⁶ Introduction of PMB appears strongly correlated with left-leaning ideology, though in the 1976 work, it is not clear based on the analysis if this is related to the intervening variable of policy vs. constituency orientations among individual MPs. It is notable that, in total, individual NDP MPs appear to be more

¹⁶ Only 15% of all MPs indicated having a constituency focus in Kornberg and Mishler's (1976) study – approximately one-fifth as many as those with a constituency orientation entering the 1994 Parliamentary session; see Docherty 1997.

active in most formal House activities, including committees, than Conservatives over the same period, but again, the degree to which this is a function of party or ideology as opposed to representative orientation is unclear. Kornberg and Mishler also note the decline in the role of Private Members' Business, from the point where it was virtually on par with Government Business at the end of the 19th Century, to the point where little time is devoted to such business in order to accommodate a greatly expanded Government agenda, and where few Private Members' Bills or Motions even receive formal votes. This has changed in recent years with rule changes that first increased the number of votable items per session, then with changes that made all items votable. (See Chapter Three.)

Docherty's (1997) more recent research paints a portrait of the role of MPs in the period surrounding the 1993 landslide victory by the Liberal Party over the previously governing Conservatives. With a turnover of 66% of the House Members, the research probes the conflict between the expectations and attitudes of new MPs with those of experienced MPs, and tracks the gradual change of MPs' attitudes as they learn the realities and constraints of institutional structure in the Canadian Parliament. Docherty notes that, following the 1993 election, 74% of MPs indicated perceptions of their roles that were not in line with traditional party discipline; stating that representing their constituency was their top priority (145). Further, new MPs were significantly more likely than experienced MPs to perceive independent, constituency-based action as something that can boost a personal vote (220).¹⁷ As far as non-legislative activity goes, it is apparent that backbench MPs generally appear to give a lot of their time and effort to constituency work (Docherty 2005: 90). While there does appear to be a small incumbency advantage in Canada, it is not clear that this is linked to constituency work or representative behaviour, though Docherty does suggest this possibility (1997:186-188).

Without a doubt, there is a strong institutional influence upon not only the choices and actions, but also the preferences and goals of MPs. Between 1993 and 1995, the collective orientation tended to move away from a constituency focus as members spent

¹⁷ Similar to U.S. legislators standing up against "Washington" for their constituents (see Fenno 1978), the period of Docherty's study saw more MPs in Canada suggesting that they wanted to 'change the way things are done in Ottawa' – a style that appears congruent especially with the motives of the early Reform Party.

more time in the institution (Docherty 1997). Docherty's work further suggests that the expectations MPs have at the start of their parliamentary career regarding their roles as representatives often change once they gain experience. This change in perceived role usually involves an MP becoming more loyal to his/her party, and taking less direction from his/her constituency.

This shift is not lost on the Canadian public. Blais and Gidengil (1991) find that in 1990, 79% of Canadians agreed that MPs "lose touch with the people" – up from 60% in 1965 (see also Clarke and Kornberg 1992 for similar results). This number increased to 83% in 1997 (Canadian Election Study 1997). Howe and Northrup (2000) find similar results for 1990 (76%), and then a slight drop for 2000 (69%).¹⁸ This perception regarding the public's interests and the low degree to which elected representatives are aware of them or act for them underlies a broader discussion by scholars of Canadian politics (Jenson 1995; Howe and Northrup 2000; Anderson and Goodyear-Grant 2005; Docherty 2005).

While the term "democratic deficit" has been used in various contexts, such as in pushes for electoral reform, former Prime Minister Paul Martin "restricted its application to the issue of the role of the MP and the House of Commons in Canadian representative democracy" (Aucoin and Turnbull 2003:428). Martin's stated intention was to make Parliament more democratic by empowering MPs both individually and collectively (see Martin 2002). Two of Martin's proposals specifically included enhancing MPs' roles in both shaping legislation and introducing legislation (Martin 2002; Aucoin and Turnbull 2003).

Inherent in the role of MPs having the opportunity to affect Parliamentary governance is a decline in party discipline and confidence measures, as Martin suggested, but also a corresponding decline in what he referred to as "mindless adversarialism" (Martin 2002:10). In other words, the "democratic function" of Parliament that Stewart (1977) refers to must itself undergo a degree of weakening in order to realize the form of "democratic function" that these new measures seek to instill (Smith 1999). Martin

¹⁸ In a separate but related area that points to the importance of these changes, Clarke et al. (1984) suggest that public perceptions of MPs' performance influence support for the national political community and regime generally in Canada.

argues for the importance of the electoral constituency and of individual MPs in suggesting that such adversarialism – as far as MPs are concerned – is “out of step with what their constituents want, and where their own instincts lie” (10).

The 1990s also saw Canadians reject “executive federalism” and national/constitutional politics through the Charlottetown Accord referendum. A broad cross-section of Canadians also rejected the heavily leader-centred “third party system” through the results of the 1993 federal election, and opted for more populist alternatives (Carty et al. 2000). This change in tolerance among the Canadian electorate for executive decision-making is part of what has been referred to as the “decline of deference” in Canada (Nevitte 1996). It has led, some argue, to a significant change in the kinds of politicians who were sent to Ottawa. The new parties that found success in the “fourth party system” were highly regionalized in their support bases, factionalized in how they communicated with those bases, and called for a more populist style of representation in Ottawa (Carty et al. 2000).

The MPs elected in this new period in Canadian politics, not only rookies, were more predisposed towards constituency-based representation, as already noted above. To this point, however, we do not know if constituency-based representation occurs in a substantive manner in Canada, or, if it does, what causes it and in what form it can be observed. Clearly, there are good reasons to explore these issues further.

Is there reason to expect individual legislative behaviour by MPs in Canada?

What has been suggested in the previous sections is that the degree of variance across the three representational dimensions described above is usually considered to be rather small and, perhaps more importantly, it is almost always considered to be insignificant. That is, most existing work assumes that representation in Canada is almost exclusively party-driven, with a national focus, and a trustee style. Nevertheless, these three dimensions of representation may vary considerably within different policy or legislative venues. The primary goal of this research is to understand the nature of individual political behaviour in a context where it has received little attention, to determine if that behaviour tends to be representative in a dyadic manner, and why. This

is accomplished by focusing on a venue (PMB) in which the potential for individual behaviour is likely greatest within Parliament. The institutional impediments to individual action in the Canadian parliamentary system are certainly substantial, but they do not overwhelm entirely the opportunity for individuals to act on behalf of localized interests. Even in light of the supremacy of the executive, as well as the coordinative and hierarchical role of parties in governing the behaviours of individual MPs, there may still be a measurable degree of independence by a substantial number of MPs in the House.

There is certainly some evidence that individualized MP behaviour does occur in Canada. Malloy (2003) suggests, partly in line with Docherty's projections of gradual change in the House of Commons (1997: 262-3), that independent, or non-party, action by MPs became more prevalent following the 2000 election. Malloy notes the outright criticism of party leaders from both Opposition and Government benches during the 37th Parliament. He begins by pointing out that in 1994, there were many rookies with a lack of experience that entered the House, though many of these MPs were pre-disposed to act in a more individualistic manner. By 2000, the average level of MP experience was higher, and MPs tended to be more comfortable and assertive, which may have led to the greater outspokenness (62), even if they had grown more comfortable with the institutions of government since first arriving (Docherty 1997). While these factors do not appear to have significantly affected Parliament's overall impact on policy influence (Malloy 2003: 66-68), the high number of downfalls of party leaders during the 37th Parliament (including Stockwell Day, Joe Clark, and Jean Chrétien) does appear linked, at least in part, to the rather publicized dissent of MPs (68-9).¹⁹

Kam (2001: 99) also notes that just more than half of Canadian MPs cast at least one dissenting vote during the 35th Parliament (1994-1997), and approximately 5% cast 10 or more. While this does not suggest a change with regard to MP behaviour from other parliaments, it does suggest that MPs occasionally decide to act outside the bounds of their party's expectations.

These examples certainly imply that there is little reason to argue that *all* MP actions must be a function of their party. Stewart's (1977) "self-interest of the two

¹⁹ NDP leader Alexa McDonough also stepped down during this parliament, though there did not appear to be much public MP dissent that led to her departure.

groups” suggests that interests can be identified simply as collective and universal among MPs within the groupings of government and opposition alone. While this may be an effective means of viewing much House activity, it is by no means the only form of self-interest that could exist and affect behaviour or outcomes.

All this is not to suggest that party behaviour is not the norm in Canada, but there are certainly cases where MPs break with this norm. The UK literature is instructive here. According to Crowe (1986) party behaviour in Britain is influenced primarily by an adherence to principles that are socialized and accepted by members, not by punitive practices. Most members, regardless of party or cohort, accept and support the hierarchical nature of the House of Commons. Nevertheless, Crowe notes that efforts at reform of House procedures by MPs have generally focused on increasing their independent influence on policy decisions. He also notes the increased incidence of independent behaviours – such as cross-voting and government party defeats – in the 1970s and early 1980s.

Norton (1980) focuses on this increase of MP dissent in the UK, and compares incidents across the post-WWII period. In the early 1970s, the single major factor affecting the increase in dissenting votes appears to have been the Prime Ministerial leadership of Edward Heath. This precedent was significant in increasing independence for MPs and weakening party behaviour in the following years. These dissenting votes – both under Heath and after his tenure as Prime Minister – sometimes had powerful impacts on majority governments by impeding their legislative agendas, and occasionally resulting in defeats on important bills. While a number of these dissenting votes and defeats in the post-1974 period can be attributed to particular groups (“left” and “right” wing factions within parties), the largest number of dissenting votes and defeats includes non-identifiable groups, and often includes members voting against measures for what appear to be constituency reasons (1980: 444).²⁰

While dissent among Canadian MPs is substantially lower than it is among UK MPs (Kam 2001; Franks 1987), Kam’s (2001) research indicates that ideological difference does lead to a degree of dissent in these countries, though the constraint

²⁰ It cannot be clearly argued one way or the other that these “left” and “right” wing factions are not, in part, driven by constituency.

imposed by political parties is substantial in limiting dissenting behaviour. Garner and Letki (2005), though drawing on a relatively small sample of Canadian and UK MPs, similarly suggest that ideological differences among MPs of the same party can contribute to dissenting behaviour, and further suggest that an MP's perception of personal efficacy within the party and his/her length of tenure (which may be increased by having larger Houses – i.e. Franks 1987; Docherty 1997) also affect the likelihood of individual dissent. These factors, then, may arguably increase the likelihood of other independent individual actions as well.

There is also evidence that a high proportion of Canadian MPs can be categorized as having a delegate style with a constituency focus (Docherty 1997: 143-6; see also Heitshusen et al. 2005). Many MPs live in their geographic constituency, and most return to their ridings on weekends and regular parliamentary breaks (Docherty 2005). This high level of constituency focus by MPs was observed across parties in the 1990s, but was also part of the electoral platform of the newly emergent Reform Party. The first few years after Reform MPs won seats in the House of Commons saw incidents of conflict between the party's leadership and some of the more independent-minded MPs (Laycock 2002; Docherty 1997). The populist "anti-party" message of the Reform Party garnered electoral support across unlikely lines, as union members and low-income Canadians – whom Laycock suggests traditionally favor the left-of-centre New Democratic Party (NDP)²¹ – voted in significant numbers for the new right-of-centre party (Laycock 2002).²² The ability of the Reform party to bridge what might be considered a 'right-left' divide using a populist message is not surprising when it is considered that the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the left-leaning precursor to the modern NDP, also arose out of a form of populism, not unlike Reform (Conway 1978). These parties both tended to arise as regional parties of the West as well, and it is notable that region tends to be among the most important factors in explaining vote choice in Canada – certainly greater than that of class (Blais et al. 2002a: 91-96).

²¹ While there are competing arguments regarding the degree of class politics in Canada, Alford (1963) was first to suggest that Canada is case of non-class politics, though he does suggest that class voting is more prevalent among "secularized" Canadians and in urban areas (284-285). Little evidence exists to suggest more than a very moderate level of class voting in Canada (Gidengil 1992: 221-225).

²² Laycock points out that support for populism itself is not necessarily a right-wing or left-wing phenomenon, though the examples of it being embraced by governments may differ markedly along these lines.

The strong appeal of Reform's populist political style was likely also a product of Canadians' increasingly negative feeling toward politicians, political parties and institutions (Blais and Gidengil 1991; Nevitte 1996; Howe and Northrup 2000; Gidengil et al. 2002). A majority of Canadians want MPs to have more independence in Parliament (Howe and Northrup 2000)– an interest that, broadly at least, both Kim Campbell as leader of the Progressive Conservative Party and Jean Chrétien as leader of the Liberal Party embraced when campaigning for the 1993 Canadian federal election (Docherty 1997: 3-4).

This populist ideal may have left only a small lasting impression in the years that followed the 1993 election. This is because the institutions of Parliament, which sustain a party-oriented system of behaviour and governance, appear more durable than the intentions of either MPs or new parties to restructure them (Docherty 1997). Of course, not all MPs gravitate toward accepting institutional norms or roles as party representatives, though most do. A large portion of MPs find their expectations about Ottawa misplaced once they gain some experience, and many of these, rather than conform, "...turn their attentions to those areas of responsibility that allow them to maximize their independence from party and enable them to build a stronger local profile, namely, local service" (Docherty 1997: 28). Yet if MPs wish to maximize independence and build stronger local profiles, local service is not the only route that they can choose. Legislative action – as is evident in the UK – may also be a means of exercising independence and representing constituents.

Further, recent research has pointed to political parties' varying effectiveness as representative agents. The Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing notes neglect by parties in terms of policy development, and suggests that interest groups that speak for particular ideas or policies may supplant parties as representative agents (Canada 1991: 13).²³ Franks states: "There is a paradox that at the same time as the parties are so influential and powerful with parliament, they are weak outside it, both in

²³ Though many inputs into the representative process are important, not all of them will be dealt with in this study, either because of data constraints or simply the need to hone the focus of the project. On the issue of interest groups specifically, while their role should not be overlooked, their function regarding this research is considered tangential, and will not be substantially dealt with, though their role did surface occasionally in MP interviews. Interest groups are considered a mediating factor in affecting whether or not members act in ways that represent particular constituencies – the end result of whether particular constituencies are represented or not remains the relationship of importance to this study.

terms of gaining consistent strong allegiances within the electorate and in terms of generating ideas and policy proposals” (1987: 7). If it is true that a policy void exists due to neglect by parties in formulating policies in a range of areas, this may indeed leave space for other actors or “alternative political ‘entrepreneurs’” (Tanguay 1992: 403)²⁴ – which may include motivated individuals – to develop and promote new policy ideas.

Independent, individual behaviour should occur more often where the incentives for collective behaviour are weaker. In Canada, these incentives are mostly institutional in nature, nevertheless, the effect of such incentives should differ depending on the individual MP as well, based in part on the style and focus that the MP chooses, for example. Franks (1987: 262-263) suggests that an increase in the number of MPs – and presumably the number of career politicians – in Canada should accordingly increase policy expertise and independent action among MPs (See also Docherty 1997: 256)²⁵, which suggests that there should be at least some evidence of these characteristics within the current system. A large number (speculatively as many as half) of MPs in the House have little opportunity for meaningful advancement (though admittedly a much smaller number of these are long-term MPs). Docherty notes that about three-quarters of MPs think that becoming a member of Cabinet is important to having a successful political career. However, he also states: “Given that less than 20 per cent of all legislators make it to cabinet, this sense of significance is based more on optimism than reality” (2004: 170).

Opposition parties, as already noted, have fewer resources for maintaining discipline and loyalty than does the governing party (see Docherty 1997: 23), but even MPs in the governing party’s backbench may feel less inclined to commit themselves to being fulltime “trained seals” (Aiken 1974: 8). Both opposition and government benches, then, likely include MPs who must reasonably see little opportunity to advance to the front bench within their party, yet want to contribute during their time as MPs and may choose a form of individual action to do so. Short of acting in a manner that contradicts

²⁴ Other actors that may fill a policy void include both bureaucrats and interest groups (See e.g. Pross 1992).

²⁵ Franks bases much of his suggestion regarding potential changes in the behaviour of MPs on the U.K. case, where the House of Commons is much larger. It is also notable that being an MP in Canada was perceived as being a “full-time” job well before it was seen as such in the U.K., though this coincided with the MP spending more time in Ottawa and less time in his/her constituency (Docherty 1997: 36-8).

the positions of their own party (which is a possibility), these members may engage in actions that are indicators of their own personal initiative. PMB is one such venue that provides an institutional opening for members to pursue their own policy initiatives and many MPs take advantage of this opportunity.²⁶

It is also important to note that what Hockin, Stewart, Franks and Savoie, among others, are pointing to as the broad, defining structures of Canadian parliament is the power of the executive and parties *within particular policy venues* where the structure permits a hierarchy that affects behaviour. Admittedly, this includes most venues within the Canadian parliamentary context. Examining individual behaviour, then, is best done in venues such as PMB, where the structure does not permit a hierarchy, or at least substantially limits that hierarchy. Indeed, parliamentary policy venues, such as committee deliberations (including committee membership) and voting on matters related to government business, are structured by parties and used for the purposes set out by party leadership (see Soroka 2002: 59-67). While actual voting on PMB is sometimes dictated by party, participation in PMB is believed to be a place where independent action is most common.²⁷ For this reason, PMB should be one of the best venues within the Canadian Parliament to observe individual behaviour. This argument will be expanded upon in Chapter Three.

When individual behaviour does occur, *dyadic representation* is one possible phenomenon that may result. The basic premise of legislative dyadic representation holds that there will be a representative relationship between 1.) constituency characteristics or interests, and 2.) legislative behavior of the legislator elected by that constituency. This form of representation is most commonly observed in US studies probing representation of public preferences by elected members at the dyadic level (see e.g. Miller and Stokes 1963; Page et al. 1984; Bartels 1991; Bailey and Brady 1998; Hill and Hurley 1998).²⁸ Not surprisingly, these studies focus on a system where individual behaviour is understood to be more common. In Canada, there is a very recent and growing body of

²⁶ In an average session, approximately 200-300 Private Members' Public Bills and 300-500 Private Members' Motions will be introduced by approximately 80-100 MPs.

²⁷ More evidence of this will be provided in the third chapter.

²⁸ There is also a wide body of work that addresses the relationship between public preferences and the actions of policymakers at an aggregate level (Monroe 1979, 1998; Page and Shapiro 1983, 1992; Johnston 1986; Stimson et al. 1995; Erikson et al. 1993, 2002).

aggregate representational research (Soroka and Wlezien 2004; Petry and Mendelsohn 2004; Petry 1999), but this work has focused upon policy outputs at the system level, not upon the dyadic relationship between individual legislative actions and their constituencies. Research on more specific forms of representation (Penner et al. 2006) and dyadic representation in Canada (Soroka et al. N.d.) have, in contrast, been very limited and have not focused on legislation per se.

The limited attention to dyadic representation in Canada may be, in part, because of the strong institutional constraints affecting the nature of the representative relationship. One institutional factor, however, the Single Member Plurality (SMP) electoral system, means that MPs are directly elected as representatives of localized constituencies in Canada. This is an important factor that may lead to localized representation as it does in the US.²⁹ This means that, despite the usually significant and compelling reasons for members to act in a collective manner, there may be compelling reasons for members to act individually and in a representative manner. The following chapter addresses these incentives in more detail.

Thus, what has been suggested here is that: 1.) The executive-centred nature and party structure of Canadian parliament does not always lead to uniform behaviour by MPs; and 2.) A localized style of politics should not be entirely absent in the Canadian case. Therefore, it may be true that MPs, within the small space allocated to them to act as legislators, behave in a manner that is representative of their constituencies.

The focus and style of a representative, along with his/her party orientation, should affect the type of representation that is observed. In the Canadian context, little attention has been given to dyadic representation because most literature focuses on a combination of focus and style that is not conducive to dyadic representation. The current project, alternatively, looks for a combination of these factors that is conducive to dyadic representation, in part because there is reason to believe that constituency-focused and delegate-styled MPs are not uncommon in the Canadian Parliament. Further, the venue of PMB is one where the collective behaviour supported by political parties should

²⁹ It is important to note that MPs have been found to represent other constituencies besides geographical constituencies, despite institutional and party structure. One example is that of female MPs (or “feminist” MPs) representing what are deemed to be female interests, which can be found in both opinion surveys and in the substance of actions (See e.g. Tremblay 1998; Tremblay and Pelletier 2000; Erickson 1997).

be minimal and individual behaviour should be more evident. This is perhaps the best place to look for dyadic representation in Canada. The current project will shed more light on this throughout the following chapters.

Data

Representative legislative behaviour is examined below using a combination of datasets, tracking legislative activity, constituency characteristics, and MP characteristics and institutional positions. Briefly, these include election and MP data, census data, MP interviews and legislation data. The principal legislative data sources, both of which are new and have not been used previously, include: 1.) a subject-coded dataset of all proposed legislation covering the period 1968-2004, or 28th – 37th Parliaments (approximately 1,800 Government Bills and 5,500 Private Members' Bills) [*Data1*]; and 2.) a subject-coded dataset of Private Members' Motions covering the period 1994-2006, or 35th – 39th Parliaments (approximately 3,800 motions) [*Data2*]. These datasets are described in greater detail in Chapter Three.

The other unique data component in this project consists of interviews with 16 current MPs (39th Parliament), which were conducted with a focus on understanding the factors that explain the prioritizing and style of legislative actions and constituency representation [*Data3*]. The interviews were conducted in a manner similar to Kingdon (1989, 1995) in order to permit open answers on most questions yet probe specified measures of key variables that are believed to affect the style and substance of representation. These include: representative role orientation, issue priorities, constituency contact and perception of constituency preferences, and principal actors that influence the individual's resulting actions (See Appendix 1 for interview procedure and questions). These interviews provide qualitative measures unavailable in existing datasets, and are meant to be complementary to the evidence provided through the statistical analyses. In the current project, these interviews are used, for the most part, as informative and illustrative examples rather than as a primary means of testing for specific relationships.

Census data are used to measure demographic characteristics and their matching policy and political preferences within geographic constituencies [Data4]. On their own, the census data permit a high degree of accuracy in measuring socio-demographic characteristics of electoral constituencies and regions. These data are complemented by constituency-level electoral results, which permit measurement of the closeness of election races and the partisan distribution of vote in each constituency, and MP data, which provide measures of experience and institutional positions held [Data5]. These data are provided by Canada's Library of Parliament.

This combination of census, electoral and legislative datasets, along with the complementary MP interviews, help this project to cover a wider range and provide a more nuanced view of legislative behaviour and representation than any empirical study completed in Canada.

Chapter Outline

Chapter Two, titled *Dyadic Representation, the Electoral Connection, and Individual Legislative Behaviour in Canada*, reviews more of the theoretical and empirical literature on political representation, with a particular focus on the United States, and provides a more thorough account of how electoral motivations may affect the representational behaviour of Canadian MPs. In the study of Canadian Parliament, institutionalist, and more recently “new institutionalist”, frameworks are rightly the norm based on the clear dominance of institutional structure in defining roles and constraining outcomes. An institutionalist framework generally suggests that the most significant factors affecting observed outcomes are institutional – a suggestion that the current project does not counter, but rather extends beyond. This project uses a rational choice framework in focusing on other factors that particular behaviours may be a response to, while mindfully controlling for the influence of institutions. Here the focus is upon the key factors that may cause individuals to vary in their legislative actions. The main factor that is probed is electoral motivation based on an individual “electoral connection” between the MP and his/her constituency, though this is not the only possibility in terms of why individual behaviour may exist. This likely sheds light on the study of politics

and parliament in Canada, as has already been briefly argued above, and the manner in which both institutional structure and rational choice behaviour inform the analysis in the Canadian context is further discussed in this chapter.

The third chapter, titled *Legislation in the House: Government and Private Members' Business*, gives an overview of the rules and process surrounding Private Members' Business. The chapter describes what Private Members' Business is, how it relates to the legislative agenda and success of Government legislation, and whether it provides a meaningful measure for further studying individual legislative behaviour. The chapter also provides an overview of the legislative data and identifies broad trends in the legislative activity of the House over time and across parties. These shed light on the role of Private Members' Business as it relates to governance and representation. By considering attention to issues over time, it is possible to determine if relationships exist between the attention given topics by the cabinet (Government Bills) and by other MPs (PMBs). Government business is thought to be generally reflective of the national interest, whether this is the result of a post-pluralist, semi-competitive atmosphere (Pross 1992), or perhaps a form of elite accommodation (Presthus 1973). Private Members' Business permits bills and motions on matters, usually of a more limited scope, that are often not on the government's radar screen. This first step, then, provides evidence regarding if and how Private Members' Business is related to Government activity. It also explores the aggregate-level differences in issue attention between PMB and Government business, as well as across parties in PMB alone, which are useful for studying individual behaviour in later chapters.

The fourth chapter, titled *Private Members' Business: Participation and Motivation* begins to answer the question of what drives individual participation. This chapter focuses on understanding who participates in Private Members' Business and why. This research question is also drawn from an empirical irregularity in terms of expected rational behaviour. Why do literally hundreds of Private Member's Bills and Motions get drafted and introduced in the House in a regular session of Parliament if the process, according to most academic observers, serves so little purpose?

The first step in assessing the importance of the process to MPs themselves is to determine why they introduce bills and motions in the first place. Multivariate regression analysis is used to assess the impact of relevant independent variables including, most importantly, riding competitiveness and election proximity, as well as constituency political interest, MP party affiliation and institutional positions at the time of participation. This chapter analyses the data in such a manner as to answer the question of whether electoral motivations affect certain forms of participation, and to assess the possibility that alternative motivations also play a role. But other information should also aid in this endeavor. Indeed, the MP interviews are instructive here, as they provide direct responses regarding the perceived value of Private Members' Business and determine the extent to which Private Members' Business may serve the intentions and motivations of some MPs more effectively than others.

The fifth chapter, titled *Representation by Members: Constituency Voting Preference, Constituency Interests and Private Members' Business*, focuses on answering the second research question: is participation by MPs representative? The objective of this chapter is to determine if electoral constituencies are represented by the legislative actions of individual MPs. This is done by assessing whether constituency preferences are related to legislative actions. The issue topics of introduced bills and motions are used to determine if these constituency interests are represented on both general and specific levels. The MP interviews are also used to briefly consider if representative relationships appear to hold at a qualitative level and to determine if these responses about role orientation or policy/personal priorities relate to individual actions on specified topics.

The concluding chapter briefly discusses whether the actions of individual MPs have any meaningful impact on policy outcomes, and provides evidence suggesting that indeed they do. It is certainly true that a small number of bills and motions introduced by private members in the House do pass, and it appears that this occurs increasingly with items that are not always "friendly" to the sitting government. This occurs with majority and minority governments, which indicates both that MPs from the governing party are sometimes instrumental in making way for such legislation, and that there is a willingness to charge the executive with administration of a statute that was not its own.

Another possibility that provides perhaps even greater interest regarding the workings of the House, because it is not readily apparent as is the actual passing of bills, is whether the ideas presented by individual members – and the members’ abilities to exhibit significant political or public support for those ideas – have any meaningful impact on the actions of the executive. These executive actions might include policy statements or introduction of a Government Bill that is substantially similar to the original motion or bill. There are certainly instances where this appears to have occurred (see the brief account at the beginning of this chapter), but does it occur often enough that it lends credibility to a claim of heightened importance for actions by individual members, and by extension to the role of the legislature generally as having meaningful input in the policy agenda of the government? This would, in turn, indicate that it is reasonable for MPs who are motivated by an interest in affecting policy to engage in these actions. The degree to which members have an impact in this way is part of further understanding more broadly the degree to which individual action in the House matters.

This portion of the study depends upon a qualitative approach which includes assessing media coverage and MP interviews, as well as considering quantitatively the number of PMB items that precede similar Government Bills. These are used to suggest both the potential size and scope of PMB impact on Government policies in Canada.

This concluding chapter also summarizes the findings in terms of the overall objectives of the project and considers implications regarding representation in Canada generally and legislative behaviour comparatively. Finally, the prospect of future changes to the rules governing the House and Private Members’ Business and their implications for legislative behaviour are discussed.

In sum, this project seeks to improve our understanding of the representative roles of MPs in Canada, which in turn provides comparative insight into the similarities and differences in behaviour between directly elected legislators in Canada and the US. This has broad comparative implications regarding what institutional factors affect the choice between individual and collective behaviour. Further, while this project focuses on an area of legislative politics that is usually deemed to be of little importance to policy and governance in Canada, the research sheds light specifically on the representative

behaviour of individual MPs to determine who is represented by their actions and how. This contributes to the growing literature on policy representation by being the first study to compare public preferences and individual legislative initiatives in Canada. It further enhances our understanding of the degree to which “politics is local” in Canada (Carty and Eagles 2005). It is also suggestive about the impact on governance that these individual actions may currently have, recognizing that while this impact is likely small, it may still be substantive. Finally, the value of this particular project is based partly on the fact that many proposals to alter the role and power of individual MPs have been made in the past and many more will likely be considered in the future. The findings of this research will be of importance in predicting the resulting impact of such proposals. In this way, this research project is relevant not only in understanding where we are, but also in gaining insight for the future.

Chapter Two

Dyadic Representation, the Electoral Connection, and Individual Legislative Behaviour in Canada

This research focuses on the existence of dyadic representation in Canada. Among the many forms of representation, dyadic representation is perhaps the simplest to understand – that of a single representative performing a duty on behalf of those who elected him/her. Whether this actually occurs is another matter. By focusing on Canada, this project takes on the challenge of discovering and analyzing dyadic representation within what is among the strongest systems of party discipline among representative democracies.¹

The purpose of this chapter is to outline what motivations should result in dyadic representation, and why we might observe this result in the Canadian case. The focus here is upon legislative and electoral institutions, primarily in the US and the UK, and the incentives for dyadic representation provided by these institutions.

This chapter, then, complements the discussion of the Canadian literature in the previous chapter and takes the next step in discussing the theoretical links that lead to a particular form of representation. Whether or not there is evidence of individual behaviour and dyadic representation in Canada which reflects that observed in the US and UK is the subject of the following chapters.

The Electoral Connection

One reason to expect a strong link between constituency preferences and representative action is rooted in what Mayhew (1974) calls the “electoral connection”. For the most part, Mayhew suggests, US legislators can be viewed “as if they were single-minded re-election seekers” (1974: 17). This means that the actions of these representatives are driven by a consideration of what is most likely to bolster the actor’s electoral prospects – which inevitably means presenting voters with additional reasons to

¹ See Stewart 1977: 22-30; Franks 1987: 99-101; Docherty 1997: 138-9.

vote favourably. The Single Member Plurality electoral system, and frequent elections, both noted in Chapter One, are believed to strengthen this connection.

Mayhew does not argue that the *only* actions that ever occur are constituency-focused and electorally motivated. However, he does suggest that any action that does not appear to directly aid in re-election requires a substantial payoff, usually in terms of personal power and/or prestige. For the most part, Mayhew suggests that members engage in three general forms of action – advertising (gaining name recognition), position-taking (indicating what he/she stands for) and credit-claiming (showing how he/she has had an impact) – in order to reap electoral rewards.

An increase in electoral competition should thus lead to an increase in political responsiveness. This is also reflected in Downs' (1957) rational-choice hypothesis that legislators should follow as closely as possible the preferences of their electors. A similar notion is also incorporated into the theory of representational behaviour as geared toward “maximizing” and “maintaining” the representative's electoral vote (Fiorina 1974). Yet, when competition decreases, as has been the case in the US where incumbents are often successful with increasing margins of vote, should responsiveness (which requires a cost to the representative) still be expected? Some answers to this question suggest the affirmative – including extreme risk aversion on the part of the representative, a sense of duty to constituents, or similarity between constituency preferences and the representative's preferences. For Bartels (1991), each of these possibilities may help account for the fact that, “elections seem like blunt instruments at best for ensuring congressional responsiveness, but Congress seems responsive nevertheless” (458-9). Kingdon (1989) also suggests a form of risk-averse behaviour: he states that competition is not clearly a factor that affects congruence in representation, but that congruence in representation may help ensure that constituencies remain non-competitive. Thus, if representatives do a good job, there is no compelling reason to replace them.

But it is notable, regardless of the actual responsiveness of constituents in turn to the representative actions of legislators, that there is a highly symbolic element to electioneering, and Mayhew highlights this. Twenty-five years after making the case for the ‘electoral connection’, he states: “I remain convinced that politicians often get

rewarded for taking positions rather than achieving effects. ... It may look good back home to favor 'gun control' or 'saving social security' even though laws bearing those label might not amount to much according to strict standards of instrumental rationality" (2001:251).

Cain et al. (1987) empirically probe the next step that follows from the notion of the electoral connection, providing evidence that indeed representatives can gain personal recognition which results in boosting their electoral chances through a "personal vote". There is a reasonable amount of evidence that representatives are able to acquire an electoral boost through a personal vote in the US (Canes-Wrone et al. 2002; Ansolabehere et al. 2001), though based on legislative behaviour alone, some studies have suggested that the potential for a measurable gain or loss is relatively small – around five percentage points (Erikson and Wright 1993; Bernstein 1989).

It is notable that one of the leading expectations regarding the nature of the electoral connection – that constituencies influence the actions of representatives – meets little opposition in the US. Perhaps the most forceful opposition is Bernstein's (1989) argument that the perception of constituency influence on legislative actions is a "myth". Bernstein bases his argument on the idea that, because constituents tend to know little about their representatives or policy (Campbell et al. 1960), representatives are essentially "free agents" who do not need to be responsive (56). Even Bernstein, however, admits that the interests of constituents are reasonably well represented, but only because of the "initial selection" of representatives who have similar interests and not because representatives deliberately act on constituents' behalf (101-102). Where his own empirical evidence suggests constituency influence through electoral pressure, the results are written off as "quite weak" (101) or having a "marginal impact" (104-5). Ansolabehere et al. (2001) similarly suggest that representatives only change their behaviour marginally from the party mean to conform to constituency interests, though their findings do suggest that greater competition in a riding leads to more moderate positions by representatives. As a criticism generally, Bernstein's and Ansolabehere et al.'s work seems to suggest caution in expecting too great an impact of the electoral connection and the dynamic nature of constituency influence in affecting the behaviours of elected representatives, as opposed to dealing any substantial blows to the theory itself.

The basic premise for much of the remainder of this chapter is that there is reason to believe that the theory of an “electoral connection” should affect the nature of MP behaviour in a parliamentary system such as Canada’s. The following sections consider the UK case and the Canadian case respectively. Despite the existence of strong party discipline within these parliamentary systems, which differs markedly from the US, the fact that all three of these countries have a Single Member Plurality electoral system may lead to similar incentives for individual representative behaviour. However, as Mayhew points out, motivations that are not electoral in nature may be evident as well. Accordingly, some consideration of alternative motivations is provided in the second part of this chapter.

Constituency and Legislative Activity in the UK: An electoral connection?

In looking at the British case, it is important to note the different tradition with regard to the literature, which has tended to focus more heavily on the socialized roles rather than the rational behaviour of elected officials. According to Searing (1994), MPs in the UK engage in particular behaviours based on the “roles” they prefer. Among Searing’s roles are two that seem most likely to result in independent behaviour. “Policy advocates” are those who engage in Questions, Private Members’ Bills and are generally more active on committees. “Constituency members” engage more in Questions for written answer and adjournment debates, while making more direct contact with ministers and departments. Nevertheless, these actions may also be influenced by external factors that MPs react to in rational ways (Strom 1997) – such as electoral/constituency pressure, which can push two different role-types toward similar courses of action. Searing, contrary to Strom, suggests a more collective socialized process for MPs’ responses to constituency pressure, by pointing to the increased “professionalization” of politicians in the UK, which requires some attention to constituency in order to ensure electoral stability for a long career. The results of Strom’s individual, rational approach, and Searings collective, socialized approach, appear to point the modern MP in virtually the same direction – which entails having some degree of constituency focus, and delegate-styled action, out of electoral necessity.

The apparent increase in constituency focus among UK MPs in recent decades is one consequence of what King (1981) refers to as the rise of the “career politician”, who, like Searing’s “professional” MP, requires electoral stability to make a long-term career out of politics. Norton (1994, 2005) provides historical background on the link between constituency and MP, noting that, prior to WWII, many British MPs avoided their constituencies almost entirely. Some MPs made only annual or semi-annual trips to constituencies and displayed their dislike for this “chore”. Yet modern MPs, Norton explains, “...are now under greater pressure than before to devote time and energy to their constituencies and, to a greater or lesser extent, Members generally adopt a responsive mode in dealing with these pressures” (1994: 714). One indication of this increased pressure is the amount of mail sent to individual MPs in the UK. This increased from an estimated 12-20 letters per week in 1959, to an average of about 300 letters per week by 2003 (see Norton 2005: 181-2).

Another historical difference, as it is suggested by long-time UK MP Austin Mitchell (1994), is that MPs in the past would enter parliament late in their careers, with a high degree of experience in other areas. They would depend entirely on their party’s record for getting elected because, as they were usually not from the constituency where they would run for office, they had little to show for in terms of constituency service or a track record. Modern MPs start their parliamentary careers much younger, often under the age of 40. Mitchell states:

Now, most [enter parliament] having done little of significance before in jobs with no real career prospects to keep body and soul together while pursuing the central ambition: election. The archetypal backbencher is a professional politician pursuing a career in politics by following leaders rather than party. MPs have established a degree of independence from the party which is small but sufficient to break the subordination of yore (691).

Most MPs now feel compelled to live in their constituencies,² and Mitchell even refers to the MP as: “the constituency’s figurehead, focus and leader in its demands for

² Docherty (1997) notes, however, that some Canadian MPs move to Ottawa and consider it their primary residence.

grants and that constant process of lobbying ministers and Brussels which development is now about” (691).

As evidence not only that an electoral connection likely exists in the UK, but also that it is becoming increasingly relevant, Norton (1994) credits both an educated public that takes greater interest in the activities of politicians³, and changes in electoral politics.⁴ He notes the increasing volatility of the British electorate, evidenced by “massive swings in voting intentions and ... seats changing hands in byelections” (716), which may help explain why the representative focus of MPs has shifted toward constituencies. He goes on to state that “Such volatility gives MPs – even if sitting for ostensibly safe seats – cause to doubt their own parliamentary immortality. They therefore appear keen to bolster their own support within the constituency” (1994: 716). In addition to this increased electoral uncertainty, Labour MPs must also go through re-selection for candidacy each Parliament. A member that is seen as a good “constituency” MP, according to Norton, tends to find less challenge to his/her candidacy.⁵

On top of finding evidence of an electoral connection alone, however, it is important to further consider whether this evolution toward the increasingly constituency-focused MP affects parliamentary activity. Norton indicates so, stating that, historically, MPs rarely participated in Question Time – now many propose the allowable maximum number of questions.⁶ He points to a survey indicating that 90% of respondents listed among their reasons for asking questions “... to make ministers aware of points of concern to constituents. More than 80% said they sent answers to their questions to the local press” (1994: 718).⁷

³ For the U.S. and Canada see also Inglehart 1997, Dalton and Wattenberg 2000, Nevitte 1996.

⁴ Norton indicates as well that a large number of MPs do hold “safe” seats (the U.K. generally has many more safe seats proportionally than Canada), and that many act in a constituency-oriented manner simply out of a sense of duty or interest.

⁵ This process of MPs standing for party candidacy within their riding before each federal election is used by most major Canadian political parties, but was not used by the Liberal Party while Jean Chrétien was leader.

⁶ Participation in parliamentary questions has risen in the U.K., from about 55% of MPs over a century ago to over 97% in 1995. A similar trend can be seen in debate participation, from 63% to 99% (See Rush 2001).

⁷ Norton (2005) also points out that the use of mass media as a link between individual MPs and constituencies has increased substantially in recent years, including use of the Internet and e-mail (236-7). Though Norton doesn’t state this outright, it seems implicit that this avenue is used not simply as a means of neutral information for constituents, but also, and perhaps even primarily, as a means of self-promotion.

Mitchell also points to an increase in activity within the legislature that is constituency-focused, including: "...Questions, Adjournment Motions, Ten Minute Rule Bills and interventions to raise matters of urgent [importance]" (1994: 700). Rush (2001) shows that the proportion of UK backbench MPs raising constituency interests in Parliament increased from about 11% in 1871, to 50% in 1901, and to 87% in 1995.⁸ And not only are MPs increasingly active in portraying a constituency focus, but they also tend to be proactive in doing so. Cain et al. (1987) note that 70% of MPs surveyed in the UK advertise in order to have constituents contact them for help, and 27% of these indicated that they seek out constituency grievances by knocking on doors or directly writing to a constituent if a problem arises, rather than waiting for constituents to contact them (65).

Thus, we see in the UK an emerging trend where the behaviours of MPs appear to more closely reflect the dynamics associated with the electoral connection in the US, though institutional differences certainly constrain the degree to which the two cases mirror each other. Nevertheless, the increase in communication from the constituency to the MP, and the responsiveness of MPs due in part to electoral necessity, suggest a pattern that corresponds somewhat to US literature on dyadic representation (i.e. Miller and Stokes 1963; Page et al. 1984; Bartels 1991; Bailey and Brady 1998). In turn, UK MPs appear to marginally bolster their electoral prospects through a personal vote, though not at all near to the same extent as their US counterparts (Cain et al. 1987; Norton and Wood 1993; Studlar and McAllister 1996).

Evidence that the theory of an electoral connection appears to hold some relevance in the Westminster parliamentary system of the UK is a major step in attempting to extend the theory to the Canadian case. The following section considers the Canadian case directly, in order to establish the electoral connection as informative in the analysis of the Canadian case in later chapters.

Is there an electoral connection in Canada?

⁸ This increase was observed as occurring across all parties generally.

As noted in Chapter One, the institutions of Canadian government do not readily lend themselves to a high degree of independent, constituency-focused behaviour, though it was shown that there is evidence that independent behaviour can and sometimes does occur. There is, as will be argued here, also reason to expect that there exists an electoral connection between Canadian MPs and their constituents which will affect this behaviour.

Perhaps most important in establishing that an electoral connection exists is Docherty's evidence that MPs regard riding work as "more important for their re-election prospects than the image and popularity of their leader and party" (1997: 187). He also suggests that many Canadian MPs, like their US counterparts, have close and historical ties to the constituencies they represent, and that constituency service "is a regular and dominant characteristic of both American and Canadian legislative politics" (Docherty 1997: 35).⁹

In the US House of Representatives, frequent elections are also thought to increase the importance of the electors in the mind of the elected, and this was an intentional purpose in the US institutional design (*The Federalist*, Hamilton et al. 2003: no. 52).¹⁰ In Canada, elections to the House are usually not as frequent as the biennial elections for members of the US House of Representatives,¹¹ but there is reason to expect that the lack of electoral stability (Docherty 1997)¹² or "short-term amateur" (Franks 1987) nature of MP tenure in Canada should lead to a similar dynamic. With so few safe-seats, Canadian MPs who desire re-election should have an eye toward bolstering their

⁹ This is less often the case in Britain where district placement is more likely to be based on the member's rank and the party's strength in the particular district. We should therefore expect constituency concerns to weigh more significantly in the representational orientations of Canadian MPs compared to their British counterparts, even before electoral considerations come into play.

¹⁰ A related reason for short terms between elections noted by Hamilton et al. is that that with long terms the "political class" would lose touch with the represented. Richards (1972) implies that this political class (in the U.K.) is quite different from society generally: "What sort of people are these 630 members? Obviously they are not, like a jury, a typical cross-section of the community. Powerful filters ensure that only certain types of individual arrive at Westminster. These filters are political, social, and legal" (11). While legal barriers to office are now very few, allowing virtually all citizens to seek election, political and social barriers remain. Docherty (2005), for example, notes that the percentages of women and ethnic minorities in Canada's House of Commons are far below the percentages of these groups in the population at large. On this level, at least, Canada's House is weak in terms of what Pitkin (1967) refers to as "descriptive representation", or having a body of representatives that has similar characteristics to the represented.

¹¹ In Canada, when a majority government sits, elections occur approximately every 4 years. When a minority government sits, elections occur on average every 1½ years.

¹² Docherty (1997) notes that – at least among junior MPs and non-Ministers – the primary cause of turnover is electoral defeat, not voluntary retirement.

position with electors. That is, where US Representatives must face electors every two years but have little reason to fear defeat, Canadian MPs face electors less often but generally have more reason to fear defeat. This also differentiates Canadian MPs from their UK counterparts – who generally enjoy less party discipline and greater (though declining) electoral stability, leading them toward greater personal independence (Judge 1981, Franks 1987, Docherty 1997). Legislators in all three systems, however, are returned through the same electoral system.

With regard to electoral volatility in Canada, recent studies suggest that Canadian MPs appear unlikely to survive successive elections. In Matland and Studlar's (2004) study of legislative turnover across 25 industrialized democracies during the 1980s and 1990s, Canada scored last for incumbency return rate at 53.1%.¹³ This score is more than 20 percentage points below the UK (where electoral volatility was seen as increasing the constituency focus of MPs), more than 30 points below the U.S, and more than 14 points below the average (93). Malloy notes that the average electoral turnover in Canada is five percentage points higher since 1984 than it was between 1968-1984 (2003: 61). Even during the 1960s, Canada tended to have far fewer "safe seats" as a percentage of total seats than the UK, and has been classified as being highly competitive in comparison to both the US and UK (Lovink 1973: 358-360). The implications of this competitiveness, according to Lovink, are as follows:

Is it true, as it appears to be among American legislators, that politically insecure MPs take a very different approach to public policy than their more secure colleagues, investing relatively little effort in becoming informed on national issues and responding to most problems in parochial rather than national terms? If so, then the present high level of electoral competition may have undercut Parliament's performance as a critic of public policy and administration, and have emphasized its role as a forum for local demands and grievances (1973: 370).

¹³ It is notable that the 4 elections following 1979 were used to calculate Canada's turnover rate in this study. Both the 1984 and 1993 landslide elections saw very high turnover rates. According to Malloy (2003: 61), turnover in 1997 was only 31% and only 17% in 2000. It should also be noted that the figure reported includes retirement as well as electoral turnover, as it does for all countries in the analysis, though it does not include by-elections.

What is also striking about the Canadian case is that – despite the comparative strength of party discipline in Canada – Canadian MPs continue to be far more likely to say they have a constituency focus than members of other parliamentary systems.¹⁴ Heitshusen et al. (2005) indicate that – driven mainly by electoral considerations – the proportion of MPs from Single Member District systems indicating a “high” constituency focus (54%) is more than double that of MPs from Multi Member District systems (21%). Canadian MPs ranked second on this measure (57%) only to “electorate” MPs (non-list MPs from the Mixed Proportional system) from New Zealand (71%).¹⁵ Canadian MPs were slightly more likely to have this focus than their UK (53%)¹⁶ or Australian House (43%) counterparts, and far more likely than any members not elected through Single Member Districts (Australian Senate, Ireland, New Zealand list). There is also strong evidence in the study that if a member enjoys greater electoral stability and portfolio responsibilities, this decreases the likelihood of a constituency focus.

One Canadian MP in the study chose to link electoral prospects and constituency focus in a manner that – based on the study’s results – might well hold across a large portion of like-minded MPs: “If you want to be in this job ... for a long time ... then you make sure you do your riding right” (42).

This MP’s statement suggests: 1.) that an electoral connection exists in Canada, and 2.) that an MP’s focus on his/her constituency may help alleviate the risks associated with electoral volatility. Nevertheless, there is little empirical evidence to support the notion that “[doing] your riding right” is what leads to electoral stability in Canada.¹⁷

¹⁴ George Drew, Progressive Conservative and Official Opposition leader, in 1956 referred to MPs on the government benches as “trained seals” (Aiken 1974: 8) in reference to their disciplined nature, and the term has stuck (Franks 1987: 99; Malloy 2003:60).

¹⁵ The sample of Canadian MPs was 67 while the pre-1996 New Zealand sample was only 17 – rendering the latter result as much less reliable.

¹⁶ Though it is not reported in the study, the difference on this measure between Canadian and U.K. MPs would not be considered statistically significant based on the sample size.

¹⁷ Whether or not the accepted wisdom of a “personal vote” resulting from constituency focus is an accurate portrayal of reality is indeed an interesting question, and one that has academics landing on both sides (for a brief review see Mezey 1993). It should be noted that for the purposes of this project, the reality of the personal vote is a distraction that will not be dealt with in an extensive manner. The reason is that what matters in assessing MP behaviours is not whether a significant personal vote can actually be attained, but whether MPs believe a significant personal vote can be attained, which, in Canada, most of them do (Docherty 1997). Having made this distinction, the focus on understanding the personal vote within this project will remain one of understanding how MPs act based on perception, not on the reality of whether a personal vote can be attained and whether it increases or decreases with increased constituency focus.

Indeed, the “personal vote”, if attainable at all, is usually considered to be marginal and to rarely affect election outcomes in Canada, while even in the UK the personal vote appears to be relatively weak (Irvine 1982; Cain et al. 1987; Norton and Wood 1993; Studlar and McAllister 1996; Docherty 1997).

More recently, Blais et al. (2003) indicate that as much as five per cent of the vote in the 2000 Canadian federal election (outside Quebec) was determined by voter preferences for individual candidates rather than parties. This finding is crucial in providing additional evidence that an electoral connection does indeed exist, because it suggests that a significant portion of constituents are clearly aware of the individuals who run for office to represent the particular riding, and that they accordingly vote for those individuals. However, this finding tells us less about the ability of an MP to bolster his/her share of the personal vote. Though the amount of overall vote attributed to individual candidates may be significant (approximately 16% and 14% of constituency elections have been won by a margin of less than 5 percentage points since the 1968 election and the 1993 election respectively), it is possible at this point only to speculate as to whether or not particular candidates can do much to increase or decrease their “personal” share of this five points among all candidates. Further research is required to suggest what methods, if any, are actually effective for doing so, and why, though it seems likely that constituency-focused activities could be one effective means of doing so. All of this does not necessarily mean that an MP who believes strongly that he/she can affect a personal vote is either right or wrong – but it does seem difficult to justify expending a good deal of time and effort pursuing a personal vote if it is not clearly a valuable use of resources.

What, then, leads a large portion of Canadian MPs to believe they can attain a personal vote (see Docherty 1997:186-189), which may accordingly cause them to engage, at least somewhat, in individual actions focused on their constituency? One answer is that MPs have empirical evidence regarding the actual nature of the personal vote in Canada that academics, as of yet, do not have. If this is indeed the case, it does not in any way diminish the expectations set out here. A second, and perhaps more plausible, answer is that MPs act in part based on perception because they lack enough evidence to know reality. Even if one were to accept the evidence regarding the relatively

marginal nature of the personal vote in Canada, an MP's reasons for pursuing a personal vote might include: 1.) "my constituency isn't like the rest of the country" (*indicating that general evidence may not apply to their specific case*), or 2.) "I get lots of mail, and in much of it, constituents pledge to vote for me or not based on a given course of action," (*indicating limited or biased information*), or 3.) "If I assume there is no personal vote, and act accordingly, I might find out the hard way that there is a 'personal vote' and I'll have lost it" (*indicating extreme risk aversion, or a willingness to avoid losing at a disproportionately high cost*).

None of these arguments is irrational. Simon states: "people almost always have reasons for what they do but seldom the 'best' reasons" (1995: 47). Here then, the conditional causal factor is likely "bounded rationality" (Simon 1995; Jones 2001). In other words, MPs attempt to make rational decisions despite their uncertainty about how choices affect outcomes. Simon suggests that there are multiple reasons for this apparent style of decision-making, some of which are evident in the above example. For politicians with an eye to re-election, Stimson et al. (1995) suggest that they will engage in "rational anticipation" – or making the best choices for an uncertain future. This anticipation appears to lead many members in the US to focus on their constituency and act in a substantively representative manner (Stimson et al. 1995; see also Cain et al. 1987). And, as noted above, Kingdon (1989) implies that even representatives with very little electoral pressure may act in a very risk-averse manner.

In short, whether the electoral connection actually leads to a measurable personal vote, or whether Canadian MPs simply perceive this to be the case, matters little – dyadic representation should occur so long as a perception regarding the value of the personal vote by MPs exists, which clearly it does (Docherty 1997: 186-189, 220). This is similarly evident in the UK where an increasingly volatile electorate is a factor in MPs' apparent responsiveness to constituencies. This electoral instability brings MPs in the UK closer to the relatively unstable electoral context of Canadian MPs noted above. The electoral connection is further reflected in the SMP electoral system leading to comparatively high levels of constituency focus by MPs in both countries.

Again, this discussion is not meant to negate the fundamental importance of parties in the Canadian parliament or in elections. Some of the expected forms of electioneering highlighted by Mayhew are likely a function of party activities and not entirely individual activities. *Advertising*, in the Canadian context, is likely often a result of institutional positions, such as cabinet or critic portfolios, that are linked to the MP's party. Cabinet ministers and opposition critics are most likely to have greater public name recognition because of the media attention that these positions attract and while this media recognition can aid in re-election, the positions themselves are allocated by party leadership, not chosen by individual MPs. Nevertheless, advertising can also be undertaken by MPs, though in order to gain substantial media coverage, it is likely that position-taking or credit-claiming would also need to part of the story.

We can assume, for the time being at least, that credit-claiming by MPs is a rare occurrence. Position-taking – which is often the most that individual MPs can accomplish given their low influence with regard to policy outcomes – may still serve a fruitful purpose on its own. A reasonable amount of Private Members' Business in Canada does get media exposure, as is shown in Chapter 6, and not necessarily only in local media but also in major daily newspapers. Indeed, this suggests that position-taking by MPs may be a means by which individuals attempt to promote themselves, give input to the legislative process, *and* influence party direction at the same time. That this activity may, for the most part, only be symbolic in nature, and that it may have little actual effect, should matter little if the primary purpose of the MP remains an electoral one. "Taking positions" as Mayhew notes, may be more rewarding electorally than "achieving effects".

The "Square Peg" and the "Round Hole":

Tying together the electoral connection and party behaviour in Canada

That the above discussion establishes the importance of an electoral connection in Canada may not, on its own, be enough evidence that dyadic representation should occur in Canada. This is only one of the two main factors that should substantially affect the relationship between constituency interests and representative action – the other is the

degree of collective behaviour facilitated by party discipline. In Canada, there is good reason, as shown in Chapter One, to focus attention on the latter, but this does not lead to an exclusion of the former. As was also shown in Chapter One, individual behaviour can, and does, occur in the Canadian context despite the role of parties. The point that must be made clear here is that institutional incentives for particular behaviour should not be regarded in isolation from other institutional incentives, or the picture that results will inevitably be an inaccurate one. Again, the United States system of government is instructive here because the role of parties is normally ignored, in direct contrast to the nature of research in Canada. This is because the US system combines the SMP electoral system with a relatively weak party system; the latter is due in large part to a presidential system where the executive does not depend on the confidence of the legislature, as is the case in Canada (see Chapter One). The US institutional structure suggests that the characteristics that lead to dyadic representation by legislators should play a bigger role and better explain the nature of behaviour in the US than in Canada (see e.g. Carey and Shugart 1995; Heitshusen et al. 2005). However, *this does not preclude entirely the existence of collective, party oriented behaviour in the US anymore than the Canadian structure precludes entirely the existence of individual, constituency-oriented behaviour* (as was shown in Chapter One). So we may first ask: Is party behaviour in the US significant?

There is a considerable body of work suggesting that US political parties play little if any role in the behaviours of legislators, or the outcomes of the legislature (See e.g. Mayhew 1974; Shepsle and Weingast 1987; Hall 1996; Krehbiel 1998). However, parties are powerful and enduring institutions of which virtually all members of the US Congress are a part. How can they play *no role* in the legislative process? Cox and McCubbins (1993) examine this issue by probing the role of parties, and the actions of those within the party structure that benefit most from the collective action of party members. They suggest that party leaders, including those with legislative positions of power, benefit from favourable party behaviour more than those without such positions. The latter may still benefit if they serve the wishes of those who are higher in the party hierarchy – for example, they can be promoted or given particular committee positions depending on their leaders' decisions. The electoral benefits of party behaviour are

probably small for the individual representative, though the increased prestige and name recognition that might come with positions may have benefits on the electoral, policy, and personal levels. Nevertheless, according to Cox and McCubbins, the role of the party is that of a Hobbesian Leviathan which acts in a manner to keep individuals from acting only in their own interest and ultimately fighting against each other. The result is that, in a system where many believed there to be mainly individual action, there is also, according to Cox and McCubbins, a strong degree of collective action facilitated by the party system, and its results tend to favour the majority party.¹⁸ In short, Cox and McCubbins seem to be suggesting, as I have suggested above, that dominant institutional characteristics cannot be viewed in isolation from other institutional characteristics.

How does this relate to Canada? In Canada, few doubt the existence of substantial party behaviour or its disproportionate benefits for the majority party. The puzzle that Cox and McCubbins (1993) address in the US context is essentially turned on its head for the Canadian case – how can there be a system of individual, geographical election without this resulting in some degree of individual action that is constituency-focused? While the parliamentary system is essentially one of party government, where party leaders increasingly crack bigger whips (Franks 1987; Docherty 1997; Carty et al. 2000), I argue that there remains the SMP electoral incentive for individual action that cannot be ignored. In Canada, parties remain, in the words of Cox and McCubbins, the “cartels” of legislators, policed by leaders in a much stricter sense than in the US. But just as the incentive for leaders to rein-in their “cheaters” remains in the US, in Canada, the incentive for individuals to cheat the cartel remains. And certainly the fact that MPs in the 34th and 35th Parliaments, as noted above, rated service to their constituents as more important to their re-election prospects than either their party or leader is highly suggestive of where MPs look to bolster their electoral prospects. This is not to suggest that an MP’s electoral survival is not highly dependent upon his/her party, because it undoubtedly is (Blais et al. 2002a; Johnston et al. 1992; for comparative perspective see Cox 1987; Huber 1996). On an individual level, however, an MP has little power over

¹⁸ Ansolabehere et al. (2001) also suggest that U.S. representatives normally tend to vote along the lines set by their party as a whole, suggesting that: “the amount of ideological ‘choice’ that voters get ... is minor compared to the weight of the national parties’ ideologies” (136-137).

the collective electoral strength of his/her party. Therefore, the question for the MP is no longer about what value the party provides, but about which actions that individual can take which will be *perceived* as having the greatest value in re-election over and above the value which is already provided by the party, and employing a focus and style that speaks directly to his/her constituency appears to be the answer.

Such a pattern would fit closely with that described by Mayhew in reference to members of the US congress:

... the rational way for marginal congressmen to deal with national trends is to ignore them, to treat them as acts of God over which they can exercise no control. It makes much more sense to devote resources to things over which they think they can have some control (1974: 32).

Beyond the Electoral Connection: Personal Influence and Good Policy

Electoral pressure may increase the likelihood of individual representative behaviour, but it alone does not fully explain why representatives might choose to act in an individualistic manner. Fenno (1973) argues that, apart from the electoral connection, there are two other motivating factors affecting legislators' actions in the US: influence in the Congress, and a desire to see good public policies. He suggests that these three factors together probably affect all US legislators, though to varying degrees. Fenno (1978) confirms in part how these factors affect representation, showing varying degrees of electoral motivation, ambition, and policy interest affecting the way members conduct their work and the way that they communicate their actions to constituents at home.¹⁹

What then are the rewards, if any, that individual legislators might receive for their actions? Mayhew suggests that because members seek re-election, their focus upon advertising, position-taking and credit-claiming will inevitably mean less focus on actual policy making. Whether by trade-off or direct motivation, however, policy making still

¹⁹ That re-election alone may not be the only driving factor does not itself imply a lack of congruence between the preferences of constituencies and the actions of representatives. There are four ways in which Kingdon (1989) suggests constituencies influence representatives: 1.) through recruitment, which includes both mass and elite strictures as to who is selected; 2.) by requiring explanation for representatives' actions; 3.) by direct communication; and 4.) by electoral consequence.

occurs. In an attempt to better understand the legislators that contribute to Congressional policy making, Wawro (2002) looks at “legislative entrepreneurship” in the US, and asks whether it holds any meaningful benefit, not simply electoral benefit, for those who expend resources on this particular activity. He suggests that the efforts of such entrepreneurs are necessary to the House’s policy-making functions. The fact that hundreds, even thousands of bills may be proposed in the US House is seen as a benefit.

[Legislative Entrepreneurs] drive much of the legislative production of the House, whether it be legislation involving major innovations in federal policy or more mundane ‘housekeeping’ measures. If individual members of the House did not become LEs, the House as an institution would not be able to perform its fundamental duty of legislating (Wawro 2000:149).

These bills in the US have similar characteristics to the few hundred Private Members’ Bills that are proposed in each parliamentary session in Canada: 1.) They are not proposed by the executive in the House; 2.) Their success or failure is not a matter of confidence in the government; and 3.) prior to committee stage, none are favoured over any other. The key difference, of course, is that Government Bills are the main focus of legislative attention in the Canadian House of Commons, so PMB does not serve as the primary source of legislation that bills in the US Congress do. As for incentives, Wawro’s findings suggest that legislative entrepreneurship is not significantly beneficial in terms of re-election specifically or for attaining increased election financing, though it may still motivate the initial behaviour. In terms of benefits derived from participation, it appears to increase the likelihood of gaining positions of influence in the House, such as attaining leadership or chair positions.²⁰ It is understandable that, in many cases, the combined incentives of strengthening the policy-making function of Congress and promoting what the representative sees as good public policy may well be enough motivation for such entrepreneurs. Mayhew (1974) states: if “all members did nothing but pursue their electoral goals, Congress would decay or collapse” (141). Wawro’s analysis does not consider whether actions of legislators affect actions of the executive,

²⁰ Wawro (2000) also notes that there are competing claims regarding whether legislative entrepreneurship may actually hurt re-election prospects, because of the possibility that constituents prefer district work over policy work. Little impact in either direction is observed in his study.

but given the separation of the two in the US system and the power of the legislature to actually legislate, this is perhaps a less salient question than in the Canadian parliamentary case.

Also of particular relevance is Hall's (1996) work on participation in the US Congress, which poses the question: Why do representatives take on particular projects when there appear to be few institutional incentives to do so? Hall refutes the notion of a single dimensional incentive system where representatives desire re-election above anything else, such as that suggested by Mayhew (1974). He probes the three politically-related motivations affecting legislative behaviour first articulated by Fenno – re-election, good public policy, and personal influence – by looking at how these motivations affect participation at the sub-committee, committee, and floor levels. Using actual records, as well as interviews to get an insider account of behind-the-scenes participation, he finds evidence of each of these motivations affecting the degree to which representatives spend time promoting particular policy positions, albeit in different ways across policy venues. For example, constituency interests play a lesser role in participation behind-the-scenes than in committee “markups”, where participation and position-taking is on the public record. Re-election motivations, however, still appear to be strongest among those affecting participation choices by representatives in the US.

Outside of re-election, however, there can be other avenues that provide benefit to the legislator. Personal influence may result from “Prosecuting the President's agenda” – as Hall refers to it – which in the US is comparable to Canadian MPs using their own time and resources to promote their party's interests, as opposed to constituency or other interests. Recognized incentives for party behaviour are generally not as significant as those within the parliamentary system, and party discipline is not as strict, but party behaviour can occur and may even be quite significant (see Cox and McCubbins 1993). In the US context, individual members look for various shortcuts to provide cues on voting decisions (Kingdon 1989) or committee action (Hall 1996) and on some occasions, the political party or the president may be a deciding factor. Canadian MPs, alternatively, very rarely look beyond their party leadership for such cues. Still, one motivation for pursuing an agenda not directly linked to re-election is that one may gain individual recognition which results in attaining more influential positions of office – both in

Canada and the US (Mayhew 1974, Docherty 1997). In such cases, individuals may use all of their time and resources on pursuits that are of benefit to the party, in order to receive a personal benefit in return.

Hall's work is instructive to the current project because it does not focus, as much work on dyadic representation tends to, upon each US representative's response (the vote) to a pre-set agenda, but upon opportunities for individuals to proactively affect that agenda by focusing on issues of interest. Like legislative entrepreneurship, members' abilities to affect this agenda are based to a degree on the resources they commit to any one area, and the most important resource is their limited time. An approach similar to Hall's is more useful in the Canadian case than tracking individual votes. In Canada, observing votes is likely rather futile for the purpose at hand because parties dictate the nature of participation in these activities, but the proactive action of introducing bills and motions is one in which individual behaviour can be observed, and the allocation of time by the MP must play a role. In that way, studies on the proactive use of time allocation and choice regarding issue focus are much more useful to the Canadian case than those focusing on venues which, in Canada, are substantially dictated by party behaviour. The manner in which MPs choose to use opportunities for individual action should similarly be suggestive of motivations that cannot be studied in the range of places that they might otherwise be observed in the US context.

Hall's study further contends that public policy is not based, as many positive theorists suggest, on institutions, parties or committees, but on the work of select individuals expending a great deal of resources in particular areas. The dominant role of individual behaviour is a contentious one in the study of US legislative politics,²¹ and the theory holds much less promise in the Canadian context. Still, the impact that interested individuals might have, especially when they are provided greater opportunities based on influential positions, tenure, or their ability to get messages accepted in the mass media, has had little probing in the Canadian context. Chapter 6 will begin to shed some light on this subject.

²¹ There are contending positions on the degree to which parties facilitate policy outcomes in the U.S. Congress. Cox and McCubbins (1993) make a compelling argument for the role of parties in the U.S., while Krehbiel (1998) takes a line similar to Hall in arguing that the key factor in outcomes is based on individual actions.

On top of the fact that pursuing re-election is not the only motivating factor driving the behaviour of US representatives is the fact policy congruence is sometimes seen by representatives as a low priority in representing the interests of their constituents (Fenno 1978; Cain et al. 1987). Indeed, legislators may not necessarily perceive any clear direction as to what they *should* do, but may feel it is only clear what they *should not* do (Kingdon 1989). In this way, they may have a wide range of potential actions that have little bearing on their constituency or electoral fortunes. Some legislators may choose to keep their electors satisfied through constituency work and regular consultation, while tending to their legislative duties in a manner that gives less consideration specifically to constituency; sometimes focusing on issues or positions that are more reflective of partisan, personal, or other interests. This style may indeed be more prevalent in Canada than in the US because party discipline is greater, and while there is always pressure for individual MPs to follow the party line, there will sometimes be cases where they must follow a partisan line on legislation that is clearly unpopular in their own constituency. Other forms of constituency-focused actions might be a way of ‘making up’ for apparently non-representative behaviour. This, of course, does not necessarily imply that such members always act in a non-representative fashion. Rather, it only implies that their actions likely represent interests other than their geographic constituency as a whole.

The idea that re-election acts as potentially a key factor, but not the only factor, in affecting individual actions, does not pose a problem for the current project. As will be seen in later chapters, there is a policy venue even within PMB itself that is better suited for MPs who are motivated by re-election (motions), while there is another that is better suited for MP who are motivated by a desire to have a policy impact (bills). The challenge in the following chapters will be to probe for the effect of the re-election motivation, and effectively analyze: 1.) where it plays a role; 2.) where it does not play a role; and 3.) why this difference occurs.

Summary

What should be noted from the discussion above is that much of the seminal US literature on legislative behaviour, and the sources that build upon it, tend to suggest

either that the electoral connection is the primary factor, or that it is one of very few primary factors, in affecting legislative behaviour. Even those who specifically look to move beyond the concept of the electoral connection (i.e. Fenno 1973; Hall 1996) still find that it appears to be among the most important factors in affecting the choices that legislators make.

Alongside re-election, this chapter has considered good public policy and personal influence as the other major influences on legislative behaviour.²² The research on these motivators was drawn from the US, but it seems possible that the same three motivating factors drive the actions of Canadian MPs as well. Of course, there is no expectation that an electoral connection plays a role in affecting behaviour in Canada equal to that in the US. This is because parties play a much greater role in Canada than in the US, and because the Westminster-style party system leaves less room for members to generate a personal vote apart from their identity as party members (Cain et al. 1987; Docherty 1997). Even so, electoral considerations may be tied either to the party's fortunes alone, or to the perception that the individual may benefit from a personal vote by staking out on their own on some occasions, taking positions on particular issues, and perhaps even attempting to affect government policies.

It follows that within a particular venue where individual participation is encouraged in Canada, as is the case with PMB, there should be a similar representational dynamic as that observed in the US, based at least in part on an electoral connection. The next chapter will explore in greater detail the nature of PMB in terms of its value in studying the behaviour of MPs.

²² It should also be noted, as a caveat, that the list of motivating factors here is not exhaustive. It is quite possible that some legislative representational activity may not be guided simply by constituency (or partisan) interests, or by policy and influence interests, but also by other personal interest, interest group pressures, as well as demographic or cultural factors such as gender, religion and ethnicity.

Chapter Three

Legislation in the House: Government and Private Members' Business

The goal of this project is to explore the behaviour of individual MPs in Private Members' Business. This chapter provides some background on this particular legislative venue. The chapter looks both at how PMB works, and how the data on PMB are arranged. It examines how the rules of PMB place certain limits on private members, in terms of what they can attempt to accomplish through legislation. It also discusses how these limitations affect the nature of participation, and the topics of items which are introduced, in both bills and motions.

Following a review of the rules and process of PMB, this chapter considers Government Bills and PMB through the lens of *issue attentiveness* (Baumgartner and Jones 1993, 2002; Penner et al. 2006) both over time and across parties. Issue attentiveness indicates the prioritization of different policy issue topics – both by different governments and by parties' MPs – by assessing the portion of total legislative attention that is given to any particular topic. Attention is also given to the success rates of different parties' MPs in PMB, in order to determine if certain parties tend to fare better or worse, and why this might be. These aggregate trends, both in the legislative agendas and legislative success of parties, are informative for better understanding the priorities and strategies of parties' MPs with regard to PMB, which help lead toward a better understanding of the individual behaviour of MPs in the following chapters.

How Private Members' Business Works¹

At the beginning of each new Parliament, the *List for the Consideration of Private Members' Business* is constructed from a random ordering of all MPs sitting in that Parliament. Ministers, parliamentary secretaries², the House Speaker and deputy speaker are ineligible to introduce PMB, so their names are placed at the bottom of the list, and remain there as long as they hold those offices. Then the first 30 members on the list

¹ For a simple step-by-step version of the PMB process, see Appendix.

² According to Marleau and Montpetit (2000), parliamentary secretaries are ineligible through convention rather than through specific rules guiding participation in PMB.

have an opportunity to have a piece of legislation placed on the Order of Precedence (OOP – distinguished from “Order Paper”, OP, below), which means having either a bill or motion debated and moved through the legislative process.³ Once a member’s name is moved off the OOP (i.e. his/her bill or motion is passed or defeated) his/her name is returned to the bottom of the eligible names on the List. When 15 spots open up on the OOP, which can occur if bills have been forwarded to committee or if members have completed their turn, then 15 more names are added in order from the List (Fraser 1993).

All new items that members introduce must be first placed on the Notice Paper for at least 48 hours. After this time, if the item is a motion, it is moved onto the Order Paper (OP) but remains outside the OOP. If the item is a bill it is then moved to the OP and permitted to be introduced in the House, but remains off the OOP until the MP’s turn on the List arrives. When the bill is introduced in the House, the Speaker will announce the title during Routine Proceedings and permit the MP to make a brief statement regarding the purpose of the bill. No debate occurs with either a bill or motion at this stage, and the item remains on the list of items outside the Order of Precedence – it does not proceed unless moved onto the OOP. Until recently, the OP and the OOP were renewed at each new session of Parliament – meaning that all items were considered “dead” with the end of a session and much of the same PMB would be re-introduced in the following session. Since the 2nd session of the 37th Parliament (2002-3), all PMB now continues from one session to the next unless defeated or withdrawn⁴. However neither legislation nor the List for Consideration is carried across Parliaments, the break between which includes a general election (Canada 2005).

The number of bills and motions that a member can introduce is unlimited, but this was not always the case for introducing motions. MPs were limited to introducing only one motion per session until 1982 (Marleau and Montpetit 2000: 904-8). The unlimited number of bills was used by some members as an advantage because, until 1990, bills were drawn for debate from all those that had been introduced. This meant

³ *Motions for the Production of Papers*, which are motions for the Government to table a particular document, are also considered part of PMB when transferred to debate. They are not considered in this study. Senators (who are unelected) may also introduce bills in the Upper Chamber which must follow similar rules to those of MPs, but only bills and motions introduced by MPs will be analyzed in this study.

⁴ This is true only of PMB, not of Government Bills.

that an MP's chances of getting his/her bill or motion debated increased if he/she introduced more items. In order to weaken this advantage, party whips took on the task of limiting MPs within their party to only one item out of the first 50 drawn, though the likelihood of being within that first 50 was still greater with a greater number of introduced items. With the new rules of placing MP names on the List, there is equal likelihood of each MP getting to debate a bill or motion, regardless of the number of bills or motions he/she has introduced (Marleau and Montpetit 2000). Members must now choose one of their introduced bills or motions for debate when their turn arrives. Nevertheless, many MPs still introduce more than one piece of legislation per session⁵.

Perhaps the most significant recent change regarding PMB is that all items are now deemed votable by default, whereas all items used to be considered for debate only. Unless deemed votable by the sub-committee on Private Members' Business, bills and motions were simply dropped after debate with no vote by the House. This first changed in the 33rd Parliament, at which point the sub-committee on Private Members' Business was charged with selecting three bills and three motions which would receive a vote in the House, while all others items were deemed non-votable by default. During the 34th Parliament this was changed to five bills and five motions, and then to simply 10 items in the 36th Parliament (Marleau and Montpetit 2000).⁶ The choice of votable items by committee was not to be influenced by the number of sponsors a bill had (Fraser et al. 1989). However, in 1998, a provision was made that if 100 members supported a particular bill or motion, it would be placed on the OOP (Marleau and Montpetit 2000). During the 37th Parliament, the current rule of making all items votable was adopted.⁷

⁵ In the period studied, the highest number of bills introduced by a single MP in a parliament is 96 and the highest number of motions introduced by a single MP in a parliament is 135. Some of these items would likely have been replicated from session to session within the parliament, as members often introduce the same bill or motion in more than one session during a given parliament.

⁶ A number of criteria were used to select votable items, among these being that: 1.) items chosen as votable not be the same as those being dealt with by way of Government Business; and 2.) items which transcend local matters, and which are not stated in partisan terms, be given higher priority (see Marleau and Montpetit 2000: 909-10).

⁷ The Sub-committee on Private Members' Business, following the rules of the Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs, can still determine that a particular item should not be votable, and may report this to the House. Members may choose to appeal such a ruling by the sub-committee, otherwise the recommendation of making an item non-votable is simply deemed adopted by the House. Such an appeal is made to the Standing Committee, and if this committee agrees with the appeal, then such a report is also simply adopted by the House. Should this appeal be unsuccessful, the member can, with the support of at

Five hours are made available each week for debating PMB, though the number of hours has fluctuated between three and five since the 28th Parliament (1968). Only one item may be debated in each available one-hour time slot, with the debate period on the item closing at the end of the hour.

As a bill or motion is placed at the bottom of the OOP after the first hour of debate, it must then wait in turn as other items on the OOP are dealt with until it reaches the top again to be debated for a second hour. In past cases where a motion was not deemed votable (prior to 37th Parliament, 3rd Session), the motion would receive only one hour of debate, at which point the item was simply dropped from the OOP and not voted upon. On votable motions in the earlier period, and on all motions in the current period, the Speaker asks the House for a vote on the motion when 15 minutes remain in the final debate session. The result usually has little impact on the government, as it is not required to carry out any action called for in a motion, but as former Speaker of the House John Fraser put it: “Whatever the result of the vote, the motion will have given its mover the opportunity to focus the attention of the House on a particular issue for nearly three hours” (1993: 130). In recent Parliaments, motions have received attention that, if nothing else, had some effect in embarrassing the government of the day because they were not supported by the government. In some cases, the motions have taken positions in direct contrast to stated government policy.⁸

If a bill passes second reading, it must then go to committee, which must return a report to the House within 60 sitting days. Once the report is tabled, the bill is again placed at the bottom of the OOP for two more hours of debate before it can reach a third

least five other MPs representing a majority of the parties in the House, make an appeal to the Speaker. If this is successful, then the House as a whole may vote by secret ballot on whether or not to deem the item votable. Members can also choose to make their own submissions non-votable by simply notifying the Private Members’ Business office. Such items can still be placed on the Order of Preference and debated.

⁸ During the 37th Parliament, 3rd Session, Motion #380, which called for official recognition of an “Armenian genocide” by Turkey, was introduced by Bloc MP Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral, and passed against the wishes of the majority Liberal government. The following minority Liberal government in the 38th Parliament also rejected recognition of the passed motion, though the minority Conservative government in the 39th Parliament took steps to recognize the motion’s purpose. Similar bills and motions have seen enough support to pass the House in the 39th Parliament against the wishes of the minority Conservative government, such as the Bill C-288, *An Act to ensure Canada meets its global climate change obligations under the Kyoto Protocol*, introduced by Liberal MP Pablo Rodriguez, or Bill C-292, *An Act to implement the Kelowna Accord*, introduced by Liberal MP and former Prime Minister Paul Martin.

reading.⁹ Inevitably, with this process, there is little chance of a bill proceeding quickly through the House as sometimes occurs with Government bills, especially when there is a majority government.¹⁰ Given the regular breaks for holidays and summer, it is possible that the necessary number of House sitting days could take a minimum of about four months and as much as a year or more before a bill can reach third reading from its original selection for the OOP.¹¹

Motions, unlike bills, are not referred to committee between readings (except during the period in which the sub-committee would choose which items to make votable) and, if they reach a vote, are simply adopted or rejected by the House. Bills, if they receive Royal Assent after completing three readings in both the House of Commons and the Senate, become statutes of the Canadian Parliament in the same manner as Government Bills.

Bills that propose the spending of money are not prohibited, but they do require a Royal Recommendation which is obtained from the Governor General and which has traditionally been given only for Government Bills. In 1994, the rules of procedure were changed, allowing Private Members' Bills to call for spending so long as the Royal Recommendation was attained before third reading, whereas previously it had been required at introduction (Marleau and Montpetit 2000: 897-8). In 1995 the recommendation was given for Private Member's Bill C-216 (Keyes 1997).¹² While this does indicate a slight broadening of the powers of backbenchers, suggesting that members may be more likely to introduce bills that call for spending based on this precedent, it is

⁹ Earlier rules had a maximum of five total hours of debate on a bill prior to second or third reading, though the House could decide the fate of a bill prior to completing the full five hours (Fraser et al. 1989).

¹⁰ In certain cases, items can be rushed, such as convening a "Committee of the Whole" (remains in House as opposed to moving to Standing Committee). Bills to change the name of an electoral constituency sometimes receive such treatment.

¹¹ Some recent examples: In the second session of the 37th Parliament, bills C-205 (Canadian Alliance) and C-227 (Liberal) took 134 days in total from first debate to Third Reading (69 and 56 sitting days respectively). In the same session, Bills C-212 (Liberal), C-249 (Liberal), C-250 (NDP), C-260 (Liberal), took 305, 202, 329 and 341 days total (95, 88, 108 and 118 sitting days respectively. Note that C-212, C-250, C-260 actually received Royal Assent in the third session). 411 and 459 also passed in 37-2, but were passed quickly by simply going to Committee of the Whole (which is basically skipping the committee stage) and receiving 2nd and 3rd readings on the same day. In the 38th Parliament, John Duncan's C-259 (Conservative) was placed on the OP on November 15 and received Third Reading in the House the following June 15.¹¹ Inky Mark's C-331 (Conservative) was placed on the OP at the same time as C-259, though the committee requested an extension beyond the 60 day limit. His bill passed the House on November 23 the following year and the Senate passed it two days later, on the same day as C-259.

¹² The bill was sponsored by Guy Arsenault of the governing Liberal Party.

still the case that the number of such bills has not increased generally among those passed, and the recommendation still seems to present a significant hurdle, such that very few MPs introduce such bills. Bills calling for increases in taxes cannot be introduced, as they require a Ways and Means motion prior to introduction, and such motions can only be moved by Cabinet ministers (Canada 2005). Bills which propose reductions and exemptions on taxes are permitted without qualifications (Marleau and Montpetit 2000).

Individual MPs must sponsor their own bills for debate in the House, which means that they cannot choose another member's bill when their opportunity to debate arrives, nor can they be absent for debate on their own bill. However, if an absence is necessary, the member can usually arrange a trade of debate dates with another member who is also on the OOP (Fraser 1993). Further, two bills or motions that are substantively the same in both means and purpose may not be introduced (Marleau and Montpetit 2000: 898-902) – the first one that is introduced stands, and other members may sign on as sponsors of the bill or motion (Canada 2005).¹³ PM Bills that are substantively the same as Government Bills can be introduced, but the House may only take a decision on one of the proposed items of business in a given session.

What should be noted with regard to PMB, on a general level, is that it is primarily an individual exercise. The List system ensures that no MP is permitted a role that is above any other MP based on party or position. Perhaps most importantly for establishing the independence of MPs in this venue, every MP interviewed for this project who had previously participated in PMB clearly indicated that their party was not instrumental in their choice of topic for introduction.

Success, however, does not necessarily come from individual behaviour. Having a bill or motion pass requires gathering support that could come either from a large number of individuals, or from parties. Individual participation in the form of

¹³ This rule would, in theory at least, allow a strategic MP to introduce a bill that he/she did not want to see passed in order to keep other MPs that favour the bill from introducing it. By doing so, the MP could keep the bill from being debated in the House. However, no such case of this occurring has been observed. In addition, it would be difficult for an MP to exhaust all possibilities as far as the purpose of the bill could be concerned – in other words, another means of introducing the same issue before Parliament could probably be found by an interested MP. Many bills on very similar topics do get introduced. An example is Pablo Rodriguez' C-288 *An Act to ensure Canada meets its global climate change obligations under the Kyoto Protocol*, and Jack Layton's C-377 *An Act to ensure Canada assumes its responsibilities in preventing dangerous climate change* in the 39th Parliament.

introductions of bills and motions, however, is the focus of much of the work that follows, in part because while the rules make it virtually impossible for any single MP to see more than one item pass during a session, many MPs still introduce more than one bill and/or motion. Beyond introductions lie the bigger policy implications of participation, and what can be learned about the impact of PMB on policy outputs. This subject will be dealt with more critically in Chapter 6.

It is notable, though, that, even if PMB has little substantial impact on policy outcomes, this alone would not render it unimportant. With regard to the UK Parliament, where PMB is conducted under slightly different rules but within a similar system of relatively strong executive dominance and party discipline, Wilding and Laundry state:

In spite of the formidable obstacles which confront the private member in his [*sic*] attempts to initiate legislation, his right to do so is a very healthy feature of our parliamentary system, and many a worthy cause has benefited as a result (1972: 589).

Beyond simply being able to initiate legislation, however, there are some in Canada who have suggested that PMB has increased in terms of its overall policy impact. Not long after reforms were implemented during the 33rd Parliament, Nora Lever, former Principal Clerk in charge of the Private Members' Business Office for the Canadian Parliament, stated:

Lynn McDonald's anti-smoking bill was given Royal Assent on June 28, 1988, and has created new interest in the work of Private Members in the Canadian House of Commons. Lobbyists are revising their tactics; bureaucrats are reviewing their practices. Indeed, political scientists will be questioning their assumptions about influence in the policy-making process. (1988: 14)

The idea that PMB may be gaining in terms of relative impact on policymaking is also evident in the words of one MP who has observed the process for a long time. Bill Blaikie, an NDP Member of Parliament first elected in 1979, when interviewed for this project, stated:

... the Private Members culture has changed, or culture around voting on PMB has changed over the last 10 years. So it is more likely now, even in a

majority context, that something might pass without the support of the Cabinet, whereas in my first decade here, if the government didn't want it to happen, it just didn't happen.

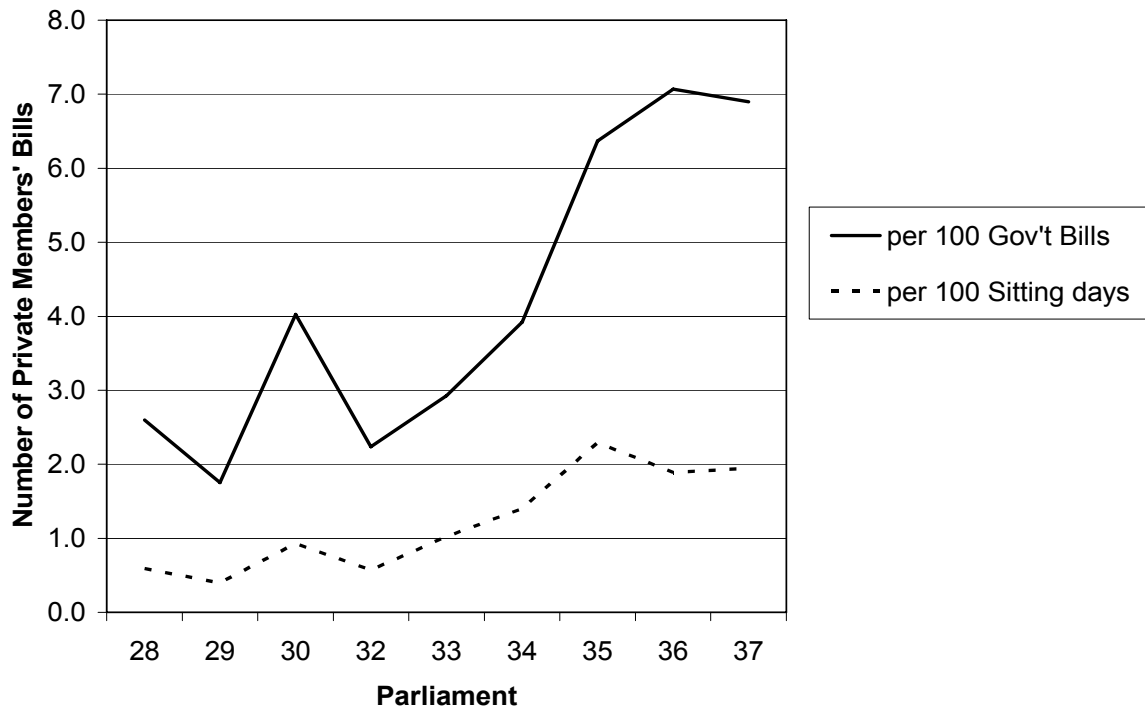
... I think the conventional wisdom that Private Members' Business doesn't mean anything is a mistake. Even when it was less influential than it is now. There are a lot of things that are a reality in the country that started out as Private Members' Business (Interviewed November 2, 2006).

Is Private Members' Business becoming more important to policy making and the legislative process, as Lever and Blaikie seem to suggest? There is some preliminary evidence that this is the case. Figure 3.1 plots the number of Private Members' Bills passing third reading relative to two different measures. The first measure is the number of Government Bills reaching the same stage, which is used to compare the number of successful Private Members' Bills to the general legislative productivity of the House. The second measure is the number of days that the House of Commons actually sits, which is used to compare the number of successful Private Members' Bills to the amount of time during which legislation can proceed. Results using both measures are very similar – the number of third readings on Private Members' Bills approximately doubles, or even triples, over the period from the earlier Parliaments to the later Parliaments.¹⁴

¹⁴ The 30th Parliament appears to have a relatively high success rate. While the number of Private Members' Bills to reach third reading is still relatively high in this particular Parliament, the number of Government Bills is also relatively low, considering the length of that Parliament compared to others. Note that in relation to the number of sitting days, the 30th Parliament does not stand out to the same extent.

Figure 3.1 Private Members' Bills passing Third Reading (28th - 37th Parliament)

(31st Parliament – Clark minority government – not included. Riding name changes not included.¹⁵)



The rule changes during the 33rd and 34th Parliaments, which ensured an increased number of votable items, certainly helped to increase the incidence of third readings on bills, as can be observed in Figure 3.1, though it is not clear that this is the only factor affecting the success rate. It should also be noted that a number of bills in past Parliaments received third reading but not Royal Assent because the parliamentary session ended before either Senate approval or Royal Assent could occur. In the 37th Parliament, after rule changes allowed bills to be carried across sessions, three Private Members' Bills received third reading during the second session and Royal Assent during the third session¹⁶. In previous sessions of Parliament, these bills would have died with the start of the new session.

¹⁵ Bills for constituency name changes are not included because these bills are introduced relatively often and have a success rate that is much higher than all other bills.

¹⁶ Another 2 bills received third reading in the 2nd session, but failed to make it through the Senate during the 3rd session, and therefore died with the end of the Parliament.

The rules of PMB may affect participation rates, topic choices and success. They may also affect whether one chooses to introduce either bills or motions. The following section will briefly discuss this important distinction, before moving onto the legislative data itself.

Bills versus Motions

Apart from simply choosing to participate and how much to participate in PMB, participants must choose between bill introductions and motion introductions. Each of these avenues is better suited for certain topics or approaches. For example, if an MP wants to amend the Criminal Code, it makes little sense to introduce a motion calling on the Government to do so, when a bill (if passed) would directly implement the amendment on its own. Nevertheless, the effort involved in introducing a bill as opposed to a motion is greater, and the likelihood of a bill passing is lower than a motion, which is why it is important to analyze both forms of participation separately.

The ratio of motions to substantive bills¹⁷ passed from the 35th Parliament to 38th is more than 2 to 1,¹⁸ though neither is highly successful, as will be seen later in this chapter. Bills, as noted earlier, are likely to take between four months and a year before passing the House (after which they proceed to the Senate), while a motion could be adopted by the House within about four to six weeks without recesses. This is on top of the fact that the drafting of the bill in the first place, which usually requires the aid of a lawyer working for the PMB office, is a more arduous process than drafting a motion.

The difference between the efficiency of motions and bills is probably best summed up in the words of Conservative MP Randy Kamp:

Motions are easier. You don't have to jump through the same legal hoops you do with a bill, so you can do them more expeditiously. On the other hand, you only get one chance. If your number comes up, and you end up on the Order of Precedence ... you want to be sure that you take your best shot, and motions are sort of considered less of a shot (Interviewed Nov. 2 2006).

¹⁷Bills for constituency name changes are not included.

¹⁸ While the full dataset does not include bills for the 38th Parliament, a count of successful bills was conducted to make this comparison.

Similarly, Bill Blaikie stated:

Motions can have the same political effect as a bill, and are more likely to succeed. Now they don't actually succeed in the same way, they are more likely to have this partial success than the full success of a bill (Interviewed Nov. 2, 2006).

What Kamp's and Blaikie's statements suggest is that if a member wants to see a policy change, then a bill is more likely to achieve that result compared to a motion – *if it passes*. Of course, most items never make it onto the Order of Precedence and are therefore never even debated by the House. On the other hand, both these MPs suggest that if a member wants to make a statement on a policy matter in the House, a motion is an easier means of doing so than a bill – with the “same political effect”. This statement suggests that the item still gets exposure, and that there should be little distinguishable difference between bills and motions to the vast majority of constituents. Thus, either bills or motions could be touted by an MP as his/her way of representing constituents in Ottawa, though this is certainly not their only possible use.

The difference between these two avenues for participation helps to set some of the expectations regarding bill and motion introductions by MPs in the following chapters. If re-election is an MP's main purpose and legislative activity is his/her chosen activity for this purpose, then he/she should introduce motions, as this involves significantly less opportunity cost. Bills – given that they are more time consuming both to prepare (because of the necessity of specific language and lawyer help in drafting) and to proceed through the House (because of the necessary three readings and committee stage, as well as the same procedure in the Senate), though legally binding if passed – are more likely to be the work of those MPs with an interest in policy specifically, as opposed to those MPs looking for an electoral payoff from their efforts.

It is not only the greater ease of drafting motions and their increased likelihood of passing that makes them a more likely tool for electioneering than bills. It is also the flexibility of wording that makes them more likely to be effective in symbolic position-taking than bills. Mark Holland, Liberal MP, pointed toward the more “political” nature of motions:

Motions ... can often be worded in such a way to make it look as if they are trying to accomplish one thing when they are trying to accomplish another. And the author uses political wedges, to say one party doesn't care about aboriginal rights or one party doesn't care about women's issues, and what they will do is embed something in the motion that people can't vote for ... and so they will try to use that motion to make it look like a particular party is against some issue (Interviewed Dec. 7, 2006).

What this statement suggests is that not only are motions a more *efficient* means of introducing and possibly passing items in the House for individual MPs, but they can also be used more *effectively*, in an electoral sense, than bills in order to shape a symbolic political message. Combined, these differences between motions and bills should mean that, other things being equal, those MPs who experience greater electoral pressure will tend toward motion introductions.

This does not mean that bills are never used for electoral purposes and, as already noted, some topics are simply better suited for bills than motions in any case. However, what should be clear is that electoral pressure is less likely the motivation for introducing a bill than it is for a motion. This should be true, at the very least, on a general level. It remains possible that on specific topics, it sometimes makes more sense to introduce a bill to accomplish a particular outcome, or vice versa, regardless of electoral motivation. For example, a bill might be better suited to a particular case because no spending is involved, and the change sought is one that a motion would be very unlikely to accomplish. Thus, this expectation may not be absolute across all topics, though it should be generally evident across the two PMB avenues.

It should also be true that motions should generally be more representative of constituency interests than bills. This expectation relates back to the electoral connection, which was discussed in Chapter Two: if the action of an MP is motivated by an electoral connection, that action is more likely to be representative of the electoral constituency's interests. Again, this does not mean on a specific level that any given bill will be less representative of constituents' interests than a motion, but if electoral motivation does indeed play a weaker role in bill introductions, then the occurrence of dyadic representation through bills generally should consequently be less as well. These

expectations regarding how different motivations affect the choice between these two avenues of participation in legislative activity, and the nature of dyadic representation through both forms of action, will be analyzed in the following chapters.

The following section, which gives some description to the actual topics and priorities of legislation, will be used to help characterize some aspects of legislative activity and issue prioritization in the Canadian House of Commons. As a point of reference, PMB will be compared to Government Bills, which should be more familiar than PMB to students of Canadian politics.

Legislation in the House of Commons

The principal legislative data source for this project is a new subject-coded dataset of all proposed legislation (approximately 1,800 Government Bills and 5,300 Private Members' Bills) during the period 1968-2004, (or 28th – 37th Parliaments). The set has recently been completed using data provided by Canada's Library of Parliament, and it includes bill reading and Royal Assent dates, debate dates, and MP names and ridings. Additional statistical information for MPs, such as year first elected, election results and portfolios held by the MP, have also been made available by the Library of Parliament. The coding scheme for bill topics and subtopics, which has been applied to each bill, is based on the topic codebook designed by Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones for US legislation,¹⁹ but has been adapted to fit policy topics more suited to Canada, while remaining directly comparable wherever possible.²⁰ 25 major topic codes and approximately 200 minor topic codes permit a high degree of detail in tracking attention to topics by MPs, parties and governments over time – though only major topic codes are employed in this project.²¹ A new dataset of Private Members' Motions covering 1994-2006 (35th Parliament through 39th Parliament up to November 2006 – approximately 3,600 motions) has also been completed. This dataset uses the same topic coding scheme,

¹⁹ See the Policy Agendas Project – www.policyagendas.org.

²⁰ The topic codebook (Stuart Sorka, June 2007. *Canadian Policy Agendas Topic Codebook*) is available from the author. The full list of major topic codes is available in the tables of Government and Private Members' Bills and Motions in the Appendix to Chapter Three.

²¹ There is one exception. In Chapter 5, a subtopic (subtopic 530 *Immigration*, within topic 5 *Labour & Immigration*) is deliberately excluded from an analysis.

so it is directly comparable to the bills dataset. The motions dataset extends into the 39th Parliament because its construction was possible using publicly available electronic documents. The bills dataset, on the other hand, required data files provided by the Library of Parliament, which, at the time of construction, had only been made available up to the end of the 37th Parliament. The current project is the first to use each of these datasets.

The coding of the bills data was conducted by the author and an undergraduate student who was also part of the team which used the same coding scheme for compiling a content analytic database of oral questions in the Canadian Parliament's Question Period (QP) (See Penner et al. 2006; Soroka et al. N.d.). This coder was involved in the previous QP project for approximately two years and participated in numerous meetings with the QP team of coders for that project. Rather than employ intercoder-reliability tests directly on the current data, this more experienced coder took on the lead position because of her greater experience and skill based on previous work, and in order to code the current data in a manner that would be most consistent with the previously produced data on Question Period. This coder first completed subject codes for about one-third of the data for both Government and Private Members' Bills (this was spread across different parliamentary time periods), and met with the author on a regular basis to discuss any items for which the coding was unclear. The author then used the previously coded data as a guide in coding much of the remaining data in an effort to maintain consistency across similar or identical bills. This approach was used because many bills are introduced a number of times across different sessions. Accordingly, bills which were substantively identical and introduced in successive sessions (usually by the same MP) were coded identically. All remaining bills for which the code to be applied was unclear were decided upon by both the author and the other coder. The Motions dataset was compiled and coded by the author only (using the Canadian Parliament's publication *The Status of House Business* to get motion numbers, titles, MP names and debate/vote status), once the Bills dataset was complete and using bill codes as a reference.

Before looking more thoroughly into the work of private members, however, it will be helpful to establish a point of comparison in terms of legislation in the House. Briefly then, this section will consider the issue make-up of Government Bills and their

success before moving along to Private Members' Bills. As Government business is clearly a higher priority for Parliament than is Private Members' Business, it should be instructive to gain some relevant understanding of the former before proceeding with the latter.

Government Bills have some limitations placed on them, but all of these limitations also apply to Private Members' Bills and are not as severe as the additional constraints on Private Members' Bills already noted. The main constraints upon Government Bills include the judiciary (which most significantly can review legislation in terms of its compliance with the Constitutional division of powers, and Charter of Rights and Freedoms since 1982), the Senate (mainly in cases where a majority of Senators are not from the same party as the Government in the House of Commons)²², and simply the machinery of legislating, such as the limited time and space on the legislative agenda (Franks 1987).²³ Nevertheless, the Cabinet may introduce bills on virtually any topic and, in the case of a majority government, have little to stand in the way of passing a bill.

To get an idea of the differences across the legislative agendas of governments since the first Trudeau Government in 1968 (the 28th Parliament), this section will deal briefly with the topics that had the greatest number of bills as well as those with reasonable variance over the period 1968 – 2004. During the period, the mean number of Government Bills introduced per session is 78, with a minimum of 28 (during Joe Clark's short-lived minority government) and a maximum of 172 across 24 sessions.²⁴

²² High profile cases of this occurring were in 1988 with the Liberal-dominated Senate's refusal to pass the Mulroney government's Free Trade Agreement legislation, and in 1994 with the Conservative-dominated Senate's refusal to pass the Chrétien government's bill to reverse the previous government's privatization of Pearson Airport in Toronto (Whittington and Van Loon 1996: 504).

²³ In theory, the Governor-General could also withhold Royal Assent, though this is extremely unlikely (See Dawson and Ward 1987: 189-91; Mallory 1971:45).

²⁴ The first session of the 34th Parliament, in which only one bill was introduced, which was the legislation enacting the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, is not included in this calculation.

Figure 3.2: Government Bills 1968-2004 (Top 5 topics for each major government period – 7 topics in total. *Government Operations not included*)

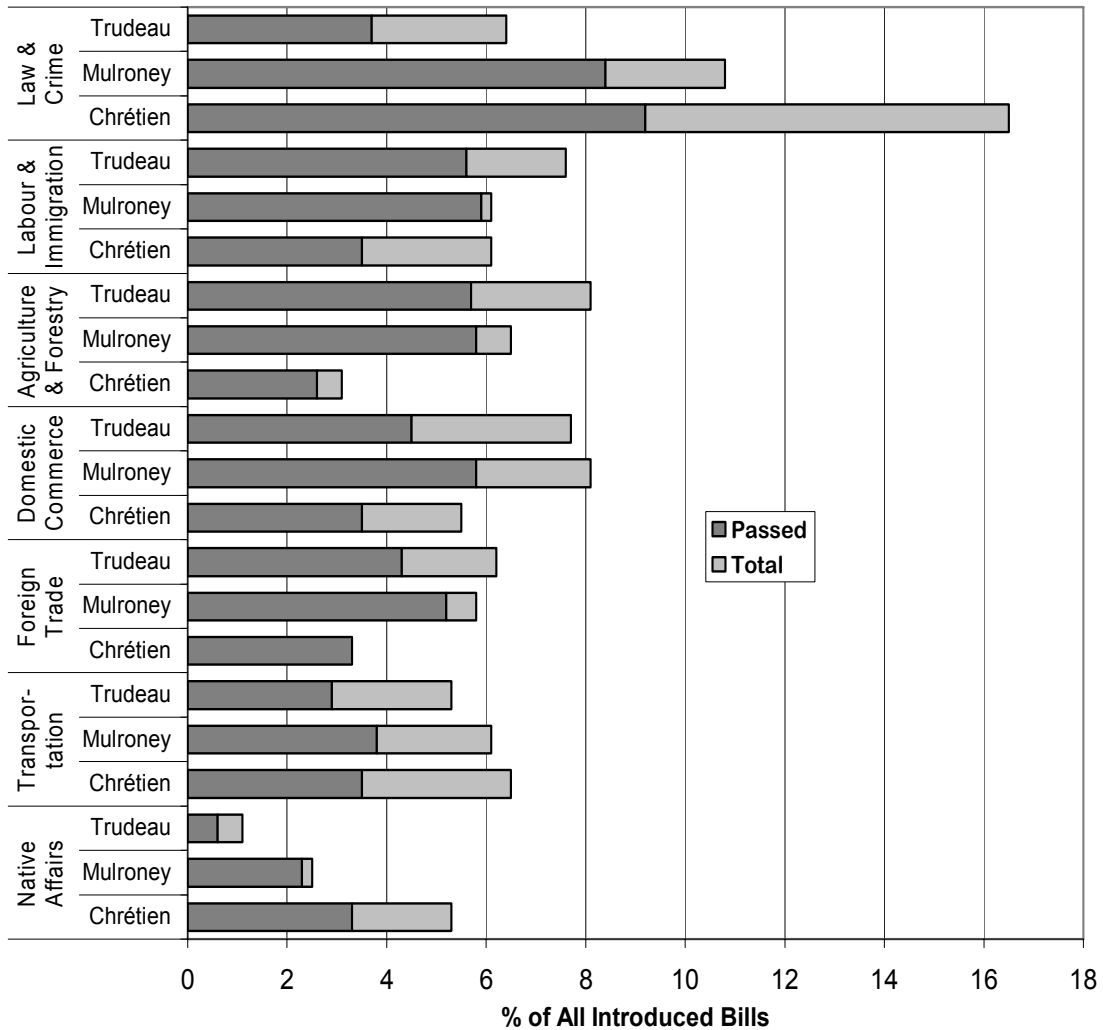


Figure 3.2 above includes the topics that were among the top five for each of the three major governments over the period (this leads to seven topics in total).²⁵ The Clark Progressive Conservative minority government (31st Parliament), which passed very little legislation, is excluded. The topics of Macroeconomics and Government Operations are also excluded because they would overwhelm most other topics without being very

²⁵ Law & Crime, Labour & Immigration, and Domestic Commerce are among the top five for each period. Foreign Trade is in the top five for the Trudeau (as well as among the top five for items receiving Royal Assent during the Mulroney and Chrétien periods). Agriculture & Forestry is in the top five for the Trudeau and Mulroney periods. Transportation is in the top five during the Mulroney and Chrétien periods. Native Affairs is in the top five during the Chrétien period.

informative about issue attentiveness regarding policy. The large number of bills on Macroeconomic²⁶ topics (approximately 15-20% of all bills) is largely due to the number of budget implementation bills which are introduced and quickly passed by all majority governments. The topic of Government Operations (approximately 10-12% of all bills) similarly involves many bills which are on procedural and civil service topics, but of little policy importance. The figure accordingly shows each of the most popular topics as a percentage of all bills introduced by each government (bills on Macroeconomics and Government Operations are still included in this total), and the portion of those bills that actually passed. Note, then, that the darker section, signifying passed bills only, indicates the percentage of bills passed on that particular topic from all *introduced* bills.

In Figure 3.2 it is apparent that there is some variance in topics across time periods, but little variance that can be attributed specifically to the party that forms government. For instance, note that trends across particular topics tend to either increase or decrease across the time periods, but no significant “valleys” or “peaks” occur for Mulroney’s Progressive Conservative government alone (as opposed to the two Liberal governments)²⁷. This seems to be because governments, being charged with conducting the business of the nation, do not necessarily spend all of their legislative time on partisan politics. Transportation policy, for example, was not a key plank in any party’s election platform during these years, yet it is clearly a matter that governments must attend to in their legislative agendas. Similarly, the Chrétien government did not run on a “law and order” election package during any of its campaigns, though Blais et al. note that despite the little attention given to the topic of crime by parties in 2000, it was deemed “very important” by 72% of survey respondents – second only to health care in that election (2002: 19-21).²⁸ Further, the events of the Chrétien government’s period in office (most notably the September 11 terrorist attack in the US and its aftermath) may have precipitated this increased focus on Law and Crime.

²⁶ Topic titles (and partial titles where original titles are relatively long) are capitalized in the text where they reflect issue topics from the codebook.

²⁷ Where a difference occurs, it is usually that the same amount of legislation was introduced, but the Mulroney Government passed a greater proportion of introduced bills.

²⁸ Frizzell et al. (1994) note that there was virtually no coverage of crime as an issue for any of the political parties in the 1993 federal election.

These data tell us about the nature of issue attentiveness by governments, but do not show the direction or detail that may aid in determining more about the specific policies of the government of the day. For example, the Trudeau government spent at least as much time limiting foreign trade as enhancing it, while the Mulroney Conservatives, though appearing to have legislated less on the matter, indeed took an approach that differed in significant ways from that of Trudeau, and passed what is arguably the most significant piece of trade liberalization legislation in Canada's history. The consistency across topics, then, is indicative of the legislative agenda but is at best a very general measure, and certainly an imperfect measure, of the overall policy agenda of these governments.

There are also topics that received little attention from one or two of these governments, yet were of reasonable importance in a shorter time period. The change in the legislative agenda coincides with some of the broad changes that occurred in the public and policy agenda in the past 35 years. For example, there is notable variance across the topics of Agriculture and Forestry (decrease), and Native Issues (increase). In these cases, the differences between Liberal and Conservative governments do not stand out – rather the changes tend to reflect either a general increase or decrease over time.²⁹

By comparing the introduced and passed bills, there are clearly issues that tend to be more successful overall in terms of the full process of legislation (over which governments, especially majority governments, have a high degree of control). While the bills with high numbers of introductions may mean that they are among the Government's highest policy priorities, this is not necessarily the case. Indeed, the opposite may be true, though there is no absolute evidence to prove that either is a more accurate picture of how exactly legislative priorities work. Still, in some cases, governments may be providing the "symbol" of introducing legislation, but not the "substance" of actually passing it. A government may introduce the same bill in successive sessions without ever devoting the resources to actually passing the bill into law. Therefore it is important to consider not only the introduced bills, but the bills that pass into statutes as well. For example, Transportation is in the top five introduced bill topics, but is replaced by Foreign Trade in

²⁹ This is also true of other issues in which there were general increases such as Health, Environment, Energy and Mining, and Social Welfare. See full table of topics by government in the Appendix.

the top five passed bill topics for the full period. Transportation had a success rate of only 57% over the period, while Foreign Trade had a success rate of 81%. Looking at the particular case of the Chrétien government as another example, there was a perfect success rate on Foreign Trade bills. However, on Environment bills (not included here – see Appendix) the Chrétien government introduced far more legislation than its predecessors but, with only a 45% success rate, passed only one more bill than the Mulroney government and two more than the Trudeau government. Similarly for Law and Crime, the Chrétien government introduced 28 more bills than its Conservative predecessor but passed only three more.

The overall success rates of these governments display some notable differences as well, with the Mulroney government passing 83% of all introduced bills, while the Trudeau government passed 71% and the Chrétien government passed 67%. However, this is probably the most significant difference regarding legislation between the Mulroney Progressive Conservative government and the two Liberal governments. On the prioritization of specific legislative topics, there is surprisingly little to suggest any difference based on political party.

Of course, neither issue attentiveness nor success rates of legislation are perfect measures of the actual priority of these topics on the policy agenda as a whole, either with governments or the public. A single piece of legislation may be of much greater importance than most or all other bills presented collectively. Take for example the Mulroney government's bill for implementing the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (in both the 33rd Parliament in which it sparked the 1988 election, and then the 34th Parliament), or the Chrétien government's bill implementing the Clarity Act (in the 36th Parliament). Of the many bills introduced within those Parliaments, these are among the ones that stand out as significantly defining the policy agenda during the periods in which they passed, yet their importance is not reflected by their proportion of the legislative agenda. Still, the data do seem to reflect some general trends in issue priority that might be expected, as noted above, and they are informative of the main topics in which the legislature is most often involved, and most successful in passing from first to third reading.

What is important to take from the example of Government Bills is: 1.) The general trends with regard to topics, which shows a high degree of stability but some predictable areas of change as well, 2.) The relatively high success rate overall (73%); though this varies a great deal by topic, and even to some degree by government, 3.) The partisan stripe of the government does not appear to significantly affect topic priority. This last point may seem surprising, but it certainly bears reminding that where there are two dominant political parties, they may tend toward the centre of the ideological spectrum when attempting to form or maintain a government (i.e. Downs 1957; see also Clarke et al. 1996; Johnston 1986). This is more likely to be the nature of party competition during the Trudeau and Mulroney eras in Canada, where two potential governing parties existed (Liberal and PC). During the Chrétien era, the Liberal party tended to take up the ‘centre’ of the political spectrum, and had little competition from a larger field of parties, especially from the formerly competitive PC party which was now competing with the Reform/CA party for the ‘right’ vote (Blais et al. 2002a). Further, the role of conducting the nation’s business, as noted at the start, means that much legislative activity may not be directly related to partisan or electoral politics. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that only policy topics, not direction regarding those topics, is indicated with these data, and that there may be more difference to observe than this aggregate view permits.

Introducing Private Members’ Business

Private Members’ Business is quite different from Government business in at least two distinct ways. First, PM Bills have rarely called for spending by the government and are not allowed to call for the raising of money, a fact which is likely to limit topics related to spending and taxation. Second, the bills are given much less time for consideration (a large majority are never even debated) and therefore have a much smaller chance of passing. As these bills can be presented by all eligible MPs, they are better considered across parties (as groups of MPs with somewhat predictable characteristics) and over time. The first table, however, begins by looking at bill topic introductions aggregated by government period.

During the period examined here (28th - 37th Parliament) the total number of bills introduced is 5,307. The mean number of bills per session across 23 “normal” sessions is approximately 230, with a minimum of 56 and a maximum of 494.³⁰

Figure 3.3: Private Member’s Bills 1968-2004 (Top 5 topics from each government period – 7 topics in total. *Government Operations not included*)

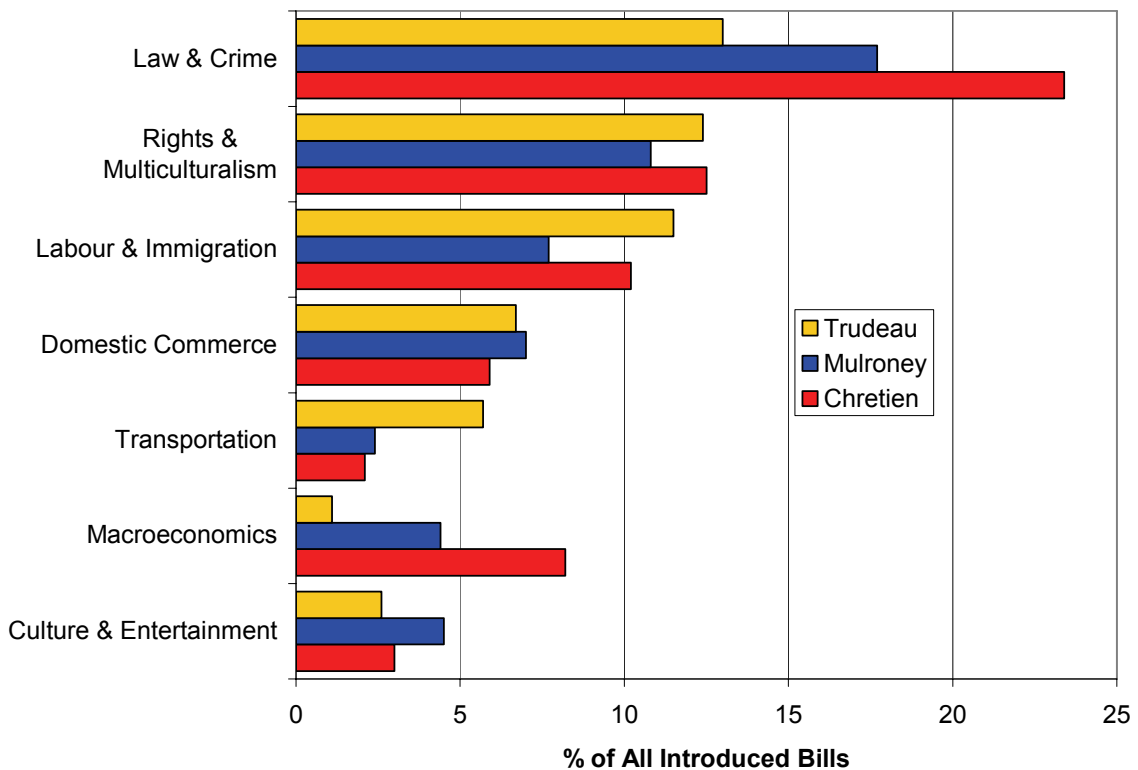


Figure 3.3 above represents the top five topics for each of the three main government periods (seven topics in total).³¹ The bottom three topics were within the top five for only one period each, while the top four topics were among the top five for all

³⁰ The first session of the 34th Parliament included only one Government Bill (a bill to enact the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement) and seven Private Members’ Bills, none of which were debated. This session is not counted in calculating the mean or minimum. In the 37th Parliament, bills introduced in the second session were carried over to the third. For analytical purposes, only those that were newly introduced in the third were added to the dataset, while those that were introduced in the second but debated in the third were deleted from the second and added in the third (so that the number of debated bills remains accurate). This means that, across the 2nd and 3rd sessions, no identical bill numbers occur. For this reason, the two sessions are treated as one.

³¹ Law & Crime, Rights & Multiculturalism, Labour & Immigration, and Domestic Commerce are among the top five for each period. Transportation is in the top five during the Trudeau period, Culture & Entertainment is in the top five during the Mulroney period, and Macroeconomics is in the top five during the Chrétien period.

periods. The bar for each government represents *all bills by all parties* on that particular topic as a percentage of the total number of introduced bills by all parties. In other words, there is nothing specific linking the particular topic with the particular governing party except that the topic was of a particular level of salience during the same time period that the party held office. Indeed, the topic may not necessarily have been highly salient with MPs from the governing party.

While there are some differences between the prioritization of topics by governments and by private members, there are also a few notable consistencies. Not surprisingly, Macroeconomics, which easily tops the list for Government bill topics (not included in Figure 3.2 above) is farther down the list for PM Bills. This is mainly because MPs are not charged with taxing, spending, and budget implementation – governments are. Topics such as Foreign Trade and Agriculture, high priorities with governments, are almost exclusively issues of executive policy. These barely show up for private members (see full table in Appendix). There are some key differences in the make-up of the overall agenda, which (not counting Government Operations, which for PM Bills is mostly about riding name changes) is substantially about Rights and Multiculturalism, and Law and Crime for MPs. For governments, Law and Crime is similarly high on the list, though proportionally much smaller than for MPs, and the topic of Rights and Multiculturalism is not even close for Government Bills as it is for PM Bills. If we consider as well that many of the bills on the Rights topic for PM Bills concern issues surrounding the topic of abortion (classified for coding purposes as women's rights, not Law and Crime), then it appears even more the case that MPs focus very heavily on legal issues (much of this having to do with the Criminal Code) and less on the wider range of areas that governments must be concerned with, such as regulation across sectors and international affairs.

What also appears clear from this figure is that, while there are some interesting patterns associated with time periods, again there is a surprising degree of consistency. As far as noticeable changes over time, there are only two issue topics that increase or decrease by more than five percentage points in their share of total introduced bills: Macroeconomics, and Law and Crime. Both of these increase noticeably across the three periods, but otherwise any change over time appears to have been rather minor. Given

the difference in the partisan make-up of these Parliaments, this is surprising. Further, the increase in Macroeconomics is attributable to MPs from all parties (see tables in Appendix), though the increase in Law and Crime appears to be attributed mostly to Liberal and PC MPs in the middle period and to Reform/CA MPs (who introduced almost half of all Law and Crime bills) in the most recent period. Still, four topics have remained among the top five topics for all private members across all three government periods – Rights and Multiculturalism, Labour and Immigration, Law and Crime, and Domestic Commerce.³² Without the ability to spend or raise money, these appear to be the main issues where MPs have targeted their efforts. Interestingly, Health, though a highly salient topic in the past decade, never becomes one of the top topics in terms of bills, though notably it is the sixth most introduced topic in the Chrétien period.

Figure 3.4: Private Members' Bills 1994-2004 (Top 5 topics)

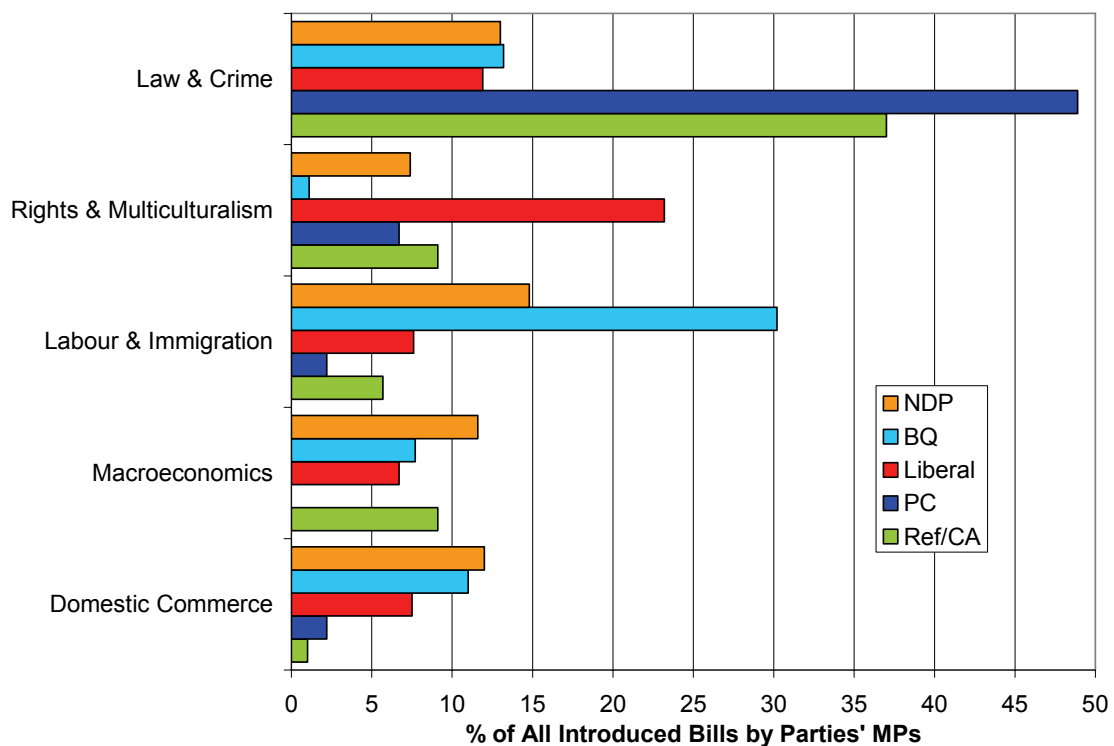


Figure 3.4 above considers only the time period of the Chrétien (and Martin in 37th Parliament, 3rd Session) Liberal majority governments, which is the comparable

³² The latter is made up substantially of calls for types of consumer protection, which helps to explain its popularity with MPs from the more left-leaning NDP and centrist Liberals compared to right-leaning MPs.

period for which Motions are also available. By presenting the amount of bills on each topic as a percentage of the total introduced by MPs from that particular party, the figure depicts the amount of issue attentiveness across parties for the five most introduced topics of Private Members' Bills in the House of Commons. Note that this does not mean that each of these topics were among the five most popular topics for each party, and note also that a higher percentage for a given party does not necessarily indicate a higher number of actual bills for that party compared to another party. For example, though the proportion of bills on Law and Crime is highest for MPs from the PC party, the actual number of Law and Crime bills is smallest for this party, because its MPs introduced the smallest number of total bills over this period compared to the totals of other parties' MPs.

Figure 3.4 provides evidence of party differences across particular topics.³³ In this period, the right-leaning PC and Reform/CA MPs (which combine to become the Conservative Party in the final session of the 37th Parliament) take a strong lead on Law and Crime. On the other hand, the relatively centrist Liberals, and the more left-leaning NDP and BQ appear to focus more on Labour and Immigration, and Domestic Commerce (many of these bills call for consumer protection) than MPs from the right-leaning parties. This right-left issue dimension will be analyzed in more detail below after considering motion topic introductions as well, though it should again be noted here that – by analyzing the topics of bills but not the specific proposals – what we observe is simply *attentiveness* to particular issues, not the *direction* of policy proposals on these issues. This being the case, however, there are at least some party differences regarding attentiveness alone on these issues. This may be because, as Blais et al. point out, there are differences in the attentiveness of parties in Canada toward particular issues that these parties use to help define themselves among the electorate (2002: Chapter One). This is a concept often referred to as “issue ownership” (Petrocik 1996; In Canada, see Bélanger 2003; Nadeau et al. 2001), where parties or candidates focus attention on certain issues in hopes that voters will distinguish them from competitors based on their ability to deal with those issues. Bélanger (2003) points out that Canadians do distinguish between political parties on particular issues based on the party's perceived competence in each

³³ There is also an element of party difference evident in Private Members' Bills in the U.K. (Leonard 1972), though it has also been suggested that intra-party differences are minimal (Richards 1972).

issue area, and that the policy positions taken by parties must be relatively consistent over time, though they do change on occasion.³⁴ In this sense then, we should expect the MPs from certain parties to focus more on certain topics, and there is at least some evidence that this occurs.

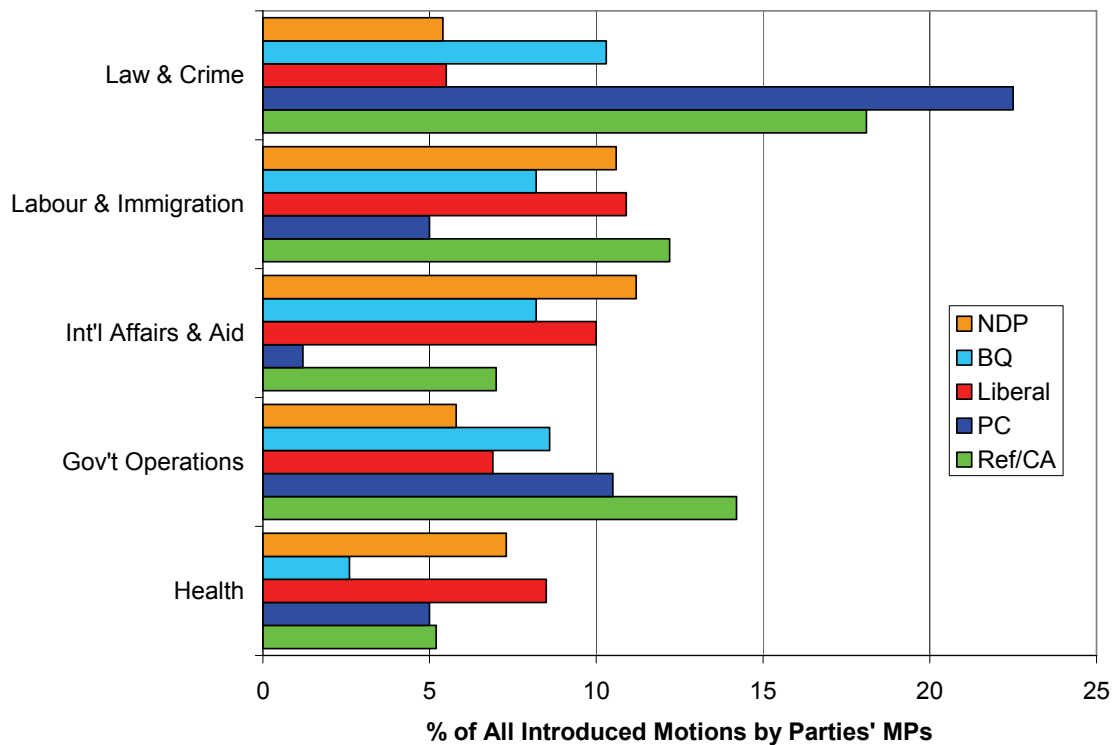
On participation alone, NDP and Reform MPs consistently make up a much larger proportion of total bill introductions than the proportion of these parties' MPs among eligible participants. Over the period of the 35th to 37th Parliaments, NDP MPs make up approximately 6% of eligible MPs, yet introduce more than 13% of all bills. Reform/CA MPs make up approximately 24% of eligible MPs and introduce just over 30% of all bills. In earlier periods, such a strategy was more useful for legislative success, as selection to be placed on the OOP was made from all items on the OP, meaning that having more items increased the possibility of being selected, but MPs continue to introduce multiple items even in this recent period, when multiple introductions were of no value in terms of having items debated.

Private Members' Motions are considered below from 1994 (35th Parliament) to November, 2006 (39th Parliament), during which there were 3,632 introduced motions. This gives a mean number of motions per session across eight "normal" sessions of approximately 454, with a minimum of 248 and a maximum of 632.³⁵

³⁴ There is also evidence that parties in Canada can benefit by distinguishing themselves on certain issues (Johnston et al. 2000), though again, the list of issues used is more limited than that used in the current project.

³⁵ The 37th Parliament, 3rd Session was the first in which Motions were carried over from the previous session. For analytical purposes, the data are coded such that only newly introduced motions or motions that are debated in the third session are added, while the motions introduced in the second session but debated in the third are deleted from the second session. Thus, while the number of recorded motions in 37-3 is 597, the number of motions included in the dataset for this session is 109, and the combined total for the 2 sessions is 597. No motion numbers occur more than once.

Figure 3.5: Private Members' Motions 1994-2006 (Top 5 topics by party)



In Figure 3.5 above, the number of motions on each topic as a percentage of the total introduced by MPs of that particular party is illustrated, as was done above for Private Members' Bills and for Government Bills. The top five introduced issue topics out of all introduced motions are included. MPs of the newly formed Conservative party (a merger of the Progressive Conservative and Canadian Alliance parties) also began introducing PMB in 2004, though they have not been included here (tables that show all topics and relevant parties are included in the Appendix).

When Private Members' Motions are considered, there are indeed some distinct party differences across topics, certainly more pronounced differences than with bills.³⁶ Because motions are statements of opinion, or statements that urge the government to take a particular action, they can differ substantially in their purpose from bills. For

³⁶ Government Operations is included in the top five priorities with motions because there is no single sub-category that is most popular with all parties, nor is it a topic where certain types of proposals enjoy a success rate that is hugely disproportionate to other topics, as is the case with bills calling for changes to electoral district names.

example, while one cannot introduce a bill calling for increased taxation on a given matter, one can call for the government to do so with a motion.

The topics of Health and International Affairs take up a much larger portion of introduced items with this particular activity. Not surprisingly, Health is an area that may involve spending or action that would not normally be the subject of a Private Members' Bill³⁷, while International Affairs is generally an area of executive, not legislative, policy. Thus, motions may be a more effective means of making statements or perhaps pursuing policy changes on these issues than bills. Further, the lack of constraints on issues implies that this form of legislative behaviour may be more indicative of actual priorities, and therefore more indicative of partisan differences as well.

Partisan differences across some topics, as noted above with regard to bills, seem to be more evident with motions. The proportion of NDP and Liberal motions on particular issues correspond to each other as do those of the PC and Reform/Alliance parties. As was noted with regard to bills, if we accept the grouping of Liberal/NDP MPs as more 'left-leaning' (or 'centre' and 'left' respectively) and PC/Reform/Conservative MPs as more 'right-leaning', there are four topics in Figure 3.5 above which suggest a clear difference between the amount of attention paid to these issues by the 'left' and 'centre' parties, as opposed to the 'right' parties (See also Benoit and Laver 2006, Appendix B; Blais et al. 2002a: 33). These are: Health (more popular among centre and left-leaning parties)³⁸, Law and Crime (right), International Affairs and Aid (centre and left), and Government Operations (right).³⁹ Beyond these relatively popular policy topics, an additional six topics which are not among the top priority areas for any parties still show a similar difference using these same groupings. These topics (which can be viewed in the full table in the Appendix) are: Macroeconomics (more popular among right-leaning parties), Environment (centre and left), Social Welfare (centre and left),

³⁷ Health care is a provincial responsibility, so much of the bill activity with regard to health has to do with prevention and awareness.

³⁸ The Conservative party focuses disproportionately more on this topic during its brief history than does either of its predecessor parties (See Appendix).

³⁹ While the reasons why the agendas of MPs might be more apparent based on membership in left or right parties on these areas may seem obvious, that of Gov't Operations is less clear, so it bears noting that much of the attention in this general policy area has to do with government accountability, democratic reform, and parliamentary and government employee salaries and pensions. These topics have tended to be more popular among more right-leaning parties (and their members) for at least most of the period in question.

Community Development and Housing (centre and left), Domestic Commerce (centre and left), and Culture and Entertainment (centre and left).⁴⁰ Most of these distinctions are not evident in the comparable third period for Private Members' Bills. Broadly speaking, attention to these topics fit the view that "social issues belong to the left and the economy and security to the right" (Blais et al. 2002a: 19), though as was the case with the topic of Health care during the 2000 election, there are some exceptions here as well.

It also bears noting that BQ MPs, while the party may present itself as relatively 'left-leaning' generally, are somewhat more erratic regarding their focus on particular issues for motions. BQ motions do not fit the 'left' or 'right' groupings as clearly as do the motions introduced by MPs from other parties, though it should be noted that members of the BQ present far fewer bills and motions on average than other MPs. Nevertheless, some of the issues of importance to the party are evident in the prioritization of motion issues – such as Constitution and National Unity (tied for 6th most popular topic for the party) and Law and Crime, as can be seen in Figure 3.5 above.⁴¹

In terms of participation, NDP MPs out-participate members from all other parties as they did with bills (the party itself is the highest in participation not only in terms of per member, but also in terms of total number of motions). Between the 35th and 39th Parliaments, NDP MPs make up approximately 8% of all eligible MPs, though they introduce approximately 41% of all motions.

Passing Private Member's Business

With regard to the success of legislation, the proportion of introduced PMB that succeeds (Royal Assent for bills, Adoption for motions) is far smaller than the corresponding proportion for government legislation, where the success rate as noted above is relatively high. However, the fact that governing parties have a strong hand in the overall legislative agenda (which is strengthened further when holding a majority of the seats in the House) suggests that they should affect the relationship between

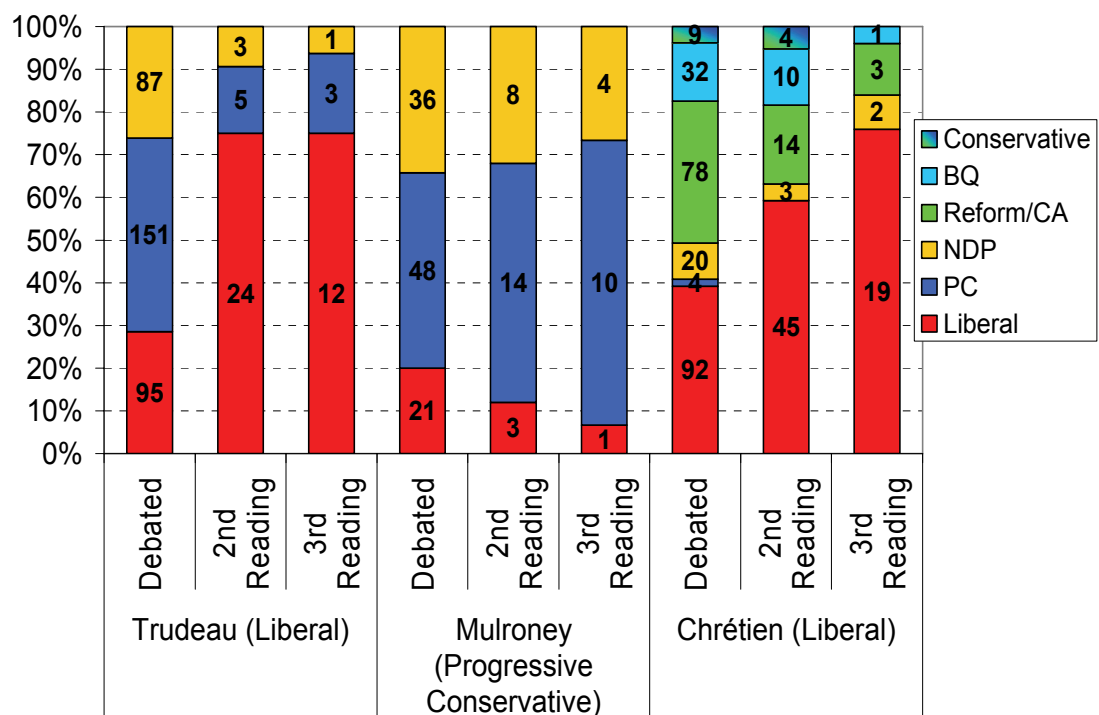
⁴⁰ Regarding the Domestic Commerce topic, which doesn't seem an obviously more 'left' topic, it is important to note that a good deal of the motions that fit this category call for measures that increase regulation on business as a means of consumer advocacy and safety.

⁴¹ Combating organized crime was a key plank of the party's platform in the 2000 election.

introduced and passed Private Members' Bills and Motions. When items are debated and reach a vote, items that the governing party prefers are most likely to pass, especially if the governing party is a majority. This being the case, government MPs should tend to succeed in this manner more than opposition MPs.

Below are illustrations that suggest what impact being a member of the governing party versus being a member of an opposition party may have on one's chances of success with PMB. In the following figures, the focus is the House's impact on the success of bills and motions. Introduced bills and motions are not considered here. Items that reach debate are selected by draw, so the debate stage is the first point at which the House begins to play a direct role in success. Third Reading, then, is the last step where members of the House directly affect the life of a bill – most, though not all, bills that reach this stage will go on to receive Royal Assent.

Figure 3.6 PM Bills Success 1968-2004 (28th - 37th Parliament. 31st Parliament Excluded)⁴²



**Bills proposing riding name changes are not included*

Figure 3.6 shows the number of bills, by party, that reached each of the crucial three stages that a bill must get through to pass the House of Commons.⁴³ The figure portrays these totals for each party as their percentage of the total number of bills that reached the same stage. In most cases, a bill that passes third reading in the House will become a statute, though in rare cases a bill will still not pass through the Senate or receive Royal Assent before the end of the session.

As is clearly evident from the above illustration, the governing party's MPs hold a clear advantage when it comes to getting bills passed, as expected. The difference is most obvious in the Trudeau era, where both PC and NDP MPs were clearly the casualties of

⁴² No PM Bills progressed to 3rd reading during the 31st Parliament (Clark minority government).

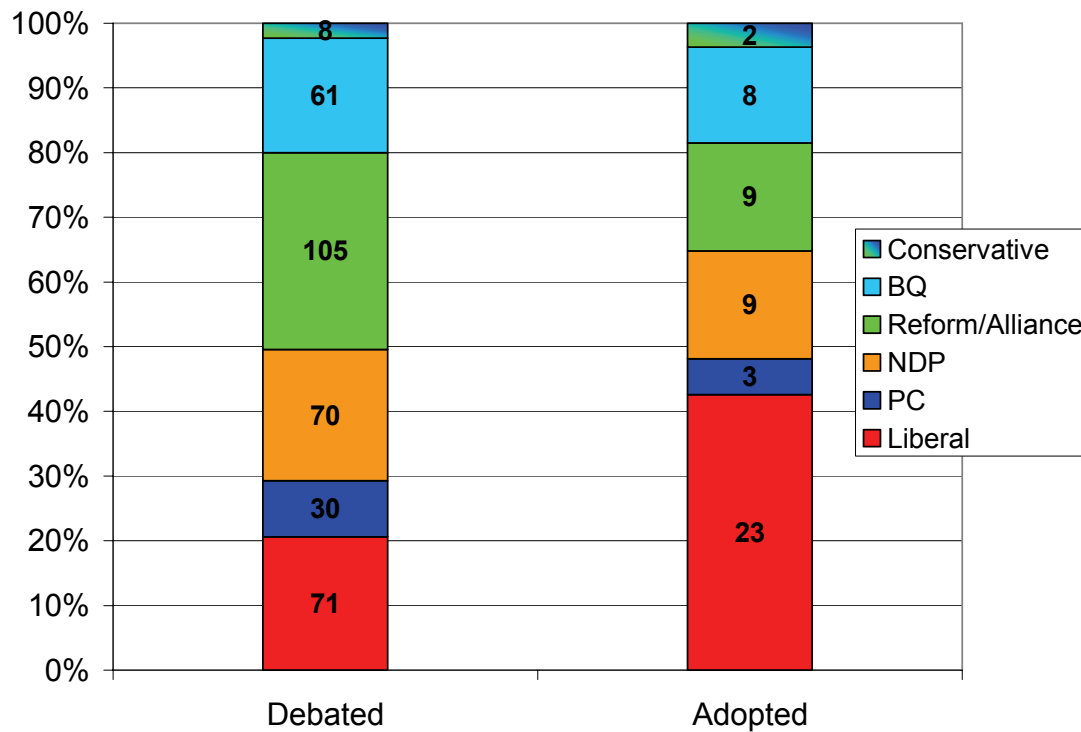
⁴³ MPs of the Social Credit Party (no MPs elected in 1980 to the 32nd Parliament or after) did have 4 bills debated in the Trudeau period, though no bills reached third reading.

the Liberal party's MPs' success, dropping from 45% and 26% of debated bills to 19% and 6% respectively. The case of government MP success is not as severe in the Mulroney period, where the NDP fares reasonably well comparatively: 34% of debated bills lead to 27% of passed bills. The gains in success of PC members appear proportionally to have come mostly from the Liberals, who drop from 20% of debated bills to 6% of passed bills. In the Chrétien era, the NDP actually seems to pass a proportion approximately equal to that of its debated bills (8.5% of debated, 8% of passed) – the only case across all periods of an opposition party faring equally at both ends of the board from debate to 3rd reading. The Reform/CA and BQ parties had 33% and 14% of debated bills but only 12% and 4% of passed bills, respectively. In each case then, it appears as though the Official Opposition parties tend to fare worse relative to other opposition parties with regard to bill success. Another interesting point is that the Mulroney Progressive Conservatives appear most friendly to legislation from the opposition parties generally. The Mulroney government's MPs' proportion of bills progressing from debate to third reading increases from approximately 46% to 67%, while the Trudeau government's MPs' proportion increases from 29% to 75%, and the Chrétien government's MPs' proportion increases from 39% to 76%.

The overall success rate for debated bills passing third reading (not including riding name changes) is 4.7% during the Trudeau era, though for government MPs it is 12.6% and only 1.7% for opposition MPs. The overall success rate during the Mulroney era is 14.3%: 20.8% for government MPs and 8.8% for opposition MPs; and the overall rate for the Chrétien era is 10.6%: 20.6% for government MPs and 4.2% for opposition MPs.⁴⁴ As noted earlier, these higher overall success rates following the Trudeau era are likely due in part to having a set number of votable items.

⁴⁴ Success rates in the U.K., though not fully comparable based on different procedures, are generally above 30%, dropping to a low of 22% in the 1964-70 period (see Marsh and Read 1988)

Figure 3.7: PM Motions Success 1994-2005 (35th - 38th Parliament)



Liberal majority government during 35th – 37th Parliaments. Liberal minority government during 38th Parliament. 39th not included due to Conservative minority government.

Figure 3.7 shows the number of motions that reached each of the two stages necessary to be adopted by the House of Commons for each of the parties during the Chrétien and Martin Liberal government periods – the Martin government being the last completed Parliament currently (the 38th Parliament). Like Figure 3.6 above, the totals for each party in Figure 3.7 are portrayed as their percentage of the total number of motions that reached the same stage.

Government MPs are also more likely than opposition MPs to have their motions adopted, at least in the Chrétien/Martin Liberal government era. However, it is not quite as one-sided as it was with bills, where government MPs sponsored more than 70% of all successful items. With motions, government MPs convert 20.6% of debated motions to 42.6% of adopted motions. Two opposition parties also fare relatively well: the NDP (20.3% debated to 16.7% adopted) and the BQ (17.7% debated to 14.8% adopted). Less

successful proportionally are the Reform/CA party (30.4% debated to 16.7% adopted) and the PC party (8.7% debated to 5.6% adopted). Interestingly, for the two sessions in which Paul Martin was Prime Minister, the Conservative Party did not fare badly, though the number of motions is rather small to read much into. The governing Liberals still doubled their overall proportion of motions from debated motions to those that were adopted across the full period (similar to their advantage with bills). This success for government MPs came mostly at the expense of the PC and Reform/Alliance parties. The overall success rate for debated motions in this period is 15.5%, though for government MPs it is 31.9%, and only 11.3% for opposition MPs.

Thus, while the partisan make-up of the House appears to have a relatively small impact on the topics of introduced legislation, the majority status of any one party appears to substantially affect which parties' MPs succeed in their attempts to pass legislation. It should not be highly surprising that this appears to be the nature of Private Members' Business, given what analysis has been possible to this point. There is reason to expect that partisan politics, and perhaps individual rational behaviour (though it is not probed directly here), play an important role in this aspect of parliamentary life. There are reasons why parties may not want their competitors to pass legislation, and also reasons why parties might make a point of supporting a particular member if his/her bill or motion is placed on the OOP, whether that individual is of the same partisan stripe, or a competitor. However, more light will be shed on the factors affecting the success of particular members in the sixth chapter. Suffice it to say, at this point, that the story of Private Members' Business is taking shape in a manner that indicates there is more occurring than simply MPs introducing legislation, and seeing that legislation fail. Rather, there is much that indicates strategic behaviour in terms of both topic introduction and success. Topic introductions, at least to some extent, suggest that MPs focus on topics that their parties might attempt to "own", and the groupings of issue priorities by parties tend to fit party positions in relation to one another, in terms of more right- or left-leaning parties. In terms of success, government MPs seem far more likely to help those MPs of the same partisan stripe succeed (which may allow them to "claim credit"), while there is some evidence, though relatively weak, that government MPs may also be more

favourable to MPs from parties that pose less of an electoral threat to their own party, as is suggested by Official Opposition MPs often faring worst in PMB.

Summary

This chapter has introduced the basic process of PMB, including the rules for debate and readings, as well as the limitations on participation by MPs and topics. In doing so, it has helped to establish that there is clear difference between introducing bills and motions, which follows from the differences in terms of efficiency in introducing and passing these items, and in terms of their effectiveness as electoral tools. Motions require less time both to prepare and, if debated, to pass through the process of being adopted by the House. Beyond this, the flexibility of motions means that they can often be used to shape a particular political message in a more effective manner than bills. This difference is an important one in the analysis of individual choice in later chapters, as it suggests that motions should tend to be an electioneering tool more often than should bills.

This chapter has also looked at the broad picture regarding attentiveness to issues and party success in PMB. It presented evidence of general stability with regard to issue attention over time with Private Members' Business, as well as an observable degree of party difference across topics. While this stability is likely due in part to the more limited scope of issues for private members to introduce legislation on, MPs still seem to focus on certain topics more than others depending on their partisan affiliation. This partisan difference was more pronounced with motions, which present a less limited scope than is the case with bills, which may reflect the fact that motions seem a better avenue in which to shape a particular political message.

The party difference regarding introduced topics appears in contrast to the relative lack of party differences observed with the legislative agendas of governing parties, though there is more room for policy and ideological differences to appear when all MPs are observed as opposed to simply executive-sponsored legislation. Nevertheless, the salient topics for PM Bills appear, on the whole, to be relatively stable across time, and the difference of salience across parties with regard to topics appears to be one of degree, such that the most popular topics are generally the same across all parties, but their rank

may differ. What can be observed rather weakly with bills and seemingly more clearly with motions, then, is evidence of partisan topic agendas that are informative about the placement of those parties on a left-right issue scale, though no topics seem to be exclusive to any particular party or group of parties.

Finally, the success and failure of bills and motions appears heavily dependent upon whether an MP is a member of the governing party. It is also worth noting that while success rates for PMB are much lower than for Government Bills, the rates among debated bills and motions are not so low as to render them “doomed to failure”, with overall success rates in the Mulroney and Chrétien eras being above 10%.

With these results in hand, the next chapter will move beyond partisan groupings of MPs to the individuals who actually choose to participate in PMB, and explore factors that affect the nature of individual participation.

Chapter Four

Private Members' Business: Participation and Motivation

Does the electoral connection drive MPs to participate in Private Members' Business? The value of PMB may be viewed quite differently across MPs, certainly, and knowing what MPs expect to accomplish through PMB should be important to understanding what motivates them to participate. What exactly do MPs feel the purpose of PMB is? Excerpts from a 2002 House Committee (37th Parliament) looking into possible reforms provide a few different perspectives:

"Private Members' Business is a tool where there would be a lot more input by the people of this country through their MP into Parliament and that is why I think it is absolutely vital that we really revitalize the whole area of Private Members' Business."

Garry Breitkreuz (Canadian Alliance).

"Historically ... Private Members' Business has dealt with issues that are non-partisan issues. They are issues of national significance."

Joe Jordan (Liberal).

"... Private Members' Business should be viewed as a way of changing the law or advancing an issue by discussing it in the House of Commons."

Gerald Keddy (Progressive Conservative).

"I think the role of Private Members' Bills is to highlight issues of local concern and to try and encourage the government to act in a certain way. ... [T]o encourage a discussion about things and to prod the government into action is probably a marker of success rather than necessarily having the bill adopted holus-bolus."

Paddy Torsney (Liberal).

“Private Members' Business to me, has some things in common with Citizens' Initiative. A Private Member's Bill gives a private MP an opportunity to bring something forth on the national agenda on behalf of their constituents and it is all about empowerment.”

Dale Johnston (Canadian Alliance).

(All quotes are from Adams et al. 2002)

These excerpts are illustrative of the larger discussion on the role and purposes of PMB by Canadian MPs.¹ They suggest four main themes: (1) *exposure and deliberation of issues*, (2) *national (non-partisan) representation*, (3) *dyadic (constituency) representation*, and (4) both *direct* and *indirect policy change*. There is, however, little empirical evidence to suggest that three out of these four themes actually occur through PMB. The fact that exposure and deliberation of issues occurs via PMB is not in question – items are read in the House of Commons and there are regular debates and votes. The remaining themes are perhaps less apparent. National (non-partisan) representation may well occur in PMB, as may representation of a more partisan nature with a national (or in some cases regional) scope. The occurrence of these phenomena would of course not be unique to PMB – indeed, much of the House's business probably fits, in some manner, into this category, and certainly the main thrust of much Canadian literature suggests a form of representation along these lines (Franks 1987; Dawson 1987; Stewart 1977; Hockin 1966, 1979; see also Penner et al. 2006 regarding partisan representational patterns in Question Period). This representative role will not be investigated here, as it does not speak directly to the focus of the research (dyadic representation), though it is worth noting that this type of representation may well take place via PMB.

The remaining two themes are the foci of this and the following two chapters. Here, we begin with an in-depth look at participation specifically. In doing so, this

¹ Excerpts come from a round table on the topic of Private Members' Business, on May 2, 2002 by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Procedure and House Affairs. Other MPs on the committee are not quoted here because their statements did not include an identifiable view on the role of PMB. These other MPs are: Peter Adams (Liberal and Chairperson), John Reynolds (Canadian Alliance), Ted White (Canadian Alliance), Mauril Belanger (Liberal), Yvon Godin (New Democratic Party), John Bryden (Liberal), Real Menard (Bloc Quebecois), Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral (Bloc Quebecois), Val Meredith (Canadian Alliance), Ken Epp (Canadian Alliance), Carolyn Parrish (Liberal), Dale Johnston (Canadian Alliance).

chapter uncovers some of the motivating factors that may result in both dyadic representation and/or policy change via PMB.

Why might MPs participate in PMB?

Existing research points to two different types of representatives who may be prone to participate in PMB. These two types, it will be suggested below, should participate in PMB generally, though, as we shall see, the nature of that participation should differ between the two.

One type of participant should fit Searing's (1994) description of MPs who are "policy advocates". These MPs may act, broadly speaking, as "policy entrepreneurs", or "advocates who are willing to invest their resources – time, energy, reputation, money – to promote a position in return for anticipated future gain in the form of material, purposive, or solidary benefits" (Kingdon 1984: 188). On a similar note, but one that is more directly relevant to legislation, MPs may be acting as "legislative entrepreneurs" – "invest[ing] time and effort to become aware of existing opportunities for enacting legislation that others have failed to notice and gather[ing] information about how to combine various legislative inputs to exploit these opportunities" (Wawro 2000:4). Further, "The central goal of [legislative entrepreneurs] is to gather enough votes to pass legislation" (5). In Canada, then, such MPs are the ones that use the processes available to them with the primary objective being to change existing policies – one possible venue for doing so being PMB.

In the UK, where a greater proportion of PM bills pass (due in part to different rules regarding introduction that see far fewer items introduced), the process from first debate to third reading is much the same as in Canada. Mitchell (1994) notes:

... the most satisfying form of backbench influence, decided like so much else in political life by a lottery, is legislation. Passing a Private Members' Bill is a career high and a unique experience because the responsible MP has to be legislator, shaping the bill; minister, running a department and taking soundings of the interested groups; whip, mobilising the troops; media manipulator, organising opinion and focusing it on the Commons; and he or

she may also become a popular hero, pushing good and important causes (701).²

Mitchell's picture suggests that an MP may require a reasonable degree of experience to effectively manoeuvre a bill through third reading. This may be a very accurate picture of a Canadian MP who gets his/her bill chosen for debate and sees a real possibility of it becoming a statute. But Mitchell's description goes far beyond what many MPs in Canada accomplish or even attempt. For those who do participate with specific hopes to *pass* legislation, the entire process from conceiving a bill to Royal Assent is a long and difficult one. Thus, while these various policy-related concepts of actors may describe some PMB participants in Canada, they likely do not apply to all participants.

Because the rules in Canada allow multiple items on multiple topics to be introduced by a large majority of sitting MPs, simply introducing a bill or motion is as far as many Canadian MPs ever get. If seeing legislation pass were a primary motivation for all these MPs, how could one justify introducing multiple bills or motions – given that the current rules make it virtually impossible for any MP to have more than one item reach debate in a single parliament (let alone the 32 bills introduced by Mac Harb or the 62 motions introduced by Guy St. Julien in the 2nd session of the 37th Parliament). It is notable that, while a majority of the MPs engaged in the round table quoted from above were interested in seeing more PMB pass, each of them appeared to confirm that the process has value which can be separated from simply seeing more “winners”. Thus while participation itself has few limitations, the probability of passing a single bill has been likened by some MPs to that of winning the lottery (Keyes 1997). Therefore, it is quite likely that, unlike most lottery participants, MPs do not participate to win, or even give much consideration to winning – meaning much MP participation is not primarily driven by an expectation to pass a bill or by a goal of actually changing a policy. Rather, MPs engage for other reasons, as is suggested in the MP quotes above. Indeed, it may be

² Rush (2001) notes that in the U.K. “any serious promotion of a Private Members’ bill requires collective action” (167). While he further notes that often “like-minded Members have hunted in packs” (168) it is not clear whether he is suggesting that the conception and drafting of Private Members’ Bills are sometimes the product of group work, or if these groups tend to work on bills once they have been brought forward for debate. In any event, it is impossible to fully separate individual roles, non-partisan group roles, and partisan roles completely.

accurate to suggest that even if there were no possibility whatsoever of passing a motion or bill, there would still be substantial levels of participation, because participation is driven by other motivating factors apart from success.

This suggests a second type of participant: those MPs who participate primarily to advertise themselves and promote their positions on issues, and to represent other interests including, but not limited to, those of constituents. It is conceivable that this individual action could occur partly, or even entirely, as the result of an electoral connection³ – thus participation should be related to electoral pressure that is experienced by individual MPs.

This second type of MP has less interest in policy specifically but more interest in advertising and position-taking to get attention for other purposes – whether electoral or for perhaps some form of personal gain. MPs who focus on constituency matters – whom Searing (1994) refers to as “constituency members” – are probably more likely to engage in PMB than UK MPs because of Canada’s looser introduction rules. These MPs are more likely to introduce legislation without expecting it to get beyond introduction, and without expending resources to gain additional support for their proposal. If this is the case, the process for many MPs is far less rigorous and multi-dimensional than that described by Mitchell. MPs may participate regardless of experience or resources, and in spite of their low expectations regarding success of legislation itself.

Hall (1996) refers to the distinction between two similar types of participants in the US Congress as the “workhorses” and the “showhorses”. These are ideal types, of course, and are by no means meant to be exhaustive. Even so, this chapter provides one gauge of the extent to which “showhorse” motivations – electoral pressure – motivate participation in PMB. And note that there should be differences in the motivations that lead to Private Members’ Bills, or Motions (described in Chapter Three). Bills require greater effort and time, but are a more effective means of changing an existing policy should they succeed. Motions are easier to introduce and pass, but hold little weight even if successful. Thus, MPs who are focused on policy may be more likely to introduce bills, and MPs focused on advertising and position-taking may be more likely to introduce

³ It is possible that some MPs see advertising as a means of personal advancement, such as gaining a critic or cabinet position.

motions. It is true, however, that participation in bills as opposed to motions could be driven by other factors – e.g., certain topics are simply better suited to one of these avenues as opposed to the other. Nonetheless, other things being equal, “workhorses” should tend to introduce more bills, and “showhorses” should tend to introduce more motions.

Modeling PMB Participation

Dependent Variables: Bill and Motion Introductions

The dataset used in the following analyses is a collapsed version of the two legislative datasets, where the unit of analysis is MPs. Accordingly each dataset has been collapsed by MP/Session combinations (see Appendix for the diagram that illustrates the construction of the dataset);⁴ there is one observation for each MP in each session. Where MPs have sat in multiple sessions, they appear several times in the dataset. Given that there are data from 12 sessions for bills, and there are roughly 300 MPs in each, the total number of cases is 3,564. The number of cases is 2,729 for the nine sessions for which motions are available. The fact that individual MPs can make up multiple cases in the dataset means that cases are not necessarily independent of each other. This is accounted for in part by using corrected (robust) standard errors in each regression model in the project.⁵

For the analysis below, these legislative data have been merged with demographic data by Federal Electoral District from the 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, and 2001 Canadian Censuses. These data provide most of the constituency demographic measures used below, as well as the surrogates for constituency preferences used in Chapter 5. Some additional codes have been added manually, such as a variable indicating if an MP’s constituency has a military base, as well as data on the MPs themselves, drawn from files provided by the Library of Parliament. These files include data on MP portfolios – including in Cabinet, Opposition Shadow Cabinet and opposition critics roles – which

⁴ Sessions were chosen as opposed to Parliaments because the same items can be introduced in successive sessions. Sessions are also used in controlling for proximity to an upcoming election in the current and the following chapters.

⁵ Using corrected standard errors provides results which take into account the actual number of unique cases. Simply put, this leads to a more conservative result when testing for statistical significance.

have been coded using the same *Policy Agendas* coding grid discussed in the previous chapter. The Library of Parliament data also include election results for each constituency across all relevant elections. The constituency level data are necessary for measuring individual level electoral pressure and other constituency characteristics that may affect MP behaviour.

Approximately 82 MPs, on average, introduce one or more bills in each parliamentary session, with a standard deviation of about 20, over the period from 1968 - 2004.⁶ For the period in which multivariate analysis will be applied, which includes only 1984-2004 (because of the absence of available portfolio data prior to 1984), the average increases to 88 MPs introducing bills. Similarly, approximately 87 MPs, on average, introduce one or more motions in each parliamentary session, with a standard deviation of about 20, over the period 1994-2005.⁷

The mean number of participants per session provides only part of the story in terms of participation trends over time, of course. Each session has a different number of sitting days, and these will ultimately have some effect on the number of bills and, to a lesser extent, the number of participants. Still, most bills and motions are introduced within the first few months of any given session, and large numbers of bills also tend to get introduced after long recesses from the House, so while there is a relationship between session length and number of bills/participants, it is not linear. It is also true that many of the bills and motions that MPs introduce in a session get re-introduced in following sessions, often by the same MP. Thus, it is likely true that the amount of MP turnover (and hence the number of experienced MPs) plays a role in total participation rates. A closer investigation of individual MPs will likely shed further light on this. It

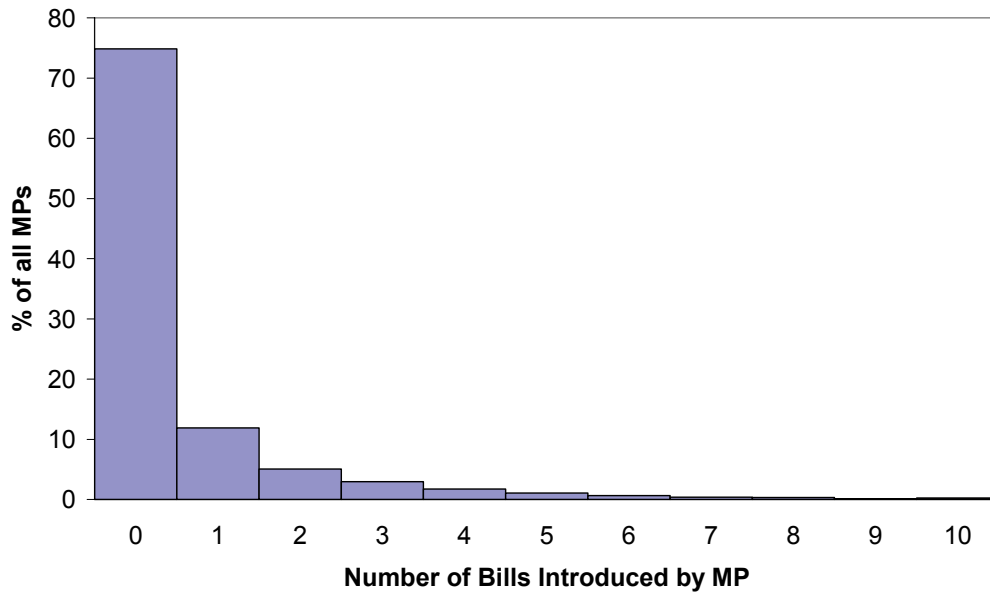
⁶ The first session of the 34th Parliament included only one Government Bill (a bill to enact the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement) and seven introduced Private Members' Bills, none of which were debated. For this reason, the first and second sessions of the 34th Parliament are treated as a single session.

⁷ The 39th Parliament (2006 – current) is partly included in the dataset, but the fact that it was not complete at the time of analysis means that using it to establish a general participation rate would possibly underestimate the actual mean across the entire period. Therefore it is not used for this measure. In the 37th Parliament, bills introduced in the second and third sessions are treated as being in a single session. For analytical purposes, only those that were newly introduced in the third session were added to those from the 2nd session in the dataset, while those that were first introduced in the second but debated in the third were deleted from the second and added in the third (so that the number of debated bills remains accurate). This means that, across the 2nd and 3rd sessions, no identical bill numbers occur. For this reason, the two sessions are treated as one.

should also be noted that, while the mean of 88 participants per session for bills and 87 per session for motions are each less than a third of the total population of MPs in any session, many MPs will participate in some sessions and not in others (due to a number of reasons, including government portfolio responsibilities). Together, a significant majority of MPs participate at least once in PMB during their parliamentary careers. Across the 35th to 37th Parliaments (the period for which both bill and motion data have been collected), approximately 66% of all MPs who sat in at least one parliament introduced one or more PMB items. Across the entire period for which bills are available (28th to 37th Parliaments) approximately 39% of all MPs participated at least once, while across the period for which motions are available (35th to 39th Parliaments) approximately 43% of MPs participated at least once.

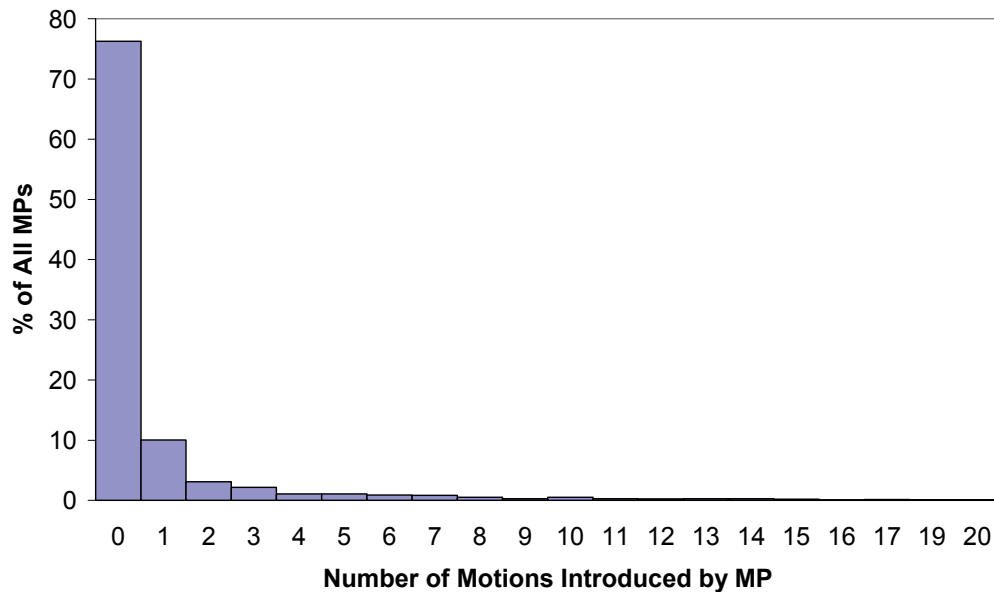
The dependent variables that will be used for measuring individual participation are based on the total number of bills or motions introduced by each MP in each session. For this reason, the dependent variables used in the following analyses are count variables, where the value indicates how many times a given event has occurred (Long & Freese 2001) and each event is the introduction of a single bill or motion. This provides more detail regarding participation – detail that a simple dichotomous account of participation (simply participating or not participating) would miss.

Figure 4.1: Distribution of Introduced Private Members' Bills (33rd – 37th Parliaments, by session)



**Depicts 99% of all MPs/session for illustrative purposes only (no cases are dropped). (N = 3,564). Max. = 52, Mean = 0.64, Std. Dev. = 2.06.*

Figure 4.2: Distribution of Introduced Private Members' Motions (35 – 39 Parliaments, by session)



**Depicts 98% of all MPs/session for illustrative purposes only (no cases are dropped). (N = 2,729). Max. = 66, Mean = 1.33, Std. Dev. = 5.19.⁸*

⁸ Analyses are also produced, and provided in the appendix, with truncated extreme values for both bills and motions, where the top one percent of values are held to the score at the 99th percentile. For bills, this

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate the distributions of MP participation in bills and motions. The figures illustrate that, across all sessions, most MPs introduced zero bills or motions in a given session. The remaining cases are those that introduce one or more bills or motions, with the number of MP cases introducing each number of items illustrated as a percentage of all MP cases. About 25% of MPs participate in a given session, for both bills and motions. Predictably, the proportion of participants tends to decrease as the number of bills or motions increases.

Note that the distributions for each of the two dependent variables do not conform to the normal continuous distribution (characterized by a bell-shaped curve) that is assumed for linear regression models. Because the distribution on the two discrete “count” variables is characterized by *overdispersion*, where the mean is smaller than the variance⁹, the preferred model for analysis is the negative binomial regression model (NBRM).¹⁰ This model is a variation on the Poisson regression model (which is more appropriate when the mean and variance are equal, or $\alpha=0$).

The general NBRM model is as follows:

$$\mu_{iti} = \{ \exp (\beta_0 + \beta_1 x_{i1} + \beta_2 x_{i2} + \dots \beta_k x_{ik} + \varepsilon_i) \} \times t_i .$$

μ is the expected rate. In the current project, this refers to the number of items (bills or motions) introduced by an MP in a session. This rate is a function of various independent variables (βx), an error term (ε), distributed as a gamma distribution, as well as t , which is the “exposure time”. In the equation, t represents the amount of time during

means that all scores are held to a maximum of 9. For motions, this means are scores are held to a maximum of 27.

⁹ The variance is equal to the square of the standard deviation. Note however that for each distribution, the mean is less than the standard deviation (which is greater than 1), so calculating the larger value of the variance is not necessary.

¹⁰ One could employ a two-stage model such as the Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial (ZINB) regression model given the large number of zeros in the dependent variable. This model first estimates the difference between participation and non-participation using a logit or probit equation, and then estimates degrees of participation after accounting for predicted non-participants (see Long & Freese 2001, Long 1997). The ZINB model was used in previous tests, and was found to not significantly improve estimates of PMB participation outside of recognizing the non-participation of government portfolio holders (who are ineligible to participate in PMB). In the following analyses, these members are simply excluded, and the simpler, single-stage NBRM is employed. The only caution here is that an extremely small amount of PMB participation is also dropped by dropping government portfolio members, simply because some of the dropped MPs were not portfolio holders for entire parliaments, and during their backbench periods, some of these MPs introduced PMB.

which an event could have occurred for a given case (more time usually increases the likelihood of the event occurring). For the purposes of this analysis, it represents the amount of time (as measured by the numbers of days the House sat in each parliamentary session) an MP had to introduce a bill or motion; accordingly, t accounts for the fact that MPs will be able to introduce more items in a given session when that session is longer. In the NBRM, an exponential function ensures that predicted values will be non-negative; estimation is undertaken by maximum likelihood.¹¹

As with almost any regression model for categorical variables, interpretation of the coefficients resulting from an NBRM is not straightforward. Thus, in addition to the coefficients themselves, a percentage point change in the expected count is provided for variables of interest in the text that follows.¹²

Independent Variables

PMB is an activity that MPs can participate in as individuals, which is why individual and constituency-level factors should affect the nature of participation, not only in terms of general participation, but also in terms of whether to introduce bills or motions. However, it is important to control for institutional variables that affect the rules that members play by. The overall model for participation, then, will include controls for parliaments, institutional positions (including holding an opposition portfolio and/or being a member of the governing party), political party, experience, and constituency political interest. The independent variable of focus is electoral pressure.

Electoral Pressure

As has been suggested above, electoral pressure is expected to affect participation in PMB, but it is also expected to play a stronger role in increasing motion introductions than bill introductions. Two different measures of electoral pressure are included in the models predicting PMB participation. According to arguments presented in the second chapter, it is reasonable to expect that personal electoral payoff will be a consideration for at least some, and perhaps many, participants in this activity. Based on the high number

¹¹ For more detailed discussions of NBRM, see Long and Freese 2003; Cameron and Trivedi 1998.

¹² These are generated using the *SPost* commands in STATA.

of MPs believing that they can gain a personal vote (Docherty 1997:186-189), this suggests that those MPs needing an electoral boost are likely to engage in an activity for which they can claim some personal credit. In the models that follow, electoral pressure is captured using each MP's win margin in the previous election. This is calculated using the percentage of total votes received by the MP and subtracting the percentage of the total votes received by the next closest competitor.¹³ An increase in win margin should mean an increase in the MP's perceived electoral stability. Those with lower win margins should tend to participate more in hopes of gaining a greater personal vote. The mean win margin among MPs is 23.6 percentage points, with a standard deviation of 17.0 over the 35 – 39th Parliaments. The maximum win margin is 88.2 percentage points while the minimum is approximately 0.01 percentage points (a four vote win margin out of over 40,000 total votes).

The second measure of electoral pressure is the proximity to the next election. It is expected that later sessions during majority governments will increase the pressure to pursue such actions, if they are related to electoral motivations. Proximity is captured, then, with a dummy variable equal to one in the parliamentary sessions that immediately precede an election (termed "election sessions"), and equal to zero in those sessions in which an election is not imminent.¹⁴ Closer proximity should impress upon the MP a sense of urgency for constituency-focused action. It should also be perceived by the MP that actions taken closer to the time of election will have a greater impact on voter choice. However, what is most important is not election proximity alone – as this is less likely to matter to an electorally stable MP – but the interaction of win margin and election proximity. The expectation is that MPs with lower win margins will be more likely to participate when the prospect of fighting another election looms. Thus, an interaction of these variables is included in the model.

¹³ All percentage variables are coded as proportions with a possible minimum value of zero and possible maximum score of one.

¹⁴ This measure assumes that MPs know, or at least have a good sense, when they are in the final session of a majority government, which is ultimately determined by the Prime Minister. Though there are no minority parliaments being analyzed here which consist of more than one session (the last such minority was the 29th Parliament), the preferred approach in such a case would be to code all minority parliament sessions as election sessions, because in such cases the next election is always potentially looming.

Parliaments

The rules affecting both the process and the number of votable PMB items have changed during different parliaments. While these rules have not specifically limited the number of items that can be introduced during the periods analyzed, the different rules may affect MPs' choices regarding participation and amount of participation. Parliaments are thus accounted for here with a set of dummy variables, where the 37th parliament is the residual category. (Note that while the length of parliaments also differs, this is accounted for through the exposure time, t , in the model outlined above.)

Institutional Positions

Both government MPs and opposition MPs who hold portfolios will tend to participate in manners that differ from backbench MPs. While government members with portfolios (cabinet ministers and parliamentary secretaries) do not participate (and are dropped from the analysis – see footnote 10 in this chapter), it seems likely that those with opposition portfolios may use PMB as a means of advancing a position or idea in their assigned policy area. While it seems obvious that opposition critics use Question Period (QP) as their prime means for attacking or pressuring the government, QP is not necessarily the only venue for doing so, nor is it necessarily the best policy venue for advancing new ideas.¹⁵

Using data on MP positions provided by the Library of Parliament, any MP holding a Party or House leadership position, or holding a Cabinet, Parliamentary Secretary, Shadow Cabinet or critic portfolio, is deemed to have portfolio. MPs are also divided into members of either the government or the opposition. Dummy variables have been created for opposition portfolio, opposition backbench, and government backbench MPs, while government portfolio MPs are dropped. Government backbench is the residual category.

¹⁵ QP can be a means of representation of policy preferences. See Penner et al. (2006) regarding partisan representation in QP, and see Soroka et al. (N.d.) regarding constituency representation by MPs in QP.

Political Parties

Regarding political parties, Kornberg and Mishler suggest that the smaller amount of PMB participation by the Progressive Conservative and Social Credit parties over 30 years ago is a result of right-leaning ideology, while the NDP and Liberals, who introduced more PMB comparatively during the 1960s and early 1970s, are more left-leaning and therefore more interested in government intervention (1976: 152).¹⁶ While an MP's political party does seem an important factor in predicting PMB participation, this particular explanation seems lacking upon further investigation using the current data. First, bills and motions are as much about social conservatism and economic prudence as they are about government expansion – perhaps even more so because of the lack of spending power. This fact may admittedly be more prevalent in the modern era. Second, if PMB is a means of individual action that MPs can use to take positions on topics of interest to constituents, then if an MP's focus tends to be on his/her constituency, he/she should participate in part because of that focus, not only because of social or economic ideological reasons.

As far as “ideology” goes, the Reform/Canadian Alliance party should be the strongest advocate of small government given that party's small “c” conservative orientation. Following Kornberg and Mishler's suggestion, Reform/Alliance MPs should therefore participate the least in PMB. Yet Reform/Alliance MPs, as is evident in the aggregate results in Chapter Three, participate in PMB a great deal. It is not surprising that Progressive Conservative MPs – at least traditionally through their “Tory” heritage – should have a greater inclination toward a “trustee” style than MPs from the relatively populist Reform/Alliance (Docherty 1997; Carty, Cross and Young 2002). Docherty (2001) also suggests that NDP and Reform MPs, who tend to be more ideological than their PC and Liberal counterparts, tend to rate “partisan beliefs” (which might be

¹⁶ The 1960s-70s in Canada saw two main political parties, the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives, with two minor parties, the New Democratic Party (more left-leaning), and Social Credit (more right-leaning) which last elected MPs in the 1979 election. The 3 remaining parties were the only official parties holding seats until the 1993 election saw the emergence of the Reform Party (right-leaning – later renamed the Canadian Alliance party) and Bloc Quebecois (left-of-centre, but main purpose is Quebec Sovereignty). The result was a 5-party system with a single dominant party (Liberal) until the Canadian Alliance and Progressive Conservative parties merged prior to the 2004 election, forming a second competitive party, the Conservative Party, which won a minority government in 2006 and is the current governing party at the time of writing.

interpreted as ideology) above “loyalty to party”, which is the reverse of Liberal and PC MPs. This finding suggests that among NDP and Reform/CA MPs, we may observe a greater likelihood of individual action. These general differences in terms of style and party loyalty may explain some of the difference in participation across parties in the more recent party system. It is also possible that the members of some parties, seeing less prospect of becoming the government because of their political party, engage in PMB more than those who see a greater possibility of forming the government. While not stated in exactly these terms, some MPs that were interviewed for this project did hint at this possibility. Thus, we should expect the styles and party behaviour orientations of MPs to vary systematically by the political party that they belong too, and this should result in different PMB participation patterns, though not necessarily in the same manner or for the same reasons described by Kornberg and Mishler.

Political parties are accounted for in the analysis using dummy variables for each political party. The Liberal Party is the residual category.

Experience

MPs who have more experience may participate more in PMB than those who have little experience. Many MPs introduce the same bills and motions in successive sessions, meaning that the more time an MP has been around, the more bills and motions he/she will likely have previously drafted and be able to re-introduce. Similarly, experience should play a role in that a first-term MP must commit more time and resources to “learning the ropes”, so we should expect more participation from those with at least a few years behind them. Experience is measured by the number of Parliaments in which an MP has sat (i.e. Herb Gray’s experience score in the 33rd Parliament would be eight as it was the 8th Parliament in which he sat.). The mean experience score across MPs is approximately 2.5.

With regard to the choice between introducing motions and bills, experience may allow an MP to devote more time and effort to policy and give less attention to electoral considerations. This is because experienced MPs may perceive themselves to have more personal electoral stability than inexperienced MPs (whether or not this perception is accurate; Atkinson and Docherty 1992 suggest that this may be true). For this reason,

experience might lead MPs toward bills rather than motions. On the other hand, perhaps experienced MPs, like their more experienced counterparts south of the border, are simply better at the game of electioneering (Kingdon 1989; Fenno 1978), and may feel that if PMB has any electoral value at all, motions are where it is at. For this reason, experience should still affect choice, but which choice remains unclear.

Political interest

While PMB is probably not well understood by the general public, it is still true that a reasonable amount of PMB does get media coverage – mostly in the form of short newspaper stories¹⁷ (some PMB gets coverage in broadcast media, but usually only in cases of party leaders introducing items, or events of national significance, such as the passing of an important bill). This being the case, one should expect greater participation from MPs whose constituents have higher political interest, such that they might be expected to read the newspaper and be interested by its political contents, than from those MPs with constituents who are generally less engaged and less likely to know or care about legislative activity.¹⁸ “Interest” is of course rather difficult to capture at the constituency level. Nonetheless, past work suggests that if a constituency has a high education level, it is likely that there will be more political engagement generally (see e.g. Franklin 1996; Dalton and Wattenberg 2000). Therefore, education level (measured here by the proportion of constituents with university degrees) is used as a proxy for political interest where a higher level of constituency education should lead to an increase in PMB participation by the MP.¹⁹

Constituency political interest may also affect the choice between bills and motions. It is apparent from a brief survey of media coverage²⁰ that Private Members’

¹⁷ See Chapter 6.

¹⁸ Members with such constituencies might be better served electorally, for example, by engaging in more constituency work and constituency appearances.

¹⁹ It is difficult to say if such action is meant to be directly representative in terms of educated publics. Anderson and Goodyear-Grant (2005) suggest that increased education leads to decreased desire for delegate-style representation. However, it seems unlikely that this is reflected in PMB participation.

²⁰ See Chapter 6.

Bills seem to get more newspaper coverage than Private Members' Motions.²¹ Thus, while the education level of the constituency may play a role in participation generally, there may be a slight inclination toward bills for those with highly educated constituencies. In any event, education level, while important for participation, is not expected to play a major role in the choice between bills and motions.²²

Results

Bill and Motion Participation: Negative Binomial Regression results

The following tables show the results of the negative binomial regression model using the described independent variables to predict the number of bills and motions, respectively, introduced by individual MPs. The proximity to election variable (Electoral Session) is included in a second estimation, since its impact leads to slightly different results.

²¹ This is entirely based on newspaper coverage, not on other means of communication, such as constituency mail-outs or MP websites. It is notable that outside of very "news worthy" events, such those involving party leaders, television and radio news programs tend not to follow Private Members' Business.

²² See Appendix for pair-wise correlations of all independent variables. Note that collinearity is not a concern with these variables.

Table 4.1: Participation in Private Members' Bills (33-37th Parliament)²³

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Wonby	0.31	(.42)	0.93	(.46) **
Elec Sess	-	-	0.67	(.09) **
Wonby X ElecSess	-	-	-1.19	(.31) **
Experience	0.06	(.04)	0.07	(.04) *
Univ Grad	5.50	(2.44) **	5.39	(2.41) **
OPP Port	0.93	(.27) **	0.90	(.27) **
OPP BB	0.55	(.30) *	0.53	(.30) *
BQ	-0.38	(.32)	-0.35	(.32)
NDP	0.85	(.24) **	0.85	(.24) **
PC	-0.05	(.28)	-0.05	(.28)
Reform/CA	0.48	(.29) <i>a</i>	0.50	(.30) *
Par33	-0.36	(.28)	-0.35	(.29)
Par34	-0.34	(.26)	-0.30	(.27)
Par35	0.42	(.14) **	0.41	(.14) **
Par36	0.70	(.11) **	0.71	(.11) **
Constant	-7.30	(.32) **	-7.68	(.33) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)			
<i>N</i>	2626			
# of clusters	651			
Log Ps. Likelihood	-2841.72		-2827.39	
Wald chi ²	231.34		293.08	
Prob > chi ²	0.000		0.000	
ln alpha	1.13	(.11)	1.10	(.12)
alpha	3.10	(.36)	2.99	(.35)

a p<.11, * p<.1, **p<.05

Results are also produced using a truncated dependent variable to assess the impact of outliers, though no significant differences are observed on the variables of focus. The controls for MP experience and constituency education, however, are no longer significant, while those for Opposition Portfolio and backbench become significant. See Table 4.1a in Appendix.

²³ As the role of portfolios is crucial to this analysis, the analysis of bills includes only the Parliaments for which this variable is available in the data, which means the 33rd Parliament forward (the 35th Parliament is the control).

Table 4.2 - Participation in Private Members' Motions (35-39th Parliament)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Wonby	-1.57	(.92) *	-0.72	(1.00)
Elec Sess	-	-	0.34	(.13) **
Wonby X ElecSess	-	-	-1.40	(.68) **
Experience	0.37	(.10) **	0.37	(.10) **
Univ Grad	-1.62	(2.05)	-1.57	(2.05)
OPP Port	0.51	(.36)	0.50	(.35)
OPP BB	0.12	(.34)	0.14	(.34)
BQ	-0.04	(.38)	-0.02	(.38)
NDP	2.57	(.45) **	2.60	(.45) **
PC	1.55	(.60) **	1.60	(.60) **
Conservative	0.41	(.37)	0.43	(.38)
Reform/CA	1.39	(.36) **	1.39	(.36) **
par35	0.68	(.24) **	0.66	(.24) **
par36	0.59	(.12) **	0.59	(.12) **
par38	0.87	(.27) **	0.84	(.27) **
par39	0.35	(.31)	0.32	(.32)
Constant	-6.77	(.65) **	-6.99	(.66) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)			
<i>N</i>	2120			
<i># of clusters</i>	589			
Log Ps. Likelihood	-2556.33		-2554.20	
Wald chi ²	194.31		205.74	
Prob > chi ²	0.000		0.000	
ln alpha	1.58	(.15)	1.57	(.15)
alpha	4.84	(.71)	4.81	(.71)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Results are also produced using a truncated dependent variable to assess the impact of outliers. These results diminish the statistical significance of Win Margin in Model 1 ($p<.15$), though not the significance observed on the Election Session and interaction variable in Model 2. See Table 4.2a in Appendix.

Model 1 in Table 4.1 suggests that win margin has no statistically significant effect on bill introductions, while neither does MP experience. Effects are significant with constituency political interest (measured using education level) where a higher level of interest appears to lead to more bill introductions (though this result is not observed with a truncated dependent variable – see appendix). Further, opposition MPs appear not to introduce more bills than backbench government MPs, though this result is also

marginal as both Opposition Portfolio holders and backbench are statistically significant and positive when the dependent variable is truncated (see appendix). Finally, from Model 1, MPs from the NDP and Reform/CA Party tend to introduce more than MPs from other parties (this was also evident in the previous chapter).

In Model 2 of Table 4.1, the result with election proximity and the interaction term added to the previous model indicates that win margin is actually positive and significant in the absence of a looming election, suggesting that MPs with large win margins are actually participating more than those with small margins in non-election sessions. Nevertheless, when an election looms, MPs with smaller win margins do join the action with bills slightly more than do their electorally secure counterparts. Certainly the effect of win margin depends on proximity to an election, but it is not clear exactly whose behaviour is most affected. The election session variable indicates that if win margin is held at zero, the number of introduced bills is higher when the session immediately precedes an election. These relationships will be analyzed in greater detail shortly.

In Model 1 of Table 4.2, it appears as though win margin does indeed play an independent role in affecting motion participation (though this relationship closely misses statistical significance when the dependent variable is truncated – see appendix). A decrease in win margin leads to an increase in the number of motions introduced. Unlike with bills, an increase in MP experience appears to increase the number of motions, though, similar to bills, constituency political interest appears to play no role. Being a member of the opposition also appears, as it did with bills, to have no significant impact on motion introductions, though holding an Opposition portfolio does appear positive and significant when the dependent variable is truncated (see appendix).

Similar to bill introductions, NDP and Reform/CA party MPs tend to introduce more motions, though here it is also PC MPs that tend to introduce more than MPs from the Liberals or BQ. MPs with the newly formed Conservative party, which replaced the PC and Reform/CA, do not appear to have the higher participation levels than Reform/CA and PC MPs did, though this may be partly a function of merging participation from both the 2nd and 3rd sessions of the 37th Parliament (see Chapter Three) – where Conservative

MPs with items that carry over to the 3rd session from introductions in the 2nd session are only credited with the 2nd session introductions under their former party affiliation.

Turning back to win margin, the coefficient in Model 1 in Table 4.2 suggests that an increase of one standard deviation in win margin (approximately 16 percentage points) – which can be interpreted as a substantial drop in electoral pressure from one’s constituency – leads to a 23 percentage point drop in the number of motions introduced. This seems to fit very well with the basic idea that MPs might see this activity as having some individual electoral value, and to be motivated to participate more based on electoral instability.

When election proximity and its interaction with win margin are added to the model (Model 2, Table 4.2) proximity to an election appears to play an important role regarding introductions, especially where electoral pressure in the form of win margin already exists. The main effect of the election session variable suggests that if win margin were held at a value of zero, the number of motions introduced would be greater in a session that occurs directly before an election. The negative coefficient on the interaction term further suggests that in a session immediately preceding an election, a lower win margin (or greater electoral pressure) leads to a higher number of introduced items. This result, then, is true for both motions and bills, though the result should be interpreted differently for each. For motions, the win margin factor is significant (though moderately so) without proximity included in the model, though once proximity is introduced the coefficient on win margin alone is no longer significant – meaning that win margin is a non-significant factor in non-election sessions. Nevertheless, the win margin factor is negative in either case, which suggests that MPs with lower win margins tend to introduce more motions than MPs with higher win margins. The result in Model 2 suggests that election proximity combined with win margin is where the relationship is strongest. An increase of one standard deviation in win margin (approximately 16 percentage points), when combined with an “election session”, decreases the number of

introduced motions by about 21 percentage points on top of the 11 points accounted for by win margin alone.²⁴

Another constituency factor that requires some discussion is the political interest of constituents (measured by education level). Those MPs with more highly-educated electors are likely to introduce more bills, though this result should be viewed with some caution, as it appears to be driven, at least in part, by outliers (see Table 4.1a in appendix). Surprisingly there is no significant effect with constituency education regarding motion introductions. The fact that education makes no impact on motion introductions suggests that the variable does not play exactly the electoral role that it was expected to. As was suggested above, bills do seem to get more mass media coverage than motions, though this would suggest that bills are being used for electoral purposes, which does not appear to be as clearly the case based on the electoral pressure variables. While there is no clear explanation for this exact outcome, there remains the additional possibility that MPs with more highly educated constituents tend to be more policy focused and perhaps less tied to the material interests of their constituencies. One MP (who has occasionally participated in PMB), who indicated that he does not focus any specific legislative efforts on electoral gain with his constituents, provides a hint as to why this is. John Godfrey, Liberal MP, stated:

I can't think of anything I've put forward which was designed to win me more votes in Don-Valley West. I can't think of an action that has zeroed in on the needs of my local population. But that may be the nature of having an urban riding with diverse interests. When I speak to environmental issues, I get a good response out of Don-Valley West. If I speak to prisoners' rights issues in Guantanamo, the Geneva Convention, thoughtful people in my riding think that's pretty good (Interviewed Nov. 2, 2006).

To read too much into the effect of education on PMB participation from this particular statement would probably be ill-advised. However, a suggestion that follows from this statement is that two factors which should be related to education-level – diversity and having a more urban (as opposed to rural) constituency – may allow an MP

²⁴This 11 point difference on Win Margin alone is not statistically significant. When interacted with the Election Session variable, however, the difference related to Win Margin is stronger than the difference if election session is not accounted for.

more range beyond the constituency's interests in terms of a policy focus. It is also notable that Anderson and Goodyear-Grant (2005) suggest that an increase in education is related to a decreased interest in having a “delegate” styled representative.

Another variable that reliably shows up for only one type of participation is MP experience, which is strongly correlated with an increase in motion introductions, but not with bills (with the exception of Model 2 using the non-truncated dependent variable). Recall that it was not clear exactly what impact this variable would have, as there were competing explanations – though this indicates that the ease and perhaps the corresponding electoral value of motions may attract experienced MPs, though an interaction of these two variables was not included. The flexibility of motions in terms of language and purpose may also have something to do with this. Recall from Chapter Three that motions can be crafted to suit partisan purposes, or to create “political wedges” as was suggested by MP Mark Holland. Perhaps, then, motions can be a tool for the seasoned political veteran, aside from their role as relatively easy instruments for position-taking. In this way, they may serve a greater role for the party than for the individual should they become highly publicized.

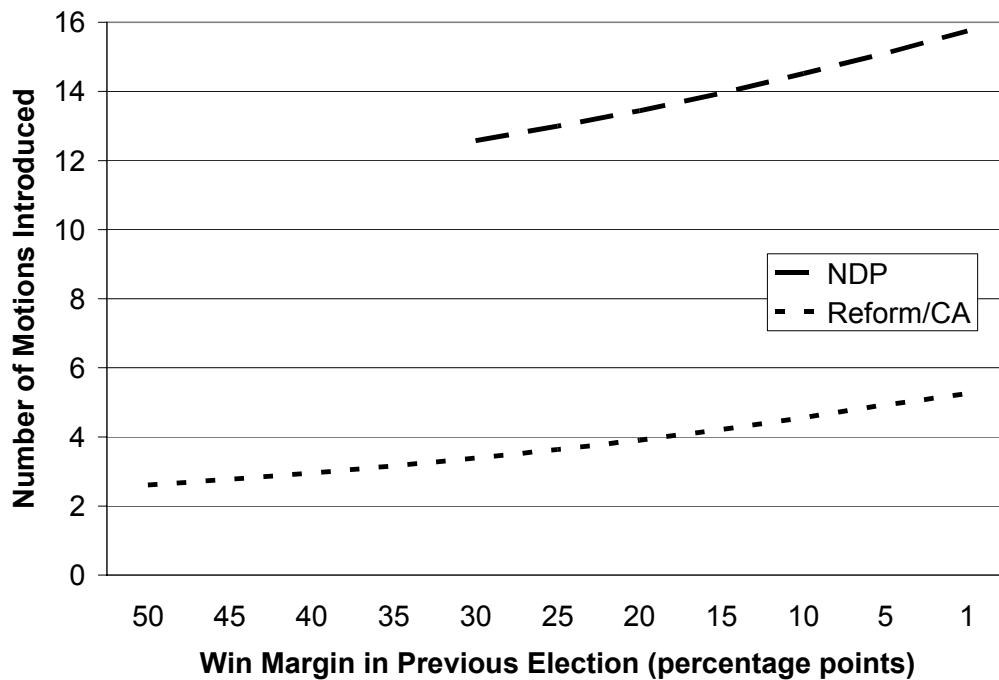
Bill and Motion Participation: Simulations

Let us now take a closer look at the effects of electoral pressure, the main focus of this analysis. The following figure is a simulated illustration of the effect of win margin (from Model 1 in Table 4.2 – bills are not illustrated as there was no significant relationship).²⁵ Values are predicted at varying levels of electoral pressure, for NDP and Reform MPs, using opposition MPs holding a portfolio in the 36th Parliament, with all remaining variables held at their mean.²⁶

²⁵ All simulations are generated using Clarify for STATA (King, Tomz, Wittenberg 2000).

²⁶ The average MP experience level is 2.5 Parliaments and the average constituency education level is 13.5% university graduates during the period of analysis. Holding a portfolio is used because most or even all MPs in relatively small opposition parties hold portfolios (i.e. the NDP and PC during the 35th-37th Parliaments). It is notable, however, that no Parliament effectively captures the “typical” MP, so the combination here is perhaps more theoretical than practical. In the 36th Parliament (used here), extremely few MPs from the Reform and NDP parties had more than 2 Parliaments of experience, though there were some (indeed, no MP actually has the “average” experience score of 2.5). The 36th Parliament does have the largest number of MPs for each party (both the PC and NDP have more than 20 MPs), which produces

Figure 4.3 – NDP and REFORM/CA Motion Introductions (Model 1)



Figures 4.3 illustrates the results of Model 1 for Motion introductions. The actual number of motions (and bills) is higher among NDP and Reform/CA MPs compared to MPs from other parties, and these are the parties portrayed here in order to illustrate the nature of the relationship.²⁷ The proportional change illustrated is equal across parties, though the substantive nature of the relationship in terms of number of items is much weaker with other parties. As a reminder, the highest win margin across all MP cases is 82 percentage points, and the lowest is 0.01 points. The average win margin is about 22.4 points during the bills period and about 23.6 during the motions period. The average win margin for NDP MPs, however, is notably lower at approximately 10.6 points with a maximum just barely above 50 points. For this reason, all illustrations only show win margins up to 30 points for NDP MPs.

more stable estimates for MPs from these parties as well as more reasonable variance on portfolio holders. In the 37th Parliament PMB participation declines significantly, which may be in part due to the focus of all parties, except the BQ, upon choosing new leaders (the Canadian Alliance party had extended problems due to leadership in the first session, as well as a party merger with the PC party spanning the end of the 2nd session and the start of the 3rd session).

²⁷ The figures are based on the 36th Parliament, which means the number of introductions should not be substantially different than the 35th or the 38th Parliaments.

In the above figures, it is clearly evident that an MP with high electoral pressure introduces a greater number of motions than an MP without that pressure – this greater number is both statistically significant (though marginally so) as well as substantively significant (the proportional change illustrated is equal across parties, though the actual number is much smaller).

The role of win margin alone in Model 1 is one that seems relatively clear. Electoral pressure through win margin alone affects motion introductions, not bill introductions, which fits relatively well with the expectations that were set forth above. The introduction of election proximity in Model 2 complicates matters, however. These results require more discussion.

Figure 4.4: Bill Introductions – Win Margin and Election Session (Model 2)

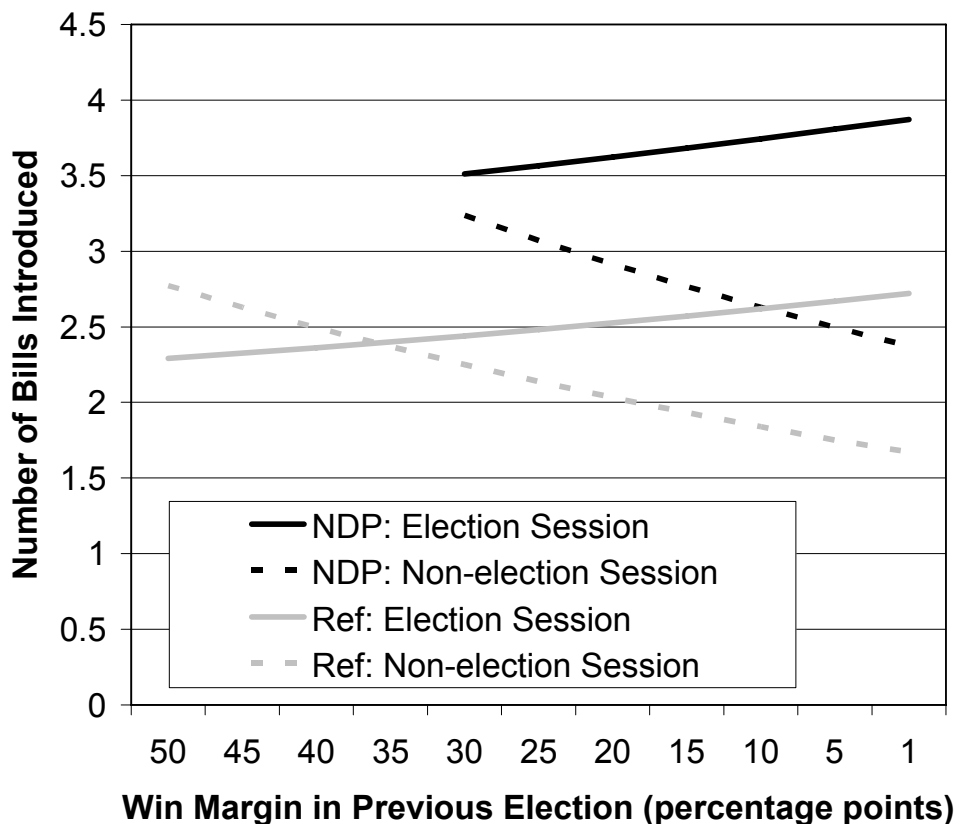


Figure 4.4 illustrates the bill introduction results of Model 2 for NDP and Reform/CA MPs only (the proportional change illustrated is equal across parties, though

the actual number is lower for all other parties). It shows the difference in the number of bill introductions related to win margin both when an election is imminent (during an Election Session) and when it is not. Only the mean predicted values, based on the statistically significant results in Table 4.1, are illustrated here. However, the point estimations for Election Sessions and non-Election Sessions are different at a 95% confidence level at both ends of the plotted lines for Reform MPs in this illustration (i.e. at the 50 point win margin and the one point win margin) and at the low win margin end for NDP MPs. The main point to extract from the illustration is that MPs with very large win margins (generally not including NDP MPs) tend to introduce more bills than those with small win margins during non-election sessions. During election sessions, there is a slight tendency for the MPs with smaller win margins to introduce more bills. While the difference is more marginal regarding high win margins, the difference with regard to election proximity for both high win margin MPs and low win margin MPs requires some explanation.

The figure provides some interesting detail regarding the results in Table 4.1 above. What is evident is that the MPs who may participate most are actually those who have little electoral pressure at a time when there is no pending election (when their win margins reach the 50 point range). When an election is close, electoral pressure suddenly plays a different role, such that the predicted number of introduced bills for electorally secure MPs decreases slightly at the highest level of win margin, while the number for electorally marginal MPs increases. Electoral pressure, then, plays at least a small role with bill introductions, as it does more clearly with motions, but the patterns of participation appear to be different. Why?

Bills require greater effort and are more likely to be the work of those with a stronger policy orientation than those with a constituency orientation or acting due to electoral pressure. To that end, the fact that MPs who are electorally secure tend to introduce more bills when an election is not imminent is not surprising – these are the MPs who should be able to focus on pursuing their policy interests, and bill introductions should tend more often to be the work of MPs interested in having a policy impact than in electioneering.

When an election looms, MPs with greater pressure kick into gear, though the effect is not very substantial. It is also here that groups with particular interests in these MPs' constituencies probably have a greater impact on their actions as well. It is not uncommon for some groups to propose bill topics or in some cases even submit drafts of bills for the MP to introduce. This was made evident in a number of MP interviews. Bills, while they are less likely to be used as an election tool by most MPs, may still be seen as a useful tool or may be a means of appeasing specific interests which desire policy change over more symbolic action. It may also be true that MPs with lower win margins are more likely to be in their first parliament, and it is not until the later sessions ("session experience" was not controlled in the model) that they have the knowledge to begin drafting and introducing bills. Indeed, the pair-wise correlation between experience and win margin is about .17 (see pair-wise correlations of all independent variables in Appendix), a rather weak relationship to be sure, but an indication that win margin and experience are positively correlated nonetheless.²⁸ This may mean that the election session variable (which was positive and significant for both bills and motions) is picking up a small element of intra-parliamentary experience that is not accounted for with the experience variable (which is based on number of parliaments only).

Figure 4.4 does suggest that electorally secure MPs at the highest levels of win margin (unlikely to be NDP MPs) may participate less during election sessions, though it is notable that the election session line is much closer to being flat than the non-election line, and the biggest difference based on electoral proximity is among those with electoral pressure due to win margin. It should also be noted that, while the difference between election and non-election sessions for high win margin MPs is statistically significant, it is not very substantial for Reform/CA MPs, and it is miniscule for other MPs who have similar large win margins, such as Liberal MPs.²⁹

²⁸ Atkinson and Docherty (1992) also note that electoral turnover tends to affect junior MPs more often than it does those with greater amounts of experience (317).

²⁹ An explanation for this relationship may be that some MPs with larger win margins are more likely to leave Parliament through retirement, because they should be less likely to lose their seat in an election than an MP with a low win margin – other things being equal (Atkinson and Docherty 1992: 311-312). An MP who plans to retire probably decreases all forms of participation in the House in the final session of a parliament. A second explanation might be that an MP who is more secure may find that House activity is something that he/she would prefer to spend less time on when an election is close – tending to focus instead on not letting his/her safe seat be stolen by a competitor for party candidacy in the constituency, or on the larger party election apparatus.

In sum, there is little reason to over-interpret these findings. The actual estimated effects, as noted, are rather marginal and do not in any way suggest an impact deserving a great deal of attention. Rather, the results suggest that the impact of electoral pressure, both win margin and election proximity, is actually quite insubstantial in affecting bill participation generally.

Figure 4.5: Motion Introductions – Win Margin and Election Session (Model 2)

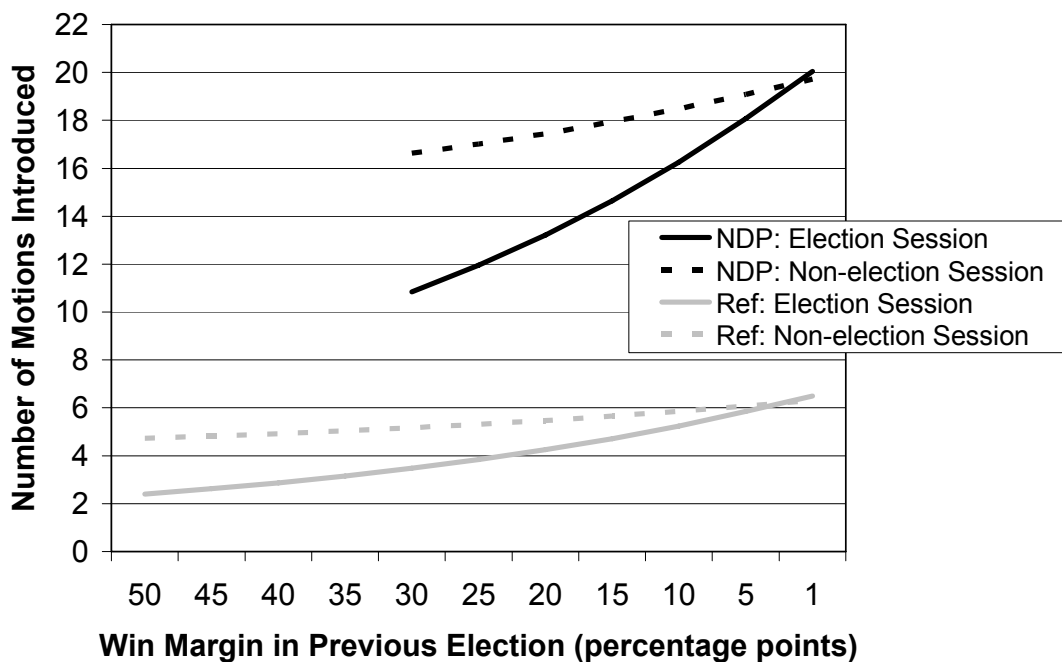


Figure 4.5 illustrates the motion introduction results of Model 2 from Table 4.2 for NDP and Reform/CA MPs only. As in Figure 4.4, the proportions illustrated are equal across parties, though the actual number of items for the two parties shown is higher than for other parties. The point estimations for high win margins are different at a 95% confidence level between election and non-election sessions. In other words, MPs with low win margins participate at about the same level regardless of election proximity – it is those with higher win margins who appear to vary their behaviour depending on election proximity, which drives the main difference in behaviour between electorally secure and electorally marginal MPs.

While the nature of electoral pressure's effect on bill participation was not entirely clear, this is not the case with motion participation. Here, MPs with low win margins quite clearly appear to participate more than electorally-secure MPs. Without election proximity included, win margin alone is statistically significant at a 90% confidence level, but the difference is strongest when an election looms (and win margin alone is not significant during non-election sessions). Because motions do not require the same level of effort as bills, it is not as surprising that MPs with electoral pressure could introduce them in either type of session. In contrast to the figures depicting bill introductions, where the biggest difference on the election proximity variable appeared to be with electorally-marginal MPs, with motions the biggest difference occurs with the electorally-secure MPs. As far as explaining this difference in introductions for electorally-secure MPs, the same logic as was applied above with regard to bills must again be applied (see footnote 29 in this chapter). These MPs likely have different participation patterns due in part to retirement, decreased House activity generally, and a different type of participation in electoral activities.

This general relationship between electoral motivation and PMB participation, which is evident in the above tables and figures, was also evident in the responses given by many of the interviewed MPs. Interviewees were asked "*Are there legislative actions that individual MPs engage in out of electoral motivation?*":

There are many MPs, let's say, some more than others, that will introduce 20, 30 Private Members' Bills. ... It all can be for a very good reason, but I think when, in terms of Private Members' Bills, you bring 20 or 30 knowing that at the very most you'll get one debated for two hours, then I have to wonder if that's a strategy to raise their profile rather than to change the world in some way (Randy Kamp – Interviewed Nov. 2, 2006).

I've always tried to think that one could do well by doing good, rather than trying to figure out what would please people – even if you didn't think it was particularly advisable or useful – and doing it anyway and making a big

deal of it. But clearly Private Members' Business is one of the ways that members do both.

... my hunch is that some of them do it even though they don't really believe strongly in it, but they do it for 'electoral purposes' in that particularly pejorative sense (Bill Blaikie – Interviewed Nov. 2, 2006).

When asked: "Do some MPs use bills or motions for electoral purposes?"

[Personally, no]. ...But some people are much more constituency oriented. They just spend all their time thinking about their election prospects, so the answer for them would be yes. It's very much an individual thing (John Godfrey – Interviewed Nov. 2, 2006).

These comments, in line with the results above, suggest that, while the Canadian context may be different than that of the US, the resource allocation of marginal MPs appears to align with the suggestion by Mayhew that elected representatives should: MPs "devote resources to things over which they think they can have some control" (1974: 32).

Summary

The results in this chapter indicate a few key features about participation in PMB that will be of importance going forward. First, electoral pressure seems to play a significant and substantial role in participation, but mainly with regard to motion introductions. On the electoral margin side, those with less stability seem more prone to introduce motions, regardless of election proximity. However, electorally stable MPs tend to participate less when an election is looming. The electoral connection may still be a motivating factor for MPs who participate in bills, but the behaviour observed here is not about higher participation based on electoral pressure – rather, the relationship is more difficult to explain when electoral sessions are controlled for, and non-existent when they are not included. While it might be a bit presumptuous to suggest that bill participants are the "workhorses", it seems relatively clear that motion participants tend to be the

“showhorses” (Hall 1996). Bills tend not to be the product of those MPs with an interest in electioneering. This finding leaves room for the possibility that MPs increase their bill participation when they have a greater interest in policy, which bills seem better suited to. While this possibility cannot be directly tested with the available data, this is a plausible explanation for the relative absence of electoral impact for bills as opposed to motions, especially considering the nature of each of these policy avenues.

The results in this chapter indicate that, even beyond direct electoral pressure alone, individual and constituency factors do affect the actions of MPs. This was evident primarily through the use of the large-N statistical analysis, but given additional support using interview responses from MPs regarding these behaviours.

These findings suggest the following possibility: if motion introductions are directly related to electoral motivations, then there should also be a clear representational link between *the topics* of motions introduced by a given MP and *the interests* of his/her electoral constituency. Indeed, if this link does not exist, it would call into question the finding regarding electoral pressure in this chapter because an electoral connection should result in observable dyadic representation. The results give less of an expectation regarding bills. Though there is no absolute reason why a lack of electoral motivation generally would lead to clearly non-representative behaviour, the conditioning factor of electoral motivation should mean that representative behaviour occurs more often when electoral considerations are greater. With regard to bills, it is possible that if a policy focus is more prevalent generally as the motivating factor, or that electoral motivations affect participation less often than motions, then MPs introducing bills will be more motivated by issues of personal or policy interests, and the link between topic and constituency interest should be weaker. In other words, these MPs likely act more as trustees and less as delegates who focus on their constituencies.

With these results in hand, the next chapter will take the next step in assessing whether dyadic representation occurs, in what forms it seems to occur, and what factors affect the type of representation that occurs, if at all.

Chapter 5

Dyadic Representation: Constituency Voting Preference, Constituency Interests and Private Members' Business

If the private member is to count for anything, there must be a relationship between what the private member and the institution of Parliament can do and what the electorate thinks or expects can be done.

Report of the Special Committee on the Reform of the House of Commons
(Canada 1985: 2)

This chapter seeks to establish whether or not a relationship exists between the interests of constituencies and the actions of the individual MPs who are elected to represent those constituencies in Parliament. In short, it examines the magnitude and nature of the dyadic representative relationship. It was suggested in Chapter 3 that MPs appear to focus upon, and perhaps attempt to “own” issues that may distinguish themselves (and possibly their parties) from their competition (other MPs and parties). Chapter 4 provided evidence that the extent to which MPs participate in Private Members’ Motions is based, at least in part, on electoral competition. It follows that the issues MPs choose to prioritize may be those that they feel will meet the interests of those who elect them. This is tested below.

Two separate approaches will be used to examine whether this type of dyadic representation occurs, and, if it does, whether it is affected by electoral pressure. First, the constituency-MP relationship is examined in terms of a *generalized* issue dimension by relying on broad groupings of issues and a general measure of “left-right” constituency preferences based on partisan voting patterns. Subsequent analyses then focus on a more *specific* form of representation, exploring the link between constituency demographic and economic data, and MPs’ issue-specific motion and bill introductions. In each of these approaches, the analysis will first consider whether a dyadic representational relationship exists, and then whether electoral pressure plays a role in affecting that relationship.

It is worth noting at the outset that the means of representing a given constituency in a substantive manner are numerous, and may include introducing legislation, making statements, proposing amendments, or even acting on behalf of a constituency outside of parliament. It is true that representatives represent differently and that this project addresses a particular form of legislative action. This is only one part, though arguably an important part, in understanding the dyadic representative relationship. It follows that a lack of representation in this particular form does not equal a complete lack of representation by MPs or in Parliament generally. However, evidence of representation here would certainly be suggestive about the representative nature of the broader democratic system.

Private Members' Business and MPs' personal priorities

Private Members' Bills and Motions are among the only opportunities, and arguably the best opportunities, by which an individual MP can make a statement on a policy matter in the legislature without his/her party hierarchy determining its placement.¹ Tremblay states: "From an 'acting for' viewpoint, the nature of the issues, policies and legislation an MP pursues determines whether or not representation occurs" (1998: 439). In many cases, the issues that an MP prioritizes will not be those which are directly representative of constituency interests. If an MP is "out of touch" with constituents' interests, his/her personal priorities should help in telling us so. Alternatively, if the issues that an MP prioritizes are congruent with his/her constituency's interests, then this should result in observable dyadic representation. An MP's personal priorities may in some cases be derived directly from specific interests of constituents while, in other cases, they may simply fit more generally into a range of interests that might be acceptable or even desirable to constituents generally. These dynamics were evident in the face-to-face interviews conducted with MPs for this project. A number of examples from MPs' statements are useful here.

Mark Holland (Liberal – Ajax-Pickering) invoked the term "passion" when speaking about what drives the topics that MPs choose as their personal priorities. I

¹ Face-to-face interviews with MPs indicated overwhelmingly that parties play little to no significant role in PMB introductions.

asked him why, after two consecutive Liberal governments introduced bills to decriminalize personal marijuana use (these were in the 37th and 38th Parliaments, though neither bill received Royal Assent), no single MP had introduced a Private Members' Bill on the same topic in the 39th Parliament.² He responded:

I think probably because it isn't anybody's passion. While people may agree with it or think that it would do good things, I don't think anybody is driven to run to decriminalize marijuana. And you usually only get one opportunity every two years, and to use that on something that isn't your passion doesn't make sense (Interviewed Dec. 7, 2006).

Not only does Mr. Holland suggest that the choice of topic for PMB should be of high importance to the MP personally, but his statement also suggests that it may be part of the reason why an individual runs for office in the first place. Rahim Jaffer (Conservative – Edmonton-Strathcona) indicated the significance he placed on his choice of topic when I asked him why he had chosen certain tax-related issues for PMB introductions in earlier Parliaments (as caucus chair, Mr. Jaffer is not currently permitted to introduce PMB). He responded: “These are the ones that are most important to me in defining my involvement in politics” (Interviewed Dec. 12, 2006)

When an MP's personal priorities are influenced directly by his/her constituency, acting on those priorities through PMB results in a form of substantive dyadic representation.³ The responses of two MPs are illustrative of this. Both MPs appear to suggest that the priorities they have chosen result from understanding the interests prioritized by constituents.

Paul Zed (Liberal – Saint John, Interviewed Dec. 12, 2006) indicated that he has a very strong constituency focus when it comes to his personal priorities. When asked to list three policy topics that are his personal priorities (distinguished from his party's policy priorities), he responded:

1. Harbour clean-up.
2. Poverty gap issues in Saint John.

² This is not one of the regular questions in the MP interview. It was, however, a question that I posed to a number of MPs if time permitted at the end of the interview.

³ The distinction between being influenced by the constituency, versus simply having interests that align with the constituency, is given further consideration below.

3. Housing [in Saint John].

When I noted that all of his responses related directly to his constituency, he stated: “My personal priorities are Saint John.” Mr. Zed has introduced only two PMB items in the past two Parliaments, but both – one motion and one bill – focus on “Harbour clean-up” by calling for implementation of greater pollution controls.⁴

When asked the same question about personal priorities, Randy Kamp (Conservative - Pitt Meadows – Maple Ridge – Mission, Interviewed Nov. 2, 2006) responded:

- 1.) Fisheries (*his current Parliamentary Secretary role*)
- 2.) Crystal Meth⁵ Strategy
- 3.) Proliferation of drug growing operations

I later asked Mr. Kamp: *What is the single most important factor in why the issue of crystal methamphetamine receives your attention?* He responded:

“For me, it was because I had come to realize how big a problem it was in my riding. I don’t think I knew that before I was elected, but from talking to a whole variety of people – all the way from addicts to law enforcement people.”⁶

Mr. Kamp has introduced only a single motion during his relatively short tenure as an MP (he was first elected in 2004 and, as a Parliamentary Secretary, he is not currently permitted to introduce PMB). With that single initiative, he called for the government to implement a National Crystal Methamphetamine Strategy.

Of course, both the interests of constituencies and the specific actions that MPs take regarding those interests, or perceived interests, are not always as easily determined as in the cases suggested above. The ability of any MP to represent a particular interest of his/her constituents is tied to how clearly that interest can be expressed. The MP must in turn recognize some form of message from his/her constituents that indicates what their interests are. In the above examples, these two MPs chose particular topics. We have no

⁴ This is a topic upon which Mr. Zed has focused in other venues at the federal level, as well as with local and provincial levels of government.

⁵ Crystal Methamphetamine is a highly addictive illicit drug.

⁶ Mr. Kamp also indicated to me at a number of points both during and after the interview that his concern about drug growing operations is very much a constituency issue as well, though certainly the issues of drug use and drug production could be considered both regional (in Mr. Kamp’s case) and national issues.

accurate measure for determining how important these topics actually are to their constituents as a whole, however; these MPs clearly believe that they are addressing a need in their respective constituencies. Nevertheless, the matter of determining constituency interests can be a difficult one, and in some constituencies this can be more difficult than others.

Many MPs represent ridings that have very a high degree of diversity across a range of socio-economic characteristics. Meeting the interests of such a constituency may require a large amount of work, but not always in the form of having a specific issue focus. Eagles, in his study on constituency representation in Canada, notes that, “The ethnocultural diversity of constituency settings seemed to command more attentiveness on the part of MPs, but offered the member relatively greater latitude in terms of his or her representational behavior in the legislative process” (1998:68). Wahlke et al. (1962: 296-7) similarly indicate that many legislators point to the fact that they are not in a position to effectively ascertain what the constituents in their districts (US state level) feel on specific issues. Indeed, the responses I received from MPs were quite mixed regarding how much and on what issues they hear directly from constituents. Mr. Kamp indicated that he heard a lot from his constituents regarding the issues of drug use and production. Jim Peterson (Liberal – Willowdale), on the other hand, stated: “You don’t hear much from constituents until you kill baby seals or try to cut off the CBC” (Interviewed Dec. 7, 2006).

MPs may accordingly feel that they do not receive any specific messages from constituents about policy preferences. Indeed, MPs may feel that they should represent constituency interests on a more *general*, rather than *specific*, level – a distinction noted and studied with regard to policy spending at the federal level in Canada by Soroka and Wlezien (2004). At the constituency level, it is possible that, in some cases, there are clear public preferences about particular issues that MPs respond to, and many studies have studied responsiveness by looking at specific issues (Miller and Stokes 1963, 1966; Erickson 1978; Page et al. 1984; Bartels 1991). On the other hand, representatives may respond to what they perceive to be their constituents’ broad range of interests, and responsiveness takes on a more general manner (See e.g. Wood and Hinton Anderson 1998, Peterson et al. 2003).

In a similar vein, scholars of US public opinion and policy have referred to a “public policy mood” (Stimson 1999) or even more broadly, a “national mood” (Kingdon 1995). The concept of the ‘mood’, broadly stated, is that there exists an aggregate disposition for policy outcomes within the public. Measuring ‘mood’ in the US has depended upon aggregations of opinion responses on a range of issues to measure whether the mood is either more ‘liberal’ or more ‘conservative’ (Erikson et al. 2002; Stimson 1999; Stimson et al. 1995). Responsiveness to this mood, at the system level at least, must include policy outcomes that are more ‘liberal’ or ‘conservative’ in congruence with the mood.⁷ For instance, Grossback et al. indicate that following “mandate elections” some members of Congress change their general voting patterns to fit the perceived mood of constituents, and further suggest that electoral pressure can affect the degree to which behaviour is altered (2006: Chapter 6).

In order for the generalized preference of a constituency to have an impact on the action of a single representative, the representative must first perceive that the preference exists, and then see it as worth acting upon. This depends, indirectly at least, on the belief that, as Page and Shapiro (1992) state: “...collective policy preferences are real, knowable, differentiated, patterned and coherent” (383). So long as an MP believes that there is a message from a public that holds coherent expectations, and so long as there is perceived electoral pressure from that public to act upon that message, then the MP will attempt to relieve some of that pressure. What is most important is the *perception* of the MP in interpreting and consequently choosing to act on that message.

Simply stated, it is quite possible that MPs perceive a policy preference mood within constituencies which captures preferences on a broad range of issues. The MP, by acting on one or a few of these issues, represents this broad policy preference without there necessarily being a clear link between a single salient issue and a particular action. This manner of representation permits the MP to take action which is representative of

⁷ In a related vein is the idea of electoral mandates, which, Stimson states, are produced by: “a shift of voter policy preferences expressed in electoral outcomes” (1999:113; see also Grossback et al. 2006). While a shift in vote alone is probably related to many factors, not directly a mandate alone, as Stimson acknowledges, the concept of a mandate is certainly tied to the idea that a constituency sends a message about the degree to which it accepts or rejects a package of ideas by way of the vote.

constituents generally, but also allows for personal preferences and/or global influences to influence the specific action taken (Wood and Hinton Anderson 1998).

Apart from the theoretical reason for looking at this general representative relationship, there is also a methodological advantage to doing so. Because there is only a small number of item introductions for most PMB topics, analyses of representation on specific topics rely on a dependent variable with rather limited variance. In contrast, the generalized measure includes a large range of issues, increasing the number of cases, and allowing for greater statistical leverage, despite the possible increase in the degree of error (which is expected to be random⁸).

Of course, it is still possible that representation occurs on specific issues – that is, there are certain characteristics of constituencies that may effectively indicate more particularized interests, and actions on particular issues may be taken by MPs to represent these interests. For example: if an MP perceives an interest regarding employment in his/her constituency (perhaps because of high unemployment), this interest can be addressed by directing attention toward employment initiatives specifically. Both of these possibilities of *generalized* and *specific* representation are considered in turn below.

It should also be noted, regarding cases where there is congruence between the issues that an MP prioritizes and his/her constituency's interests, that this may occur for three different reasons: 1.) the MP simply shares the same interests as his/her constituency, 2.) the MP is focused upon his/her constituency and is actively representing its interests in part due to this focus, or 3.) the MP is representing those who voted for him/her only. While it is difficult to fully distinguish between these scenarios, the analysis that follows later in the chapter does so in part by controlling for electoral pressure. If electoral pressure positively affects the representative relationship, this indicates that representation is not due simply to congruent interests alone.

An alternative to this causal chain of events based on electoral pressure is suggested by Kingdon's (1989) observation that electoral instability may never become an issue for a member who acts in a highly representative manner. Even a member whose

⁸ In classifying topics under broad categories to create a generalized measure, as is explained below, there are inevitably going to be cases where a particular item does not fit with the category to which it is assigned. Nevertheless, there is no reason to expect that this occurs in a systematic fashion that biases the results – the exception being a particular topic which is noted and explained below.

sights are not on bolstering his/her electoral prospects might still be wary of introducing bills that are not seen as representative, for fear that public awareness of such action could arise and cause problems for him/her (See e.g. Arnold 1990, Kingdon 1989). In some cases, the correlation between a representative's win margin and actions that specifically represent his/her constituency could actually be a positive one – that is, there may be MPs who act in a representative manner and enjoy substantial electoral stability, perhaps as a result of their highly representative actions. This bi-directional relationship is noted by Eagles who, in probing factors affecting constituency service in Canada following the 1993 election, notes:

The competitiveness or closeness of victory margins seemed to have an unexpected relationship with constituency service, namely that there seemed in general to be as much or more constituency service performed by MPs who won comfortable victories in the 1993 election. The possibility that MPs who were good constituency servants before the 1993 election were those to win biggest in that race cannot be ruled out (1998:68).

The possibility that the causal arrow points in the other direction in this particular relationship cannot be entirely excluded. However, the possibility that this alternate causal direction, described by Kingdon, substantially affects the nature of MPs' legislative behaviour in Canada seems highly unlikely. From previous chapters, we know that electoral stability in Canada is comparatively low, so that the scenario described by Kingdon (including the very strong incumbency advantage in the US) is quite rare in Canada. We also know from Chapter 4 that MPs experiencing electoral pressure respond in the expected manner regarding PMB participation. Therefore, where we expect to see electoral pressure playing a role (more likely with motions than with bills), the representational relationship in Canada should not conform to the scenario described by Kingdon, but should rather be one where electoral pressure increases the representative relationship.

Finally, it may be true that some MPs aim to specifically represent only those who have actually voted for them.⁹ While this is certainly possible, it seems that this is less

⁹ Penner et al. (2006) show that parties tend to represent their own voters' interests in Question Period in Canada.

likely to be the case for an MP who experiences significant electoral pressure. Fenno's (1973, 1978) concepts of both "maintaining" and "maximizing" are important here. Certainly an MP who is electorally stable may do well to represent only partisans, or those whom he/she feels have voted favourably in the past, and thereby attempt to simply maintain his/her current electoral safety. Nevertheless, such an approach to representation seems unlikely for an MP who must maximize his/her vote. In such a case, the MP must look beyond only those who have voted favourably in the past to those who can contribute to an electoral victory in the future.

In short then, while there are different reasons why a dyadic representative relationship may be evident, the approach used here should be effective in determining whether the relationship is one that is based on electoral pressure, and therefore not one that is based simply on congruent interests or partisan representation.

MP Representation of Generalized Constituency Interests

Does the constituency send a *general* message, as described above, to the representative that he/she, in turn, acts upon? To answer this question, the sections below present a measure of the general orientation of voters toward more "left-leaning" or "right-leaning" groups of issues, and then compare this broad orientation to MPs' actions on these issue groups.

Dependent Variables: Bill and Motion Issue Topics

For the purpose of analyzing general representation, or the MP's response to the general policy mood of his/her constituency (discussed in the following section), topics are grouped into what can loosely be defined as "right-leaning", and "left-leaning" issues. The topics identified as "right-leaning" are: Macroeconomics, Law & Crime, Defense, and Government Operations (motions only)¹⁰. The topics identified as "left-leaning" are:

¹⁰ Much of the attention in this topic is focused upon government accountability, democratic reform, and parliamentary and government employee salaries and pensions. These topics have tended to be more popular among more right-leaning parties (and their members) for at least most of the period in question. Government Operations is not included as a topic with bills because the majority of such bills include riding name changes which are not clearly "right" or "left" in nature. This is also identified as an area of focus for

Health, Labour (Immigration subtopic is dropped¹¹), Education, Environment, Energy¹², Social Welfare, Community Development & Housing, Domestic Commerce¹³, International Affairs & Aid, and Culture & Entertainment.¹⁴ Recall that in Chapter 3, there was evidence of partisan differences in attention to some of these topics. This measure, however, includes topics that fit into the broad themes generally accepted¹⁵ as fitting the agendas of a “right-left” issue spectrum in Canada – it is not fashioned after the results seen in Chapter 3 alone, and in that sense is believed to be more accurate conceptually. For each participant, the number of “left” bills introduced is deducted from the number of “right” bills introduced to give a *Left-Right Bill Score*, and the same method is used with motions to create a *Left-Right Motion Score*. In this way, if a greater number of bills or motions are introduced that are part of the “right” issue grouping, the MP will have a score that is positive, and this score will be increasingly positive the greater the gap between the number of items introduced on right and left issues. A negative score indicates a greater number of items introduced on issues of the “left” issue grouping, while a score of zero indicates an equal number items from each group. As only participants are included, there are no scores for MPs with no bills or no motions in the respective measures.

These measures, both for bill and motion introductions, are admittedly far from perfect. For instance, some MPs introduce items on the Labour topic with the intention of limiting the power of labour unions, and such an action is generally a characteristic of more “right-leaning” behaviour. Upon close inspection of the data on the Labour topic

the more “right-leaning” Progressive Conservative Party and less for the more “left-leaning” NDP by Petry (1995).

¹¹ This topic code includes both Labour and Immigration (topic 5), though upon closer inspection, it was found that items introduced on Immigration specifically (subtopic 530) had a strong tendency to not fit the “left-leaning” issue grouping. As many as 35% of items (both motions and bills) within this subtopic could be classified as “right-leaning” in nature. For this reason, items falling under the Immigration subtopic were dropped for this analysis.

¹² Bills and motions on Energy tend to call for cleaner uses of energy, less energy consumption, and stopping the use of nuclear energy. In this sense, they are often similar to the topic of Environment.

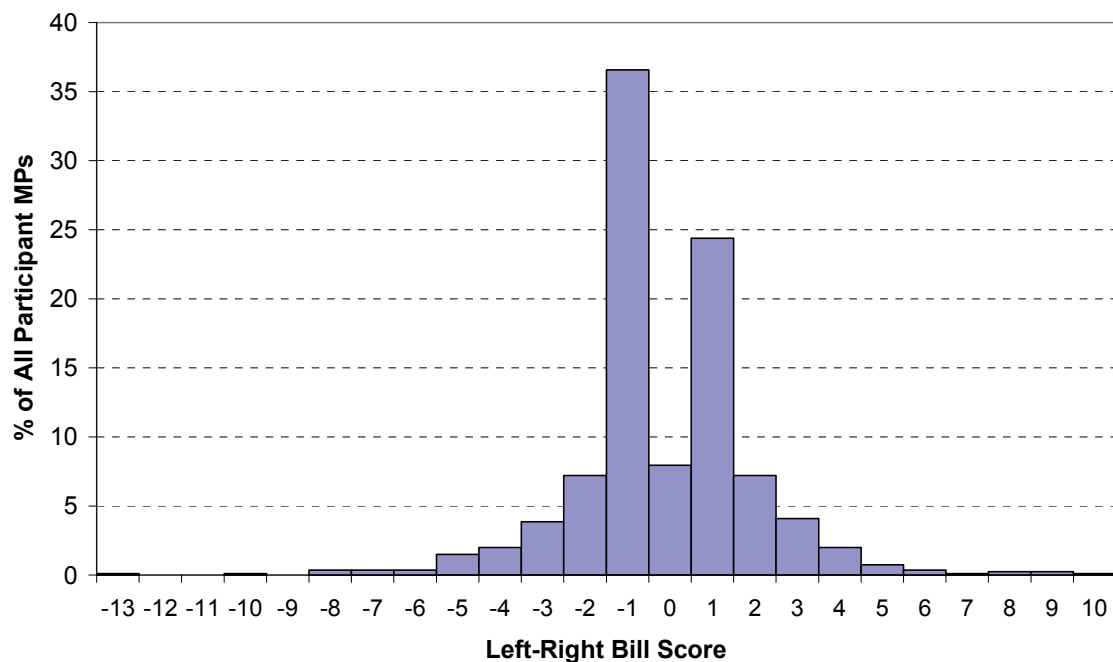
¹³ This topic is made up substantially of proposals for consumer protection and corporate regulations.

¹⁴ While the list of topics used here is more comprehensive, there is evidence of party difference across topics when election platforms are observed. These differences generally support the placement of issues utilized here, and the partisan scoring method used below (See Petry 1995:62-64). Nevertheless, some differences occur here based on a larger range of topics, and on the observable differences based on diagnostics of the data (Chapter 3) and a detailed look at the cases that make up some of these topics (see preceding 3 footnotes).

¹⁵ See e.g. Petry 1995; Blais et al. 2002a, 2002b; Belanger 2003; Soroka et al N.d.

specifically, the number of introductions (and unique MP participants) that appear deviant to the “left” categorization appear to be approximately 10%-15% with motions, and about 10% with bills. While this certainly increases the error in the measure, the error that it adds overall is relatively small, and it should in any case lead to a more conservative result in the forthcoming analyses.¹⁶ No other topic was considered to have a high enough number of deviant cases to warrant explanation (greater than or equal to 5%). Thus, while cases undoubtedly exist within the topic groupings that do not fit the broad classification, the overall measures remain useful for their intended purpose, and deviant cases will not increase the likelihood of a false-positive result; indeed, they should make a positive result less likely.

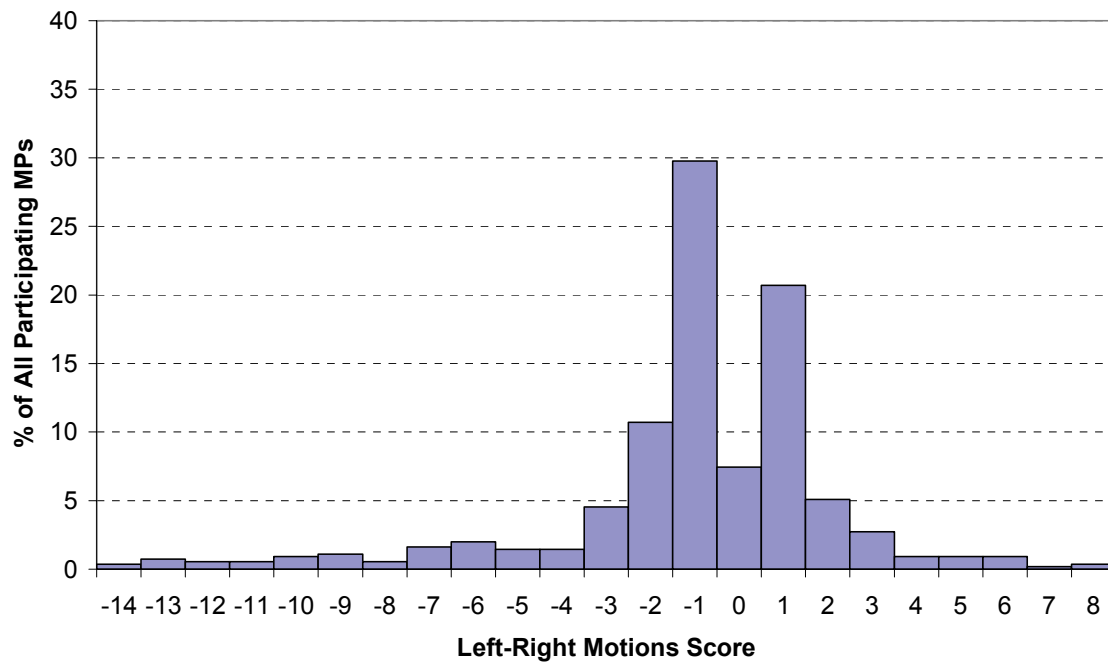
Figure 5.1: Distribution of MP Left-Right Bill Scores



N=784, mean= -0.09, standard deviation= 2.16.

¹⁶ There is evidence from previously generated results that this is true. In earlier analyses conducted for this project, the Labour & Immigration topic was included fully in the “Left” topic grouping. Upon further investigation, the Immigration subtopic was dropped due to as much as 35% of items appearing to be more “right-leaning” both in motions and bills. Dropping this subtopic enhanced the statistical significance of results slightly to fit with the theorized expectation, though most results remain unchanged. Nevertheless, dropping the entire Labour topic would likely exclude a much larger number of MPs, and overlook an activity that seems overwhelmingly to fit the “Left” category.

Figure 5.2: Distribution of MP Left-Right Motion Scores



*Figure depicts approximately 95% of all cases (for illustrative purposes only – no cases are dropped). Approximately 2.5% of cases are not shown on each tail.
N=542, mean=-1.33, standard deviation=5.6. Minimum=-29, maximum=48.*

Figure 5.1 shows the Left-Right Bill Score for MPs participating in Private Members' Bills. Figure 5.2 similarly shows the Left-Right Motion Score for MPs participating in Private Members' Motions. Each dependent variable has a normal distribution with the exception of the drop at zero which falls between very high values at both 1 and -1. This is because many MPs introduce only a single bill or motion, while few MPs introduce an equal number of "left" and "right" topic bills or motions (which is necessary for a score of zero). Non-participants, as noted above, are dropped. The following analyses utilize a truncated, simplified version of these variables, where MPs are coded simply as being "left", "centre", or "right" based on their total score. All scores less than zero are coded as -1 (left) and all scores greater than zero are coded as one (right). In this truncated form, an MP is "right" if their right-leaning bills/motions outweigh their left-leaning bills/motions, regardless of the magnitude of the difference. This form of the independent variable seems preferable to the non-truncated form because

what we seek to establish is the predicted effect of these independent variables upon the left-right nature of participation, and not the degree of participation, which is, itself, significantly affected by two of the independent variables – partisanship and win margin (see Chapter 4). This approach also ensures that outliers do not drive any of the observed results.

This categorical specification is intuitively appealing; it also, as we shall see, leads to particularly strong results where dyadic representation is concerned. For this three-category variable, an ordered probit regression model is the appropriate method of analysis.¹⁷ Note, however, that analyses using the non-truncated form of the independent variables were also conducted using OLS regression, and results generally mirror those of the ordered probit model, though coefficients are not always statistically significant on the same variables (see appendix).

Independent Variables

Representation differs from participation in that the main variables that should ultimately lead to substantive representation, at least the type analyzed here, are fewer than those that lead to participation in the first place. The dependent variables described above include only participants, so the variables that affect participation alone do not need to be included in the current model. A much simpler model will be used that focuses on constituency interests and electoral pressure, as well as the interaction between these two variables. At the same time, the model also controls for political party affiliation, which should affect the amount of “left-leaning” and “right-leaning” actions.

Public Preferences

In order to analyze the public expectations for a generalized form of action like that captured by the dependent variable described above, it is necessary to also measure an aggregated form of interests for each constituency, and then see if the actions taken by each individual MP seem to represent that general interest within his/her constituency.

¹⁷ The Ordered Probit model is preferable to OLS where the dependent variable is latent (Fox 1997: 475-8). However preliminary results generated using OLS and Ordered Logit did not produce significantly different estimations than those reported in the following analyses.

Stimson (1999) provides an example of how this might work, using polls to measure the public's policy 'mood' on a national level. While the ideal measure of public attitudes for the purpose of this project would be based upon poll results at the constituency level (Erickson 1981), such constituency-level polling is simply impractical in Canada.¹⁸

In the absence of polling data, another approach uses both demographic and opinion data to simulate policy preferences (See e.g. Erickson 1978; Erickson and Wright 1980; Page et al. 1984¹⁹). As described by Erickson, this is a two step process, the first involving the generation of a regression equation that predicts preferences based on socio-demographic characteristics, using sample opinion data. The unstandardized coefficients from this first step are then used in the second step to weight the aggregated demographic characteristics for each constituency (from census data) in order to predict each constituency's mean preference, which is the weighted sum of all significant demographic characteristics in estimating that same preference from step one.

Another approach is to infer policy preferences based on measures which do not include any actual measure of preference itself (i.e. by self-placement on a liberal-conservative scale, or by partisan state vote, see Erickson et al. 1993; or by demographic characteristics and presidential vote, see Erickson 1978; Erickson and Wright 1980). This basic approach is used here, as the previously mentioned approaches were not found to be either plausible or useful in the case of Canadian constituencies. In short, public preferences are not available at the constituency level in Canada, and previous efforts to simulate preferences for this project were found to be ineffective. For measuring generalized representation, then, voting results are used to summarize policy preferences, where it is believed that the party that an individual votes for is a broad indicator of the types of issue interests that the individual holds. For measuring specific representation, as will be done in a later section, demographic characteristics are used as a proxy for constituency interests.

¹⁸ Studies using polls as a measure of constituency preferences have been conducted using this method in the US (See e.g. Bartels 1991; Page et al. 1984; Miller and Stokes 1963, 1966) alongside efforts to develop polling methods that provide more reliable results through augmented polling in particular constituencies in the later studies (See Erickson 1981).

¹⁹ Page et al. (1984) consider both surveyed opinion and simulated opinion in their study. They control for demographic characteristics separately, which, on certain topics, significantly increases the predictive value of their models, though they do not measure representation by socio-demographic inferred interests alone.

The measure used here to analyze generalized representation relies on one similar to that employed by Erikson and Wright (1980) and Erickson et al. (1993), where constituency partisan voting results are employed to summarize policy preferences. The measure captures each constituency's "partisan preference" as a proxy for the general policy preference for that constituency. The preference is given a score based on the total sum of votes for each party within the constituency – each party having been assigned a value based on its orientation being more "left-leaning" or "right-leaning". Erickson and Wright (1980) suggest for the US case that the amount of votes for a more "liberal" presidential candidate (Democratic) within a given constituency indicates how "liberal" (versus "conservative") that constituency is. They state: "Presuming that presidential vote is indicative of district ideology, Democratic presidential voting should correlate with congressional liberalism" (1980: 92).²⁰ One belief as to why this relationship may occur rests on the idea that voters choose a candidate, at least in part, based on issue preferences (Wright 1978), though this idea has been challenged (Campbell et al. 1960; Bernstein 1989). Again, however, it is worth noting that the causal link described here is based on MPs acting in order to meet a perceived preference, and it is understandable that MPs would perceive constituency interests in part based on how many votes each party receives. It is not necessary that all voters hold strong policy positions, and even if they do, it is not necessary that these positions determine their vote. It is quite possible that some, even many, voters in Canada do use their party identification as an economical means of taking positions on issues (Popkin 1991; Campbell et al. 1960; Johnston 1992) and that representatives may, in turn, take the overall partisan vote as an indicator of broad issue positions held by the constituency as a whole. Thus, while partisan preferences are not actual policy preferences, they do provide a useful measure – and, in the Canadian case, quite possibly the best measure – of perceived constituency policy preferences.

Using the total partisan vote of a constituency to calculate that constituency's preferences, and in turn using this as an independent variable to predict MP action, assumes that each constituent carries equal influence in the action of the representative

²⁰ Stimson indicates, using his measure of preference mood, that partisan preference is related to policy mood, though this varies depending on the institution for which the election is held (i.e. House, Senate, or Presidency. See e.g. Stimson 1999: 99-112).

(Achen 1978). However, a representative who acts in a manner that weighs more heavily the interests of those who are relatively close to his/her position (this could be seen as a partisan, ideological, or issue position), while ignoring those constituents whose position is far away from his/her own position, should still be influenced in part by the overall distribution of voters *if he/she desires more votes*. For example, if the mean preference of a constituency is perceived to be further to the “right”, then that constituency’s MP should tend to try and capture that larger number of voters with actions that are more “right-leaning”, or vice versa. This means that the MP is essentially attempting to maximize his/her vote total by pursuing the median position as suggested by Downs (1957; see also Fenno 1973; 1978), and the perceived position of the median is measured by the partisan preference score. It remains possible that elected representatives remain most responsive to what they view as their “re-election” constituencies; and, in heterogeneous constituencies, MPs may have greater difficulty in determining positions and preferences that are most advantageous electorally (Fiorina 1974; Fenno 1973, 1978; Bailey and Brady 1998).²¹ Overall, however, it is assumed here that the mean interest of the constituency will be an effective, though imperfect, indication of the “push” or “pull” on a representative’s actions. Where electoral pressure accompanies that “push” or “pull”, MP behaviour should be influenced by it.

A final note regarding this constituency interest measure is that it need not be regarded as a left-right ideological preference. Rather, the only assumption necessary is that there is a relationship between partisan preferences and issue preferences which is generalizable across voters in Canada. It is certainly true that particular issues and positions regarding issues are often attached to parties by voters. While the assessment of parties and of issues by voters may play varying roles in the actual vote decision, parties do emphasize particular issues, and these issues can be connected by voters to particular parties (Bélanger 2003; Blais et al. 2002a; Nadeau et al. 2001; Clarke et al. 1996; Johnston et al. 1992). An example of this is that people who voted for the Reform/CA party in Canada were more likely to know that the party prioritizes issues of Macroeconomics (mainly taxes and fiscal responsibility) as well as Law and Crime (Blais

²¹ Bailey and Brady use 6 variables to determine measure of heterogeneity – education, income, occupation, housing ownership, ethnic stock, and religion.

et al. 2002a). Similarly, those who vote for the NDP are likely to know that the party prioritizes issues of Healthcare, Labour, and Social Welfare. What this suggests generally, then, is that a vote for a particular party should be an effective measure of the issue preferences of the individual who cast the vote.

Constituency interest, then, is captured using a measure in which the vote share for each party in the last election is multiplied by that party's placement on a left-right scale. Each value is based on how "right-leaning" a party is in relation to other parties – which is a means of generalizing the types of issues that the party tends to prioritize. The partisan preference is calculated as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Partisan Preference}^{22} = & (\text{VoteshareNDP} \times -1) + \\ & (\text{VoteshareBQ} \times -.5) + \\ & (\text{VoteshareLiberal} \times 0) + \\ & (\text{VotesharePC} \times .5) + \\ & (\text{VoteshareReform/CA} \times 1) + \\ & (\text{VoteshareConservative} \times 1) + \\ & (\text{VoteshareSocialCredit} \times 1) \end{aligned}$$

Note that these scores are generally supported by the findings of Blais et al. (2002b) regarding "left-right" issue positions by partisan supporters in Canada. These scores also fit closely the placement assigned to Canadian parties on a general "taxes versus spending" and "social liberalism" scale (Benoit and Laver 2006, Appendix B). They also align reasonably well with Petry's (1995) analysis of party's campaign policy agendas, though Petry's study does not cover all parties or issues covered here. With regard to issue ownership, Belanger's (2003) study similarly does not cover the range of issues used here, and results are complicated in part because of popularity of parties, but

²² Two parties should be noted here. 1.) The BQ, though its *raison d'être* is to promote Quebec sovereignty, generally presents itself as a left-leaning party. Even though it has taken positions on particular issues such as Crime in recent years that appear more right-leaning in nature, the party's general platform in most elections is quite similar to the NDP on a number of policy topics. It is expected that most voters view the party as being to the left of the Liberal party for the objectives of this project.

2.) The Social Credit Party, though becoming increasingly irrelevant on the national stage by the end of the 1970s, still had MPs elected in 1979 and continued to take reasonably large shares of votes in many ridings even after 1980, which are time periods that are used in the following analysis.

the basic classification of parties regarding taxes and spending issues suggests a form of party placement similar to that used here. Finally, Kam (2001) classifies groupings of MPs across ideological positions that match up closely with these placements. In short, this measure, as it has been constructed, should be effective in capturing generalized preferences on a left-right issue dimension.

The resulting scale has a possible low score of -1 (all votes for the NDP) and a possible high score of one (all votes for the Reform/CA, Conservatives, and/or Social Credit party).

Figure 5.3: Distribution of Left-Right Constituency Vote (1979-2006)

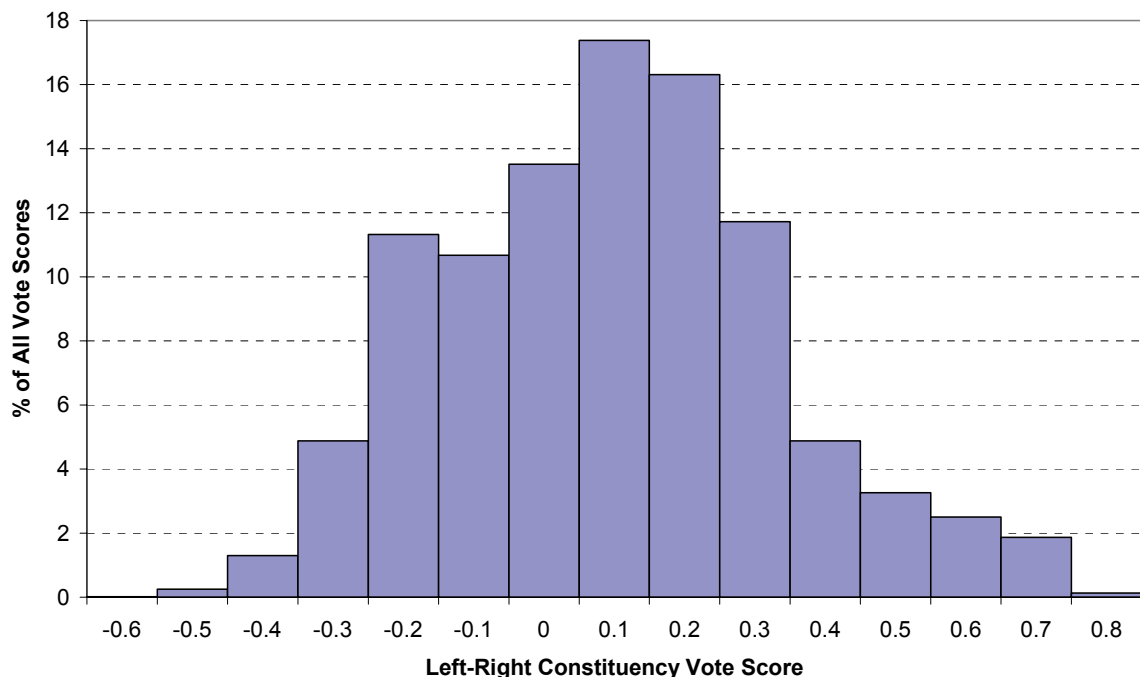


Figure 5.3 shows the distribution of this variable. There are 4,754 observations in total, with a mean vote score of .10 (slightly “right-leaning” based on the Liberal Party being the party of the “centre”) and a standard deviation of .24. The minimum vote score is -.58 and the maximum is .79. Approximately 65% of cases have positive values, which is not surprising given that the total national vote for right-leaning parties has outstripped that for left-leaning parties substantially over the period. Indeed, Progressive Conservatives formed one minority and two majority governments during this period, and the Conservative party also forms the current minority government, while during much of

the period in which there were Liberal governments, the total vote for right-leaning parties was close to double that of left-leaning parties. This variable, then, indicates the message that each constituency sends to its MP in terms of its general issue preferences.

Electoral Pressure

Electoral pressure may have some effect on the degree to which MPs take actions that reflect this message about policy preferences. Electoral pressure (both popularity and election proximity) has been found to increase congruence with public opinion with regard to Presidential speeches (Rottinghaus 2006²³; Canes-Wrone and Shotts 2004). Similarly, we should expect that dyadic representative action is likely to be stronger if electoral pressure exists, though this type of action may vary across PMB venues, and perhaps across issues as well. Analyses thus include the same win margin variable used in the previous chapter, as well as an interaction between the constituency preference variable and win margin. There is no particular expectation regarding the main effect of the win margin variable²⁴; the interaction, as before, should be negative (increasing the representative link as win margin decreases).

The effect of election proximity will also be analyzed, following that of win margin, to determine if this variable affects the nature of representation as it appeared to affect participation in the previous chapter. Separate estimations will be produced for both election and non-election sessions. This approach will allow for an adequate assessment of the representative relationship and win margin's impact before adding another independent variable of focus, and also avoids the complexity of multiple interactions in a single model. It is expected that, as an election looms, MPs who have less electoral stability will be more likely to act in a representative manner. The same "election session" variable used in Chapter 4 will be used here.

Political Parties

²³ Electoral pressure here may extend to a 2nd term President campaigning for a new president of the same party during one's second term.

²⁴ Any significant result on this variable likely suggests a systematic difference in win margins between parties or another grouping of MPs (such as all "left-leaning" MPs having a lower or higher average win margin than all MPs generally).

The political affiliation of an MP is expected to be important in affecting his/her legislative behaviour. Accordingly, dummy variables for each political party are employed in the models below, as in Chapter 4. These variables capture the variance in issue focus across parties, and allow the variables measuring the constituency partisan vote to account for the effect of preferences independent of party effects.

The expectation, should dyadic representation occur, is that in ridings where the result of the total vote is more right-leaning comparatively, the member will be more likely to introduce bills and motions on right-leaning topics. This should be true generally, but a stronger test is whether it is true of MPs of the same party. In other words, even between two NDP MPs from different constituencies (the NDP being a relatively left-leaning party), if one MP's riding tends to collectively vote in a more right-leaning manner²⁵ (or simply has a vote score that is not as left-leaning), that same MP should have a tendency to introduce on topics that result in a less left-leaning bill or motion score than the other MP. This would indicate that constituencies are represented not only by the partisan stripe of the MP that they ultimately choose, but also by the manner in which they choose that particular MP (i.e. the 'message' that results from the overall vote). This should be true across all MPs within all parties.

Because there is no need to control for portfolio holders in this model, the analysis for bills can be extended back to an earlier time period. Portfolio data are available only as far back as 1984 (which limited analyses in the previous chapter to this start date), though census data (which will be used in the following section on specific representation) are available back to 1981. This being the case, the analyses of bills can credibly extend back to the 31st Parliament, which began in 1979. This start date is used in the analyses of both general and specific representation patterns.

With this longer time period for analyzing bills, results are reported both for the entire period (1979-2004) as well as for two distinct time periods based on observable

²⁵ An example of this is one MP whose constituency vote is 45% NDP, 35% Liberal, 15% Reform, 5% PC (score = -.025), and another MP whose constituency vote is 35% NDP, 25% Liberal, 25% Reform, 15% PC (score = 0.05). In both cases, an NDP MP wins the riding, but one score is left-leaning, the other is right-leaning. This is not an entirely theoretical example, as NDP candidates do win in ridings with overall right-leaning vote scores, though there are no cases in this study where an MP from a right-leaning party has won with an overall left-leaning vote score. This is likely because the NDP and BQ do not tend to be competitive in the same ridings.

differences in the House of Commons that are related to events stemming from the 1993 federal election. Recall from Chapter 1 that the 1993 election introduced a large number of new MPs into the House of Commons who held stronger tendencies to be constituency-focused and delegate-styled than those MPs from previous periods. Accordingly, it is possible to compare whether or not the behaviour of MPs in the pre-1993 election period (1979 – 1993) differed in a significant manner from that of MPs in the post-1993 election period (1994 – 2004) as Docherty's study (1997) suggests it may (see Chapter 1). This split also allows for a time period with bills (1994-2004) which is more directly comparable to the time period for motions (1994-2006), though motion introductions will not be analyzed in the earlier, pre-1993 election period due to limitations in data availability.

Results for General Representation

The table below provides the preliminary results regarding general representation through PMB participation in motions.

Table 5.1: Partisan Preference effect on Motion topic introductions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Left-Right	.35 (.41)		1.61 (.66) **	
Win Margin	-	-	-.18 (.53)	
Left-Right X Win Margin	-	-	-3.18 (1.36) **	
Reform/CA	.46 (.20) **		.42 (.21) **	
PC	.52 (.33)		.36 (.35)	
BQ	-.05 (.29)		.09 (.29)	
NDP	-.44 (.28)		-.27 (.30)	
Conservative	.00 (.31)		-.03 (.31)	
<i>N</i>	542		542	
<i>clusters</i>	237		237	
<i>Ps. R-squared</i>	.06		.08	
<i>Log Ps.Likelihood</i>	-450.62		-444.66	
<i>Cut 1</i>	.34 (.15)		.36 (.20)	
<i>Cut 2</i>	.58 (.15)		.60 (.20)	

* $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$

Cells contain ordered probit regression model coefficients, followed by the robust standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.1 provides rather convincing results regarding the occurrence of a generalized form of dyadic representation, which varies with electoral pressure. In Model 2, when electoral pressure is added to the model, the representative relationship stands out independently of political party. The negative coefficient on the interaction term suggests that representation increases as win margin decreases (or, in other words, as electoral pressure increases).

Below, Model 2 from Table 5.1 is taken one step further to establish if election proximity affects the nature of the relationship between constituency interests (combined with win margin), and MP action. Two separate estimations are shown: one for election sessions, and one for non-election sessions.

Table 5.2: Partisan Preference effect on Motion introductions (Election Proximity)

	Election Session		Non-election Session	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
LeftRight	1.37	(.78)*	1.95	(.90)**
Win Margin	-.96	(.67)	.51	(.76)
Left-Right X Win Margin	-2.75	(1.67)a	-3.65	(1.90)*
Reform/CA	.59	(.24)**	.23	(.29)
PC	.42	(.41)	.30	(.38)
BQ	-.07	(.33)	.32	(.40)
NDP	-.30	(.34)	-.18	(.40)
Conservative	.10	(.33)	-	-
<i>N</i>	309		233	
<i>Clusters</i>	186		156	
<i>Ps. R-squared</i>	.10		.06	
<i>Log Ps.Likelihood</i>	-243.01		-197.92	
<i>Cut 1</i>	.27	(.23)	.46	(.31)
<i>Cut 2</i>	.52	(.24)	.69	(.31)

* $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$

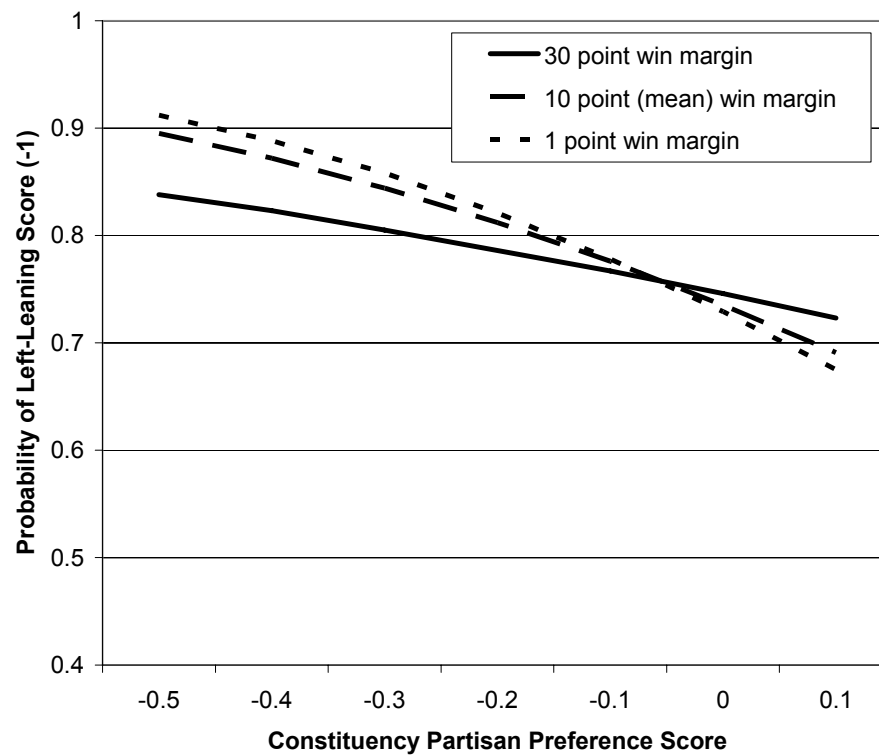
a: $p < .11$

Cells contain ordered probit regression model coefficients, followed by the robust standard error (in parentheses).

Results suggest that election proximity does not significantly affect whether an MP is more or less representative of his/her constituents, and this seems to be true regardless of win margin. Indeed, the coefficient is slightly stronger on the interaction term when an election is not close, though the difference between the coefficients for both models is not statistically significant. This suggests that, while non-electorally secure MPs tend to be more representative of constituency interests through motions, the proximity of the next election has no significant effect on this; these MPs tend to act in a more representative manner throughout the electoral cycle.

Win Margin effect on Constituency Representation (Motions)²⁶

Figure 5.4a: MPs from the New Democratic Party



²⁶ Note that the axes of the three figures are different. This is because the probabilities of being left-leaning are within different ranges for each party, as are the constituency partisan preference scores within these parties' MPs win seats. The probability scores (y-axis) for each figure include 60% of the total range of probability, such that the slopes of the lines are reasonably comparable, though this is affected slightly by the difference total range of constituency vote score (x-axis).

Figure 5.4b: MPs from the Liberal Party

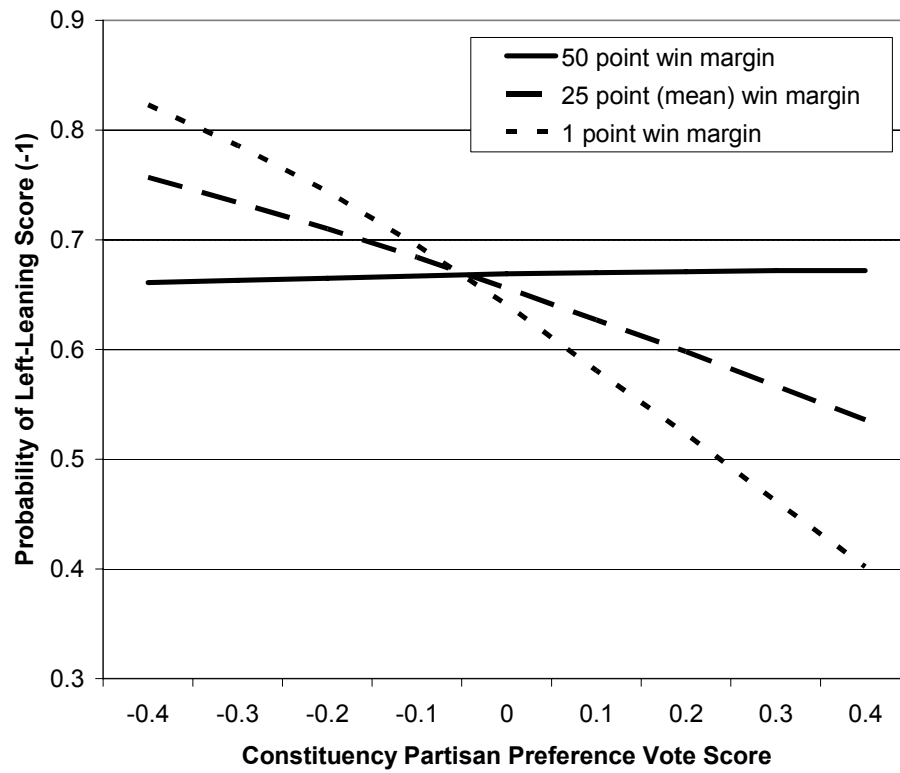
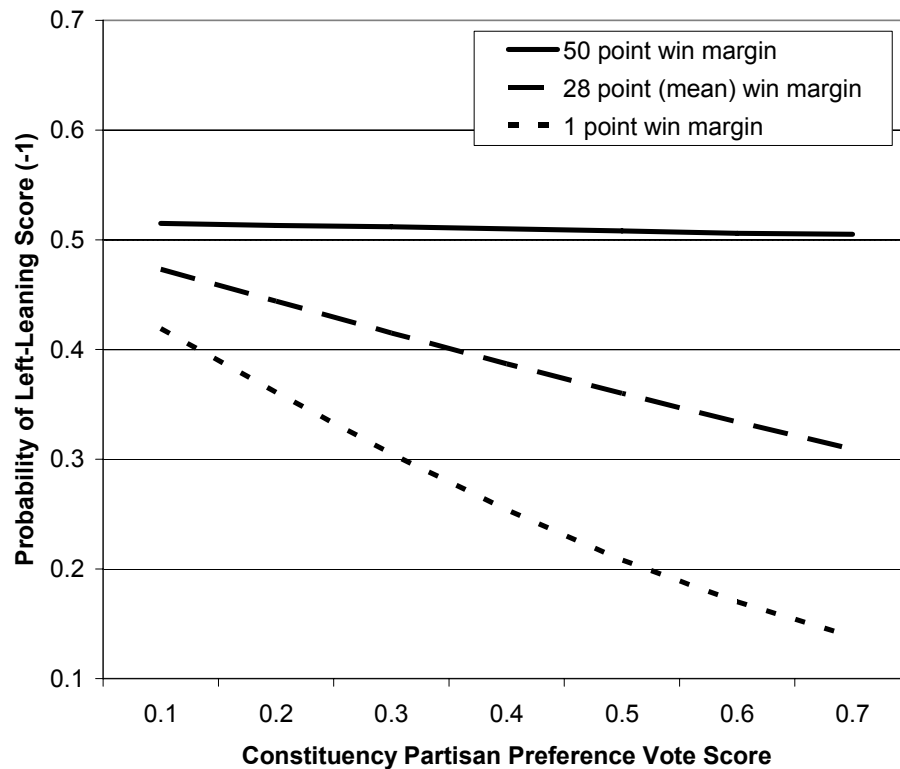


Figure 5.4c: MPs from the Reform/Canadian Alliance Party



Using Model 4 from Table 5.3, Figures 5.4a-c illustrate the probabilities of MPs from the specified party having a “left-leaning” motion score. In each case, the figure illustrates the “vote score space” within which an MP from the given party may be elected, and the difference in that MP’s probability is based on: 1.) his/her constituency’s vote score; and 2.) his/her own win margin in the previous election. In each case, the representative relationship is strongest where the win margin is lowest (illustrated by the dotted line, which has the steepest slope). The three different win margins in each figure represent: 1.) a relatively high win margin for an MP from that particular party (the NDP’s is much lower than the Liberal’s and the Reform/CA’s); 2.) the mean win margin for an MP from that party; and 3.) a very low win margin of one percentage point.

Admittedly, the illustrated results showing an MP from the Liberal party are most convincing. This is not highly surprising given the more centrist nature, and brokerage style, of the Liberal Party compared to the NDP and Reform/CA, as well as the fact that

MPs are elected across a greater range of left- and right-leaning constituencies.²⁷ The slopes illustrated for the NDP and Reform/CA are certainly steepest where electoral pressure is greatest, though the difference between the mean point estimates for the NDP are not statistically significant, and for the Reform/CA Party, they are only significant where the constituency is most right-leaning. For Reform/CA MPs, however, it should be noted that all the constituency scores remain on the right-leaning side of zero. In other words, what Figure 5.4c suggests is that Reform/CA MPs in moderately right-leaning constituencies tend to act in similar ways regardless of win margin, but in very right-leaning constituencies it is those MPs with greater electoral pressure who are more likely to act in a right-leaning manner, which is fitting of the expectations regarding electoral pressure's effect on representation. Similarly, and more exemplary of the range of representational possibilities, are the Liberal Party estimations in Figure 5.4b. Liberal MPs in relatively left-leaning constituencies act in a more left-leaning manner if they experience greater electoral pressure, and MPs in relatively right-leaning constituencies act in a more right-leaning manner if they experience greater electoral pressure.

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 below probe the same representative relationship with regard to bills. Like the models reported above, each begins by looking at representation alone, without win margin, both for the full period in which bills can be analyzed, then with the period broken into two parts based on the 1993 election. This will be followed by an examination of win margin effects as well. Results are reported below.

²⁷ During interviews conducted for this project, some Liberal MPs clearly noted the rather broad ideological range across MPs within their party. Such comments were notably absent during interviews with MPs from other parties.

Table 5.3: Partisan Preference effect on Bill topic introductions (1979-2004)

	(Model 1)		(Model 2) Post-1993 only (1994-2004)		(Model 3) Pre-1993 only (1979-1993)	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Left-Right	.46	(.36)	.51	(.53)	.58	(.61)
Reform/CA	.96	(.22)**	1.05	(.25)**	-	-
PC	.25	(.16)	.68	(.52)	.03	(.20)
BQ	-.25	(.25)	-.13	(.31)	-	-
NDP	-.13	(.26)	.21	(.37)	-.40	(.31)
Social Credit	.14	(.95)	-	-	-.10	(1.00)
<i>N</i>	784		461		323	
<i>Clusters</i>	365		191		199	
<i>Ps. R-squared</i>	.10		.14		.03	
<i>Log Ps.Likelihood</i>	-645.31		-358.60		-283.30	
<i>Cut 1</i>	.26	(.12)	.38	(.17)	.07	(.15)
<i>Cut 2</i>	.48	(.12)	.60	(.18)	.32	(.15)

* $p < .1$, ** $p < .05$

Cells contain ordered probit regression model coefficients, followed by the robust standard error (in parentheses).

There is no evidence in the tables above that bill introductions are representative of constituency interests at the level of the individual MP. Model 1 in Table 5.3 does not suggest any relationship, and no relationship is observed across either the pre-1993 election period or the post-1993 election period.²⁸ This is surprising, at least in part, because the number of constituency-focused MPs seems to have substantially increased during the later period (See Chapter 1), though certainly the expectation throughout has been that dyadic representation is more likely to occur through motions. Of course, MPs wishing to introduce more than one item could not do so with motions until 1982 (See Chapter 3), but this should not have a huge effect on how MPs used bills for representative purposes in the pre-1993 period compared to the post-1993 period. Nevertheless, public opinion over the post-1993 period increasingly suggested that MPs “lose touch”, and this result seems to suggest that there is little evidence that MPs ever were “in touch” with bills generally, though it is notable that MPs in the post-1993 period seem to use motions in a generalized representative fashion, as is evident above. Unfortunately, a comparison with motions in the period prior to the 1993 election is not

²⁸ There is evidence of a moderate relationship using the non-truncated version of the Left-Right variable for the entire period, Model 1, though not for specific periods – see Appendix.

possible. The next issue of interest, then, is the degree to which electoral pressure may affect results regarding representation with bills. Recall that with motions, the representative relationship seemed to emerge when win margin and the interaction variable were added to the model.

Table 5.4: Win Margin effect on Bill topic introductions (1979-2004)

	(1994-2004)		(1979-1993)	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
LeftRight	.06	(.70)	.30	(.96)
Win Margin	-.70	(.64)	-.57	(.48)
LeftRight X Win Margin	1.54	(1.76)	1.85	(2.29)
Reform/CA	1.00	(.25)**	-	-
PC	.64	(.52)	.01	(.20)
BQ	-.24	(.30)	-	-
NDP	.02	(.40)	-.46	(.32)
Social Credit	-	-	-.09	(1.05)
Constant	-	-	-	-
<i>N</i>	461		323	
<i>clusters</i>	191		199	
<i>(Ps.) R-squared</i>	.14		.03	
<i>Log Ps.Likelihood</i>	-357.64		-282.49	
<i>Cut 1</i>	.17	(.23)	-.04	(.19)
<i>Cut 2</i>	.39	(.23)	.21	(.19)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain ordinary least square regression model coefficients, followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for Measure 1, and ordered probit regression model coefficients, followed by the robust standard error (in parentheses) for Measure 2.

Again, there is no evidence that MPs represent through bill introductions in the same manner that they do with motion introductions. No statistically significant relationships appear in the results for the variables of interest. Further, the coefficient on the interaction term is in the wrong direction. That electoral pressure does not increase a representative relationship with bill introductions fits the expectations set forth earlier.²⁹

Recall that no representative relationship (independent of political party) was observed in Table 5.3 earlier. What can be reasonably concluded from these results is

²⁹ The negative, and statistically significant result on the direct effect of the win margin variable which is observable for the 1979-1993 period using the continuous form of the variable (see appendix) suggests that if the left-right constituency vote score is held at zero, a decrease in win margin will lead to a higher (more “right-leaning”) bill score. This effect is not reliable across estimations, however.

that there is no reliable evidence of generalized representation and no evidence that electoral pressure is having any effect in producing a generalized representative relationship with regard to bill introductions.

Two stories about individual action have emerged here. On one hand, there are MPs who engage in symbolic actions (motions) that are motivated by electoral pressure. These MPs, in turn, act in a manner that is representative of their constituents, and they are increasingly representative if the electoral pressure they experience is greater. On the other hand, electorally stable MPs should have less concern with engaging in symbolic actions and appear to be better positioned to take more meaningful steps toward policy change. To paraphrase Conservative MP Randy Kamp, such MPs can *take their best shot* because they are less concerned with actually losing an election. The above results, of course, are generalized across a range of issues, and may not be the same as will be observed on specific issues in the next section of this chapter. But what they suggest on a general level is that electoral pressure plays a role in increasing representation via the easier and more symbolic mode of motion introductions. While bill introductions may be representative of certain, unspecified interests, they do not seem particularly geared toward generalized constituency interests. These results may reflect, then, the distinction between those MPs who are “workhorses” and those who are “showhorses”.

Overall, results suggest that a form of generalized dyadic representation does occur. It occurs where it is expected, and it occurs for the reason why it is expected. Nevertheless, it remains important to look at a range of specific issues as well, both to provide additional evidence of whether dyadic representation occurs and to determine whether specific interests in particular policy topics are actually represented in this manner. Indeed, the representation of a constituency’s “vote” message is one that may give an MP a good deal of latitude in choosing topics of interest. What happens when the constituency’s message to the MP is not a general one?

MP Representation of Specific Constituency Interests

Miller and Stokes (1963) found a rather notable difference across issues when looking for policy congruence between legislators and their electoral districts. A high correlation was found with civil rights, while a lower correlation was found with social

welfare issues, and a rather low correlation existed for foreign affairs. Later analyses using the same data, though finding different levels of correlation using different methods of measurement, still suggested differences in congruence across issues.³⁰ There are, in short, good reasons to expect that representation of constituency interests will vary across issues, including the salience and complexity of certain issues (Carmines and Stimson 1980), as well as the appropriateness of PMB and the particular avenue (bills or motions) for the issue being pursued. As an example of the former, when we are speaking about electorally-motivated representation, it may be highly compelling for an MP from a riding with high unemployment to look as though he/she is trying to “bring home the bacon” by pushing for regional development or a government office in the riding where the benefit to constituents seems direct and obvious. On the other hand, issues such as the environment or health care – while they may be salient on a national level and in some cases may even be major issues in federal elections – may not be pursued by MPs focusing on representing specific constituency concerns. As an example of the latter, some topics are simply better suited to bill introductions rather than motion introductions and vice versa – cases that involve spending are more likely to include a motion introduction, while cases that involve an amendment to a particular Act (in the case of the Law and Crime topic, an amendment to the Criminal Code) may be better suited to a bill introduction.

Constituency interests in this analysis are inferred through constituency characteristics using census data³¹ (Erikson 1978), not by direct measures of preferences (Miller and Stokes 1963, 1966; Miller 1970). For example, constituency interest in agricultural issues is inferred based on the amount of employment in the agriculture sector within the constituency. While direct measures of preferences at the constituency level would be a preferable measure, as pointed out by Erikson (1981), data collection methods in Canada do not permit adequate estimation of preferences at this level. A more complex means of estimating interests has been used in past research, as noted earlier in

³⁰ This is more the case with Erikson 1978; Achen 1978 suggested that cross-issue differences were quite small.

³¹ Census data are used from 1981 and are available for every five years after up to 2001. The earliest date from which legislative data is used is 1979 (31st Parliament), so following these first two years, which will be compared to Census data from 1981 which follow them, the remaining legislative data is compared to the census data from the current year or previous years.

this chapter. Preliminary attempts at estimating constituency preferences in this manner for this project – which were conducted using both opinion responses and demographic characteristics from the Canadian Election Study datasets – provided little fodder for effective estimation or further analysis. For this reason, constituency demographics (and the existence or lack thereof of defense bases in constituencies for one of the analyses) are used as a measure of inferred interest. This inferred interest, then, is the independent variable of focus, with the dependent variable being the introduction of bills or motions on topics that represent that interest. To account for whether electoral pressure affects the representative relationship, win margin and an interaction of win margin and the constituency characteristic are included in a second model for each analysis. Thus, results indicate both: 1.) whether representation exists, and 2.) whether electoral pressure affects the representative relationship.

The remaining independent variables are derived largely from the participation model in the previous chapter. One exception is that no portfolio control is used in the following models. This is, in part, because parsimony regarding control variables is prudent where relatively little variance exists on the dependent variable – a portfolio control may significantly limit the number of unique, non-zero cases across the entire period of analysis which provide evidence of a dyadic representative relationship.³² Another reason for excluding the portfolio variable is that such positions may be a means by which the party simply formalizes a form of representation that may well have occurred without bestowing the position upon the MP. A particular portfolio may be given to an MP specifically because it is representative of his/her constituency in the first place (i.e. an MP from a coastal region being given a fisheries portfolio). While it is true that such positions are party-endorsed, and therefore not determined by individual action, controlling for such positions would suggest that actions by the MP should not be recognized as representing his/her constituency. Further, in cases where MPs have been given portfolios that are not clearly representative of a given constituency characteristic, this will simply lessen the likelihood of a significant relationship. In short, where an MP is representing his/her constituency via PMB, regardless of whether or not he/she holds a

³² Using a single issue as the dependent variable means that a very high proportion of cases have a zero count.

portfolio position, the method used here will recognize this as dyadic representation by the individual MP.

The remaining independent variables include parliaments, political party, MP experience, and constituency political interest (using education as a proxy, as in Chapter 4). Results for these variables are included in full tables in the Appendix. Where there exists a moderate or higher correlation between the education variable (measured by the constituency's percentage of university graduates) and the constituency issue preference proxy variable (plus or minus .25 or stronger), education is dropped from the model. This is because education level is sometimes influenced by demographic characteristics (i.e. constituencies with high levels of agriculture employment tend to have low levels of university graduates). In such cases, it is believed that weakening the effect of the variable of focus by including education in the model would be a less accurate means of analyzing any representative relationship that actually occurs than is the case when education is excluded.

To be clear, the analyses conducted below are illustrative of the occurrence of dyadic representation where it can be observed using the available data – it is not an exhaustive test of all policy issues or interests. Nevertheless, given the limited number of issues for which inferred interests of relevance can be measured, and the limited number of PMB items for many topics, this illustration may be suggestive of a much broader range of issues which simply cannot be adequately tested in this manner. Even with the set of topics analyzed here, the variance on the dependent variable remains relatively small, and there is less likelihood of observing significant results regarding electoral pressure with the use of the interaction variable. As will be seen, however, representation does occur on a broad range of topics.

On most topics, the number of MPs who introduce PMB items is relatively low, and where fewer than 30 MP cases (an MP introducing one or more bills or motions in a session) occur for a given topic, results are not analyzed for that particular avenue on the topic. This, of course, means that any topic where there are less than 30 non-zero cases for both bills and motions is simply not included in the list of topics analyzed (though, as noted above, other criteria including availability of adequate measures also limited the

number of topics). The constituency interest variables of focus and the corresponding bill and motion topics that will be dealt with below, include:

- 1.) Percentage³³ of constituency employed in Agriculture sector → Agriculture topic
- 2.) Percentage of constituency whose first language is neither English nor French → Civil Rights and Multiculturalism topic
- 3.) Defense base in constituency → Defense topic
- 4.) Percentage of constituency who are immigrants → International Affairs and Aid topic
- 5.) Percentage of constituency that is Aboriginal → Aboriginal topic
- 6.) Constituency is in “have-not” province → Intergovernmental Affairs topic

Results for Specific Representation

The negative binomial regression model (NBRM) is used for each of these analyses, as the distribution of the dependent variables is again a count with characteristics like those of general introductions analyzed in Chapter 4. The small number of MPs and/or items focusing on certain topics also means that significant effects are not always very substantial.³⁴ Where effects are sizeable, coefficients are interpreted to provide the actual predicted increase in count. As above, there is no particular expectation regarding the direct effect of the win margin variable once the interaction is included – in most cases, a direct effect by the win margin variable, in conjunction with the interaction, suggests systematic differences in win margin either by party or by constituency characteristic. Results in tables shown below include only the three independent variables of interest. Full tables are available in the Appendix.

³³ Percentage variables are coded as proportions with a possible minimum value of zero and a possible maximum value of one. This, along with the relatively small number of non-zero cases, may sometimes lead to relatively large coefficients in the regression models.

³⁴ Effects are not always highly substantial because even MPs who act in a representative manner often introduce only a single item, and are often from constituencies that have a high level of the given characteristic that serves as the measure of constituency interest. This means that for a change of one standard deviation in the percentage of the given characteristic, the change in count is usually a small fraction of less than one unit.

*Agriculture*³⁵

Two tables are included below exploring the nature of representation based on the size of the agriculture sector in a given constituency (percentage of overall employment in the sector), from which the level of constituency interest in Agriculture issues is inferred. The mean percentage of employment in this sector across all constituencies is approximately 4%, with a standard deviation of approximately six percentage points. The minimum is 0% and the maximum is approximately 39%. The most obvious representative action for cases where the percentage of agricultural employment is high is to introduce bills or motions on the topic of agriculture specifically.

Table 5.8: Agriculture Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Agriculture	6.88	(2.44) **	11.65	(4.54) **
Win Margin	-	-	0.38	(2.87)
Win Margin X Agriculture	-	-	-24.99	(16.05)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for the variables of interest only. A complete table is available in the Appendix.

Looking at motions on the Agriculture topic, it is clear that representation occurs (Model 1).³⁶ While the coefficient on the interaction term (Model 2) suggests that electoral pressure increases this representative behaviour, it only borders on statistical significance (p<.13) and at best suggests that electoral pressure plays a very marginal role. It is notable, however, that bills are a means by which agricultural policy could be altered by MPs, so long as they do not increase taxes or call for spending. Thus, the nature of the particular topic (which is one where MPs can make a direct change to a

³⁵ There are 79 cases where an MP introduced at least one bill on this topic in a given session, and 69 cases where an MP introduced at least one motion on this topic in a given session during the period of analysis. The education variable has been dropped due to a -.25 pair-wise correlation with the Agriculture constituency variable.

³⁶ Percentages in variables are counted as proportions (minimum of zero, maximum of one), which leads to larger coefficients where the range of values is relatively small (as is the case with Agriculture).

regulation directly through a bill) may explain partly the weakness of the interaction effect here.

Table 5.9: Agriculture Representation: Bills (1979-2004)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Agriculture	6.67	(1.28) **	8.88	(1.73) **
Win Margin	-	-	2.07	(1.03) **
Win Margin X Agriculture	-	-	-11.28	(7.43)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for the variables of interest only. A complete table is available in the Appendix.

MPs are similarly representative in their use of bills on the Agriculture topic. The relationship fits a simple representational pattern (Model 1), but while the coefficient is negative for the interaction term (Model 2), it does not suggest that the effect of electoral pressure on the degree of representation is statistically significant. The result in Model 1 indicates that an increase of one standard deviation in the percentage of people employed in agriculture (approximately seven points) increases the number of bills introduced by approximately 57%. It should be noted with this result (as with most results in this section) that because most MPs do not introduce any such bills, this amounts to a very small increase in the predicted count.

*Civil Rights and Multiculturalism*³⁷

The topic of Civil Rights and Multiculturalism (Rights) is one where MPs can have a direct impact using bills alone – which is similar to Agriculture in this regard. Note from the third chapter that the Civil Rights and Multiculturalism topic is second only to the Law and Crime topic in terms of bill introductions, perhaps because, like the Law and Crime topic, it is typically a non-spending area where it makes sense for MPs to

³⁷ There are 201 cases where an MP introduced at least one bill on this topic in a given session, and 112 cases where an MP introduced at least one motion on this topic in a given session during the period of analysis. The education variable has been dropped due to a .27 pair-wise correlation with the Non-English/French constituency variable.

try to enact legislation that will itself become statutory, as opposed to simply urging the government to act.

The independent variable of focus here is the percentage of constituents whose first language is neither English nor French. This is a notable distinction from constituents who are immigrants, though the two are highly correlated (see Appendix). Constituents whose first language is not one of the official languages of Canada are likely to feel that policies regarding multiculturalism benefit them directly, and are also more likely to be concerned with discrimination personally for a variety of reasons that might be related to their language, such as culture, ethnicity, race and religion. The mean percentage of non-official first language speakers per constituency is approximately 13%, with a standard deviation of approximately 13 percentage points. The minimum is 0% and the maximum is approximately 73%.

Table 5.10: Rights and Multiculturalism Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Non-English/French	1.59	(.94) *	1.71	(1.23)
Win Margin	-	-	-0.57	(.96)
Win Margin X Non-English/French	-	-	-0.59	(3.45)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for the variables of interest only. A complete table is available in the Appendix.

Similar to Agriculture, motions on the Rights topic tend to be representative of constituency interests while not being affected by electoral pressure.

Table 5.11: Rights and Multiculturalism Representation: Bills (1979-2004)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Non-English/French	1.76	(.88) **	4.11	(1.51) **
Win Margin	-	-	1.24	(.95)
Win Margin X Non-English/French	-	-	-10.32	(4.35) **

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for the variables of interest only. A complete table is available in the Appendix.

Table 5.11 again indicates that substantive dyadic representation on this topic occurs – that an increase in the percentage of constituents whose first language is not one of Canada’s official languages increases the number of bills introduced by the MP on this topic (Model 1). Electoral pressure seems to increase representation through the use of bills on the Rights topic (Model 2). Given that Rights bills are used by a large number of MPs, perhaps because as a non-spending area it is an area where legislation by MPs can have a substantial effect, this suggests that bills have a clear advantage over motions in this regard. This result, then, is not entirely surprising.

In substantive terms, for an NDP MP in the 36th Parliament³⁸ who has an average amount of parliamentary experience, and whose riding is at the high end in terms of percentage of non-English or French as first language speakers (approximately two standard deviations above the mean, or 39%), a very high win margin (30 points) is estimated to lead to .5 bills introduced by the MP, while a very low win margin (1 point) is estimated to lead to 1.2 bills introduced on this topic – the difference in count being approximately .7 additional bills where electoral pressure is higher.³⁹

*Defense*⁴⁰

The Defense topic was included in the general representation measure in the first part of this chapter because it is considered to be an issue that fits the “right” issue

³⁸ This partisan and parliament scenario is among those that yields a higher than average expected count.

³⁹ This is based on a simulation using CLARIFY for Stata.

⁴⁰ There are 56 cases where an MP introduced at least one bill on this topic in a given session, and 75 cases where an MP introduced at least one motion on this topic in a given session during the period of analysis.

grouping. On top of the fact that MPs may focus on this topic as a means of representing a generalized preference, however, the Defense topic should also be one that is representative of a specific constituency interest in national defense, and this interest is most clearly inferred in those constituencies which have a defense base. Defense bases exist in approximately 7% of all federal ridings, and a dummy variable has been constructed for this analysis where the existence of a base in a constituency is coded as 1, otherwise it is zero.

Table 5.12: Defense and Military Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Defense Base	1.44	(.55) **	1.19	(.74)
Win Margin	-	-	0.98	(1.38)
Win Margin X Defense Base	-	-	1.18	(2.29)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for the variables of interest only. A complete table is available in the Appendix.

Defense is a topic where it appears representation occurs with motion introductions, but again this representation is not significantly related to electoral pressure. The results for bills on this topic are below.

Table 5.13: Defense and Military Representation: Bills (1979-2004)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Defense Base	0.42	(.63)	1.02	(.61) *
Win Margin	-	-	-2.52	(1.19) **
Win Margin X Defense Base	-	-	-5.92	(3.02) *

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for the variables of interest only. A complete table is available in the Appendix.

Once again, the result seems to reflect those already reported in the topics above for the most part. On bills specifically, representation occurs, and this is positively

related to electoral pressure (negative relationship with the interaction). Indeed, in Model 1 where electoral pressure is not included, the coefficient on the Defense Base variable is not statistically significant.

The expected difference in count on bills due to win margin is not very substantial: a Reform MP in the 36th Parliament who has a defense base in his/her constituency, and who has an average level of parliamentary experience, has an expected count of approximately .41 introduced bills if that MP's win margin is only one point as opposed to a count of .01 if his/her win margin is 50 points.

*International Affairs and Aid*⁴¹

International Affairs and Aid is a topic that is mainly one of executive policy. While MPs do introduce bills on this topic, there are relatively few. Both the difference in number of introductions between bills and motions, and the nature of the topic, suggest that motions should be the primary place where we should observe a representative relationship. The percentage of immigrants in the constituency is expected to increase the likelihood that an MP focuses on this issue. As immigrants have come to Canada after having previously lived in other countries, their awareness of non-domestic issues is expected to be heightened, suggesting that their interest in such issues should be greater than that of non-immigrants, other things being equal. The mean percentage of immigrants per constituency is 12% with a standard deviation of approximately 13 percentage points. The minimum is 0% and the maximum is approximately 66%.

⁴¹ There are 34 cases where an MP introduced at least one bill on this topic in a given session, and 129 cases where an MP introduced at least one motion on this topic in a given session during the period of analysis. The education variable has been dropped due to a .41 pair-wise correlation with the Immigrant constituency variable.

Table 5.14: International Affairs and Aid Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Immigrants	4.26	(.89) **	2.96	(1.29) **
Win Margin	-	-	-2.58	(1.36) *
Win Margin X Immigrants	-	-	5.91	(3.73)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for the variables of interest only. A complete table is available in the Appendix.

On this topic, representation occurs through motions. The result regarding electoral pressure is marginal (p<.12 for the interaction term), though it is clear that representation does not increase due to electoral pressure according to this model. Indeed, the coefficient on the interaction term is positive, which is not even the right direction. That said, it is difficult to imagine how an MP can turn a rather general interest such as international affairs into something that boosts his/her electoral prospects in a substantial way. Unlike proposals that affect policies related to rights or economic well-being for constituents, there is little direct benefit that an MP can point to in a proposal regarding international affairs. There is certainly no “bacon” to be brought home with this particular issue, so perhaps it tends to be MPs with diverse constituencies and no significant electoral pressure who, in this case, are still acting with substantial latitude, but nevertheless tending to be representative of a specific constituency interest with this particular topic.

Table 5.15: International Affairs and Aid Representation: Bills (1979-2004)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Immigrants	7.00	(1.52) **	7.57	(1.92) **
Win Margin	-	-	0.07	(1.30)
Win Margin X Immigrants	-	-	-2.47	(5.25)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for the variables of interest only. A complete table is available in the Appendix.

The number of participants with bills on this topic is relatively low – indeed, it is barely above the cut-off for analysis in this section (34 cases of MPs introducing one or more bills in a session). Nevertheless, those who participate in this manner do appear to be representing a constituency interest, though electoral pressure does not appear to play any role.

*Aboriginal Issues*⁴²

Aboriginal issues are those where MPs may find that the expressed interests of aboriginals and non-aboriginals regarding aboriginal affairs are often conflicting. Nevertheless, MPs may act in a representative manner on either of these interests. The analysis here does not determine which of these interests is served, only whether the topic of Aboriginal issues is given attention by the MP. The general (non-directional) interest regarding Aboriginal issues is likely greater in constituencies where a large number of aboriginal people live as opposed to constituencies where this is not the case. The occurrence of land claims conflicts, for example, heightens the awareness of both aboriginals and non-aboriginals of these issues, and these occurrences are more likely to affect people's lives in areas where more aboriginals live. The independent variable of focus in this analysis, then, is the number of aboriginal people as a percentage of the total constituency population. The mean percentage of aboriginals per constituency is approximately 3% with a standard deviation of about eight percentage points. The minimum is 0% and the maximum is approximately 90%.

The number of bills on this topic was too small, though it can be noted in any case that effects regarding bills (in preliminary tests conducted for this section) were neither substantial nor significant on the variables of focus. Only motions are examined below.

⁴² There are 22 cases where an MP introduced at least one bill on this topic in a given session, and 50 cases where an MP introduced at least one motion on this topic in a given session during the period of analysis.

Table 5.16: Aboriginal Issues Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Aboriginal	9.11	(4.54) **	21.17	(6.58) **
Win Margin	-	-	1.28	(1.92)
Win Margin X Aboriginal	-	-	-93.81	(28.35) **

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for the variables of interest only. A complete table is available in the Appendix.

The Aboriginal topic is one where the number of motions increases as the percentage of Aboriginals in the constituency also increases (Model 1). Note that the coefficients become quite large when the interaction is added (Model 2) – likely the result of a relatively small number of cases of MPs introducing motions and most of them falling to those MPs with large percentages of Aboriginals in their constituencies and/or low win margins, though these results remain statistically significant.⁴³ Still, what this suggests is that most cases where substantive representation occurs through motions are those where the MP experiences greater electoral pressure due to win margin than the average MP.

*Intergovernmental Affairs*⁴⁴

Intergovernmental Affairs is one topic where MPs often call on the government for regional programs. This often involves, implicitly if not explicitly, a request for government spending in the region of focus. It is expected that such programs are more likely to be in the interest of people from regions where there is greater economic hardship. Being an MP from a “have-not” province – according to Canada’s system of

⁴³ Of the 46 cases where an MP introduced one or more motions on this topic, the mean percentage of aboriginals within the constituency was above 10%, while there are no cases where an MP with a percentage of zero introduced a motion (though a few were close at under 1%). Further, some MPs with very high percentages (over 20%) introduced more than 1 motion. This may help to explain the extremely large coefficient.

⁴⁴ There are 13 cases where an MP introduced at least one bill on this topic in a given session, and 45 cases where an MP introduced at least one motion on this topic in a given session during the period of analysis.

equalization payments to provinces⁴⁵ – and choosing to speak to issues that are in the interest of the people who live in that province is certainly a form of substantive representation, but may be criticized as not clearly a form of dyadic representation at the constituency level, since the representation that occurs may be regional or provincial in nature. Nevertheless, it may still serve to indicate the role that constituency plays in the occurrence of this type of representation. This is true especially if the constituency factor of electoral win margin plays a role – meaning that if electoral pressure affects representation, this would appear, at least in part, to be driven by constituency and not by region alone.⁴⁶

Because this is a topic area that is generally one of spending, bills on this topic are quite rare (the 13 cases are not analyzed), while motions, though not highly popular, do occur often enough to gain some statistical leverage.

Table 5.17: Regional Economic Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Have-not Province	1.71	(.65) **	2.59	(.86) **
Win Margin	-	-	1.26	(2.05)
Win Margin X Have-not Province	-	-	-5.27	(2.54) **

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses) for the variables of interest only. A complete table is available in the Appendix.

Regional development is a topic that seems, at the outset, as though it should be the classic case for representation that is electorally-based. Action on this topic can easily be framed as being about the representative trying to “bring home the bacon” for the constituency – and the results in Table 5.17 illustrate this. If an MP’s constituency is in a have-not province, this increases the likelihood that the MP will introduce a motion on

⁴⁵ “Have-not” provinces, for the purposes of the analysis, include Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Manitoba. Saskatchewan and British Columbia have been both “have” and have-not provinces during the period, but were not included as have-not provinces because their economic position of being on the cusp of the equalization formula suggests that they are less likely to be among provinces where MPs push for regional development programs from the federal government.

⁴⁶ Notably, some of these PMB items also call on the government to introduce regional programs in areas that are more localized than the province generally.

this topic (Model 1). On top of this, however, is the fact that the representational relationship is stronger if the MP's electoral win margin is smaller (Model 2), indicating that it is the constituency, not just the region or province, which matters in prompting this representational behaviour. The increase in expected count is not very substantial: an NDP MP in the 36th Parliament with average experience who is from a have-not province has an expected count of only about .30 motions if he/she has a win margin of 30 points, and an expected count of approximately .63 if he/she has a win margin of one point; an increase of about one-third of a motion.

Summary

In this chapter, a large amount of evidence was provided indicating that MPs – at the constituency level – do indeed “[act] in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them” (Pitkin 1967: 209). The focus here was upon substantive dyadic representation of electoral constituencies through the use of Private Members’ Bills and Motions by MPs in Canada. The first step in exploring this relationship included evidence that constituencies are represented in their general interests – measured by constituency partisan preference as captured by electoral vote – through broad issue groups that MPs are attentive to mainly through motion introductions. To this end, MPs appear to be more representative through motions when there is greater electoral pressure upon them. On the other hand, where MPs appear to represent generalized interests using bills (a result which surfaces relatively weakly in only one model), electoral pressure has no clear effect. The result is that electoral pressure appears to have the biggest impact on generalized representation where we should expect it to – in the more symbolic arena of motion introductions.

When considering policy topics and inferred constituency interests on a more specific level, there was once again a reasonable amount of evidence that dyadic representation does indeed occur. Here, the distinction between bills and motions seemed to depend more upon the appropriateness of the particular avenue for the topic at hand. Further, it seemed more likely that electoral pressure affected representation when the topic was one where the benefit to constituents seemed more direct – though again, the link to either bills or motions depended on the appropriateness of the PMB avenue for the

specific topic. This included cases that seemed to be tied to economics or to rights, while in cases where the topic may be of interest but of little direct benefit (i.e. International Affairs and Aid), representation appears to have occurred in the absence of electoral pressure or in the presence of electoral stability.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

This project has sought to answer two primary research questions. The current chapter reviews these questions, and the answers provided in preceding chapters. The chapter also takes an additional substantive step, exploring (albeit briefly) the degree to which Private Members' Business may actually have an impact on policy outcomes. Finally, the chapter ties these findings together for some broader statements about the nature of Canadian government and politics, as well as proposals for future research.

Individual Action and Dyadic Representation

The first question asked at the beginning of this project was: *What drives the legislative participation of individual representatives?* One answer to this question is that electoral motivations appear to be a significant driver of participation, and this appears to be based on the perception of MPs that they can enhance their personal electoral prospects through individual legislative actions. This is not always the case, however, and where it is not, an alternative hypothesis regarding pursuing good public policy appears to help explain this difference.

The exploration of this question began with the existing literature – a literature which for the most part emphasizes the dominance of the executive in the Canadian parliament and the role of party discipline in facilitating collective behaviour. However, there appears to be, based primarily upon Canada's Single Member Plurality electoral system, an electoral incentive for individual representatives to gain personal recognition in addition to depending upon their party's profile. It was accordingly suggested that this incentive should increase participation in a venue that is conducive to individual behaviour. This should especially be true for those MPs experiencing electoral pressure and looking for both advertising and position-taking opportunities (Mayhew 1974). Further, participation may be driven by other possible motivations, such as gaining influence or having a policy impact, but such participation tends to occur when electoral pressure is not playing a role, and such participation tends to be in a different form.

Because the degree of individual behaviour that occurs depends on the rules set out by the institution, it makes little sense to expect a high degree of individual behaviour in most policy or legislative venues in the Canadian parliament. The venue analyzed here, Private Members' Business, differs in this respect – the action of MPs should be more individualistic based on the rules of procedure, and should therefore allow them to pursue personal recognition or personal policy goals.

In order to examine individual participation, Chapter Four utilized data on participation by MPs in both Private Members' Motions and Private Members' Bills. It was noted in Chapter Three that motions require less time and effort to produce, and are thus a more efficient means for MPs to take positions on issues, which should be beneficial for individual recognition, and thus for electoral gain. Motions, however, are less likely to be effective in terms of having a real impact on governance and policy. Those MPs who participate with less concern for their personal electoral prospects, it was suggested, are more likely to be those who introduce bills – the reason being that the intended purpose of their participation is more likely to fall into other explanatory camps such as influence and policy impact.

The analyses consisted primarily of using regression techniques to establish which institutional, individual, and constituency factors appear to aid in the prediction of each MP's count of introduced bills and motions in each parliamentary session. Currently available data measuring necessary variables allowed the analyses to be conducted for the 1984-2004 period for bills and the 1994-2006 period for motions.

The empirical evidence from these large-N analyses supports the stated expectations. First, MPs tend to introduce more motions when they experience greater electoral pressure, and there is little evidence that greater electoral pressure plays the same role with regard to bill introductions. In terms of participation alone, this suggests that there may be at least two types of MPs. Bill participants appear more likely to be what Hall (1996) refers to as "workhorses" – seeming to pursue ends that are less related to election prospects and perhaps better explained by alternative motivations such as pursuing certain policy outcomes. These MPs seem more likely to be "entrepreneurs" described in varying detail by Kingdon (1995) or Wawro (2002), or Searing's (1994) "policy advocates". Alternatively, motion participants appear more likely to be

“showhorses” – getting recognition for highly symbolic actions that require less effort and provide less possibility for policy impact. This does not mean that such MPs do not have policy goals, but it seems less likely that affecting policy outcomes is as important to these MPs, and it appears less likely to be a primary factor in their choice of action.

The second research question was: *Are the actions of individual parliamentarians representative of those who elect them?* Generally speaking, the answer to this question is that, indeed, there is strong evidence that MPs substantively represent constituency interests, though this varies by MP and by the action taken.

The expectations regarding this question were closely tied to those of the first question. Because MPs are elected in single-member districts and likely see little opportunity to substantially affect the share of “party vote” they receive in elections, they may feel that they should try to bolster the “personal vote” that they may receive. Therefore these MPs engage in actions which they hope will gain some personal recognition and result in electoral payoff. This being the case, those who require a personal electoral boost are more likely to pursue this recognition than those who do not.

If an MP pursues recognition for electoral reasons, it should be in the form of an action that is seen as serving the interests of voters in order for it to have electoral value – meaning that action by MPs seeking an electoral boost will tend to be substantively representative of constituents’ interests. MPs who pursue such recognition for this purpose will attempt to maximize their benefit based on the resources they expend. In the case of PMB then, MPs will again be more likely to introduce motions than bills, because motions are easier to produce than bills and, other things being equal, should be perceived as providing similar electoral value. Motions also progress more quickly through the House if debated, and have a greater likelihood of being adopted compared to the likelihood of a bill receiving Royal Assent.

This research question is tied to a number of concepts regarding legislative focus, style, and behaviour. In the first chapter it was suggested that, despite the institutional incentives for MPs to have a *national* focus, *trustee* style, and to engage in *party-oriented* behaviour, there may be cases where *constituency* focus, *delegate* style, and *individual* behaviour occur and lead to active, dyadic representation. There is already reasonable evidence that many MPs in Canada do have a constituency focus and a delegate style. As

was noted in that chapter, there is also evidence that MPs in Canada do, on occasion, act in an individualistic manner, though this has tended to receive little attention. These factors alone suggest that representative behaviour should occur, though again, it should be enhanced by the perceived prospect of a personal vote.

The possibility that dyadic representative behaviour actually occurs was explored empirically in the fifth chapter. Analyses here consisted primarily of regression techniques, using variables indicating the issue topics that MPs introduce with PMB as well as the number of items for each topic, and corresponding measures of constituency interest. Two different types of representation were considered. The first was generalized representation, where representation of broad policy interests (measured by mean partisan preference) may lead to introductions by the MP on a large set of issues that are regarded as being either more “right” or “left” leaning. The second was specific representation, where particular interests (measured for the most part by socio-demographic and economic characteristics) may lead to introductions on topics that are directly related to the inferred interest.

The results suggest that, regarding constituency representation by MPs, the answer again fits the expectations set forth. It seems clear from the analyses presented that substantive dyadic representation occurs by MPs through these activities, though it is also clear that there is not evidence of it across all topics or all forms of action that PMB can include. Indeed, many topics could not be explored either because of a lack to data indicating constituency interests, or because too few items on certain topics have been introduced in the first place. Nevertheless, the analyses presented were telling about the existence of dyadic representation, and of electoral pressure’s role in increasing representation. Motions are more likely to be representative of constituency interests and the strength of the relationship between MP action and constituency interest increases with electoral pressure. This is especially true in the case of generalized interests, where MPs introduce items that seem to fit the policy preference “mood” of constituents, but there is also evidence of active representation on particular topics. There is also evidence that specific representation occurs with bills on certain topics, though what little evidence was found regarding generalized representation through this avenue was relatively weak.

Interview responses were also used in a number of cases in order to provide more detail and on-the-ground examples by the actors being investigated. Interviews were used both for drawing out some of the theoretical grounds for the methods of analyses, as well as to illustrate specific examples which were primarily investigated through the quantitative analyses. The general result of these interviews suggests a reasonable degree of support for the general findings.

It must be noted that, while this project relies heavily upon the concept of the electoral connection and strongly suggests that it plays a role in the behaviour observed, this particular project does not contribute to the literature noted in Chapter Two in informing us as to whether or not a “personal vote” actually exists, or if it can be attained by the actions analyzed here. What it does suggest rather convincingly, however, is that the *perception* exists among MPs that such a personal vote is attainable and worth pursuing, and that there are means of predicting which MPs will pursue it. It makes sense, then, that having looked at a particular venue where individual MP behaviour should be the norm, or should at the very least exceed that exhibited in other legislative venues in the Canadian Parliament, dyadic representation is evident.

There are, however, many complicating factors in telling this story. To suggest that a particular form of representation occurs for any single reason would inevitably be to oversimplify the complexity of human behaviour. Especially where substantial political power is involved and stakes are high both for individual careers and for the ability to govern, many considerations likely come into play. It is, then, not surprising that this story, which focuses primarily on a particular form of goal-oriented behaviour, while concurrently probing for alternative explanations and outcomes, is not a perfectly clean story. There are a number of components that obscure any ability to be absolute with what has been documented in the previous pages, including limitations in terms of available data. On the other hand, what has been provided is rather compelling evidence, even in light of these limitations, that the stated expectations are borne out in practice, and this in turn suggests a greater importance, both in the Canadian and comparative contexts, for an activity that has received little attention in the past.

On a broad level, this story about individual action and dyadic representation, as it relates to Canada, expands on Carty and Eagles' (2005) statement: "Politics is Local"¹, where the institutional factors that lead to the statement are also heavily based upon Canada's electoral system. What the current research adds is evidence that *the degree to which 'politics is local' depends on politics*. It suggests that, where individual representative action can be probed, the amount of attention that is focused on matters of a local interest depends in part on how much pressure local voters place on the MP. If it seems more likely that constituency factors are going to affect an MP's future, that MP is more likely to spend time on turning those constituency factors to his/her advantage. In a case unlike that of Canada, where there is no direct electoral link between the locality and the elected member, there is little reason to expect this to occur.

This last point leads to a second suggestion resulting from this work. Comparatively, this story also suggests that *the degree to which politics is local depends on institutions*. More specifically, this project has presented evidence that Mayhew's "electoral connection" is applicable in a comparative context. If a given electoral system places the representative in a position of accountability to a single constituency through direct election, then opportunities for the representative to act in an individual manner will tend to reflect the interests of that constituency, especially when electoral pressure is present.

The Canadian case, institutionally speaking, differs markedly from the US case that Mayhew observed. In the Canadian parliament, there are very few places to look for individual behaviour and local effects – this point was made clear in the opening chapter. What this project suggests, however, is that *where individual behaviour can be observed in the Canadian case, there are clear similarities to behaviour observed in the US, and this similarity can be linked to a common institutional factor*. Nevertheless, constituency-oriented individual action remains a small part of the overall picture of Canadian Parliament, given the many institutional differences that remain. Institutional structure in the US, where the opportunity for such action is greater, leads to a greater degree of such action, meaning that Mayhew's theory helps explain a much bigger part of that particular

¹ This statement should be attributed in its full form "All Politics is Local" to former U.S. House Representative and Speaker, Tip O'Neill. See: O'Neill, Tip and Gary Hymel. 1994. *All Politics Is Local: And Other Rules of the Game*. Holbrook, MA: Bob Adams Inc.

picture. Comparative evidence of the sort provided here bolsters the perceived accuracy of Mayhew's projections, and further suggests that the theory has implications for the degree of constituency-oriented individual behaviour across systems.

Does it matter? The (potential) Policy Impact of Private Members' Business

The primary purpose of this project has been to investigate the existence of, and the reasons for, dyadic representation in Canada. The result has been a significant and important contribution to further understanding the behaviour of MPs as elected representatives in Canada, and of legislative behaviour on a comparative basis. Nevertheless, the question remains: Does any of this actually matter?

As has been noted earlier in this project, there are cases where PMB has received a reasonably big profile due to the minority status of the Conservative government during the 39th Parliament as well as during the previous Liberal minority government.² Together, recent rule changes and the greater likelihood of successful votes during minority parliaments³ suggest that PMB may have a small but increasingly significant role to play both in helping issues to get on the parliamentary agenda, and in affecting actual policy outputs. In short, in addition to what PMB might be able to tell us about individual and party policy priorities, it may also be important to take notice of because it has some impact on what the Parliament of Canada accomplishes.

This project began with the example of Pablo Rodriguez' Private Member's Bill C-288, which has arguably taken on significant meaning in the current Parliament, though its actual policy impact remains undetermined. It also pointed to the efforts of Barry Mather and Gerald Baldwin in the late 1960s and 1970s that, while likely not the only causal factors, led to the adoption of Freedom of Information legislation in Canada. These are examples that indicate the potential impact that PMB may have. The first is an example of how PMB may have a direct impact (by passing), while the second is an example of PMB having an indirect impact (prompting government action). Still, the

² In addition to the motions and two bills noted in Chapter 3, Jack Layton, NDP leader, also received a reasonable amount of media coverage when he introduced Bill C-377 *An Act to ensure Canada assumes its responsibilities in preventing dangerous climate change*.

³ Recall that previous rule changes occurred during periods of extended majority government where backbenchers were looking for opportunities for greater influence.

concern lingers that PMB's policy impact has actually been, and continues to be, negligible to overall policymaking. As the direct impact has, for the most part, been through the passing of bills, this will receive little attention here (See Chapter 3 regarding number of bills passing in the House of Commons). There should be little doubt that some bills do receive Royal Assent, and therefore amend the Acts or Codes which are usually the subject of bills.⁴ The indirect impact that bills may have is also an important factor to consider, and is the subject of focus here.

An in-depth study of the policy impact of individual MP behaviour in Canada could be the subject of a large-scale research project on its own. It would need to draw on a broad range of literature and involve an extensive analysis that, as it is not the primary purpose of this project, will not be accomplished here. Nevertheless, what follows is a cursory look into the possible impact that Private Members' Business has on policy outcomes in Canada. It relies heavily on qualitative similarities between PMB and Government Bills. The approach used could admittedly lead to a large range of interpretations – at least in terms of measuring overall impact. This section, then, is meant to be exploratory, and does not attempt to stand alone as a definitive statement on the policy impact of PMB. Nevertheless, it will be suggestive about whether the impact of PMB on Government policy is apparent and whether that impact is substantial, and may serve as a foundation for future research.

This discussion regarding policy impact is not meant to suggest a lack of importance with process itself – certainly process has received a good deal of attention to this point in the project. Rather, this section is meant to suggest that perhaps there is value beyond process as well. If having one's voice heard can have no measurable impact, then this may appear to lessen the value of process. There is also a certain irony in looking for policy impact from this process, as it was suggested early in this project that having an impact on policy is likely a secondary motivation for many PMB participants. Nevertheless, it has been suggested, as an alternative hypothesis in this project, that some MPs may indeed participate in PMB with the purpose of having a policy impact. Further, motivational purposes themselves do not negate the fact that

⁴ There are also cases such as Bill C-288 (Kyoto Protocol) that call for government action, but this is a more recent phenomenon that requires more time before its impact, or that of bills like it, can be adequately assessed.

PMB is a policy venue where ideas are presented, debated, and voted upon. In that sense, then, it remains worthwhile to ask whether the actions of individual MPs can contribute to policy outcomes.

Why might we expect PMB to have an indirect impact on policy outcomes? The answer to this question lies in the fact that PMB presents ideas for policy and puts them in the public domain. While this may not be the primary motivation for all MPs who participate in PMB, many MPs (as noted in Chapter Four) may act as “policy entrepreneurs” (Kingdon 1995), or “legislative entrepreneurs” (Wawro 2000)⁵; attempting to change existing policies or initiate new ones through the presentation of ideas. Searing (1994) similarly describes some MPs in the UK as being “policy advocates”; a role that not only includes introducing legislation, but also promoting ideas, gathering support from like-minded MPs, and speaking to those in positions of power.

PMB also becomes a matter of public record, and in many cases also receives media attention. In other words, MPs’ efforts may affect the policy agenda (Kingdon 1995; Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Soroka 2002). The impact of any given PMB item may increase the more that attention is given to the particular item, either by the media, or by the item getting past certain steps in the PMB process. Where items are actually debated, members of the government may be expected to answer the question: ‘Why *not* adopt this policy?’ And, of course, in cases where items seem likely to pass if voted upon, the government may choose to act on its own to avoid having the legislature tell it what to do, or to avoid having an opposition MP (or party) receive credit for a good idea.⁶

Beside the forum of Question Period, where Opposition MPs (and occasionally Government MPs) can question government policies, PMB allows the introduction of new or alternative policy ideas. Question Period very closely fits the “adversarial” nature of the House of Commons, and promotes the institutional function of “The Opposition” (Hockin 1966; Stewart 1977, Martin 2002). PMB may be used in an adversarial manner,

⁵ Wawro’s “legislative entrepreneurs” is specific to legislators, while Kingdon’s term is meant to be inclusive of all potential policy actors.

⁶ Lynn Macdonald’s C-204 (see Chapter 3) which limited smoking in federal buildings and tobacco advertising was followed shortly by a government bill, C-51 (33rd Parliament, 2nd session), which also focused on smoking at advertising regulations. Cabinet ministers in the Mulroney government did not support Macdonald’s bill, though both bills passed the House of Commons and Senate (Cunningham 1996, see Chapter 7).

but it does not necessarily need to be viewed in this light (though certain cases such as that of C-288 noted above may very well seem adversarial in relation to government policy). Alternatively, positions taken with PMB do not need to attack the government's position on a given topic; they may propose topics which are simply not being addressed, or which may be addressed in tandem with government proposals. In the case of bills, a committee can study the particular proposal, and make amendments if necessary. Motions can introduce new ideas by calling for a Government Bill to be introduced, or for a committee to study a particular topic (Marleau and Montpetit 2000). Grant Deachman (Liberal MP from 1963 to 1972) observed this notion of PMB as a means of proposing new ideas for policy change, without a sense of adversarialism, stating: "We should look carefully at the very great value there is to be had from exploring, in private members' hours, new ideas, new ideas in social legislation, new ideas that need testing in the House before they become law" (quoted in Cordeau 1979: 64).

As another MP in Cordeau's study suggests (in this case implying a sense of adversarialism), it is not simply the fact that these ideas can be adopted by the House, but that by being placed on the agenda, they are in an arena where they can affect policy without necessarily becoming law directly.

As one Member put it, private Members' hour is one aspect of a multi-faceted attack on the government to get it to adopt new ideas. If it is successful, that is what is important. The passage of legislation requires thorough planning and research, maintained another one, and the private Member does not have such resources. It seems, then, that private Members' hours are thought to be a good vehicle through which an individual can try to catch the ear of the government (1979: 65).

Catching the ear of the government, then, is a form of having influence. While the influence of individual MPs in Canada has received some attention (Kornberg and Mishler 1976), the focus has been mainly on the perception of influence by other MPs. While the current analysis does not look at the particular reasons for individual influence in the same manner that Kornberg and Mishler's extensive study did, it does take a step in exploring whether meaningful influence by individual MPs is measurable in terms of outputs, not simply in terms of perceptions.

If PMB is to have an indirect impact on policy outcomes in Canada, then, it should result either from ideas that the government finds acceptable, or from pressure that causes the government to act on an item that it would not have otherwise, or some combination involving both of these.

The possibility that PMB affects policy outcomes can be tested systematically. In order to examine the possibility that PMB has an indirect policy impact – that is, through government action as opposed to directly passing into law – it is necessary to look at what links exist between PMB items that are introduced and the content of Government Bills that follow. While Government Bills alone are only part of what makes up Government policy, they are one clear indicator of items that are not only supported by, but also initiated by, the government in the House of Commons.

Two separate methods of analysis are used here. The first is a quantitative approach that presents the cumulative results of all identified PMB and related Government Bills. This analysis indicates the potential *size* of impact, where size is measured by the percentage of Government Bills that reflect PMB input. Here, then, the analysis is confined to Government legislation specifically.

The second is a qualitative approach that highlights a number of cases and provides greater detail, noting specific links and evidence suggesting policy impact by PMB. This second analysis is not an effective measure of overall size, but, as it takes in other elements of policy including executive policy actions and committee amendments, it is suggestive of the potential *scope* of PMB impact while providing a second, deeper level of evidence that complements the quantitative analysis. This second analysis relies in part upon face-to-face interviews with MPs, which have been referred to in earlier chapters.

The method for data collection used here includes a number of steps. I first conducted a search of all news sources available in Canadian Newsstand and searched the terms “private member* bill*” and “private member* motion*” in full text document while excluding terms to help minimize articles about provincial legislatures (MLA and MPP). The search was conducted to include stories published since the beginning of the 37th Parliament (2001). Notably, coverage of Private Members’ Business from the House of Commons was found across a range of sources, many being newspapers with a more

localized readership (*The Now* – Surrey, BC, *The Windsor Star*, *The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*), while others were newspapers with a larger provincial or national readership (*The Globe and Mail*, *The National Post*, *The Toronto Star*, *The New Brunswick Telegraph Journal*). The number of stories was very large (more than 3000 for bills, more than 300 for motions, though a much smaller number were actually deemed relevant) so headlines were scanned visually in order to help establish which stories might be informative about actual items in the Canadian House of Commons. An article was only read if the headline indicated that it was appropriate for the purpose of the study. Articles in which a source or the journalist themselves seemed to be making a link between a PMB item and a Government Bill or policy were used as indicators to further investigate the link between the items noted. Only where these stories are used as actual evidence of a particular link are they sourced in the analysis to follow.

The next step was to visually familiarize myself with the titles of both Government and PMB items. The process involved 1.) scanning each title across sets of Government and Private Members' Bills and Motions, as well as 2.) noting particular bills that were suspected of having similar purposes and using search terms to identify other items of a similar nature. Where similarities in topic were found, I read the Legislative Summaries (described in the following section) or the bills themselves to see if the proposals were closely related. The final step was to ensure that the date of introduction of the PMB item preceded that of the Government Bill.

Does it Matter?: Legislative Data

The following tables show the items that appeared to be closely linked in terms of policy proposals by both PMB items and introduced Government Bills. In some cases, the Legislative Summaries⁷ that are produced by House staff for Government Bills suggest the influence of PMB on a particular bill. In the case of the Private Members' Bills introduced by Mather and Baldwin referred to in Chapter 1, the Government's published reports give credit to these MPs (See Chapter 1). Similarly, the role of a

⁷ Legislative Summaries are available for about half of all introduced Government Bills. See, on the World Wide Web: <http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/bills.asp?Language=E> . Links to particular Parliaments and bills are available from this point.

Private Member's Bill is occasionally mentioned as influential in the history of Government legislation, which is documented in the Legislative Summary. Nevertheless, this is not the only means of determining whether PMB has or has not been influential in a given policy outcome. Legislative Summaries that mention PMB are rare, and often exclude PMB items that, based on other evidence, still appear to have led to Government legislation. For about half of all Government Bills, Legislative Summaries are not even produced. Nevertheless, Table 6.1 below provides a number of examples in which direct evidence was provided in the Legislative Summary itself. The time frame considered is for all Government bills introduced in the 37th Parliament (2001) and after, and PMB is recorded from the beginning of the previous Parliament (1997).

TABLE 6.1: PM Bill influence as indicated by Legislative Summary

<u>Government Bill</u>	<u>Parliament-Session of Private Members' Bill(s)</u>						<u>Total # MPs</u>
39th Parliament	39-1	38-1	37-2,3	37-1	36-2	36-1	
C-16	An Act to amend the Canada Elections Act (Date of General Election)	C-353	C-512	C-421			6 ⁸
C-19 (C-65 prev.)	An Act to amend the Criminal Code (street racing)	C-230	C-338				1
38th Parliament							
C-11 (C-25 prev.)	An Act to establish a procedure for the disclosure of wrongdoings in the public sector including the protection of persons who disclose the wrongdoings		C-201 C-241 S-6	C-201 C-351	C-239 C-508	C-499	5 ⁹
C-64	An Act to amend the Criminal Code (vehicle identification number)	C-287	C-413				1
37th Parliament							
C-14 (Session 2)	An Act providing for controls on the export import or transit across Canada of rough diamonds and for a certification scheme for their export in order to meet Canada's obligations under the Kimberley Process			C-402			1
C-45 (Session 2)	An Act to amend the Criminal Code (criminal liability of organizations)			C-284	C-259	C-468	2

The above table indicates that the Legislative Summaries for two Government Bills in each of the current and previous two Parliaments made reference to previously introduced Private Members' Bills. Though this number is not high, it is the first step in providing evidence that indeed the proposals of private members (or Senators alongside MPs, as in one case) can be recognized as having influenced government legislation.

⁸ These date back at least to 1970, when Bill C-206 was introduced by Doug Rowland (NDP) whose bill was worded very similarly to the recommendation of the Special Joint Committee, of which he was a member. Ron Stewart (PC) tabled Bill C-483 in 1980. Elwin Hermanson (Reform) introduced Bill C-250 in 1996; unlike previous bills, this bill was debated and voted on at second reading, but was defeated. Jim Pankiw (Reform/CA) introduced various bills between 1998 and 2004. Stephen Harper (Cons), then Leader of the Opposition, introduced Bill C-512 on 1 April 2004. These items are referred to in the Legislative Summary of the Senate Bill listed (S-6). The Senate Bill, in turn, is referred to in the Legislative Summary for the Government Bill as listing the items that led to the current bill.

⁹ These date back to 1993, when Joy Langan (NDP) in the 34th Parliament introduced a Private Members' Bill on this topic, followed by Paul de Savoye (BQ) in the 35th Parliament.

Beyond these cases, however, are many others where the link between PMB and the Government Bills that follow seems convincingly apparent, though no official documentation of this link exists. In some of these cases, there is clear language indicating that particular ideas were taken directly from the previously introduced bill or motion, while in other cases media reports indicate a causal link.

Table 6.2: PM Bill influence as indicated by language and purpose of bill

Government Bill		Parliament-Session of Private Members' Bill(s)						Total # MPs
39th Parliament		39-1	38-1	37-23	37-1	36-2	36-1	
C-9	An Act to amend the Criminal Code (conditional sentence of imprisonment)	C-235	C-205 C-400	C-247 C-322 C-347	C-392 C-456	C-302	C-513	5
C-10	An Act to amend the Criminal Code (minimum penalties for offences involving firearms)		C-393	C-343	C-398		C-484 C-516	2
C-13 (Budget)	An Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on May 2 2006	C-209 C-233 C-256 C-260	C-218 C-252 C-253 C-306	C-262 C-305 C-400 C-407	C-209 C-222 C-461 C-477	C-205 C-289 C-338	C-366 C-505 C-507	12
C-22	An Act to amend the Criminal Code (age of protection)		C-267 C-313 M-221					3
C-26	An Act to amend the Criminal Code (criminal interest rate)		C-361					1
C-43	An Act to provide for consultations with electors on their preferences for appointments to the Senate						C-382	1
C-52 (Budget)	An Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on March 19 2007					C-285		1
38th Parliament								
C-2 (C-12 in 37-3, C- 20 in 37-2)	An Act to amend the Criminal Code (protection of children and other vulnerable persons) and the Canada Evidence Act				C-208 C-396			2
C-37	An Act to amend the Telecommunications Act			C-301 C-520		C-419		3
C-38	An Act respecting certain aspects of legal capacity for marriage for civil purposes						C-309 C-385 C-386 C-264 C-501 C-481	2
C-43 (Budget)	An Act to implement certain provisions of the budget tabled in Parliament on February 23 2005		C-246 C-277 C-333 C-368 C-405	C-209				5
C-46	An Act to amend the Corrections and Conditional Release Act and the Criminal Code			C-273 C-315	C-405 C-459			2
C-53	An Act to Amend the Criminal Code (proceeds of crime)		C-242					1
C-55	An Act to establish the Wage Earner Protection Program Act to amend the Bankruptcy and Insolvency Act and the Companies' Creditors Arrangement Act		C-223 C-236 C-281	C-253 C-203 C-329	C-423	C-274 C-439		3

Table 6.2 (continued)

Government Bill		Parliament-Session of Private Members' Bill(s)						Total # MPs
37th Parliament (3rd Session)		39-1	38-1	37-23	37-1	36-2	36-1	
C-10 (C-38 prev.)	An Act to amend the Contraventions Act and the Controlled Drugs and Substances Act			C-327	C-344	C-266		1
C-12 (C-20 prev.)	An Act to amend the Criminal Code (protection of children and other vulnerable persons) and the Canada Evidence Act				C-208			1
C-16 (C-24 prev.)	An Act respecting the registration of information relating to sex offenders to amend the Criminal Code			C-399	C-333	M-87	M-514	3
(2nd Session)								
C-5 (C-5 prev.)	An Act respecting the protection of wildlife species at risk in Canada				C-295 C-346	C-300	C-441	2
C-8	An Act to protect human health and safety and the environment by regulating products used for the control of pests				C-388 C-267	M-235	M-289	2
(1st Session)								
C-7	An Act in respect of criminal justice for young persons and to amend and repeal other Acts				C-235	C-297		1
C-46	An Act to amend the Criminal Code (alcohol ignition interlock device programs)						C-266	1

The above table, similar to the previous table, provides an equal number of bills in each Parliament (seven) that appear to have been influenced in part by previously introduced PMB. It is notable for both tables that, as the 37th Parliament had three sessions and lasted approximately 3.5 years, the actual portion of Government Bills potentially influenced by PMB overall is much lower than in the 38th and 39th Parliaments.

In most cases, actual influence on Government bills appears to result from Private Members' *Bill* introductions, not *Motion* introductions, though there are cases where the latter appear to have had some effect. Nevertheless, many motion titles are vague, and the detail available in written bills (where the connection is made between the content of each) is not always available with motions. This may have led to some motions on similar topics being overlooked simply because there was not enough detail to suggest a clear link.

The analysis above is admittedly imperfect. Private Members' Bills have had differing impacts in each case above – likely ranging from near coincidence where the actual impact is relatively low, to cases where the MP's bill itself appears to have been the single most important factor (along with support from other MPs for the bill) in prompting Government action.¹⁰ Nevertheless, from the cursory view provided by both tables above, there appear to have been 27 cases of Government bills in the current and previous two Parliaments (2001 to March 2007) which may have been influenced by Private Members' Business. Counting all Government Bills that have been introduced over the period (not including requests for money for the public service, or riding name changes), Private Members' Business (mostly in the form of bills) appears to have been potentially influential in approximately 13.2% of cases (35 out of 266 total Government Bills introduced). Approximately the same portion (12.7%) of bills receiving Royal Assent appears to have been influenced by PMB (17 out of 134 bills). It is important to keep in mind that the above tables only indicate PMB's *indirect* impact. Bills may also pass and become law – in some cases Government Bills will reflect the substance of these bills as well.¹¹

Another point that should be made regarding the above tables concerns the amount of influence that government MPs, or MPs from previous parliaments that are either members of the same party or have a close association with the current governing party,¹² have on government bills as opposed to opposition party MPs. In the 39th Parliament, three of the four MPs whose bills were noted as influential by Legislative Summaries since the 36th Parliament were members closely associated with, or currently sitting as members of, the governing party. During the previous two Liberal governments, only one out of nine bill sponsors were MPs associated with the governing party. A similar trend can be found in the table where the links between legislation are not documented in Legislative Summaries – 15 of 25 are MPs affiliated

¹⁰ An example of this will be provided in the following section.

¹¹ C-259 *An Act to amend the Excise Tax Act (elimination of excise tax on jewellery)*, introduced by John Duncan (Conservative), and C-331 *An Act to acknowledge that persons of Ukrainian origin were interned in Canada during the First World War and to provide for recognition of this event*, introduced by Inky Mark (Conservative) were also included in the budget bill (C-43) during the 38th Parliament, but both had previously received Royal Assent in the same Parliament.

¹² MPs with a close association to the current Conservative government include MPs that have sat previously as members of the Progressive Conservative, Reform, or Canadian Alliance caucuses.

with the governing party (10 of 12 excluding the budget bills). In the previous parliament, only three of 20 MPs were from the governing party (two of 15 excluding the budget bill), and in the 37th, only three of 11 were government MPs. This may be partly because the Liberal party governed over the previous two parliaments (35th and 36th), and it is possible that over this period of time, the party became more receptive to the ideas of outsiders, or had exhausted many of its own policy ideas. It is also possible that, as the Liberal party can be considered closer to the political “centre”, that it found common ground with a larger number of MPs (or at least MPs’ ideas) than is the case with the current Conservative government. Recall that in Chapter 3 it was shown that MPs from the governing party tend to enjoy much higher success rates than other MPs in getting their items passed. It may be the case, with regard to the political affiliations of MPs having an influence through PMB, that the previous Liberal government was more likely to let its own members take credit for good ideas, but to adopt the ‘good ideas’ of opposition MPs as its own. Former Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, once stated:

You never outline your policies too early or in detail in Opposition. Sir John [A. Macdonald] once said when he was in opposition, ‘never give your policies in detail in opposition or that would be like going to the old swimming hole, you strip and the grits will come along and steal all your clothes.’ (quoted in Hockin 1966: 229).

Should the current Conservative government maintain power for an extended period of time, a similar trend of adopting the policy ideas of opposition MPs may eventually emerge.

Paul Zed (Liberal – Saint John), when interviewed, suggested that: “...if you look at the evolution of public policy, I think you’ll find that Private [Members’] Bills are the genesis of it. Sometimes if a subject area gets raised enough by private members, it becomes part of the DNA of a political party, or a policy” (Interviewed Dec. 12, 2006). In the case of the Conservative Party, the policy proposals from past years by its affiliated MPs may have provided a view into some of the policies that the party would implement if given a chance to govern. The current Conservative government, then, appears to accept ideas that have been promoted through PMB over previous years which were perhaps less likely to be accepted by previous Liberal governments, yet to get a real sense

of how this works, it would be necessary to extend the analysis further back and compare it to other cases of parties newly forming government.

Does it Matter?: Media Links and MP Interviews

It is not always clear from looking at the text of bills alone whether there is indeed a causal link between PMB and Government policies. This section will go further in providing evidence that such a link does exist. In doing so, it will provide detail on particular cases, some of which are included in the tables in the previous section.

Perhaps the clearest example of PMB leading to a Government Bill without evidence from a Legislative Summary is that of Bill C-242, *An Act to amend the Criminal Code (proceeds of crime)* introduced by Richard Marceau (BQ) in the 38th Parliament (in Table 6.2 above). Interestingly, shortly after the bill was introduced, a spokesperson for then Liberal Justice Minister Irwin Cotler indicated that the government was not familiar with the legislation and had no intention of dealing with the proposed topic (Tibbetts 2004). Three days after this report, which indicated that the bill may pass if voted upon based on the number of MPs supporting the idea, another report quoted Mr. Cotler himself expressing interest in the topic (Thompson 2004).¹³ C-53, a Government Bill serving the same purpose, was introduced approximately seven months later. Bill C-242, along with MP support, appears to have been the main factor in causing this change in policy.

In some cases, a PMB item can appear to provide an added push alongside other events in prompting a policy change. In 2003, a Senate committee recommended that the 10-year ban on declaring bankruptcy on student loans (implemented in the 1998 budget) be reduced to five years. During the 38th Parliament, an expert panel for then Liberal Industry Minister David Emerson made the same recommendation. Not long after, C-236 by Alexa McDonough (NDP), which proposed to reduce the ban to two years, received a vote in the House. 17 backbench Liberal MPs voted in favour of the bill, which the Liberal government itself was opposed to (Schmidt 2005). The bill, however, did not pass. Mr. Emerson tabled proposed amendments just three months later (part of C-55 in

¹³ Note that the item had only been introduced and was not placed on the Order of Precedence to be debated.

Table 2 above), which decreased the ban to seven years, and also implemented changes called for in other PM Bills. It seems likely that the support given to Ms. McDonough's bill by Liberal MPs placed additional pressure on the government to act on this matter.

There remain other cases of policy change that are not included in the above tables simply because no Government Bill was introduced. These are additional cases where PMB items still have a policy impact, though such cases are more difficult to uncover. The cases described below are based upon interviews with MPs, and are not the result of the sort of exhaustive process used to construct the tables above. As such, there is no means to determine how often such cases occur, or to measure the portion of policies that are likely affected. Nevertheless, they remain indicative of other avenues by which MPs affect government policy through introducing PMB items.

One such case is Karen Redman's (Liberal – Kitchener Centre) C-229 (36th Parliament, 2nd Session) *An Act to amend the Canada Post Corporation Act (letter that cannot be transmitted by post)*, the purpose of which was to halt a form of mail fraud. The proposal was taken up by a committee considering changes to the Competition Act, and Ms. Redman's objectives were met by the committee's proposed amendments to the Act, which the House subsequently passed. According to Ms. Redman: "It was the substance of the bill, so it wasn't quite as glorious. But my judgment call was that it was far more important to get this loop-hole plugged than it was to have my name on it" (Interviewed November 12, 2006).

Similarly, Roy Cullen (Liberal – Etobicoke North) spoke about how the proposal in one of his Private Members' Bills, C-221 (36th Parliament, 1st Session), *An Act to amend the Canada Business Corporations Act* was implemented. He approached then Liberal Industry Minister John Manley about his proposed amendment.

I said: 'Look I know you are looking at the Canada Business Corporation Act. If you incorporate these provisions into your bill, I'll drop my Private Members' Bill in a heartbeat.' I'm not here to get glory, I just want solutions, and he eventually did and I withdrew my bill (Interviewed December 7, 2006).

Mr. Cullen's proposal was ultimately included in a Senate Government Bill (S-19, 36th Parliament, 2nd session), and later passed into law when the same bill was re-introduced during the following Parliament (S-11, 37th Parliament, 1st session).

A Conservative MP suggested that his own bill was being acted upon by the current government because the government likely felt pressure to avoid having the topic raised and debated in the House of Commons. Due to the MP wishing not be identified, the case itself is vague, though his statement is informative.

No government wants to deal with [this issue] in the crucible of the House of Commons where we're protected by privilege and it can go any way. ... they don't want a sledge hammer running around in a China shop. So a number of the things that were envisioned in [the bill] are actually being acted on as a result of the influence of it from outside the Parliamentary process (Interviewed December 12, 2006).

Private Members' Motions may also impact government policy, but even when motions are adopted, governments do not have to take any particular action as is the case with bills that become statutes, so they are not expected to have as large a role as bills, either directly or indirectly. There are, of course, some motions in the tables above that appear to have been influential, but far fewer than bills.

There have also been cases, however, where policies have changed as a result of motions passing, though without the introduction of a Government Bill. An example is that of Private Members' Motion M-380 in the 37th Parliament, 3rd session (Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral, BQ – Laval Centre) which was adopted in April 2004, though not supported by the Cabinet of the majority Liberal government. Then Liberal Prime Minister Paul Martin did not act on the motion which called on the House to recognize the "Armenian genocide" that occurred in Turkey in 1915.¹⁴ In the current parliament, Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper did act to recognize the motion by issuing a statement of agreement concerning the "genocide", prompting a response from the government of Turkey (Moore 2006). Mr. Harper's official statement on the matter affirmed that the House itself had voted to adopt the motion.

In the current parliament, a motion by Liberal MP Andy Scott calling for a national autism strategy also caught the attention of the government before being passed in the House, and led to program announcements for research and public awareness by

¹⁴ The reference used here is meant to describe the terminology used in the motion that passed the House of Commons. It is meant neither to accept nor to deny its applicability to historical events.

Conservative Health Minister Tony Clement in November 2006 (*New Brunswick Telegraph Journal* 2006; Weeks 2006). The motion itself was adopted by the House in December 2006, shortly after the government made these announcements.

In short, then, it is clear that there are cases where individual MPs have made proposals that appear to have had an *indirect* policy impact, while with motions, there are cases where an adopted (or soon-to-be-adopted) motion can bring about a change in policy as well. The areas of government policy affected, from the above analysis, include Government Bills and Senate Government Bills, adoption of committee amendments to Acts, government policy statements and program implementation. This is not to say that in each case a particular PMB item was always the primary reason or even among the key reasons why a particular policy was adopted, but it does suggest that PMB is likely playing a causal role, and there are cases where it may well be among the primary reasons for certain policy outcomes.

What cannot be effectively determined from the above analysis, however, is what specific institutional factors appear to account for differences in the overall policy impact of PMB. There are many variables at work over the approximately 6.5 years from the beginning of the 37th Parliament to the spring of 2007 in the current 39th Parliament, and it is not possible to isolate them all. The first variable of importance is whether the government is a majority or minority. While it is clear from the above tables that PMB had some impact during the 37th parliament when a majority government sat, the total impact seems smaller than for the following minority parliaments. A second variable regards the rules of procedure for PMB. Seemingly important rule changes came into effect during the 3rd (and relatively short) session of the 37th Parliament. These two factors (minority government and rule changes) are likely the most significant factors affecting PMB influence, though there is no means of separating minority government status from rule changes. A third variable is leadership. Liberal Prime Minister Paul Martin, who took over leadership of the governing Liberal party before the third session of the 37th Parliament, seemed to take a more positive view toward empowering MPs than did his predecessor (Martin 2002; Aucoin and Turnbull 2003). Current Conservative Prime Minister Stephen Harper may also have a more favourable disposition toward individual MP empowerment than that of Jean Chrétien, owing in part to his Reform

Party roots, though there is little recent evidence that indicates his position on the matter. A fourth variable is party in power – and how long it has been in, or out of, power. During the 39th Parliament, the overall impact of PMB does not appear measurably different from the 38th, but the partisan affiliation of MPs having an impact is clearly more one-sided, as already noted. This may be due in part both to the fact that Conservatives are a new party in government, and also to the fact that they take up a more “right-leaning” position than the previously governing Liberals. In sum, while it is possible to suggest that PMB appears to have a greater impact on policy in the 38th and 39th Parliaments than in the 37th Parliament, it is not possible to effectively determine which factors affect the nature of its impact. In short, there are too many variables (minority vs. majority, rule changes, leadership, governing party) and not enough cases to isolate the impact of each of them.

It does seem apparent, however, that the policy impact of Private Members’ Business could be substantial, and it does seem that various factors may have combined to increase this impact since the 37th Parliament. Indeed, the indirect impact suggested here may occur through various channels, and appears to affect a substantial number of policy outcomes. This may be in part because the ideas expressed through this avenue affect the policy agenda, and because increased pressure to act upon items results from the prospect of a bill or motion being debated or possibly passed. The latter may, in some cases, cause backbench government MPs to indicate support for a new policy, which may in turn increase pressure on the government to counter with its own proposal.

This suggests that, on the whole, PMB warrants attention not only for what information it may provide about legislative behaviour and representation in Canada, but also for what it may be able to tell us about legislative dynamics resulting in policy outcomes in Canada as well. What remains is to discuss whether the function of dyadic representative behaviour, which appears to make up a reasonable portion of PMB participation, is playing a greater or lesser role in policy outcomes than other PMB participation.

Dyadic Representation and Policy Impact

The policy impact of PMB is probably greater when the issue is one that appears to have some national significance. That is, if a topic has little salience outside of a particular region, it is unlikely to catch the attention of the government. In some cases, however, circumstances change this. During the 38th Parliament, Chuck Cadman (Independent – Surrey North)¹⁵ died. Liberal Prime Minister Paul Martin was asked by Mr. Cadman's widow, Dona, to enact some of the bills that Cadman had introduced (*The Now* 2005). The government subsequently introduced bills to make the altering of a vehicle identification number a criminal offense (C-64)¹⁶ and toughening criminal law on street racing (C-65), both topics previously introduced by Mr. Cadman and of importance to his constituency and surrounding region.¹⁷ In this case, two bills that appear to be a clear case of “dyadic” constituency representation were adopted by the federal government.¹⁸

There are other examples of MPs acting to represent constituents and having their proposals adopted at the national level. Bill Blaikie introduced a motion calling for recognition for Dieppe veterans (Motion 143, Parliament 35, Session 1). The motion was adopted by the House only after being amended by the Liberal government at the time, which then took actions to enact the proposal. In an interview, Blaikie noted the constituency, as well as the personal, connection: “In Winnipeg, there are lots of Dieppe veterans. It was a Winnipeg regiment that was at Dieppe, Cameron Highlanders, and I happened to serve in that regiment myself as a reserve” (Interviewed November 2, 2006).

Karen Redman similarly had a local connection that played a role in her choice to pursue the issue of mail fraud based on a particular company's actions. She noted: “The shell corporation that was perpetrating this horrible scam actually was situated in

¹⁵ Mr. Cadman represented the Surrey North riding for the Reform Party, Canadian Alliance Party and Conservative Party in 36th and 37th Parliaments.

¹⁶ This proposal is designed to combat car theft.

¹⁷ According to an article in *The Vancouver Sun* (2005), Surrey is the: “No. 1 municipality in North America for car theft”. While there is no statistic indicating the trends regarding street racing, there is ample evidence of concern regarding street racing in newspapers from B.C.'s Lower Mainland region. One source noted “street- racing crashes ... have killed more than 100 people in the Lower Mainland over the past three years” (McCullough 2003).

¹⁸ This bill did not pass in the 38th Parliament but was given Royal Assent in the 39th Parliament after being introduced by the current Conservative government (C-19 in Table 6.1 above).

Waterloo, Ontario. So it wasn't my constituency, but it was my community” (Interviewed November 2, 2006).

None of the above cases are topics that are exclusive to the interests of particular constituencies or regions alone. These, then, are cases of national issues that originate at the constituency or regional level.

On the other hand, in some cases, perhaps even most cases, PMB that gains a national profile may have little to do with dyadic representation, outside of relatively general topics that are simply more popular in certain constituencies than others. Pablo Rodriguez' recent effort to have his bill C-288 regarding the Kyoto Protocol passed in the House does not appear to have been a constituency-focused effort, though his website does list the environment as a local concern.¹⁹ What is striking is that this individual effort has become very much a party effort – even a multi-party effort – in the current Parliament where the three opposition parties appear to support enacting the Kyoto Protocol while the minority government does not. On the individual level, one would expect Mr. Rodriguez to advertise his efforts to his constituents. While this may have happened through other channels, Mr. Rodriguez' website, where one would expect an announcement regarding the bill, did not appear to have been updated since prior to the 2006 federal election – his home page, as of Feb. 23, 2007 (9 days after the House voted to pass his bill C-288 on 3rd reading), still thanked constituents for electing him in 2004 and encouraged them to do the same in January 2006. No press release regarding the introduction, much less the passing, of bill C-288 had been posted there. In Mr. Rodriguez' case, this bill likely had little to do with boosting his standing in his constituency or focusing on the interests of a given region. Further, the topic of the bill is clearly one that is a national, as well as highly a partisan, issue.

Importantly, the previous chapters dealt with the significance of the electoral connection as a causal factor resulting in dyadic representation, and this link was found to occur more often in the symbolic arena of motion introductions. Where policy change occurs then, it may be that it is more likely to come from those concerned with policy

¹⁹ Pablo Rodriguez's website is available on the World Wide Web at: <http://rodriguez.lpcq.ca/>. It was accessed for this project on February 23, 2007, and again on May 6, 2007, though at neither of these times did it indicate having been updated since prior to the 2006 federal election, nor was any information regarding Mr. Rodriguez's bill C-288 available there.

change specifically, and is probably less likely to occur in cases where electoral pressure is playing a role. Electoral pressure may be affecting the process by ensuring that more ideas are presented in parliament, but it seems less likely that it should have an impact in terms of policy change. Certainly a more extensive analysis of policy change itself could shed more light on this particular link.

Apart from behaviour and representation, then, it is notable that Private Members' Bills, and to a lesser extent Private Members' Motions, appear to play some role in policy outcomes. This enhances the prospect of the alternative hypothesis behind what drives individual action in the Canadian Parliament, as MPs hoping to have a policy impact are probably more likely to engage in this activity if it can actually have some measurable impact – though notably the activity they would likely choose would be to introduce a bill. In this regard, it is not surprising that motions appeared to indicate more dyadic representation based on electoral pressure yet indicate very little in terms of policy impact. Motions, as stated earlier in this project, do not seem a good fit for MPs whose purpose is to have a policy impact with their actions. That said, there is evidence that bills do in some cases serve a dyadic representative function, and these are also the items where a greater policy impact is observed. Nevertheless, the more localized an issue appears to be, the less likely it seems that it will gain much exposure or momentum in terms of policy impact at the federal level. In order for very specific dyadic representation to play a large policy role, the interest expressed will likely need to speak to the interests of a large number of Canadians (or at least Canadians in other constituencies throughout the country).

PMB Policy Impact: Implications for Canadian Government

If indeed MPs are influential regarding policy outcomes with their legislative actions, this suggests that Atkinson and Thomas' (1993) statement that "Parliament's role in lawmaking is restricted to refining, ratifying, and legitimating decisions" (425) is an overstatement. Rather it seems – from the cursory exploration provided above – more accurate to suggest that there is space, however small, for Parliament's role in initiating legislation and in influencing public policy both directly and indirectly through the legislative process. This space likely increases when a minority government sits, and is

likely also related to the rules governing the introduction and voting procedures of legislation by individual MPs. If PMB receives more time on Parliament's agenda, and if more items receive votes, then each MP's potential influence as a "legislator" likely increases.

What does this suggest about the power of the executive? In reality, very little. Two brief points should help to make this clear. The first is simply that legislation is a small part of what the executive does overall, and the grounds upon which the legislature may *call upon* the executive to act are not entirely clear, especially as the question of what will transpire now that bill C-288 has received Royal Assent looms. Motions that pass, regardless of majority or minority government status, will continue to affect government policy only when the government decides they should, and even bills may, at times, be treated in a similar manner – prompting minimal executive action even if changes are implemented to Acts or Codes. A government that does not act on the legislature's direction may run the risk of looking as though it is acting in an 'undemocratic' fashion, but it seems unlikely in the immediate future that such a government would be charged as doing something 'illegal'.

The second reason why this likely has little bearing on the executive's power is that the government's ability to pass its own legislation is not dependent upon PMB, except to the degree that time on the House's agenda is affected. The single factor that substantially affects the passing of Government Bills is the existence of a minority government, and the rules of PMB will do little to change this. Certainly the idea that MPs might increase their opportunities or ability to call upon the executive to act is an important one, but any perceived increase in power for MPs as legislators does not necessarily lead to an equal decrease in power for the executive.

The result is that, based on the degree to which overall governance is affected by individual behaviour, there has been little risk presented by the expansion of opportunities provided to individual MPs through Private Members' Business since the 1980s. The brunt of PMB's impact, in its indirect form, suggests the possibility of a more complementary role, rather than a strictly adversarial role. Recent developments, such as the passing of bill C-288 in the current parliament, suggest a slight change in this regard, but the true implications of the House passing this bill cannot yet be determined. The

short term implications suggest that Parliament has made additional room for the MP in his/her role as an individual representative and legislator without jeopardizing the modern role of the executive in Canadian Parliament.

Future Research

The preceding pages have explored the nature of individual participation and individual dyadic representation in Canada, and the factors that may help explain the occurrences of these phenomena. Having now also considered the possible impact of these activities on policy outcomes in Canada, the final step is to suggest what research this may lead to in the future.

What the findings of the previous chapters suggest is that any space that is given to individual MPs in Canada to act in a manner that allows individual position-taking and potential credit claiming is quite likely to be exploited for individual political gain through bringing attention to issues of interest to the electoral constituency. This behaviour is expected to occur most often from MPs experiencing electoral pressure. These findings suggest a number of research possibilities, perhaps the most obvious being – does such behaviour actually contribute to a personal vote? What has been observed thus far is based entirely on perception by the MP – if an MP does not perceive a particular action to be valuable, it really does not matter whether the action itself has any empirically verified value. However, it seems quite clear that there is a widespread perception by MPs that a “personal vote” does exist, there is also some empirical evidence suggesting that it exists (Blais et al. 2003), and there is now evidence that MPs may perceive PMB activity as enhancing that personal vote. The reality behind this perception remains entirely untapped from a research perspective in terms of whether the personal vote is greater or lesser for certain MPs, as well as whether certain forms of parliamentary activity can increase it, and if so, why.

Second, this research suggests the value of a broader, comparative investigation of legislative behaviour across systems. In the broadest of terms, this would include looking at the different incentives for collective versus individual behaviour, and assessing the actual occurrence of each. More specifically, where there exists the possibility of MPs attaining a personal vote, we should investigate whether it is pursued, and what avenues

are used to pursue it. Ultimately, does dyadic representation occur, what form does it take, and what institutional structures appear to facilitate it? Finally, beyond institutional structure, what factors increase or decrease forms of representation within a given system, and is there a trade-off?

In any study of representation focusing on policy venues, some discussion of the policy role of the activity being investigated beyond its representational role is likely to be required. Nevertheless, it can be difficult – as it was here – to effectively answer questions related to both representational behaviour and to policy roles in one place. To be clear, the analysis above regarding policy impact is informative, but it is incomplete. As there is evidence that actions may have influence in governance, this requires further study using a more systematic approach to understanding how and why this may be. The work of Kornberg and Mishler (1976) is informative here, as greater attention to MP positions and participation may help explain how it is that influence exists, and who is more likely to have it. It is of further importance to know what the potential or actual outcome of such influence is.

Two avenues could be pursued in assessing the policy impact of individual actions, fashioned after the analyses provided earlier in this chapter. The first is a systematic analysis focusing on the number of items in a particular policy venue where the influence of particular activities can be assessed. Such an analysis would, however, need to take into account the role of a range of factors in leading to the varied results, and provide an assessment of the role that each factor played in the outcome. The second is a more exhaustive analysis that uncovers a large range of cases of interest where influence can be empirically linked to individual initiatives across policy venues. It would, however, also need to account for cases where no individual influence occurred, and explain why this was. While this may seem a daunting task, it does seem from the evidence provided above that there is much to understand, and opportunity for different styles of research to contribute to this exploration.

For the time being, this project provides substantial evidence that dyadic representation does occur in Canada, and effectively probes the reasons for its occurrence. It suggests that the electoral connection is critical to dyadic representation; it also suggests that the scope for individual behaviour to affect policy outcomes in Canada may

be substantial. It follows that the study of individual legislative behaviour is of greater importance to our understanding of Canadian government and parliament than most past work suggests. In addition, this work speaks to much broader issues, important not just in Canada but across liberal democracies: the role of individual representatives in the legislative process, and the magnitude and quality – the focus and style – of democratic representation. The purpose served here is to further enhance our understanding of the roles of political institutions and the degree to which they, in turn, affect political behaviour, both with regard to individual versus collective behaviour in politics, and with regard to who is represented, how, and why.

**Appendix to Chapter One: Member of Parliament Face-to-Face Interview
(November - December, 2006):**

All MPs were interviewed face-to-face by the author in Ottawa during November and December 2006, with the exception of the BQ MP who wished to be interviewed in French. This interview was conducted face-to-face by Marc-Andre Bodet, a Ph.D. student at McGill, at the MP's constituency office in December 2006.

In order to qualify to be interviewed, an MP had to have sat in at least one parliament previous to the current one. The MP must have also had a reasonable opportunity to have participated in PMB (i.e. have had a minimum of approximately one year in which he/she did not hold a government portfolio position). Interviewees were chosen at random from qualified MPs and contacted initially by mail. Follow-up phone calls and emails were conducted approximately one week after the initial attempt at contact was completed, and additional attempts at contact were made periodically for approximately one month if no response was received. A total of approximately 60 MPs were contacted, including some current Cabinet Ministers, though no current Cabinet Ministers completed interviews. Interviews were conducted with eight Liberal MPs, four Conservative MPs, three NDP MPs, and one BQ MP. The longest serving MP was first elected in 1979, while the shortest serving MPs (three) were first elected in 2004. Two MPs were female. Two MPs were former Cabinet Ministers, while an additional three were former or current Parliamentary Secretaries. One was the current Government Caucus Chair, and one was the current Opposition Whip and former Government Whip at the time of interviewing. 13 of these MPs consented to being identified in the current project, and some are identified in later chapters.

QUESTIONS:

ALL MEMBERS:

1a.) If an issue arose that was unforeseen at the time of your election, and you felt that one course of action would clearly be more beneficial to *your constituents* while a different course of action would clearly be more beneficial to *the country* as a whole, which course of action would you prefer to take? (For BQ member – replace *the country* with *Quebec*.)

Constituents [] whole country []

1b.) If, on this issue, you knew that a majority of [*priority above – your constituents or the country or Quebec*] preferred a course of action that was contrary to your own strongly held preference, would you prefer to act on your own judgment?

Own judgment [] Delegate []

1c.) And if, on this issue, the position of your party contradicted that of your individual preference for action arrived at through the first 2 questions, would you:

A) Always follow your party [] C) tend to dissent from your party []

B) tend to follow your party [] D) always dissent from your party []

2.) Do you believe that, on the issues that are most important to you personally, it is better to specifically pursue the policies you want, and that gaining the influence to affect change will follow, or that it is better to act specifically to gain influence first, and the ability to affect the policies of importance to you will follow?

Good policy first []

Gain influence first []

3.) List (in order of preference) up to 3 policy topics that are your *personal* priorities today. – What would you say are your *party's* top 3 policy priorities?

4.) What is the single most important factor in why each of these 3 personal priorities receives your attention?

5.) What do you see as the single most effective way to get attention for each of your personal policy priorities, or (if different) getting them dealt with?

6.) MPs engage in constituency work and appearances for electoral reasons. What *legislative actions* by individual MPs (not parties) do you think are directly related to electoral motivations? Could you give examples of how this might work?

For PARTICIPANTS – For NON-PARTICIPANTS go to 7a.

- 7.) Name the most important factor in your choice to introduce your [specific bill or motion – based on a recent bill or motion introduced by member].
- 8.) Why not a different motion or bill?
- 9.) Was anyone in your party (or party leadership) instrumental in your choice of topic? -- If *no*: I don't mean just following them; I mean looking to them for information and guidance. -- If *yes*: Who? How?
- 10.) What do you think your constituents wanted you to do about this? -- Were you contacted? -- How, and by who?
- 11.) Did you hear anything from any organizations? How and who?
- 12.) Has anyone in the cabinet or the executive branch contacted you regarding Private Members' Business in the past?
- 13.) Do you see Private Members' Business as a useful avenue for your top priorities? Briefly, why or why not?

For NON-PARTICIPANTS:

- 7a.) What actions have you taken recently to promote your personal priorities?
- 8a.) Please name the single most important factor in your choice of the policy topic you pursued with these actions?
- 9a.) Was your party leadership or any fellow members instrumental in your choice of topic? -- If *no*: I don't mean just following them; I mean looking to them for information and guidance. -- If *yes*: Who? Why Them?
- 10a.) What do you think your constituents wanted you to do about this? -- Were you contacted? -- How, and by who?
- 11a.) Did you hear anything from any organizations?
- 12a.) Did anyone in the cabinet or executive branch contact you?

13a.) Why do you not participate in Private Members' Business as an avenue in pursuing your priorities? --Would this avenue be useful for any of your priorities?

ALL MEMBERS:

14.) (ONLY IF PREVIOUS ANSWER DIDN'T INDICATE THIS – don't let this answer go long) Do you think electoral motivations drive members to introduce bills, or motions, or both?

15.) Can Private Members' Business be successful in affecting policy even if it doesn't pass – for example, by having the government act on it by introducing a similar bill or enacting a similar policy? (if yes, please name specific cases?)

16.) Is there anything else you think I might be interested in regarding how you personally represent your constituency or *the country* [Quebec] in your legislative duties, about MPs' legislative duties generally, or about Private Members' Business?

Appendix to Chapter One: McGill Research Ethics Board Approval



Research Ethics Board Office
McGill University
845 Sherbrooke Street West
James Administration Bldg., rm 419
Montreal, QC H3A 2T5

Tel: (514) 398-6831
Fax: (514) 398-4644
Ethics website: www.mcgill.ca/research/compliance/human/

Research Ethics Board I **Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans**

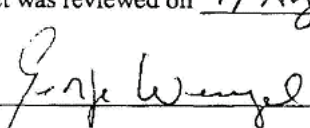
REB File #: 31-0806

Project Title: Legislative behaviour and representation in Canada

Principal Investigator: Kelly Blidook **Department:** Political Science

Status: Ph.D. student **Supervisor:** Prof. S. Soroka

Granting Agency and Title: N/A

This project was reviewed on 14 August 2006 by George Wenzel

George Wenzel, Ph.D.
Chair, REB I

Expedited Review ☒
Full Review ☐

Approval Period: August 14, 2006 to August 13, 2007

This project was reviewed and approved in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Subjects and with the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct For Research Involving Humans

-
- *All research involving human subjects requires review on an annual basis. A Request for Renewal form should be submitted at least one month before the above expiry date.
 - *If a project has been completed or terminated and ethics approval is no longer required, a Final Report form must be submitted.
 - *Should any modification or other unanticipated development occur before the next required review, the REB must be informed and any modification can't be initiated until approval is received.

Appendix to Chapter Three:

Table 3.1: Government Bills 1968-2004 (31st Parl Excluded)

Topic	Trudeau		Mulroney		Chrétien		Total	
	Intro	Passed	Intro	Passed	Intro	Passed	Intro	Passed
Macroeconomics	124	108	88	83	79	75	291	266
	15.6	19.3	16.9	19.1	15.5	21.9	16.0	19.9
Rights & Multiculturalism	14	8	14	10	5	3	33	21
Health	1.8	1.4	2.7	2.3	1.0	0.9	1.8	1.6
	6	5	5	4	19	10	30	19
	0.8	0.9	1.0	0.9	3.7	2.9	1.7	1.4
Agriculture & Forestry	64	45	34	30	16	13	114	88
	8.1	8.0	6.5	6.9	3.1	3.8	6.3	6.6
Labour, Employment & Immigration	60	44	32	31	31	18	123	93
	7.6	7.8	6.1	7.1	6.1	5.3	6.8	7.0
Education	8	5	3	2	6	5	17	12
	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.5	1.2	1.5	0.9	0.9
Environment	11	7	9	8	20	9	40	24
	1.4	1.3	1.7	1.8	3.9	2.6	2.2	1.8
Energy & Mining	36	25	19	15	11	7	66	47
	4.5	4.5	3.7	3.5	2.2	2.0	3.6	3.5
Fisheries	21	16	8	7	8	3	37	26
	2.7	2.9	1.5	1.6	1.6	0.9	2.0	1.9
Transportation	42	23	32	20	33	18	107	61
	5.3	4.1	6.1	4.6	6.5	5.3	5.9	4.6
Law & Crime	51	29	56	44	84	47	191	120
	6.4	5.2	10.8	10.1	16.5	13.7	10.5	9.0
Social Welfare	19	15	3	3	1	1	23	19
	2.4	2.7	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.3	1.3	1.4
Community Dev't & Housing	15	13	2	2	2	2	19	17
	1.9	2.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.6	1.0	1.3
Banking, Finance & Domestic Commerce	61	36	42	30	28	18	131	84
	7.7	6.4	8.1	6.9	5.5	5.3	7.2	6.3
Defence	19	19	10	10	16	11	45	40
	2.4	3.4	1.9	2.3	3.1	3.2	2.5	3.0
Science, Technology & Communications	9	5	12	6	6	3	27	14
	1.1	0.9	2.3	1.4	1.2	0.9	1.5	1.1
Foreign Trade	49	34	30	27	17	17	96	78
	6.2	6.1	5.8	6.2	3.3	5.0	5.3	5.8
International Affairs & Aid	25	21	17	16	14	11	56	48
	3.2	3.7	3.3	3.7	2.8	3.2	3.1	3.6
Gov't Operations	93	63	67	53	55	33	215	149
	11.7	11.2	12.9	12.2	10.8	9.6	11.8	11.1
Public Lands Management	16	11	8	7	18	12	42	30
	2.0	2.0	1.5	1.6	3.5	3.5	2.3	2.2
Culture & Entertainment	10	5	4	3	1	1	15	9
	1.3	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.7
Provincial & Local Gov't Administration	5	3	1	1	1	1	7	5
	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.4
Intergovernmental Relations & Trade	21	15	11	9	9	6	41	30
	2.7	2.7	2.1	2.1	1.8	1.8	2.3	2.2
Constitution & National Unity	5	1	1	1	2	2	8	4
	0.6	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.3
Native Affairs	9	5	13	12	27	17	49	34
	1.1	0.9	2.5	2.8	5.3	5.0	2.7	2.5
Total	793	561	521	434	509	343	1,823	1,338
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Top five topics per column in bold (not including Macroeconomics or Government Operations). Six topics in 'Chrétien - Passed' due to tie.

Table 3.2 PM Bills Introduced by Party (28-32 Parliament: Trudeau Government)

Topic	Liberal	PC	NDP	Total
Macroeconomics	4	22	6	32
	0.4	1.9	0.7	1.1
Rights & Multiculturalism	124	158	81	363
	12.7	13.9	9.9	12.4
Health	17	8	23	48
	1.7	0.7	2.8	1.6
Agriculture & Forestry	20	27	32	79
	2.1	2.4	3.9	2.7
Labour, Employment & Immigration	77	91	168	336
	7.9	8.0	20.5	11.5
Education	2	13	2	17
	0.2	1.1	0.2	0.6
Environment	43	42	19	104
	4.4	3.7	2.3	3.6
Energy & Mining	8	30	11	49
	0.8	2.6	1.3	1.7
Fisheries	8	8	14	30
	0.8	0.7	1.7	1.0
Transportation	59	63	46	168
	6.1	5.5	5.6	5.7
Law & Crime	103	192	85	380
	10.6	16.9	10.4	13.0
Social Welfare	5	14	1	20
	0.5	1.2	0.1	0.7
Community Dev't & Housing	14	6	2	22
	1.4	0.5	0.2	0.8
Banking, Finance & Domestic Commerce	75	43	79	197
	7.7	3.8	9.7	6.7
Defence	10	13	10	33
	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.1
Science, Technology & Communications	12	31	13	56
	1.2	2.7	1.6	1.9
Foreign Trade	15	10	11	36
	1.5	0.9	1.3	1.2
International Affairs & Aid	16	27	20	63
	1.6	2.4	2.4	2.2
Gov't Operations	285	254	144	683
	29.2	22.3	17.6	23.3
Public Lands Management	18	9	4	31
	1.8	0.8	0.5	1.1
Culture & Entertainment	34	30	12	76
	3.5	2.6	1.5	2.6
Provincial & Local Gov't Administration	1	12	2	15
	0.1	1.1	0.2	0.5
Intergovernmental Relations & Trade	2	10	8	20
	0.2	0.9	1.0	0.7
Constitution & National Unity	8	19	13	40
	0.8	1.7	1.6	1.4
Native Affairs	16	5	12	33
	1.6	0.4	1.5	1.1
Total	976	1,137	818	2,931
	100	100	100	100

** Top five topics per column in bold (not including Government Operations); six topics when necessary due to tie. Minor parties and independents not included. 31st Parliament (Clark minority government not included)*

Table 3.3 PM Bills Introduced by Party (33-34 Parliament: Mulroney Government)

Topic	Liberal	PC	NDP	Total
Macroeconomics	14	7	7	28
	6.8	3.5	3.0	4.4
Rights & Multiculturalism	29	19	21	69
	14.0	9.5	9.1	10.8
Health	8	7	7	22
	3.9	3.5	3.0	3.4
Agriculture & Forestry	8	3	11	22
	3.9	1.5	4.8	3.4
Labour, Employment & Immigration	10	20	19	49
	4.8	10.0	8.2	7.7
Education	3	1	1	5
	1.5	0.5	0.4	0.8
Environment	8	2	15	25
	3.9	1.0	6.5	3.9
Energy & Mining	1	1	7	9
	0.5	0.5	3.0	1.4
Fisheries	0	2	2	4
	0.0	1.0	0.9	0.6
Transportation	5	5	5	15
	2.4	2.5	2.2	2.4
Law & Crime	47	41	25	113
	22.7	20.4	10.8	17.7
Social Welfare	2	0	2	4
	1.0	0.0	0.9	0.6
Community Dev't & Housing	0	0	1	1
	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.2
Banking, Finance & Domestic Commerce	6	13	26	45
	2.9	6.5	11.3	7.0
Defence	4	1	8	13
	1.9	0.5	3.5	2.0
Science, Technology & Communications	3	1	3	7
	1.5	0.5	1.3	1.1
Foreign Trade	2	2	8	12
	1.0	1.0	3.5	1.9
International Affairs & Aid	0	5	8	13
	0.0	2.5	3.5	2.0
Gov't Operations	46	57	38	141
	22.2	28.4	16.5	22.1
Public Lands Management	2	0	0	2
	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Culture & Entertainment	6	11	12	29
	2.9	5.5	5.2	4.5
Provincial & Local Gov't Administration	1	3	0	4
	0.5	1.5	0.0	0.6
Intergovernmental Relations & Trade	0	0	4	4
	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.6
Native Affairs	2	0	1	3
	1.0	0.0	0.4	0.5
Total	207	201	231	639
	100	100	100	100

**Top five topics per column in bold (not including Government Operations); six topics when necessary due to tie. Minor parties and independents not included.*

Table 3.4 PM Bills Introduced (35-37 Parliament: Chrétien Government)

Topic	Liberal	PC	NDP	Ref/All	BQ	Cons	Total
Macroeconomics	38	0	25	45	14	11	133
	6.7	0.0	11.6	9.1	7.7	9.2	8.2
Rights & Multiculturalism	131	3	16	45	2	6	203
	23.2	6.7	7.4	9.1	1.1	5.0	12.5
Health	19	6	14	6	4	8	57
	3.4	13.3	6.5	1.2	2.2	6.7	3.5
Agriculture & Forestry	14	2	8	15	2	7	48
	2.5	4.4	3.7	3.0	1.1	5.8	3.0
Labour, Employment & Immigration	43	1	32	28	55	7	166
	7.6	2.2	14.8	5.7	30.2	5.8	10.2
Education	21	0	6	1	0	0	28
	3.7	0.0	2.8	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.7
Environment	20	3	1	10	0	0	34
	3.6	6.7	0.5	2.0	0.0	0.0	2.1
Energy & Mining	13	0	7	3	0	1	24
	2.3	0.0	3.2	0.6	0.0	0.8	1.5
Fisheries	0	2	0	0	0	1	3
	0.0	4.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.2
Transportation	12	0	1	11	6	4	34
	2.1	0.0	0.5	2.2	3.3	3.3	2.1
Law & Crime	67	22	28	183	24	56	380
	11.9	48.9	13.0	37.0	13.2	46.7	23.4
Social Welfare	2	0	0	1	5	0	8
	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.2	2.8	0.0	0.5
Community Dev't & Housing	3	0	2	1	0	0	6
	0.5	0.0	0.9	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.4
Banking, Finance & Domestic Commerce	42	1	26	5	20	1	95
	7.5	2.2	12.0	1.0	11.0	0.8	5.9
Defence	15	0	1	15	1	3	35
	2.7	0.0	0.5	3.0	0.6	2.5	2.2
Science, Technology & Communications	11	0	0	4	4	2	21
	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.2	1.7	1.3
Foreign Trade	7	0	8	0	2	0	17
	1.2	0.0	3.7	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.1
International Affairs & Aid	3	0	1	5	5	1	15
	0.5	0.0	0.5	1.0	2.8	0.8	0.9
Gov't Operations	64	4	35	95	27	10	235
	11.4	8.9	16.2	19.2	14.8	8.3	14.5
Public Lands Management	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Culture & Entertainment	30	1	4	7	5	1	48
	5.3	2.2	1.9	1.4	2.8	0.8	3.0
Intergovernmental Relations & Trade	0	0	0	3	4	0	7
	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	2.2	0.0	0.4
Constitution & National Unity	5	0	0	5	0	0	10
	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Native Affairs	0	0	1	7	2	1	11
	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.4	1.1	0.8	0.7
Total	564	45	216	495	182	120	1,622
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**Top five topics per column in bold (not including Government Operations); six topics when necessary due to tie. Independents not included.*

Table 3.5 PM Motions Introduced (35 – 39-1 Parliament)

Topic	Liberal	PC	NDP	Ref/CA	BQ	Cons	Total
Macroeconomics	20 3.1	19 7.4	59 4.0	46 5.2	3 1.3	8 7.0	155 4.3
Rights & Multiculturalism	26 4.0	2 0.8	65 4.4	56 6.3	15 6.5	8 7.0	172 4.7
Health	55 8.5	13 5.0	109 7.3	46 5.2	6 2.6	18 15.7	247 6.8
Agriculture & Forestry	23 3.5	20 7.8	48 3.2	29 3.3	8 3.5	9 7.8	137 3.8
Labour, Employment & Immigration	71 10.9	13 5.0	157 10.6	108 12.2	19 8.2	4 3.5	372 10.3
Education	13 2.0	11 4.3	45 3.0	13 1.5	4 1.7	0 0.0	86 2.4
Environment	53 8.1	12 4.7	127 8.6	20 2.3	10 4.3	4 3.5	226 6.2
Energy & Mining	38 5.8	2 0.8	33 2.2	12 1.4	7 3.0	3 2.6	95 2.6
Fisheries	4 0.6	7 2.7	11 0.7	6 0.7	0 0.0	0 0.0	28 0.8
Transportation	42 6.5	18 7.0	51 3.4	15 1.7	16 6.9	6 5.2	148 4.1
Law & Crime	36 5.5	58 22.5	80 5.4	161 18.1	24 10.3	14 12.2	373 10.3
Social Welfare	18 2.8	3 1.2	64 4.3	5 0.6	9 3.9	1 0.9	100 2.8
Community Dev't & Housing	13 2.0	1 0.4	59 4.0	5 0.6	1 0.4	1 0.9	80 2.2
Banking, Finance & Domestic Commerce	24 3.7	3 1.2	98 6.6	18 2.0	13 5.6	4 3.5	160 4.4
Defence	29 4.5	9 3.5	56 3.8	38 4.3	5 2.2	8 7.0	145 4.0
Science, Technology & Communications	13 2.0	4 1.6	21 1.4	11 1.2	12 5.2	3 2.6	64 1.8
Foreign Trade	4 0.6	7 2.7	23 1.6	4 0.5	5 2.2	0 0.0	43 1.2
International Affairs & Aid	65 10.0	3 1.2	167 11.2	62 7.0	19 8.2	8 7.0	324 8.9
Gov't Operations	45 6.9	27 10.5	86 5.8	126 14.2	20 8.6	4 3.5	308 8.5
Public Lands Management	2 0.3	2 0.8	1 0.1	3 0.3	0 0.0	0 0.0	8 0.2
Culture & Entertainment	19 2.9	4 1.6	62 4.2	15 1.7	10 4.3	6 5.2	116 3.2
Provincial & Local Gov't Administration	3 0.5	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 0.2	1 0.4	0 0.0	6 0.2
Intergovernmental Relations & Trade	18 2.8	20 7.8	18 1.2	11 1.2	6 2.6	1 0.9	74 2.0
Constitution & National Unity	2 0.3	0 0.0	11 0.7	37 4.2	15 6.5	1 0.9	66 1.8
Native Affairs	15 2.3	0 0.0	35 2.4	40 4.5	4 1.7	4 3.5	98 2.7
Total	651 100	258 100	1,486 100	889 100	232 100	115 100	3,631 100

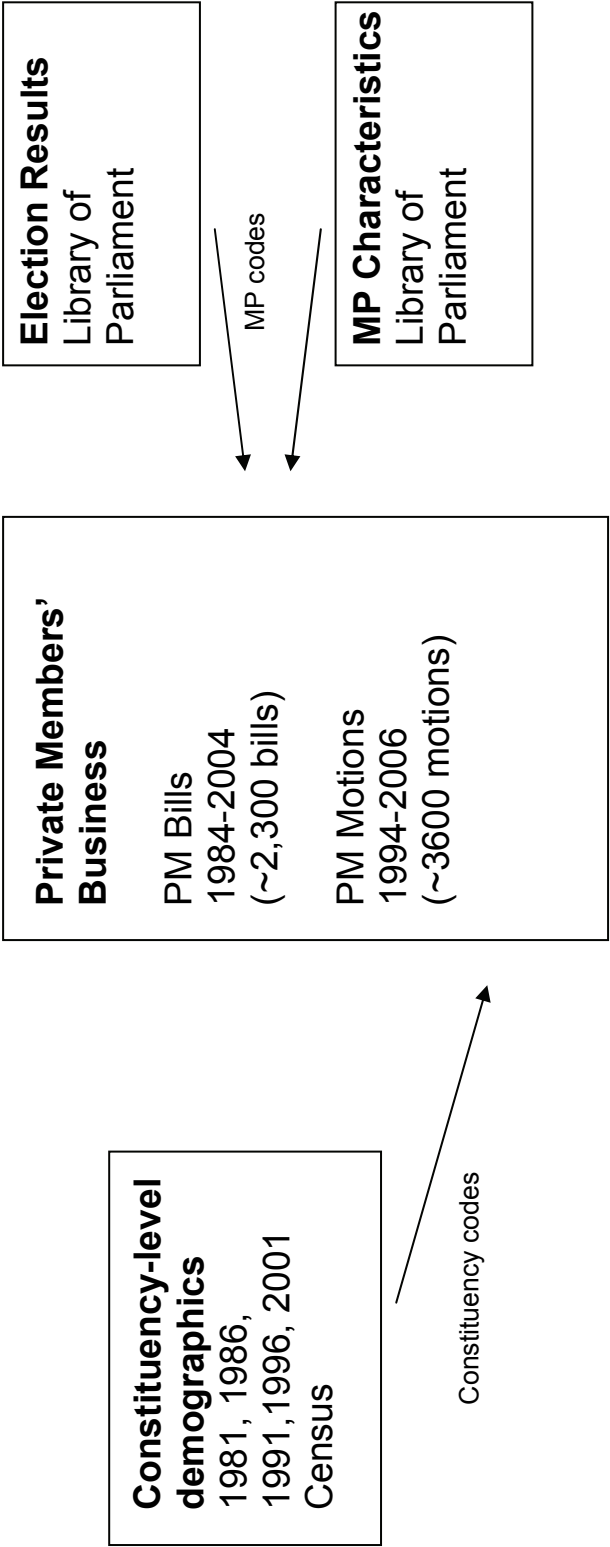
**Top five topics per column in bold. Independents not included. 39th Parliament included up to November 10, 2006 (at which point there were 248 motions).*

Appendix to Chapter Three: Step-by-Step Process of Private Members' Business

	BILLS	MOTIONS
1. Preparation	Drafting by the legislative counsel.	Help from PMB Office or Journals Branch.
2. Getting on the Order Paper	Bill sent to Journals Branch, which puts it on <i>Notice Paper</i> . After 48 hours, bill is on Order Paper and may be introduced. After first reading, bill is put on list of items outside Order of Precedence.	Motion sent to Journals Branch, which puts it on <i>Notice Paper</i> . After 48 hours, motion is put on list of items outside Order of Precedence.
3a. Establishing the List for the Consideration of Private Members' Business	The names of all MPs are drawn to establish the List for the Consideration of PMB. MPs who want to debate their bill must have introduced it in the House prior to their names being transferred to the Order of Precedence.	The names of all MPs are drawn to establish the List for the Consideration of PMB. MPs who want to debate their motion must have it placed on the <i>Notice Paper</i> prior to their names being transferred to the Order of Precedence.
3b. Establishing or replenishing the Order of Precedence	At the beginning of a Parliament, the Order of Precedence is established 20 sitting days after draw. During a session, the Order of Precedence is usually replenished after a minimum of 48 hours notice.	At the beginning of a Parliament, the Order of Precedence is established 20 sitting days after draw. During a session, the Order of Precedence is usually replenished after a minimum of 48 hours notice.
4. Confirm Votability of Items	The Subcommittee on PMB may designate a bill as non-votable if it meets certain criteria. The sponsor of the bill can appeal the decision.	The Subcommittee on PMB may designate a motion as non-votable if it meets certain criteria. The motion' can appeal the decision.
5. Debate	A non-votable bill is debated one hour then dropped from the Order Paper. A votable bill is debated up to two hours at second reading then voted on. If adopted, it is sent to Committee, then further debate an take place at report stage and third reading.	A non-votable motion is debated one hour then dropped from Order Paper. A votable motion is debated up to two hours then voted on.

* Copied from *Private Members' Business: A Practical Guide* (Canada 2005: 17), with some abbreviations. Sections on Motions for the Production of Papers have been omitted.

Appendix to Chapter Four: Construction of the Working Data



Working Data: Collapsed by MP and Parliament

Parliament – Session number	Member of Parliament	Constituency demographics	MP Characteristics (e.g., Portfolio)	Election Results (e.g., Win Share)		Number of Bills/Motions (total)	Number of Bills/Motions (by topic)

Appendix to Chapter Four: Pair-wise correlations of independent variables

	OppPort	OppBB	BQ	NDP	PC	Cons	Reform	WinMar	ElecSes	WinXElec	Experience
OppPort	1.0000										
OppBB	-0.3944	1.0000									
BQ	0.1918	0.1895	1.0000								
NDP	0.0716	0.3054	-0.0924	1.0000							
PC	-0.2058	-0.2519	-0.1743	-0.1690	1.0000						
Cons	-0.0687	0.0694	-0.0733	-0.0710	-0.1340	1.0000					
Reform	0.3555	0.0522	-0.1040	-0.1008	-0.1901	-0.0799	1.0000				
WinMar	-0.0006	-0.1592	-0.0101	-0.2008	-0.0076	0.0213	0.1192	1.0000			
ElecSes	0.0721	-0.0180	0.0281	-0.0248	-0.1731	0.2048	0.0014	0.0192	1.0000		
WinXElec	0.0303	-0.0720	0.0132	-0.1228	-0.1208	0.1521	0.0740	0.5861	0.6588	1.0000	
Experience	-0.0706	0.0040	-0.1000	0.0366	-0.0016	-0.0009	-0.1316	0.1692	0.0302	0.1124	1.0000
PerUniv	0.0210	-0.0580	-0.0602	-0.0553	-0.2657	0.2602	-0.0571	0.0505	0.1645	0.1320	0.0913

Appendix to Chapter Four

Table 4.1a - Participation in Private Members' Bills (33-37th Parliament)

This table uses a truncated form of the dependent variable in Table 4.1, where all counts exceeding 9 bill introductions (approximately 1 percent of cases) are set to 9.

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Wonby	0.39	(.41)	1.04	(.44) **
Elec Sess	-	-	0.65	(.09) **
Wonby X ElecSess	-	-	-1.23	(.31) **
Experience	0.05	(.04)	0.06	(.04)
Univ Grad	2.52	(1.65)	2.47	(1.61)
OPP Port	0.92	(.25) **	0.89	(.25) **
OPP BB	0.55	(.28) *	0.52	(.28) *
BQ	-0.33	(.31)	-0.30	(.31)
NDP	0.83	(.22) **	0.85	(.22) **
PC	-0.03	(.26)	-0.03	(.26)
Reform/CA	0.53	(.28) *	0.56	(.28) **
Par33	-0.41	(.27)	-0.39	(.27)
Par34	-0.34	(.25)	-0.30	(.25)
Par35	0.38	(.14) **	0.38	(.14) **
Par36	0.66	(.11) **	0.68	(.11) **
Constant	-7.05	(.27) **	-7.43	(.28) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)			
<i>N</i>	2626			
<i># of clusters</i>	651			
Log Ps. Likelihood	-2781.94		-2767.44	
Wald chi ²	234.54		305.05	
Prob > chi ²	0.000		0.000	
ln alpha	0.97	(.09)	0.93	(.09)
alpha	2.64	(.24)	2.54	(.24)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Appendix to Chapter Four

Table 4.2a - Participation in Private Members' Motions (35-39th Parliament)

This table uses a truncated form of the dependent variable in Table 4.2, where all counts exceeding 27 motion introductions (approximately 1 percent of cases) are set to 27.

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Wonby	-1.18	(.83)	-0.44	(.91)
Elec Sess	-	-	0.28	(.13) **
Wonby X ElecSess	-	-	-1.20	(.61) **
Experience	0.31	(.09) **	0.30	(.09) **
Univ Grad	-0.29	(1.82)	-0.27	(1.83)
OPP Port	0.61	(.35) *	0.60	(.35) *
OPP BB	0.22	(.33)	0.23	(.33)
BQ	0.06	(.36)	0.08	(.36)
NDP	2.54	(.40) **	2.56	(.40) **
PC	1.72	(.58) **	1.75	(.58) **
Conservative	0.38	(.37)	0.40	(.38)
Reform/CA	1.42	(.34) **	1.42	(.34) **
par35	0.80	(.24) **	0.78	(.23) **
par36	0.63	(.11) **	0.63	(.11) **
par38	0.95	(.28) **	0.93	(.27) **
par39	0.49	(.30) *	0.47	(.30)
Constant	-7.14	(.60) **	-7.32	(.62) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)			
<i>N</i>	2120			
<i># of clusters</i>	589			
Log Ps. Likelihood	-2504.28		-2502.62	
Wald chi ²	227.04		227.52	
Prob > chi ²	0.000		0.000	
ln alpha	1.45	(.13)	1.44	(.13)
alpha	4.26	(.56)	4.24	(.56)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Appendix to Chapter 5

Table 5.1a: Partisan Preference effect on Motion topic introductions (1994-2006) – Continuous variable

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Left-Right	3.98	(2.55)	6.18	(4.65)
Win Margin	-	-	.89	(2.98)
LR X WM	-	-	-6.22	(9.47)
Reform/CA	.78	(.62)	.77	(.69)
PC	2.38	(2.06)	2.28	(2.16)
BQ	2.23	(1.38) a	2.49	(1.59)
NDP	-2.86	(1.77) a	-2.38	(2.34)
Conservative	.23	(.65)	.29	(.75)
Constant	-2.02	(.89) **	-2.37	(1.59)
<i>N</i>	542		542	
<i>clusters</i>	237		237	
<i>R-squared</i>	.19		.19	

* p<.1, ** p<.05

a: p<.11

Cells contain ordinary least square regression model coefficients, followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.3a: Partisan Preference effect on Bill topic introductions (1979-2004) – Continuous variable

	(Model 1)		(Model 2) Post-1993 only (1994-2004)		(Model 3) Pre-1993 only (1979-1993)	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Left-Right	1.07	(.64) *	1.04	(.84)	1.28	(.97)
Reform/CA	1.33	(.31) **	1.48	(.32) **	-	-
PC	.27	(.28)	1.52	(1.82)	-.10	(.30)
BQ	-.06	(.33)	.07	(.41)	-	-
NDP	-.38	(.51)	-.22	(.76)	-.58	(.58)
Social Credit	-.07	(.77)	-	-	-(.41)	(.90)
Constant	-.47	(.18) **	-.61	(.23) **	-.24	(.25)
<i>N</i>	784		461		323	
<i>clusters</i>	365		191		199	
<i>R-squared</i>	.16		.22		.04	

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain ordinary least square regression model coefficients, followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.4a: Win Margin effect on Bill topic introductions (1979-2004) – Continuous variable

	(1994-2004)		(1979-1993)	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
LeftRight	-.60	(1.10)	.19	(1.42)
Win Margin	-.77	(.73)	-1.91	(.81) **
LeftRight X Win Margin	4.57	(2.95)	6.40	(4.08)
Reform/CA	1.43	(.32) **	-	-
PC	1.59	(1.80)	-.17	(.30)
BQ	-.23	(.40)	-	-
NDP	-.65	(.76)	-.76	(.55)
Social Credit	-	-	-.33	(.98)
Constant	-.30	(.31)	.12	(.29)
<i>N</i>	461		323	
<i>clusters</i>	191		199	
<i>(Ps.) R-squared</i>	.23		.06	

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain ordinary least square regression model coefficients, followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.8 (Full Table): Agriculture Representation: Bills (1979-2004)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Agriculture	6.67	(1.28) **	8.88	(1.73) **
Win Margin	-	-	2.07	(1.03) **
WM X % Agri	-	-	-11.28	(7.43)
Par31	1.69	(.49) **	1.61	(.50) **
Par32	-0.88	(.54)	-1.00	(.57) *
Par33	-1.19	(.55) **	-1.22	(.57) **
Par34	-0.56	(.54)	-0.57	(.58)
Par35	-0.32	(.53)	-0.40	(.57)
Par36	0.42	(.28)	0.43	(.28)
SoCred	-22.21	(.67) **	-15.29	(.73) **
BQ	-0.80	(.84)	-0.67	(.86)
NDP	1.16	(.53) **	1.38	(.60) **
PC	-0.24	(.59)	-0.02	(.64)
Reform/CA	0.74	(.59)	0.81	(.61)
Experience	0.17	(.09) **	0.15	(.08) *
Constant	-10.17	(.50) **	-10.67	(.62) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)			
<i>N</i>	3447			
# of clusters	1010			
Log Ps. Likelihood	-355.92		-353.14	
<i>ln alpha</i>	0.51	(.76)	0.40	(.75)
<i>alpha</i>	1.66	(1.27)	1.49	(1.11)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.9 (Full Table): Agriculture Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Agriculture	6.88	(2.44) **	11.65	(4.54) **
Win Margin	-	-	0.38	(2.87)
WM X % Agri	-	-	-24.99	(16.05)
Par35	-0.45	(.54)	-0.55	(.46)
Par36	0.07	(.33)	0.01	(.29)
Par38	0.08	(.62)	0.08	(.51)
Par39	-0.69	(.81)	-0.75	(.72)
BQ	0.18	(.82)	0.25	(.78)
NDP	3.25	(.79) **	3.29	(.91) **
PC	2.10	(.99) **	1.89	(.95) **
Reform/CA	1.10	(.87)	1.25	(.67) *
Conservative	0.69	(.74)	1.02	(.78)
Experience	0.27	(.13) **	0.30	(.19) **
Constant	-10.01	(.80) **	-10.19	(1.03) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)		(exposure)	
<i>N</i>	2120		2120	
# of clusters	589		589	
Log Ps. Likelihood	-357.07		-356.27	
<i>ln alpha</i>	2.85	(.36)	2.78	(.41)
<i>alpha</i>	17.34	(6.27)	16.10	(6.63)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.10 (Full Table): Rights and Multiculturalism Representation: Bills (1979-2004)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Non-En/Fr	1.76	(.88) **	4.11	(1.51) **
Win Margin	-	-	1.24	(.95)
WM X % NonEF	-	-	-10.32	(4.35) **
Par31	2.47	(.43) **	2.37	(.44) **
Par32	0.30	(.40)	0.21	(.41)
Par33	-0.11	(.48)	-0.21	(.50)
Par34	-0.15	(.41)	-0.14	(.40)
Par35	1.10	(.54) **	1.11	(.55) **
Par36	1.63	(.40) **	1.62	(.40) **
SoCred	-19.76	(.53) **	-18.18	(.54) **
BQ	-2.94	(1.01) **	-3.00	(1.02) **
NDP	0.25	(.60)	0.17	(.59)
PC	-0.50	(.35)	-0.46	(.35)
Reform/CA	0.28	(.68)	0.24	(.68)
Experience	0.14	(.06) **	0.15	(.06) **
Constant	-8.82	(.42) **	-9.10	(.42) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)		(exposure)	
<i>N</i>	3447			
<i># of clusters</i>	1010			
Log Ps. Likelihood	-907.11		-904.6	
<i>ln alpha</i>	2.69	(.35)	2.67	(.35)
<i>alpha</i>	14.73	(5.20)	14.45	(5.06)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.11 (Full Table): Rights and Multiculturalism Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Non-En/Fr	1.59	(.94) *	1.71	(1.23)
Win Margin	-	-	-0.57	(.96)
WM X % NonEF	-	-	-0.59	(3.45)
Par35	0.85	(.37) **	0.85	(.37) **
Par36	0.62	(.27) **	0.60	(.26) **
Par38	1.40	(.41) **	1.38	(.39) **
Par39	0.77	(.48)	0.75	(.48)
BQ	0.75	(.66)	0.74	(.67)
NDP	2.99	(.56) **	2.91	(.58) **
PC	0.41	(.80)	0.33	(.80)
Reform/CA	1.99	(.63) **	2.00	(.64) **
Conservative	0.38	(.80)	0.37	(.81)
Experience	0.14	(.10)	0.17	(.10)
Constant	-10.19	(.60) **	-10.10	(.63) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)		(exposure)	
<i>N</i>	2120		2120	
<i># of clusters</i>	589		589	
Log Ps. Likelihood	-481.30		-480.86	
<i>ln alpha</i>	1.74	(.39)	1.74	(.38)
<i>alpha</i>	5.72	(2.23)	5.73	(2.20)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.12 (Full Table): Defense and Military Representation: Bills (1979-2004)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Def. Base	0.42	(.63)	1.02	(.61) *
Win Margin	-	-	-2.52	(1.19) **
WM X Dbase	-	-	-5.92	(3.02) *
Par31	1.53	(1.17)	1.76	(1.13)
Par32	0.69	(.55)	0.91	(.53) *
Par33	0.05	(.65)	-0.08	(.65)
Par34	-0.35	(.56)	-0.22	(.54)
Par35	-0.73	(.80)	-0.94	(.78)
Par36	0.38	(.37)	0.34	(.38)
SoCred	-14.31	(1.25) **	-13.34	(1.27) **
BQ	-1.07	(1.04)	-0.90	(1.01)
NDP	1.04	(.42) **	0.88	(.45) **
PC	-0.81	(.59)	-0.92	(.54) *
Reform/CA	1.48	(.55) **	1.95	(.53) **
% Univ	7.11	(3.07) **	6.15	(3.07) **
Experience	-0.06	(.09)	0.01	(.09)
Constant	-10.64	(.74) **	-10.40	(.70) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)		(exposure)	
<i>N</i>	3447			
<i># of clusters</i>	1010			
Log Ps. Likelihood	-272.2		-285.01	
<i>ln alpha</i>	1.85	(.53)	1.86	(.55)
<i>alpha</i>	6.35	(3.36)	6.41	(3.53)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.13 (Full Table): Defense and Military Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Def. Base	1.44	(.55) **	1.19	(.74)
Win Margin	-	-	0.98	1.38
WM X Dbase	-	-	1.18	2.29
Par35	0.70	(.37) *	0.75	(.36) **
Par36	1.03	(.50) **	1.00	(.46) **
Par38	0.67	(.43)	0.65	(.41)
Par39	0.05	(.55)	0.01	(.53)
BQ	-0.03	(.81)	-0.07	(.80)
NDP	2.87	(.42) **	2.72	(.48) **
PC	2.28	(.68) **	2.24	(.68) **
Reform/CA	2.07	(.57) **	2.08	(.58) **
Conservative	1.09	(.71)	1.07	(.70)
Experience	0.42	(.10) **	0.45	(.11) **
% Univ	1.73	(2.44)	1.91	(2.41)
Constant	-11.40	(.62)	-11.25	(.67) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)		(exposure)	
<i>N</i>	2120		2120	
<i># of clusters</i>	589		589	
Log Ps. Likelihood	-355.55		355.11	
<i>ln alpha</i>	2.36	(.48)	2.37	(.47)
<i>alpha</i>	10.62	(5.14)	10.71	(5.06)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.14 (Full Table): International Affairs and Aid Representation: Bills (1979-2004)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Immigrants	7.00	(1.52) **	7.57	(1.92) **
Win Margin	-	-	0.07	(1.30)
WM X % Imm	-	-	-2.47	(5.25)
Par31	5.42	(.85) **	5.36	(.80) **
Par32	3.18	(.71) **	3.12	(.68) **
Par33	2.69	(.80) **	2.65	(.79)
Par34	0.54	(.82)	0.44	(.79)
Par35	0.91	(.92)	0.89	(.94)
Par36	0.63	(.99)	0.62	(1.01)
SoCred	-17.56	(.86) **	-17.58	(.86) **
BQ	3.57	(1.43) **	3.50	(1.38) **
NDP	2.31	(.67) **	2.27	(.69) **
PC	-0.09	(.66)	-0.11	(.66)
Reform/CA	2.64	(1.09) **	2.57	(1.04) **
Experience	0.15	(.09) *	0.15	(.09) *
Constant	-14.19	(.80) **	-14.15	(.78) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)		(exposure)	
<i>N</i>	3447		3447	
# of clusters	1010		1010	
Log Ps. Likelihood	-176.19		-176.12	
<i>ln alpha</i>	3.03	(.67)	3.03	(.67)
<i>alpha</i>	20.78	(14.01)	20.75	(14.00)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.15 (Full Table): International Affairs and Aid Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Immigrants	4.26	(.89) **	2.96	(1.29) **
Win Margin	-	-	-2.58	(1.36) *
WM X % Imm	-	-	5.91	(3.73)
Par35	0.57	(.35) *	0.63	(.35) *
Par36	0.91	(.26) **	0.86	(.26) **
Par38	0.95	(.49) *	0.96	(.49) *
Par39	2.03	(.60) **	1.96	(.56) **
BQ	1.07	(.48) **	1.08	(.46) **
NDP	2.91	(.38) **	2.77	(.41) **
PC	0.87	(1.13)	0.67	(1.07)
Reform/CA	2.04	(.44) **	2.21	(.46) **
Conservative	0.04	(.88)	0.10	(.85)
Experience	0.32	(.10) **	0.35	(.10) **
Constant	-10.92	(.51) **	-10.48	(.55) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)			
<i>N</i>	2120			
# of clusters	589			
Log Ps. Likelihood	-579.58		-577.05	
<i>ln alpha</i>	2.13	(.33)	2.11	(.32)
<i>alpha</i>	8.41	(2.77)	8.29	(2.63)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.16 (Full Table): Aboriginal Issues Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
% Aboriginal	9.11	(4.54) **	21.17	(6.58) **
Win Margin	-	-	1.28	(1.92)
WM X % Abor.	-	-	-93.81	(28.35) **
Par35	0.57	(.75)	0.73	(.66)
Par36	0.58	(.30) *	0.58	(.32) *
Par38	1.75	(.64) **	1.97	(.62) **
Par39	1.18	(.77)	1.45	(.80) *
BQ	-0.28	(.56)	0.02	(.57)
NDP	2.90	(.59) **	3.19	(.57) **
PC	-15.42	(.45) **	-17.81	(.46) **
Reform/CA	2.29	(.66) **	2.76	(.57) **
Conservative	-0.47	(.88)	0.06	(1.00)
Experience	0.17	(.14)	0.16	(.13)
% Univ	-2.81	(2.92)	-2.36	(2.83)
Constant	-10.68	(.59) **	-11.30	(.76) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)			
<i>N</i>	2120			
<i># of clusters</i>	589			
Log Ps. Likelihood	-258.4		-251.02	
<i>ln alpha</i>	3.34	(.39)	3.12	(.33)
<i>alpha</i>	28.28	(11.11)	22.54	(7.52)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Table 5.17 (Full Table): Regional Economic Representation: Motions (1994-2006)

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	SE	Coeff.	SE
Have-not Prov.	1.71	(.65) **	2.59	(.86) **
Win Margin	-	-	1.26	(2.05)
WM X Have-not	-	-	-5.27	(2.54) **
Par35	-0.07	(.56)	0.15	(.49)
Par36	0.00	(.48)	0.15	(.40)
Par38	-0.70	(.82)	-0.67	(.76)
Par39	-1.86	(1.49)	-1.46	(1.29)
BQ	-0.39	(.69)	-0.69	(.69)
NDP	2.22	(.55) **	1.57	(.68) **
PC	2.35	(.71) **	1.78	(.80) **
Reform/CA	1.33	(.45) **	0.74	(.47)
Conservative	2.09	(1.09) *	1.56	(1.00)
% University	-3.80	(3.85)	-2.18	(3.65)
Experience	0.15	(.19)	0.09	(.16)
Constant	-10.56	(.59) **	-10.52	(.81) **
# sit days/session	(exposure)			
<i>N</i>	2120			
<i># of clusters</i>	589			
Log Ps. Likelihood	-244.4		-230.5	
<i>ln alpha</i>	2.87	(.69)	2.69	(.55)
<i>alpha</i>	17.68	(12.25)	14.70	(8.14)

* p<.1, **p<.05

Cells contain negative binomial regression model coefficients followed by the standard error (in parentheses).

Appendix to Chapter 5: Pair-wise correlations of all Independent Variables

Generalized Representation:

	Reform/CA	PC	BQ	NDP	Conservative	SoCred	Left-Right	RLXWM	Win Margin
PC	-0.1778	1.0000							
BQ	-0.0760	-0.1634	1.0000						
NDP	-0.0883	-0.1897	-0.0811	1.0000					
Conservative	-0.0587	-0.1262	-0.0539	-0.0626	1.0000				
SoCred	-0.0225	-0.0484	-0.0207	-0.0240	-0.0160	1.0000			
Left-Right	0.5037	0.0439	-0.3429	-0.4345	0.2527	0.0629	1.0000		
RLXWM	0.4848	0.0311	-0.2804	-0.2444	0.2349	-0.0069	0.8183	1.0000	
Win Margin	0.0980	-0.0429	-0.0089	-0.2044	0.0173	-0.0446	0.2507	0.4395	1.0000

Specific Representation:

	PC	NDP	Ref/CA	BQ	SoCred	Cons	Win Margin	%Agri	WM X %Agri	%Non-EF	WM X %Non-EF	DefBase	WM X DefBase
% Agri	0.1323	0.0129	0.1729	-0.0501	0.0134	0.0387	0.0165	1.0000					
WM X %Agri	0.1195	-0.0728	0.2215	-0.0415	-0.0068	0.0551	0.3853	0.7284	1.0000				
% Non-Eng/Fre	-0.1904	0.0650	0.0229	-0.1398	-0.0314	0.0474	0.0807	-0.1769	-0.1138	1.0000			
WM X %Non-EF	-0.1381	-0.0818	0.0264	-0.1161	-0.0207	0.0178	0.5602	-0.1114	0.0612	0.6970	1.0000		
Def Base	0.0336	-0.0067	0.0247	-0.0133	-0.0201	0.0201	-0.0042	0.0318	0.0414	-0.1121	-0.0777	1.0000	
WM X Def	0.0366	-0.0380	0.0396	-0.0092	-0.0152	0.0282	-0.1708	0.0550	0.1781	-0.0821	0.0033	0.7559	1.0000
% Immi	-0.2636	-0.0001	0.0418	-0.1195	-0.0233	0.0548	0.0677	-0.2935	-0.2200	0.6408	0.5237	-0.0762	-0.0787
WM X %Immi	-0.2074	-0.0900	0.0349	-0.0977	-0.0181	0.0146	0.4771	-0.1979	-0.0812	0.5285	0.8263	-0.0733	-0.0275
% Abor	-0.0906	0.1255	0.0824	-0.0304	-0.0028	0.0508	-0.0381	0.1148	0.0500	0.2060	0.0788	-0.0275	-0.0188
WM X %Abor	-0.0750	0.0179	0.1095	-0.0320	-0.0058	0.0766	0.2066	0.0787	0.1615	0.1547	0.2335	-0.0167	0.0293
HaveNot	0.0059	-0.0356	-0.1675	0.2840	0.0842	-0.0688	0.0206	0.1245	0.0047	-0.3356	-0.2228	0.0251	-0.0063
WM X HaveNot	-0.0376	-0.1032	-0.1230	0.1787	0.0093	-0.0569	0.5253	0.0169	0.1273	-0.2166	0.0343	-0.0103	0.0526

	WM X %Immi	WM X %Abor	WM X HaveNot	WM X HaveNot
% Immi	1.0000			
WM X %Immi	0.7324	1.0000		
% Abor	-0.1289	-0.0991	1.0000	
WM X %Abor	-0.1006	-0.0255	0.7317	1.0000
HaveNot	-0.3583	-0.2268	-0.0165	-0.0524
WM X HaveNot	-0.2270	-0.0110	-0.0598	0.0257
				0.6835
				1.0000

Bibliography

- Adams, Peter, et al. 2002. Round table on private members' business. *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 25 (3):30-37.
- Aiken, Gordon. 1974. *The backbencher: trials and tribulations of a Member of Parliament*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Alford, Robert R. 1963. *Party and Society: The Anglo-American Democracies*. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company.
- Anderson, Cameron D., and Elizabeth Goodyear-Grant. 2005. Conceptions of Political Representation in Canada: An Explanation of Public Opinion. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38:1029-1058.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, James M. Snyder, Jr., and Charles Stewart. 2001. Candidate Positioning in U.S. House Elections. *American Journal of Political Science* 45: 136-59.
- Arnold, R. Douglas. 1990. *The logic of congressional action*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Atkinson, Michael. 1978. Policy Interests of Provincial Backbenchers and the Effects of Political Ambition. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 3 (4):629-645.
- Atkinson, Michael M., and David C. Docherty. 1992. Moving Right along: The Roots of Amateurism in the Canadian House of Commons. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 25 (2):295-318.
- Atkinson, Michael M., and Paul G. Thomas. 1993. Studying the Canadian Parliament. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 18 (3):423-451.
- Aucoin, Peter A. 1994. Prime Minister and Cabinet. In *Canadian Politics* edited by J. P. Bickerton, and Alain-G. Gagnon. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- Aucoin, Peter and Lori Turnbull. 2003. The democratic deficit: Paul Martin and parliamentary reform. *Canadian Public Administration* 46 (4):427-49.
- Bailey, Michael, and David W. Brady. 1998. Heterogeneity and Representation: The Senate and Free Trade. *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (2):524-544.
- Bakvis, H., and David MacDonald. 1993. The Canadian Cabinet: Organization, Decision-Rules and Policy Impact. In *Governing Canada : institutions and public policy*, edited by M. M. Atkinson. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1991. Constituency Opinion and Congressional Policy Making: The Reagan Defense Build Up. *The American Political Science Review* 85 (2):457-474.
- Baumgartner, Frank R., and Bryan D. Jones. 1993. *Agendas and instability in American politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Baumgartner, Frank R. and Bryan D. Jones, ed. 2002. *Policy Dynamics*. Chicago University of Chicago Press.

- Beauchesne, Arthur, Alistair Fraser, W. F. Dawson, John A. Holtby, and Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. 1989. *Beauchesne's Rules & forms of the House of Commons of Canada, with annotations, comments and precedents*. 6th ed. Toronto: Carswell.
- Beer, Samuel Hutchison. 1965. *Modern British politics; a study of parties and pressure groups*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Bélanger, Éric. 2003. Issue Ownership by Canadian Political Parties 1953-2001. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 36 (3): 539-558.
- Benoit, Kenneth, and Michael Laver. 2006. *Party policy in modern democracies, Routledge research in comparative politics ; 19*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Bernstein, Robert A. 1989. *Elections, Representation, and Congressional Voting Behaviour: The Myth of Constituency Control*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Blais, André, et al. 2003. Does the Local Candidate Matter? Candidate Effects in the Canadian Election of 2000. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. 36 (3): 657-664.
- Blais, André, et al. 2002a. *Anatomy of a Liberal victory: making sense of the vote in the 2000 Canadian election*. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press.
- Blais, André, Elisabeth Gidengil, Richard Nadeau and Neil Nevitte. 2002b. Do Party Supporters Differ? In *Citizen Politics*, edited by Joanna Everitt and Brenda O'Neil. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.
- Blais, André, Elisabeth Gidengil. 1991. *Making representative democracy work : the views of Canadians*. Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing. Ottawa: Canada Communication Group Supply and Services Canada and Dundurn Press.
- Blondel, Jean. 1995. Toward a Systematic Analysis of Government-Party Relationships. *International Political Science Review* 16 (2):127-143.
- Blondel, Jean. 1973. *Comparative legislatures*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Burke, Edmund. 1774. Speech to the electors of Bristol. In *Works*. London: S. & C. Rivington.
- Cain, Bruce E., John A. Ferejohn, and Morris P. Fiorina. 1987. *The personal vote : constituency service and electoral independence*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Campbell, Angus et al. 1960. *The American voter*. New York: Wiley.
- Campbell, C. M., and William Christian. 1996. *Parties, leaders and ideologies in Canada, McGraw-Hill Ryerson series in Canadian politics*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.
- Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Special Committee on the Reform of the House of Commons., and James A. McGrath. 1985. *Report of the Special Committee on*

- Reform of the House of Commons*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada : Available from the Canadian Govt. Pub. Centre Supply and Services Canada.
- Canada. 1991. *Reforming electoral democracy : final report*. . 4 vols. Vol. 1, *Royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing*. Ottawa: Government of Canada.
- . 2002. Access to Information: Making it Work for Canadians: Report of the Access to Information Review Task Force. Ottawa: Government of Canada.
- . 2005. *Private Members' Business: Practical Guide*. 8th ed: House of Commons.
- Canes-Wrone, Brandice, David W. Brady, John F. Cogan. 2002. Out of Step, out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members' Voting. *The American Political Science Review*, 96, (1): 127-140.
- Canes-Wrone, Brandice, and Kenneth W. Shotts. 2004. The Conditional Nature of Presidential Responsiveness to Public Opinion *American Journal of Political Science* 48:690–706.
- Carey, John M., and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: a Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas. *Electoral Studies* 14 (4):417-439.
- Carty, R. Kenneth, and Munroe Eagles. 2005. *Politics is local : national politics at the grassroots*. Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Carty, R. Kenneth, Lisa Young, and William P. Cross. 2000. *Rebuilding Canadian party politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Clarke, Harold D., and Allan Kornberg. 1992. Do National Elections Affect Perceptions of MP Responsiveness? A Note on the Canadian Case. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 17 (2):183-204.
- Clarke, Harold D., and Richard G. Price. 1981. Parliamentary Experience and Representational Role Orientations in Canada. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 6 (3):373-390.
- Clarke, Harold D. et al. 1996. *Absent mandate : Canadian electoral politics in an era of restructuring*. 3rd ed. Vancouver: Gage Educational Publishing Company.
- Conway, J. F. 1978. Populism in the United States, Russia, and Canada: Explaining the Roots of Canada's Third Parties. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 11 (1): 99-124.
- Cordeau, Marie. 1979. Private Members' Business. In *The Canadian House of Commons observed : parliamentary internship papers*, edited by J.-P. Gaboury and J. R. Hurley. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- Cox, Gary W. 1987. *The efficient secret : the cabinet and the development of political parties in Victorian England*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, Gary W., and Mathew D. McCubbins. 1993. *Legislative leviathan : party government in the House, California series on social choice and political economy* ; 23. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Cross, William P., ed. 2002. *Political parties, representation, and electoral democracy in Canada*. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press Canada.
- Crowe, Edward. 1986. The Web of Authority: Party Loyalty and Social Control in the British House of Commons. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 11 (2):161-185.
- Cunningham, Rob. 1996. *Smoke and Mirrors: The Canadian Tobacco War*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.
- Curry, Bill. 2006. Harper says he's not bound by results of Kyoto vote. *The Globe and Mail*, May 17, A8.
- Dalton, Russell J., and Martin P. Wattenberg. 2000. *Parties without partisans: political change in advanced industrial democracies*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Dawson, Robert MacGregor, and Norman Ward. 1987. *Dawson's The government of Canada*. 6th ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Dobrowolsky, Alexandra, and Jane Jenson. 1993. Reforming the Parties: Prescriptions for Democracy. In *How Ottawa Spends, 1993-1994: A More Democratic Canada*, edited by S. Phillips. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.
- Docherty, David Campbell. 1997. *Mr. Smith goes to Ottawa : life in the House of Commons*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- . 2001. To run or not to run? A survey of former Members of the Parliament of Canada. *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 24 (1):16-23.
- . 2004. Parliament: Making the Case for Relevance. In *Canadian Politics*, edited by J. P. Bickerton, and Alain-G. Gagnon. Toronto: Broadview Press.
- . 2005. *Legislatures*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An economic theory of democracy*. New York: Harper.
- Eagles, Munroe. 1998. Political ecology of representation in English Canada: M.P.'s and their constituencies. *American Review of Canadian Studies* 28 (1-2):53-79.
- Erickson, Lynda. 1997. Might More Women Make a Difference? Gender, Party and Ideology among Canada's Parliamentary Candidates. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 30 (4):663-688.
- Erikson, Robert S. 1978. Constituency Opinion and Congressional Behavior: A Reexamination of the Miller-Stokes Representation Data. *American Journal of Political Science* 22 (3):511-535.
- . 1981. Measuring Constituency Opinion: The 1978 U. S. Congressional Election Survey. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 6 (2):235-245.
- Erikson, Robert S., Gerald C. Wright, and John P. McIver. 1993. *Statehouse Democracy: Public Opinion and Policy in the American States*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Erikson, Robert S., and Gerald C. Wright. 1993. Voters, Candidates and Issues in Congressional Elections. In *Congress Reconsidered*, edited by L. C. Dodd, and Bruce I. Oppenheimer. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Erikson, Robert S., and Gerald C. Wright, Jr. 1980. Policy Representation of Constituency Interests. *Political Behavior* 2 (1):91-106.
- Erikson, Robert S., Michael MacKuen, and James A. Stimson. 2002. *The macro polity, Cambridge studies in political psychology and public opinion*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fenno, Richard F. 1973. *Congressmen in committees*. Boston: Little Brown.
- . 1978. *Home style : House Members in their districts*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1974. *Representatives, roll calls, and constituencies*. Lexington, Mass.,: Lexington Books.
- Fox, John. 1991. *Regression diagnostics*. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage.
- . 1997. *Applied Regression Analysis, Linear Models, and Related Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Franklin, Mark N. 1996. Electoral Participation. In *Comparing Democracies*, edited by R. G. N. Lawrence LeDuc, Pippa Norris. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Franks, C. E. S. 1987. *The Parliament of Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Fraser, John A. 1993. *The House of Commons at work*. Montréal: Éditions de la Chenelière.
- Frizzell, Alan Stewart, Jon H. Pammett, and Anthony Westell. 1994. *The Canadian general election of 1993*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.
- Garner, Christopher, and Natalia Letki. 2005. Party Structure and Backbench Dissent in the Canadian and British Parliaments. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 38 (2):463-482.
- Gidengil, Elisabeth. 1992. Canada Votes: A Quarter Century of Canadian National Election Studies. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 25 (2):219-248.
- . 2004. *Citizens, Canadian democratic audit*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Grossback, Lawrence James, David A. M. Peterson, and James A. Stimson. 2006. *Mandate politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hall, Richard L. 1996. *Participation in Congress*. New Haven Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, John Jay, Clinton Lawrence Rossiter, and Charles R. Kesler. 2003. *The Federalist papers*. New York, N.Y.: Signet Classic.
- Heitshusen, Valerie, Garry Young and David M. Wood. 2005. Electoral Context and MP Constituency Focus in Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (1):32-45.

- Hill, Kim Quaile, and Patricia A. Hurley. 1999. Dyadic Representation Reappraised. *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (1):109-137.
- Hines, Eric H., and Andrew J. Civettini. 2004. Conference Committee Appointments in the U.S. Senate, 101-107th Congresses. Paper read at American Political Science Association, September 2 - 5, 2004, at Chicago, U.S.A.
- Hobbes, Thomas, and J. C. A. Gaskin. 1998. *Leviathan*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hockin, Thomas A. 1966. The Loyal Opposition in Canada: An Introduction to its Ideal Roles and their Practical Implementation for Representative and Responsible Government, Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- Hockin, Thomas A. 1979. Adversary Politics and Some Functions of the Canadian House of Commons. (3rd Ed). Canadian political process / [compiled by] Richard Schultz, Orest M. Kruhlak, John C. Terry. Toronto : Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1979.
- Hoffman, David, and Norman Ward. 1970. *Bilingualism and biculturalism in the Canadian House of Commons*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.
- Horowitz, G. 1966. Conservatism, Liberalism, and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation. *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 32 (2):143-171.
- Howe, Paul, and David Northrup. 2000. Strengthening Canadian Democracy: The views of Canadians. *Policy Matters* 1:1-104.
- Huber, John D. 1996. The Vote of Confidence in Parliamentary Democracies. *American Political Science Review*, 90 (2):269-282.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and postmodernization: cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies*. Princeton, N.J. ; Chichester, U.K.: Princeton University Press.
- Irvine, William P. 1982. Does the Candidate Make a Difference? The Macro-Politics and Micro-Politics of Getting Elected. *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique* 15 (4):755-782.
- Jenson, Jane. 1995. Representation and Policy-Making in Canada. In *Canada's century : governance in a maturing society : essays in honour of John Meisel*, edited by C. E. S. Franks and J. Meisel. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Jewell, Malcolm E. 1983. Legislator-Constituency Relations and the Representative Process. *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 8 (3):303-337.
- Johnston, Richard, et al. 1992. *Letting the people decide : dynamics of a Canadian election*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Johnston, Richard. 1986. *Public opinion and public policy in Canada : questions of confidence*. Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada and the Canadian Government. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Johnston, Richard, Patrick Fournier and Richard Jenkins. 2000. Party Location and Party Support: Unpacking Competing Models. *Journal of Politics* 62 (4):1145-1160.
- Jones, Bryan D. 2001. *Politics and the architecture of choice: bounded rationality and governance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Judge, David. 1981. *Backbench specialisation in the House of Commons*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.
- Kam, Christopher. 2001. Do Ideological Preferences Explain Parliamentary Behaviour? Evidence from Great Britain and Canada. *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 7 (4):89 - 126.
- Keyes, John Mark. 1997. When bills and amendments require the royal recommendation. *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 20 (4):15-21.
- King, Anthony. 1981. The Rise of the Career Politician in Britain - And Its Consequences. *British Journal of Political Science* 11 (3):249-285.
- King, Gary, Michael Tomz and Jason Wittenberg. 2000. Making the most of Statistical Analyses: Improving Interpretation and Presentation. *American Journal of Political Science*, 44 (2): 341-355.
- Kingdon, John W. 1989. *Congressmen's voting decisions*. 3rd ed. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- . 1995. *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies*. 2nd ed. New York: Longman.
- Kornberg, Allan. 1967. *Canadian legislative behavior; a study of the 25th Parliament*. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Kornberg, Allan, and William Mishler. 1976. *Influence in Parliament, Canada*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Krehbiel, Keith. 1998. *Pivotal politics : a theory of U.S. lawmaking*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Leonard, Dick. 1972. Private Members' Bills since 1959. In *The backbencher and Parliament: a reader*, edited by R. L. Leonard and V. Herman. London,: Macmillan.
- Lever, Nora. 1988. Private Members' Business: What's Happened Under the New Rules? *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 11 (3):14-16.
- Long, J. Scott. 1997. *Regression models for categorical and limited dependent variables*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Long, J. Scott, and Jeremy Freese. 2001. *Regression models for categorical dependent variables using Stata*. College Station, Tex.: Stata Press.
- Lovink, J. A. A. 1973. Is Canadian Politics Too Competitive? *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 6 (3):341-379.
- Malloy, Johnathan. 2003. The House of Commons Under the Chretien Government. In Bruce Doern (ed) *How Ottawa Spends 2003-2004: Regime Change and Policy Shift*. Don Mills ON: Oxford University Press.

- March, James G., and Johan P. Olsen. 1989. *Rediscovering institutions : the organizational basis of politics*. New York: Free Press.
- Marleau, Robert and Camille Montpetit. 2000. *House of Commons procedure and practice*. Ottawa: House of Commons.
- Marsh, David C., and Melvyn Read. 1988. *Private members' bills*. Cambridge Cambridgeshire ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, Paul. 2002. The Democratic Deficit. *Policy Options* 24 (1):10-12.
- Matland, Richard E. and Donley T. Studlar. 2004. Determinants of legislative turnover: a cross-national analysis. *British Journal of Political Science* 34 (1):87-108.
- Mayhew, David R. 1974. *Congress : the electoral connection*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 2000. *America's Congress : actions in the public sphere, James Madison through Newt Gingrich*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- . 2001. Observations on "Congress: The Electoral Connection" a Quarter Century after Writing It. *PS: Political Science and Politics* 34 (2):251-252.
- McCullough, Michael 2003. Youth-targeted ad campaign gives rise to Civic unrest. *The Vancouver Sun*, Jul 25, 2003, G5.
- Mezey, Michael. 1993. Legislatures: Individual Purpose and Institutional Performance. In *Political science : the state of the discipline II*, edited by A. W. Finifter. Washington, D.C.: American Political Science Association.
- Mill, John Stuart. 1888. *A System of Logic*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Mill, John Stuart, and John Gray. 1991. *On liberty and other essays, World's classics*. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Miller, Warren E., and Donald E. Stokes. 1963. Constituency Influence in Congress. *The American Political Science Review* 57 (1):45-56.
- . 1966. Constituency influence in Congress. In *Elections and the political order*, edited by A. Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes,. New York: Wiley.
- Mitchell, Austin. 1994. Backbench influence: a personal view. (British Government and Politics Since 1945: Changes in Perspective). *Parliamentary Affairs* 47 (4):687-704.
- Monroe, Alan D. 1979. Consistency between Constituency Preferences and National Policy Decisions. *American Politics Quarterly* 12:3-19.
- . 1998. Public Opinion and Public Policy, 1980-1993. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 62 (1):6-28.
- Moore, Oliver. 2006. Turks recall envoy over Harper's remark. *The Globe and Mail*, May 9, 2006, A5.

- Müller, Wolfgang C. 1994. Models of government and the Austrian cabinet. In *Cabinet Ministers and Parliamentary Government*, edited by M. Laver, and Kenneth A. Shepsle. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Nadeau, Richard, Andre Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil and Neil Nevitte. 2001. Perceptions of Party Competence in the 1997 Election. In *Party Politics in Canada*, edited by H. G. Thorburn, and Alan Whitehorn. Toronto: Prentice Hall.
- Nevitte, Neil. 1996. *The decline of deference : Canadian value change in cross-national perspective*. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press.
- New Brunswick Telegraph Journal. 2006. Ottawa will consider N.B. MP's autism strategy; Medicine Government pledges to work with MP from New Brunswick. Oct 28, 2006, A2.
- Norton, Philip. 1980. *Dissension in the House of Commons, 1974-79 Philip Norton*. Oxford, New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press.
- . 1994. The growth of the constituency role of the MP. (Member of Parliament) (British Government and Politics Since 1945: Changes in Perspective). *Parliamentary Affairs* 47 (4):705-21.
- . 2005. *Parliament in British politics*. Houndmills England; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Norton, Philip, and David Michael Wood. 1993. *Back from Westminster : British members of Parliament and their constituents, Comparative legislative studies series*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The logic of collective action; public goods and the theory of groups*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Ostrom, Elinor. 1990. *Governing the commons : the evolution of institutions for collective action, Political economy of institutions and decisions*. Cambridge England ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Page, Benjamin I., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1983. Effects of Public Opinion on Policy. *The American Political Science Review* 77 (1):175-190.
- . 1992. *The rational public : fifty years of trends in Americans' policy preferences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Page, Benjamin I., Robert Y. Shapiro, Paul W. Gronke, and Robert M. Rosenberg. 1984. Constituency, Party, and Representation in Congress. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 48 (4):741-756.
- Penner, Erin, Kelly Blidook and Stuart Soroka. 2006. Legislative priorities and public opinion: representation of partisan agendas in the Canadian House of Commons. *Journal of European Public Policy* 13 (7):1006-1020.
- Peterson, David A. M., Lawrence J. Grossback; James A. Stimson; Amy Gangl. 2003. Congressional Response to Mandate Elections. *American Journal of Political Science* 47:411-426.

- Petrocik, John R. 1996. Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40 (3):825-850.
- Petry, Francois. 1999. The Opinion-Policy Relationship in Canada. *Journal of Politics* 61 (2):540-550.
- . 1995. The Party Agenda Model: Election Programmes and Government Spending in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique* 28 (1):51-84.
- Petry, François, and Matthew Mendelsohn. 2004. Public Opinion and Policy Making in Canada, 1994-2000. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37:505-30.
- Poole, Keith T., and Howard Rosenthal. 1997. *Congress : a political-economic history of roll call voting*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Popkin, Samuel L. 1991. *The reasoning voter : communication and persuasion in presidential campaigns*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Presthus, Robert Vance. 1973. *Elite accommodation in Canadian politics*. Toronto: Macmillan.
- Pross, A. Paul. 1992. *Group politics and public policy*. 2nd ed. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Richards, Peter G. 1972. *The backbenchers*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Rottinghaus, Brandon 2006. Rethinking Presidential Responsiveness: The Public Presidency and Rhetorical Congruency, 1953–2001. *Journal of Politics* 50:720–732.
- Rush, Michael. 2001. *The role of the member of Parliament since 1868: from gentlemen to players*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Savoie, Donald J. 1999. *Governing from the centre : the concentration of power in Canadian politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Schmidt, Sarah. 2005. No relief for student debtors as 10-year bankruptcy ban upheld. *The Ottawa Citizen*, Jul 5, 2005, A4.
- Searing, Donald D. 1991. Roles, Rules, and Rationality in the New Institutionalism. *The American Political Science Review* 85 (4):1239-1260.
- Searing, Donald. 1994. *Westminster's world : understanding political roles*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Shepsle, Kenneth A., and Barry R. Weingast. 1987. The Institutional Foundations of Committee Power. *The American Political Science Review* 81 (1):85-104.
- Simon, Herbert A. 1995. Rationality in Political Behaviour. *Political Psychology* 16 (1):45-62.
- Soroka, Stuart Neil. 2002. *Agenda-setting dynamics in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Soroka, Stuart N., and Christopher Wlezien. 2004. Opinion Representation and Policy Feedback. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37:531-60.

- Soroka, Stuart, N., Erin Penner and Kelly Blidook. N.d. Constituency Influence in Parliament. Currently under submission.
- Smith, Jennifer. 1999. Democracy and the Canadian House of Commons at the millennium. *Canadian Public Administration* 42 (4):398-421.
- Stephens, Dave. 2001. Report to Access to Information Review Task Force: Access to Information Review Task Force: Government of Canada. Available on the World Wide Web: <http://www.geai-atirtf.gc.ca/paper-advicefoot-e.html> (Accessed April 5, 2007).
- Stewart, John B. 1977. *The Canadian House of Commons : procedure and reform*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Stimson, James A. 1999. *Public opinion in America : moods, cycles, and swings*. 2nd ed, *Transforming American politics*. Boulder, Colo. ; Oxford: Westview Press.
- Stimson, James A., Michael B. Mackuen, and Robert S. Erikson. 1995. Dynamic Representation. *American Political Science Review* 89 (3):543-565.
- Strom, Kaare. 1997. Rules, Reasons, and Routines: Legislative Roles in Parliamentary Democracies. *Journal of Legislative Studies* 3 (1):155-74.
- Studlar, Donley T., and Ian McAllister. 1996. Constituency Activity and Representational Roles among Australian Legislators. *Journal of Politics* 58 (1):69-90.
- Tanguay, Brian. 1992. Reflections on Political Marketing and Party 'Decline' in Canada ... or, A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the 1988 Election. In *Democracy with justice : essays in honour of Khayyam Zev Paltiel* edited by A. Gagnon and B. Tanguay. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.
- The Now. 2005. Pass the bills and remember Chuck's work, (Editorial). July 13, 2005, 8.
- The Vancouver Sun. 2005. We're No. 1, but it's a dubious honour. Nov 14, 2005, A10.
- Thomas, Paul G. 1985. Parliamentary Reform Through Political Parties. In *The Canadian House of Commons: Essays in Honour of Norman Ward*, edited by J. Courtney. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- Thomas, Paul G. 2003. Governing From the Centre: Reconceptualizing the Role of the PM and Cabinet. *Policy Options* 25 (1):79-85.
- Thompson, Elizabeth. 2004. Bloc MP's proceeds-of-crime bill appears certain to pass. *The Gazette*, Oct 29, 2004, A16.
- Tibbetts, Janice. 2006. Crime bill gets backing: Opposition's first joint policy measure. *The Gazette*, Oct 26, 2004, A14.
- Tremblay, Manon. 1998. Do Female MPs Substantively Represent Women? A Study of Legislative Behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament. *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 31 (3):435-465.
- Tremblay, Manon, and Réjean Pelletier. 2000. More Feminists or More Women? Descriptive and Substantive Representations of Women in the 1997 Canadian Federal Elections. *International Political Science Review* 21 (4): 381-405.

- Wahlke, John C., et al. 1962. *The legislative system: explorations in legislative behavior*. New York: Wiley.
- Ward, Norman. 1963. *Canadian House of Commons : representation*. 2 ed. Toronto: University of Toronto P.
- Wawro, Gregory J. 2000. *Legislative entrepreneurship in the U.S. House of Representatives, Michigan studies in political analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Weeks, Carly. 2006. Health minister takes heat over lack of national autism strategy. *Edmonton Journal*, Nov 22, 2006, A11.
- Weissberg, Robert. 1978. Collective vs. Dyadic Representation in Congress. *The American Political Science Review* 72 (2):535-547.
- Wilding, Norman W., and Philip Laundy. 1972. *An encyclopaedia of parliament*. 4th revised ed. London: Cassell.
- Whittington, Michael S., and Richard J. Van Loon. 1996. Canadian government and politics : institutions and processes, McGraw-Hill Ryerson series in Canadian politics. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 1995. The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Preferences for Spending. *American Journal of Political Science* 39 (4):981-1000.
- Wood, B. Dan and Angela Hinton Andersson. 1998. The Dynamics of Senatorial Representation, 1952-1991. *Journal of Politics* 60:705-736.
- Wright, Gerald C. Jr. 1978. Candidates' Policy Positions and Voting in U. S. Congressional Elections. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 3 (3):445-464.
- Young, Lisa, and Keith Archer, eds. 2002. *Regionalism and Party Politics in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.