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# **Gendered Partisanship: An Exploratory Study of Party Loyalty and its Impacts in Parliament**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Ever increasing levels of partisanship in the House of Commons have contributed to a highly adversarial atmosphere where cooperation between MPs of different parties is difficult and rare. This study explores how various demographic factors such as an MP's age, tenure, political party and gender influence how they perceive and express partisanship. An online and paper survey was distributed to all MPs to determine the effects of these demographic factors on their goals and aspirations, their party loyalty and their cooperation and collaboration with colleagues from other parties. The results suggest that women are communicating and potentially cooperating and collaborating more with MPs from other parties. However, the results also suggest that women are expressing more partisanship than men by feeling a stronger need to toe the party line, by rarely voting against their party and by not experiencing any decrease in partisanship since first being elected. A case for gendered partisanship in the House of Commons is made.

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## Introduction

Much ink has flown recently over the demise of Canadian democracy due to the ever-increasing levels of partisanship in Parliament, especially in the House of Commons. Many journalists have argued that this has led to "more citizen cynicism, voter apathy, and polarization."<sup>1</sup> Those arguing increased levels of partisanship point to the far reaching and wide ranging powers of party leaders and the firm grasp of party whips on their members.<sup>2</sup> Yet much less has been written on the demographic variables affecting partisanship such as a Member of Parliament's age, tenure, political party and gender.

As partisanship increases, signs of frustrations manifest themselves from within. Several MPs have expressed their dissatisfaction with the strong control of party leadership over their members. It has been just over a year since Brent Rathgeber, MP for Edmonton-St. Albert resigned from the Conservative caucus to sit as an Independent. He points to the secretive operations of Prime Minister's Office (PMO) staff and their control over MPs, the party's compromised principles and the Government's evisceration of his Private Member's Bill on CBC and Public Sector disclosure as reasons for his departure.<sup>3</sup> Rathgeber confirms the high degree of centralization of power in the PMO, recounting tales of PMO staff dictating the position MPs must adopt on legislation and MPs complying accordingly. He will be publishing his reflections on the unaccountable PMO and the deference of MPs toward party leadership instead of toward their constituents in a book to be launched this September.

Departure from caucus has not only occurred within the Conservative Party. A series of events led Bruce Hyer, to resign from the New Democratic Party caucus to also sit as an Independent. In 2011, both he and his other NDP colleague John Rafferty were

removed from their critic roles and prevented from making statements or asking questions in the House of Commons following their votes in favour of the abolition of the long-gun registry.<sup>4</sup> Months after this punishment, Hyer found himself left out of the new NDP leader Thomas Mulcair's shadow cabinet. He quit the NDP caucus April 23, 2012 believing he could better represent his constituents without the muzzling by party leadership and stifling party discipline.<sup>5</sup> He later joined the Green Party citing it as the party with "the best platform [...] putting principle ahead of political partisanship".<sup>6</sup>

Other MPs have chosen the legislative route, opting to propose legislation that would reform Parliament to decrease the negative impacts of partisanship. Conservative MP Michael Chong is no stranger to trying to legislate change. Back in 2011, Chong unsuccessfully attempted to increase the level of decorum in Question Period by reforming it with his Private Member's Motion M-517, which died upon dissolution of the 40<sup>th</sup> Parliament. He is currently trying to restore the role of MPs in the House of Commons and reinforce the principle of responsible government by means of his Private Member's Bill C-586 entitled "An Act to Amend the Canada Elections Act and the Parliament of Canada Act (Candidacy and Caucus Reforms)" introduced in the House of Commons April 7, 2014. First, the bill would restore local control over party nominations. Second, caucus votes would be necessary to elect caucus chairs and to expel caucus members. Third, it would allow for leadership reviews by caucus. Chong hopes that this piece of legislation will decrease the centralized power in the leader's office and restore it to individual MPs.<sup>7</sup>

While many have pointed to this increase in partisanship in the House of Commons and the growing importance of party loyalty and solidarity for fear of reprisal, this study aims to explore what may be influencing partisanship, the ways in which MPs perceive and

express partisanship and how this varies from one MP to another. More specifically, factors such as age, years of experience as an MP, political party and gender will be studied to determine how they might influence these perceptions and expressions of partisanship. Central to the question of partisanship are the goals and aspirations motivating MPs, party loyalty and cooperation and collaboration between MPs of different parties. Thus, this research will investigate these topics in order to provide further insight into partisanship. Finally, this paper will focus primarily on gender as a factor that significantly impacts the perception and expression of partisanship by MPs.

## Literature Review

The inspiration for this research came from the Globe And Mail's "Reinventing Parliament" series.<sup>8</sup> This series includes a study of the voting recording between June 2, 2011 and January 28, 2013 that reveals how often MPs voted against their own party. Stuart Thompson and Bill Curry calculated how the majority of each party (50 percent plus one) voted in each case and compared each MP's vote to that of the majority of their party to determine whether an MP voted with or against their party.<sup>9</sup>

Conservatives were far more likely to vote against their party than any other party. It is important to note that Conservatives enjoy a majority in the House of Commons with a total of 160 seats while all other MPs combined hold 143 seats.<sup>10</sup> Given this majority, the Conservative party can afford a few dissenting votes without any significant threat to losing the vote. Additionally, Conservatives enjoy more freedom in their votes, especially for private member's business.<sup>11</sup>

Party unity is extremely high. Even MPs with the lowest party unity voted with their party 97 percent of the time. Moreover, many MPs dissented only once. The MP who voted the most against the party did so a grand total of eight times.

Upon further examination, several gender differences emerged. Only 22 percent of female MPs have ever voted against their party, compared to 46 percent of men. Likewise, men voted a maximum of 8 times against their party while women did so a maximum of 3 times. From this, one main question emerged: Why are women displaying a higher degree of party loyalty in votes than men? This prompted an examination of the literature on partisanship, gendered partisanship and women in traditionally male-dominated fields such as politics.

## Partisanship

In "Mr. Smith Goes to Ottawa", David Docherty presents two representational styles of MPs: those who follow party over constituency and those who follow the wishes of the constituency above all else.<sup>12</sup> Despite these two representational styles, other factors significantly impact an MP's decisions and behaviour.

For instance, Donald Savoie describes the highly concentrated power in the Prime Minister and the PMO's hands and how this affects members. With the Prime Minister as the key player, with the power to select who will be empowered,<sup>13</sup> a system of reward for deference and party loyalty is encouraged. Christopher Kam's study of Jean Chrétien's 1993 ministerial appointments demonstrates that toeing the party line and supporting the leader is exchanged for advancement.<sup>14</sup> If individual MPs can only reach their goals of re-election and personal advancement through the party leadership, then they are likely to toe

the party line. By controlling the nomination process, party leaders can try to handpick candidates expected to vote in line with the leadership.<sup>15</sup>

As such, party unity would be the result of individual decisions by MPs who are influenced by institutional incentives and constraints.<sup>16</sup> The two goals of re-election and advancement, constrained by party leadership, create incentives for the vast majority of MPs to toe the party line.<sup>17</sup> Party leadership can also use negative incentives to encourage party unity such as granting or recalling assignments to sought-after committee posts (like when Brent Rathgeber was shifted from the public safety committee to the obscure Library of Parliament Committee after not taking down a blog post critical of Bev Oda's \$16 glass of orange juice and the government's use of cars and drivers for ministers on the Hill<sup>18</sup>), non-considerations for higher offices, and expulsion from the party.<sup>19</sup> Party discipline helps the cabinet to enact its legislative agenda and the delegation of power to party leaders allows members to act as a collective and reduces chaos.<sup>20</sup>

Sieberer also argues that government parties display lower unity, although in the House of Commons it is only marginally lower, because they must take a stand on divisive issues and broker compromises, alienating some of their members. Yet, the large size of their party has a positive effect on party unity. Individual dissent weighs more on overall unity in smaller parties i.e. one member dissenting in a smaller party lowers the party unity score (number of votes against the party to number of votes with the party) more than one member dissenting in a larger party.<sup>21</sup> The Globe and Mail's study exemplifies this: Conservatives (the largest political party) broke rank more often without ever losing the vote and while still maintaining a high degree of party unity and the NDP and Liberals broke rank the least.<sup>22</sup>

In its series of Democracy Reports, Samara makes a case for increased levels of partisanship by citing directions from the PMO to Members to deliver more partisan Private Member's Statements, rewards for partisan behaviour and a general observation of partisan attacks increasingly taking the space of policy discussion and debate.<sup>23</sup> In fact, Standing Order 31 statements (or SO31s) have increasingly been used to make negative statements about other parliamentary parties or leaders, or to praise the MPs' own party since the beginning of the millennium.<sup>24</sup> SO31s can be considered as "institutional safety valves" to relieve pressure by allowing individual MPs an outlet through which to express themselves, speak to local or specialized interests, and break away from the partisan control in many of their other activities. With the decreasing capacity of such safety valves to alleviate pressure, the potential for unrest among MPs increases.<sup>25</sup>

Within existing literature, it is clear that the House of Commons is plagued with a high degree of party control and partisanship. With systems currently in place to reward and encourage this partisan behaviour, it does not appear like this will be changing anytime soon. Does this party loyalty and partisanship vary from one MP to the next and do the current mechanisms for reward and punishment affect MPs differently?

## **Gendered Partisanship**

Currently in Canada, there is little scholarly research on gendered partisanship amongst MPs. However, several studies have explored different aspects pertaining to women in politics.

In her study of heckling in the House of Commons, Mackenzie Grisdale suggests heckling may be of a sharper tone toward women than toward men, pointing to personal attacks and heckling about gender (usually aimed at women by women) as particularly

offensive.<sup>26</sup> In this environment, women could be encouraged to show increased levels of partisanship to disprove gender stereotypes that could be a the root of this different tone of heckling.

An American study proposes that congresswomen in the U.S. House of Representatives have more incentives to prove their loyalty to their party than congressmen because of gendered partisanship.<sup>27</sup> As proof, congresswomen vote with their party a higher percentage of the time than men.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, congresswomen deliver more partisan one minute speeches (the equivalent to our Canadian S031s) than congressmen.<sup>29</sup> These women would be doing so to actively demonstrate their party loyalty<sup>30</sup> and to disprove gender stereotypes of women in office exhibiting communal behaviour compared to those of men in office as assertive leaders.<sup>31</sup> This would be the case as the House of Representatives has become increasingly polarized and the power of leaders to allocate resources, positions and promotions has increased.<sup>32</sup>

There is a parallel to be drawn with the Canadian House of Commons and its hyperpolarization, increased levels of partisanship and concentrated power in the hands of party leaders as well. This would suggest similar conditions for gendered partisanship in Canada's House of Commons. A first indicator of this is the higher degree of party loyalty exhibited by women in the voting record. This study seeks to determine if there is a case for gendered partisanship in the House of Commons.

### **Women in Traditionally and Historically Male-dominated Fields**

Like women in politics, women in science also face numerous obstacles to their success. With fewer opportunities for leadership, greater social isolation from male peers, slower advancement and less representation at higher levels, science remains a field with a

less than desirable workplace environment for women.<sup>33</sup> In such environments, the possibility of voice or influence is important as it can help women feel more included and hopeful.<sup>34</sup> In a 41<sup>st</sup> Parliament where significantly less women than men have ever voted against their party even once,<sup>35</sup> it is unclear if women in the House of Commons have voice and consequently believe they have influence in this male-dominated environment.

In politics, Lawless and Fox demonstrated that even when men and women possessed similar qualifications, women were more than twice as likely as men to believe they were not qualified to run for office.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, they suggest political actors are less likely to see women as political actors.<sup>37</sup> For this reason, shifting societal views of women in politics is crucial to increasing their participation in this field. Wicks and Lang-Dion also point to the difficulty of adhering to a rigorous and demanding parliamentary schedule. The House of Commons calendar does little to promote work-family balance and is one systemic barrier to more women and more parents in the House of Commons.<sup>38</sup>

With "equality in decision-making [...] essential to the empowerment to women"<sup>39</sup> and independent voting as a reasonable indicator of political power,<sup>40</sup> what is to be made of this Parliament's voting record where only 22 percent of women have ever voted independently of their party, compared to 46 percent of men?<sup>41</sup> According to Sears, "if you don't feel empowered to vote freely, you don't ask questions freely, you don't push for change [...] and you don't use your pulpit as a Member of Parliament to try to move either other members' or public opinion."<sup>42</sup> This appears to be perpetuating the view that women are not seen as political actors. This paper seeks to go beyond the voting record, and explore the potential for gendered partisanship and the influence of demographic factors on partisanship in the House of Commons.

## Methodology and Results

In order to gain insight into the ways in which MPs cooperate and collaborate as well as the ways they perceive and express partisanship, an online and paper survey of 40 questions in both official languages (See Annex A) was distributed to all 303 MPs May 21, 2014. Members were given 4 weeks to complete it.

The first section examined variables that could affect cooperation, collaboration and partisanship of MPs such as years of experience as an MP, age, political party, province or territory where the riding is located, highest level of education achieved and most importantly for the purpose of this research, gender. The next section broached the first theme of the survey: goals and aspirations of MPs. Here, they distinguished between their most important goals as MPs and as party representatives. The second theme examined party loyalty and its impacts. Here, MPs answered questions on the rewards for toeing the party line, the consequences for not toeing the party line, the impacts of these, the ways in which they voice differences with their party and voting against their party. The third theme examined the nature of cooperation and collaboration with MPs from other parties. MPs answered questions on their interactions with MPs from other parties, cooperation and collaboration with members of other parties and their own level of partisanship.

Of the current sitting 303 MPs, 32 responded to the survey, resulting in a response rate of 10.5 percent. The most significant variables impacting partisanship, cooperation and collaboration are age, years of experience as an MP, political party and gender. Level of education and province or territory did not significantly impact partisanship, cooperation and collaboration and will therefore not be discussed. To see the breakdown of respondents by category, see Annex A1. The qualitative impacts of each of these variables

on partisanship, cooperation and collaboration will be discussed separately within each of the 3 themes of the survey.

Given the low response rate, the results of this research can only provide a cursory glance at demographic factors and their influence on partisanship and how MPs express it. Furthermore, these results should be considered as qualitative information rather than quantitative data.

## **1. Goals and Aspirations of MPs**

When asked to select their most important goal as an MP and then as a party representative, experience, political party and gender impacted the answers the most.

In their role of MP, the majority of less experienced MPs (0 to 9 years of experience) wanted to secure tangible benefits for constituents and the constituency. However, after 10 years of experience, the majority of MPs wanted to help shape public policy in Parliament. See Annex B1.

As party representatives, helping shape public policy is also the most frequently cited most important goal as a party representative for MPs with 10 years of experience or more (87 percent). Less experienced MPs (less than 10 years experience) report focusing more on “convincing a greater number of constituents to vote for the party.” See Annex B2.

Along party lines, 67 percent of Liberal respondents indicated that helping shape public policy in Parliament is their most important goal whereas 50 percent or more of both NDP and Conservative respondents indicated it is to secure tangible benefits for constituents and the constituency. See Annex B3. While these two goals are not mutually exclusive, it is interesting to note that this suggests a strong focus on policy for the Liberals and a more constituency-based focus for the other parties. However, it must be noted that

71 percent of Liberal respondents have 10 or more years experience as an MP. Therefore, this focus on helping to shape public policy could be a result of the party or their longer tenure.

Conservatives distinguished themselves from other parties when 62 percent of their respondents indicated that convincing a greater number of constituents to vote for party is their most important goal as party representatives while most Liberal and NDP MPs' main focus is on helping shape public policy in Parliament. See Annex B4.

The most important goal as an MP varied significantly by gender. 64 percent of women were focused on securing tangible benefits for their constituents and constituency, compared to 37 percent of men. Only 9 percent of women were focused on shaping public policy in Parliament, compared to 47 percent men. In order to shape public policy, one needs to have a political voice.<sup>43</sup> See Annex B5.

## **2. Party Loyalty and MPs**

When asked about party loyalty, responses were impacted by political party, age, experience and gender and demonstrated significant differences.

MPs were asked if there is a reward in their party for toeing the party line. Surprisingly, 29 percent of NDP respondents said there is no reward for toeing the party line while the rest of their caucus colleagues said there is a reward. Additionally, the NDP is the only party to be split on this matter. Both the Liberals and Conservatives unanimously agree that there is a reward for toeing the party line. This suggests there could be an internal communications or messaging problem within the NDP with regards to party discipline. Similarly, when asked, 23 percent of NDP respondents said there is no

consequence for not toeing the party line while 77 percent said there is. Again, this inconsistency between NDP respondents suggests that part of their caucus is not clear on the rewards for toeing the party line and the consequences for not toeing the party line. Only a single Conservative respondent indicated there was no consequence for not toeing the party line. Overall, it appears that most MPs, regardless of party, are well aware of the rewards or consequences for party discipline taking into consideration a few outliers who are not as closely attuned to these things. See Annex C1.

In the following question, MPs were asked if the rewards or consequences referenced in the previous question make them feel a desire or need to toe the party line. This provided the most interesting results for the purpose of this study since these answers provide insight into the impact of party discipline on MPs' actions.

With regards to age, older MPs (aged 40 years and older) increasingly answered “No”, while younger MPs answered “Yes”. Hence, rewards and consequences for toeing or not toeing the party line appear to be less effective with older MPs. See Annex C2. As these rewards and consequences impacted older MPs less, they also had less of an impact on more experienced MPs. Only 27 percent of MPs with 6 or more years of experience reported that the rewards and consequences made them feel a need or desire to toe the party line, compared to 77 percent of MPs with less than 6 years of experience. See Annex C3.

When responses were classified by party, 71 percent of Conservatives indicated the rewards and consequences made them feel the need or desire to toe the party line. See Annex C4.

Perhaps most interestingly, survey responses suggest a disproportionate influence of rewards and consequences on women. When asked if the rewards and consequences for toeing or not toeing the party line makes them feel a desire or need to toe the party line, 70 percent of women indicated that it did compared to only 43 percent of men. See Annex C5. This higher proportion of women feeling compelled to toe the party line as a result of rewards and consequences is consistent with women displaying higher party loyalty in the voting record. Why are these rewards and consequences having a bigger impact on women? Are these grounds to suggest women are exhibiting stronger partisanship than men?

In this section of the survey, MPs were also asked to self-report the number of times they voted against the majority of their party for differing riding interests and personal opinions in the 41<sup>st</sup> Parliament. The responses were consistent with the Globe and Mail's study.

By political party, more Conservative MPs reported voting against their party and more frequently. See Annex C6.

By gender, more men reported voting against their party and more frequently. In the case of differing riding interests, 80 percent of women have never voted against their party. Those who did, did so a maximum of 3 times. Comparatively, 37 percent of men have never voted against the party for this, and those who did, did so a maximum of 6 times. To represent differing personal views, women voted against the party a maximum of 3 times with 56 percent of women voting against the party only once. Men voted against their party a maximum of 6 times, yet 62 percent of men reported not voting against the party a single time in this regard. See Annex C7. This shift could represent one of the most divisive

votes during the time period studied: Conservative MP Stephen Woodworth's motion M-312 on studying the definition of when life begins. A slim majority of Conservatives (86 to 74) voted in favour of it.<sup>44</sup> As the Globe and Mail study indicates, for many female Conservatives, this was the only time they voted against their party.<sup>45</sup>

By experience, the findings are consistent with earlier responses indicating increased attention to party loyalty by less experienced MPs. All of the least experienced MPs (0-3 years' experience) never voted against their party for personal views since the start of the 41<sup>st</sup> Parliament. See Annex C8. This suggests a stronger adherence to the party line by less experienced MPs and accordingly increased party loyalty when voting.

When it came to voicing differences between their constituency and their party, most MPs vastly preferred to voice differences in private venues like regional caucus, national caucus or a private conversation with party leadership.

By age, only MPs 60 years or older, albeit very few, suggested public venues to voice these differences such through their riding's media, town hall meetings in the riding or voting in the House of Commons. See Annex C9. Similarly, MPs with 10 or more years of experience did as well. See Annex C10. This could be a result of an increased feeling of comfort with the job as they gain experience and knowledge. Again, fear of reprisal for not toeing the party line is not an important motivating factor for older and more experienced MPs and could create a heightened sense of freedom in their actions.

### **3. Cooperation and Collaboration amongst MPs**

When asked about cooperation and collaboration, experience and gender impacted responses and yielded significant differences.

When asked if they had the phone number of an MP from a different party saved in their mobile phone, rather intuitively, more experienced MPs were more likely to have at least one. While all MPs with 0-3 years of experience did not have the number of an MP from another party in their mobile phone, all of the MPs with 10 or more years' experience did. See Annex D1. This could simply be by virtue of the fact that the more time spent in Parliament, the more chances that an MP from one party might have to communicate with an MP from another party to cooperate or collaborate on a specific matter.

Intriguingly, by gender, 73 percent of women had a phone number of an MP from another party and only 50 percent of men did. See Annex D2. This suggests that women are communicating more with MPs from other parties than men.

Additionally, women reported going out for drink or food with an MP from another party more frequently than men: 73 percent of women reported going sometimes or often, while only 37 percent of men compared. See Annex D3. This also suggests women might be having more contact with MPs from other parties, another indicator of the gender stereotype.

When asked the extent to which they agree with the following statement "The House of Commons would get legislation through more efficiently if MPs cooperated and collaborated more", only women disagreed with the statement (18 percent) and a combined total of 27 percent disagreed with the statement or were neutral whereas no men disagreed with the statement and only 6 percent were neutral. See Annex D4. This could be indicative of an increased or more pronounced expression of partisanship by women.

The final question of the survey pertained to changes in MPs' level of partisanship since first being elected. With less experienced MPs possibly displaying higher party loyalty, very few of them reported that their level of partisanship has decreased. 37 percent of MPs with 10 or more years of experience reported a decrease in their level of partisanship, compared to only 6 percent of MPs with less than 10 years of experience. See Annex D5. No women reported a decreased level of partisanship, whereas 25 percent of men did. See Annex D6.

## **Discussion**

### **1. Goals and Aspirations of MPs**

The varying goals and aspirations of MPs of different levels of experience mirror their career paths as parliamentarians. Upon election, MPs struggle to adjust to their new position and it is only 18 months later on average that they report feeling comfortable being able to take on more daunting projects after this period of apprenticeship.<sup>46</sup> It is not surprising that new MPs have a goal of providing benefits to their constituents in hopes of simply getting re-elected. Analogously, more experienced MPs, having survived more elections and having more likely secured the support of their constituents, can spend more time shaping policy and less time familiarizing themselves with the job and its unique demands.

Although securing tangible benefits for the riding does not preclude helping shape public policy and vice versa, the higher focus on the former for women and the latter for men is cause for question. Why do so few women have the goal of helping to shape public

policy? Combined with the voting record, this could suggest that women have not yet reached their full potential in the House of Commons as they are either not using their political voice, or it is not being heard. Myrna Driedger, Manitoba MLA for Charleswood alludes to this and distinguishes between women who wait to be asked to get into politics, and then spend their time questioning their qualifications and men who do not question their talent, see the opportunity and immediately pursue it.<sup>47</sup> Another possible explanation is that locally chosen electoral candidates are more likely to have been involved in their community and are more often female.<sup>48</sup> Ergo, women elected in this way have strong ties with their communities and would therefore be highly motivated to secure benefits for them for this reason. The fact remains that women cannot easily effect change if shaping policy is not a primary goal.

## **2. Party Loyalty and MPs**

In a Parliament where dissent is rare, it is clear that current party discipline within all parties is highly effective. It is curious though that these rewards and consequences might have more impact on certain MPs than others.

At first glance, the bigger impact on Conservative MPs is startling since the voting record indicates Conservatives have the lowest level of party unity. However, the Conservative Party does allow more free votes than the Liberals and the NDP which creates venues where MPs can vote freely without repercussions. In this case, for whipped votes, Conservative MPs are clear on the need to toe the party line, but by that same token, they are well aware of the opportunities to vote freely.<sup>49</sup> The voting record confirms this as more Conservatives are voting out and doing so more frequently than members of any

other party. This results largely from an increased number of free votes, particularly for Private Member's Business, where most of the voting against the party occurs.<sup>50</sup>

The disproportionate impact of rewards and consequences of party discipline on women could be causal of the higher party loyalty in the voting record. The following questions emerge: why are these rewards and consequences having a bigger impact on women? Are these grounds to suggest women are exhibiting stronger partisanship than men? With the Canadian House of Commons exhibiting similar circumstances to those in the U.S. House of Representatives such as power of re-election and advancement in the hands of party leadership, hyperpolarization, and women dissenting much less in votes than men, we could very well be experiencing gendered partisanship in the Canadian House of Commons.

On the other hand, tight discipline does bring certain desirable benefits. It results in highly unified parties; currently all parties appear to speak with one voice. In this case, private forums are preferred over public objections in order to voice differences with the party. Public objections place the party's reputation and appearance as a coherent and effective whole at risk.<sup>51</sup> Former MPs expressed that the off-the-record nature of caucuses allowed them the freedom to discuss how they really felt about an issue.<sup>52</sup> While some MPs argued they had little control over the process during caucus meetings that would result in the official party line, others stated that private forums like caucus are productive places for backbench MPs to voice their opinions and influence party policy.<sup>53</sup>

### **3. Cooperation and Collaboration amongst MPs**

The responses provided with regards to cooperation and collaboration seem to be at odds with the above results that would suggest gendered partisanship. The fact that more

women than men have the number of an MP from another party in their mobile phone is consistent with the gender stereotype of women being more cooperative and collaborative and doing more to try to cooperate with MPs from other parties.<sup>54</sup> This is in contrast to the higher degree of partisanship exhibited in the voting record. However this does provide hope that with more women in Parliament, the debilitating partisanship could decrease and we could be witness to a more collaborative seat of our democracy.

Women also go out for drink or food with MPs from other parties more than men. While it is not clear in what capacity they are doing so and what motivates them to do so, this does at very minimum provide them with increased contact with their colleagues of other political affiliations. One could argue this could only help to reduce the highly adversarial nature of proceedings the House as it is another opportunity to learn more about and from MPs from other parties.

Perhaps disturbingly, only men reported a decrease in their level of partisanship. With women only experiencing similar or increased levels of partisanship since their election, there are strong grounds to believe that women are exhibiting a higher degree of partisanship than men. While the systemic factors at play remain unclear, it is clear that women and men are not experiencing partisanship in the same way.

## **Conclusion and paths for further study**

This study could be improved by the exclusive use of paper surveys rather than online surveys, as online surveys are less successful. Additionally, an increased period of time for completion of the survey, and distribution of surveys during the middle of the

session rather than near adjournment could increase the response rate. Interviews with MPs could also supplement survey responses.

Two main results emerge from this study. Women are, in some cases, exhibiting gender stereotypes of cooperating and collaborating more with MPs from other parties. On the other hand, women are also exhibiting a higher degree of partisanship and party loyalty especially in the voting record, suggestive of gendered partisanship, similar to what is seen in the U.S. House of Representatives.

This research indicates that women might have more contact with MPs from other parties than their male counterparts. In future research, it would be important to define the nature of the relationships men and women have with MPs from other parties in order to better understand their expressions of partisanship. Determining how, when, and why they interact together and what they gain from their interactions would advance knowledge in this area. This would also help define the extent to which women are fulfilling gender stereotypes.

Most importantly, further studies should examine the factors causing women to experience a static or increased level of partisanship and the factors which allow certain men to experience a decrease in their level of partisanship over their careers as MPs. While the case can be made for women cooperating and collaborating more with MPs from other parties, this research clearly indicates there is a case for gendered partisanship in the House of Commons. It also confirms that women rarely vote against their party and do so in very low numbers. They are influenced to toe the party line to a much higher degree than men by the rewards and consequences of party discipline. Consequently, they do not experience any decrease in their level of partisanship. It remains unclear if systemic factors

in the House of Commons or within the parties themselves play a bigger role in creating gendered partisanship.

For a more complete image of gendered partisanship, the Globe and Mail's study of the voting record could be extended beyond January 28, 2013 to present and the use of partisan SO31 statements by men and women could also be studied for the duration of the 41<sup>st</sup> Parliament.

In conclusion, while both gender stereotypes and gendered partisanship might be at play in the House of Commons, it is clear that women have not yet reached their full potential as politicians. Gender stereotypes of increased cooperation and collaboration provide hope for a more healthily functioning House of Commons with increasing numbers of women. At the same time, the voting record and self-reported levels of partisanship of women are cause for worry that women have not yet found their voice in Parliament. Things will only improve as more women enter the political arena. Current societal views of women not being political actors must change and all have a role to play. Action groups like Equal Voice are leading the way in promoting the election of women. However, more can always be done. This research hopes to contribute but a small fraction to the pool of research on women in politics.

## **Acknowledgements**

Many thanks are owed to many people for the great opportunity that is the Parliamentary Internship Programme. Thank you to the Canadian Political Science Association for their great support of the programme. Thank you to all of the sponsors

without whom this experience would not have been possible. The programme's reputation gives us unfettered access to Parliament Hill and its actors to carry out our experience as participant observers. In particular, I would like to underscore the great work, help and support of the programme's director Dr. Garth Williams and the programme's administrator Mme Catherine Ngando Édimo. Finally, I would like to thank my nine impressive colleagues who provide me inspiration and support on a daily basis.

## Annexes

### Annex A - Research Survey

#### **Parliamentary Internship Programme 2013-2014 Research Survey: Cross-party Collaboration, Cooperation and Partisanship**

##### **Introduction**

**Thank you very much in advance for completing this survey. It should take approximately 10 minutes.**

The goal is to better understand how different MPs express and perceive varying degrees of partisanship and to explore ways that MPs cooperate and collaborate with their colleagues from other parties. The survey is being sent to all 308 Members of Parliament and is STRICTLY ANONYMOUS AND CONFIDENTIAL. Your name will NOT be associated with your answers.

***\*\*PLEASE RETURN THIS COMPLETED SURVEY BY HOUSE OF COMMONS MESSENGER TO:  
PARLIAMENTARY INTERNSHIP PROGRAMME  
131 QUEEN STREET, 4<sup>TH</sup> FLOOR  
OTTAWA, ON K1A 0A6***

##### **Section A – General Information**

A1. How long have you been a Member of Parliament?

- Up to 3 years
- 3-5 years
- 6-9 years
- 10+ years

A2. What is your age?

- 20-29 years old
- 30-39
- 40-49
- 50-59
- 60-69
- 70-79

A3. What is your gender?

- M
- F
- Other

A4. Which political party do you represent?

- Bloc Québécois
- Conservative Party of Canada
- Green Party of Canada
- Liberal Party of Canada
- New Democratic Party
- Other

A5. In which province or territory is your riding located?

- Alberta
- British Columbia
- Manitoba
- New Brunswick
- Newfoundland and Labrador
- Northwest Territories
- Nova Scotia
- Nunavut
- Ontario
- Prince Edward Island
- Québec
- Saskatchewan
- Yukon

A6. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

- Some high school or less
- High school diploma
- Some university
- Bachelor's degree
- Some college
- College Diploma
- Some graduate school
- Master's degree or equivalent
- Doctorate, law or medical degree or equivalent

### Section B- Goals and Aspirations

B1. What is your first priority an MP?

- To serve constituents
- To serve the party (advance party policy and secure re-election)

B2. From the following choices, which is the your most important goal...

a) **as an MP?**

- secure tangible benefits for constituents and the constituency
- help inform, shape and express local opinion on public issues
- help shape public policy in Parliament
- build or maintain a large and well-financed local campaign team
- Other (please indicate): \_\_\_\_\_

b) **as a party representative?**

- convince a greater number of constituents to vote for the party
- advance to positions of greater influence in the party
- create a united party
- help shape party policy
- help shape public policy in Parliament
- build or maintain a large and well-financed national campaign team
- Other (please indicate): \_\_\_\_\_

B3. Do you think you have a chance at advancing within your party to become a Parliamentary Secretary, Committee Chair, Official Critic or Minister?

Yes

No

Why? \_\_\_\_\_

B4. What is the most effective way to rise in the ranks / hierarchy of your party?

Consistently win local elections (seniority in the party)

Raise funds for the party and colleagues

Campaign for colleagues

Always vote with the party in the House and in Committee

Help shape party policy in conventions and caucus

Speaking in the media

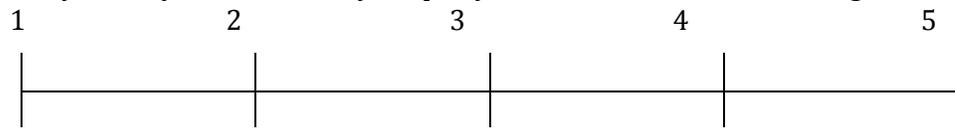
Attacking members from other parties

Strong knowledge of a portfolio

Other (please indicate): \_\_\_\_\_

### Section C – Party Loyalty

C1. How do you see yourself within your party? Please circle a number along the scale.



Team player,  
Part of the Group

Trailblazer,  
Individual

C2. In your party, is there an **explicit or implicit reward** for “toeing the party line”?

There is an **explicit** reward for “toeing the party line”.

There is an **implicit** reward for “toeing the party line”.

NO, there is no reward for “toeing the party line”.

C3. In your party, is there an **explicit or implicit consequence** for not “toeing the party line”?

There is an **explicit** consequence for not “toeing the party line”.

There is an **implicit** consequence for not “toeing the party line”.

NO, there is no consequence for not “toeing the party line”.

C4. Given these rewards or consequences, do you feel a desire or a need to “toe the party line”?

Since there are no rewards or consequences, I do not feel the need or desire to “toe the party line”

Yes

No

C5. How important is being loyal to your party for the following:

a) **Being a good MP?**

Very Important

Important

Somewhat Important

Not Important at All

**b) Serving your constituents?**

- Very Important
- Important
- Somewhat Important
- Not Important at All

**c) Maintaining a good relationship with the Whip and the Leader's office?**

- Very Important
- Important
- Somewhat Important
- Not Important at All

**d) Getting the Leader to sign your nomination papers?**

- Very Important
- Important
- Somewhat Important
- Not Important at All

**e) Getting re-elected?**

- Very Important
- Important
- Somewhat Important
- Not Important at All

**f) Moving up in the ranks (from the backbench to the frontbench)?**

- Very Important
- Important
- Somewhat Important
- Not Important at All

C6. Do you ever feel the need to prove your loyalty to your party?

- Yes
- No

C7. How many times since June 6<sup>th</sup> 2011 (the start of the 41<sup>st</sup> Parliament) have you voted against your party to represent...

a) **differing riding interests?** Please approximate if you do not know the exact number.

- 0 Times
- 1 Time
- 2-3 Times
- 4-6 Times
- 6-10 Times
- 11-19 Times
- 20+ Times

b) **your differing personal views?** Please approximate if you do not know the exact number.

- 0 Times
- 1 Time
- 2-3 Times

- 4-6 Times
- 6-10 Times
- 11-19 Times
- 20+ Times

C8. When is party unity more important?

- In Government – because there is greater media scrutiny and public criticism
- In Government – because disunity delays implementation of party policy
- In Government – because electoral success depends on unity
- In Opposition – because disunity means no coherent opposition or alternative to the government
- In Opposition - because disunity reduces media attention
- In Opposition – because electoral success depends on unity
- Party unity is important for all parties all the time
- Party unity is more important for all parties closer to an election

C9. What is the best venue or opportunity for you **to voice differences between your constituency and your party** with your party? (Check a maximum of 3 that apply)

- Regional Caucus
- National Caucus
- In my riding's media
- In town hall meetings in my riding
- In national media
- Speaking in the House of Commons
- Heckling in the House of Commons
- Speaking in Committee
- Heckling in Committee
- Voting in the House of Commons
- Voting in Committee
- In a private conversation with another MP from a nearby region in my party
- In a private conversation with party leadership
- I do not have any differences between my riding and my party.
- I do not voice my riding differences with my party.

C10. What is the best venue or opportunity for you **to voice personal differences** with your party? (Check a maximum of 3 venues or opportunities that apply)

- Regional Caucus
- National Caucus
- In my riding's media
- In national media
- Speaking in the House of Commons
- Heckling in the House of Commons
- Speaking in Committee
- Heckling in Committee
- Voting in the House of Commons
- Voting in Committee
- In a private conversation with another MP from my party
- In a private conversation with party leadership
- I do not have any personal differences with my party.
- I do not voice my personal differences with my party.

C11. What is the best venue or opportunity for you to **highlight what your party is doing well and what the other parties are doing wrong?** (Check a maximum of 3 venues or opportunities that apply)

- Regional Caucus
- National Caucus
- In my riding's media
- In national media
- Speaking in the House of Commons
- Heckling in the House of Commons
- Speaking in Committee
- Heckling in Committee
- Speaking at riding events
- Speaking at national events
- In a private conversation with another MP from my party
- In a private conversation with party leadership
- I do not highlight what my party is doing well nor what other parties are doing wrong.
- Other (please indicate): \_\_\_\_\_

C12. What is the best venue or opportunity for you to **express that your party is better than the others and to attack or slam other parties?** (Check a maximum of 3 venues or opportunities that apply)

- Regional Caucus
- National Caucus
- In my riding's media
- In national media
- Speaking in the House of Commons
- Heckling in the House of Commons
- Speaking in Committee
- Heckling in Committee
- Speaking at riding events
- Speaking at national events
- In a private conversation with another MP from my party
- In a private conversation with party leadership
- I do not express that my party is better than the others nor do I attack other parties.
- Other (please indicate): \_\_\_\_\_

#### **Section D – Cooperation and Collaboration with MPs from Other Parties**

D1. How frequently do you have **work-related** conversations with MPs from other parties?

- Never
- Sometimes
- Often
- Very often

D2. How frequently do you have **non-work-related** conversations with MPs from other parties?

- Never
- Sometimes
- Often
- Very often

D3. Do you have the phone number of an MP from another party in your BlackBerry or iPhone?

- Yes
- No

D4. How frequently do you go out for a drink or for food with an MP from another party?

- Never
- Sometimes
- Often
- Very often

D5. Check off all venues / opportunities **where you have cooperated or collaborated** with MPs from other parties.

- Private member's business
- Committee
- Committee travel
- Organizing and hosting events
- Receptions
- Debates in the House
- Private discussions in House lobbies
- Work with stakeholders and organizations
- All-party caucuses
- Other (please indicate): \_\_\_\_\_

D6. How many times have you cooperated or collaborated with MPs from other parties since June 6<sup>th</sup> 2011 (the start of the 41<sup>st</sup> Parliament)?

- I have never cooperated or collaborated with other MPs in this Parliament
- Once
- 2-3 times
- 4-5 times
- 6-10 times
- 11-20 times
- 20 or more times

D7. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "The House of Commons would get legislation through more efficiently if MPs from different parties cooperated and collaborated more."

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

D8. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "Cooperating and collaborating with MPs from different parties is difficult but worth my time and effort to advance everyone's interests."

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

D9. To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "It is impossible to cooperate and collaborate with MPs from different parties and stay loyal to the party."

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

D10. Would you say your level of partisanship has increased or decreased since first being elected?

- Increased, because (please complete): \_\_\_\_\_
- Decreased, because (please complete): \_\_\_\_\_
- Has stayed the same, because (please complete): \_\_\_\_\_

D11. Do you have any additional comments on partisanship, loyalty, cooperation and collaboration?

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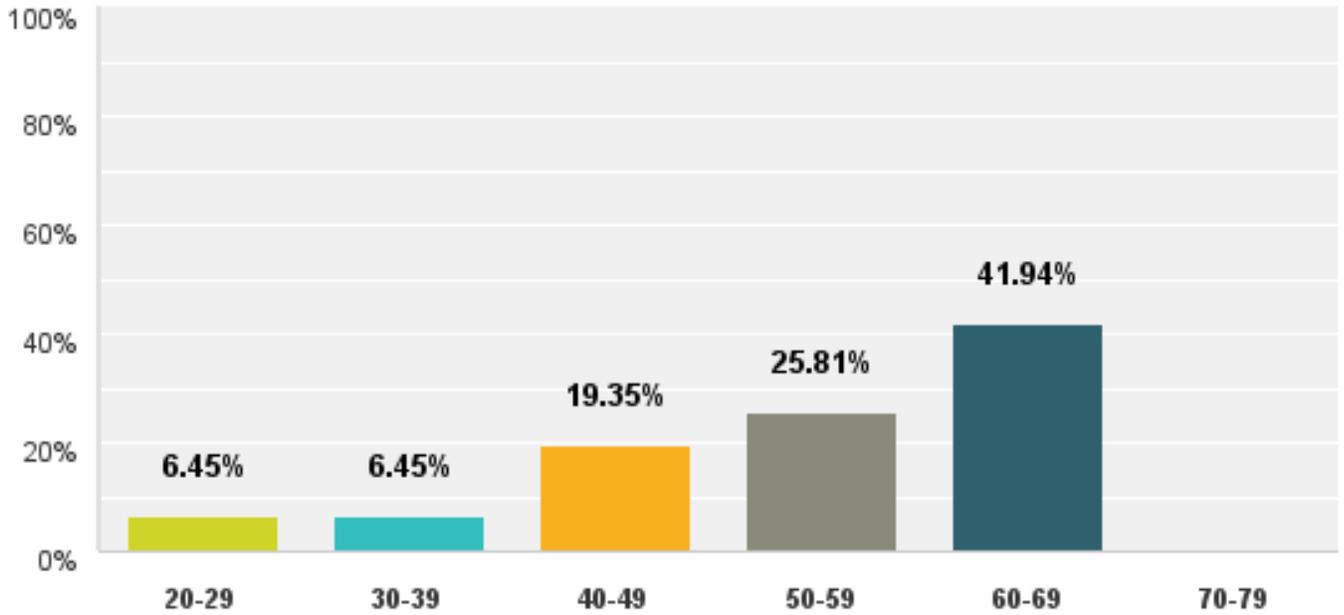
Thank you for completing this survey. Your time and effort are greatly appreciated!  
Your responses will remain **STRICTLY ANONYMOUS AND CONFIDENTIAL**.  
Should you have any questions or comments regarding this research, please contact:

Christine Guyot  
Parliamentary Intern 2013-2014  
[cdf.guyot@gmail.com](mailto:cdf.guyot@gmail.com)  
613-697-0362

Annex A1.1 – Survey Respondents by Age

## Q2 What is your age?

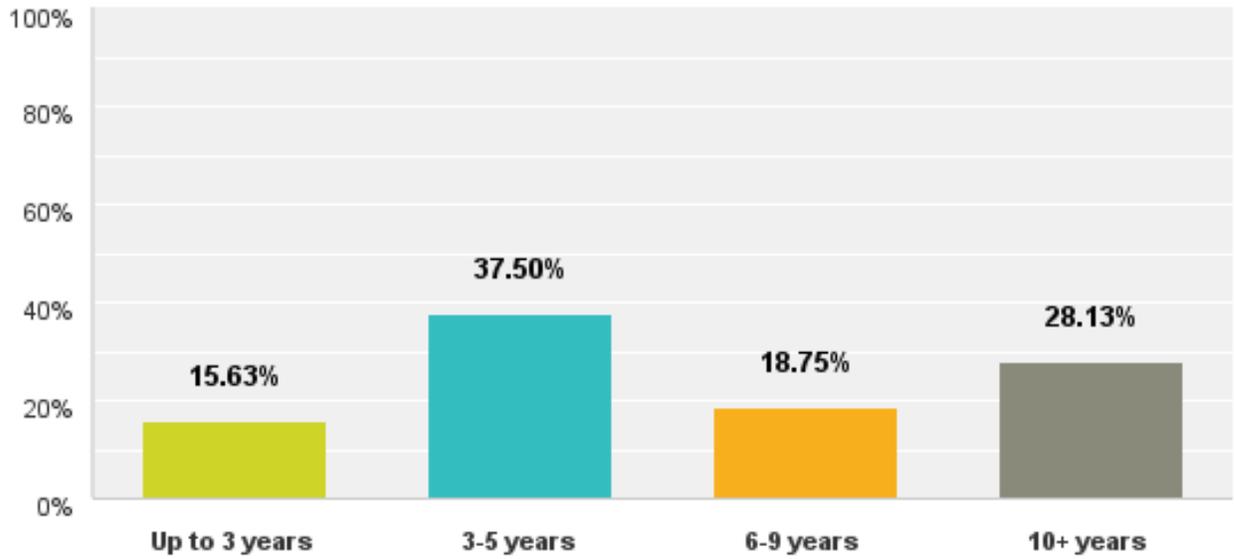
Answered: 31 Skipped: 1



Annex A1.2 – Survey Respondents By Years Of Experience As An MP

### Q1 How long have you been a Member of Parliament?

Answered: 32 Skipped: 0

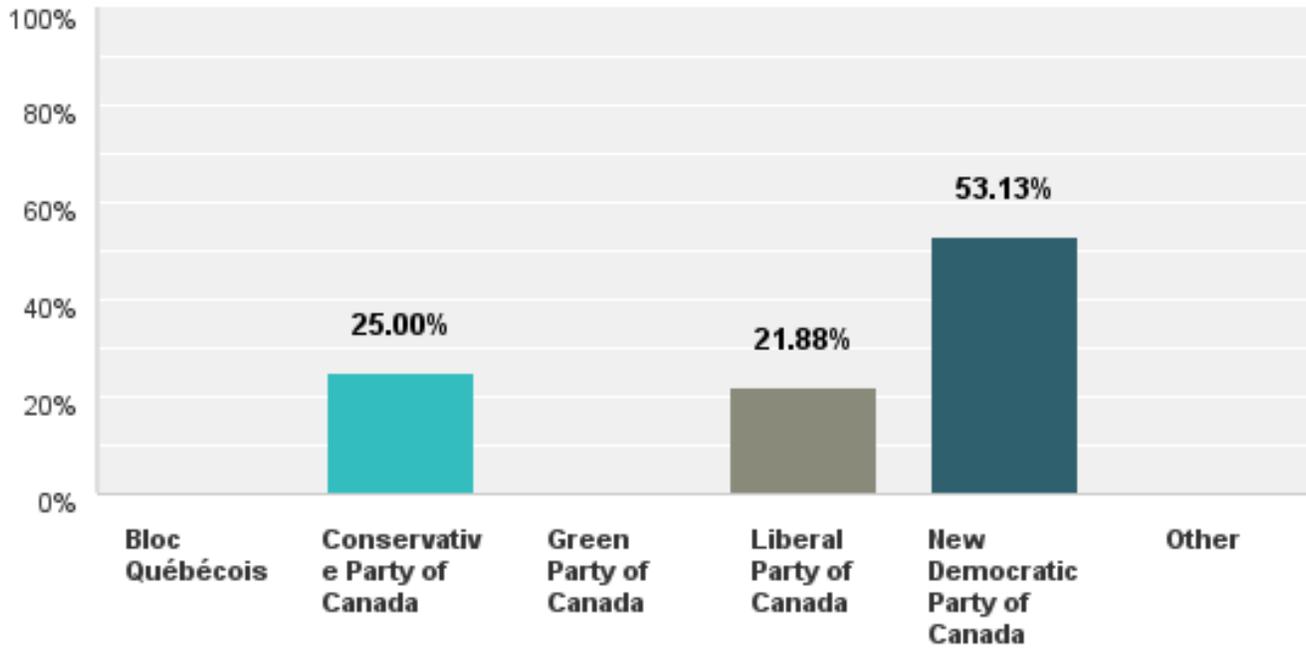


Other:

Annex A1.3 - Survey Respondents By Political Party

## Q4 Which political party do you represent?

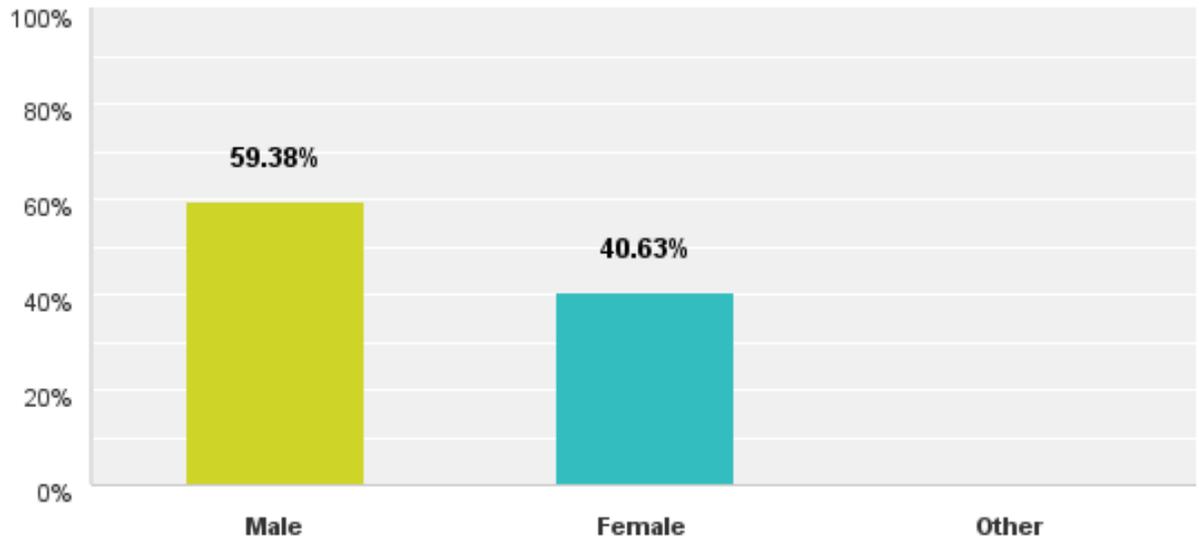
Answered: 32 Skipped: 0



Annex A1.4 - Survey Respondents By Gender

### Q3 What is your gender?

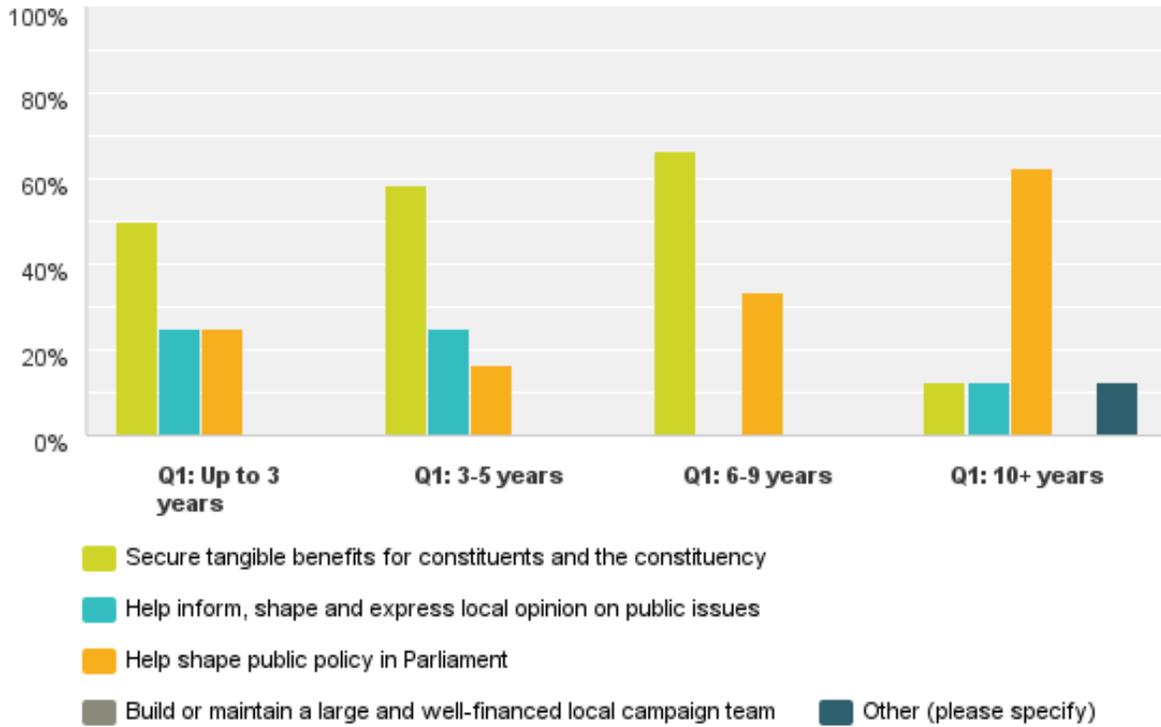
Answered: 32 Skipped: 0



Annex B1 – For MPs with 10 or more years of experience, helping to shape public policy in Parliament is their most important goal

### Q8 From the following choices, which is your most important goal as an MP?

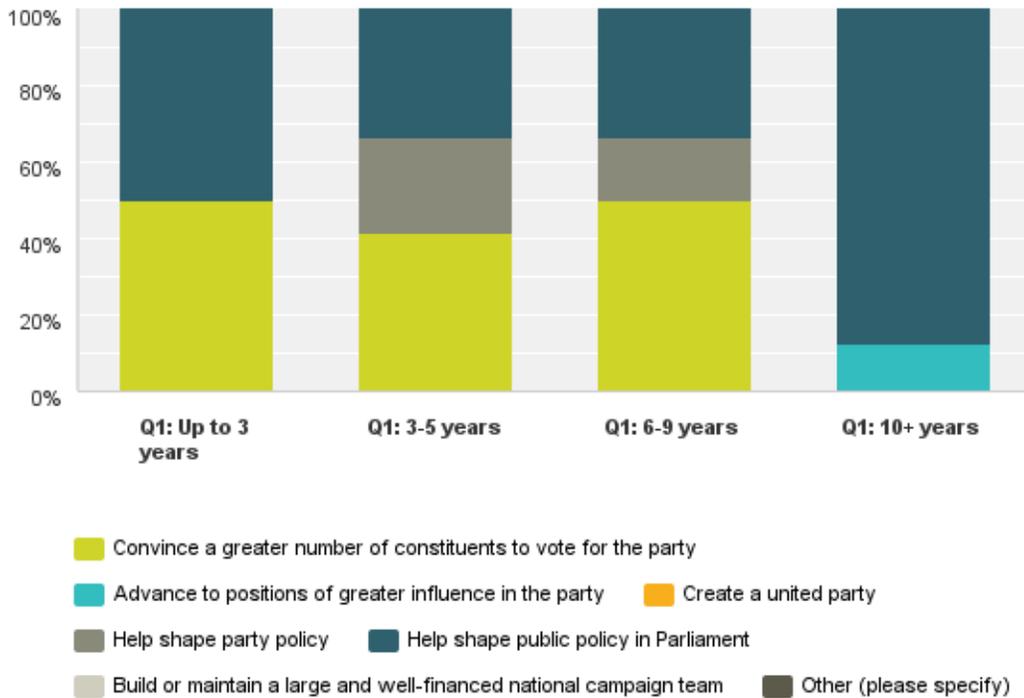
Answered: 30 Skipped: 2



Annex B2 - As party representatives, MPs with less experience (0-9 years) have a most important goal of convincing a greater number of constituents to vote for the party while more experienced MPs (10 years and more) have a most important goal of helping shape public policy in Parliament. This goal remains the same in their capacity of MP.

### Q9 From the following choices, which is your most important goal as a party representative?

Answered: 30 Skipped: 2

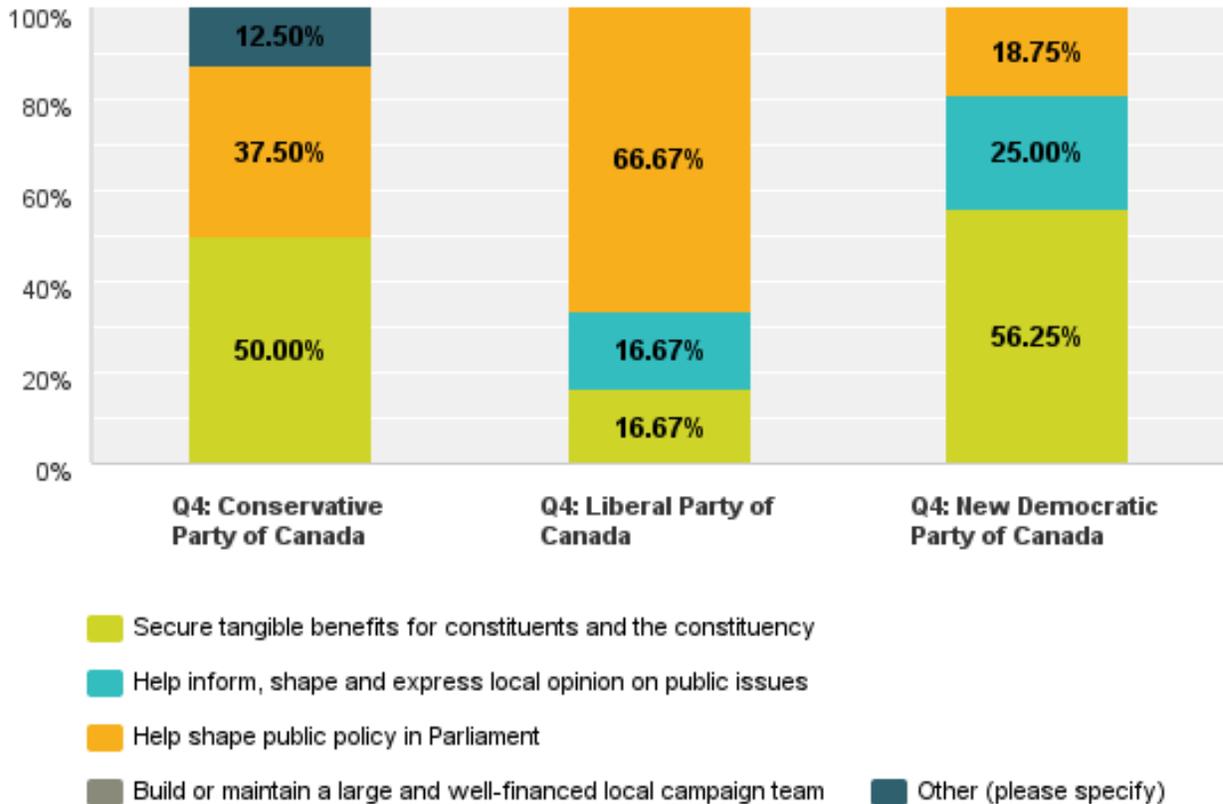


	Convince a greater number of constituents to vote for the party	Advance to positions of greater influence in the party	Create a united party	Help shape party policy	Help shape public policy in Parliament	Build or maintain a large and well-financed national campaign team	Other (please specify)	Total
Q1: Up to 3 years	50.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	50.00% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	4
Q1: 3-5 years	41.67% 5	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	25.00% 3	33.33% 4	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	12
Q1: 6-9 years	50.00% 3	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	16.67% 1	33.33% 2	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	6
Q1: 10+ years	0.00% 0	12.50% 1	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	87.50% 7	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	8
Total Respondents	10	1	0	4	15	0	0	30

Annex B3 - For Liberal MPs, helping to shape public policy in Parliament is their most important goal as an MP, for NDP and Conservative MPs, securing tangible benefits for constituents and the constituency is their most important goal as an MP

## Q8 From the following choices, which is your most important goal as an MP?

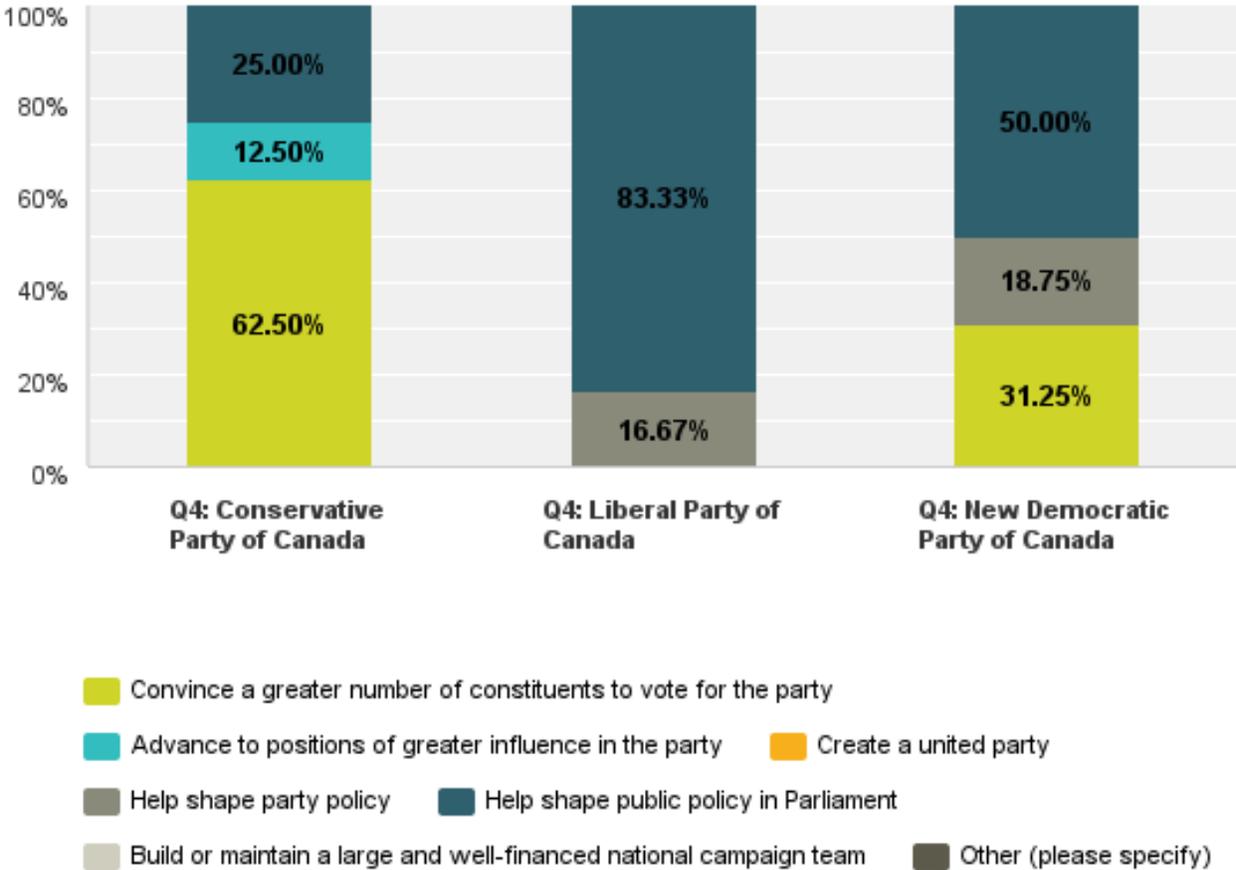
Answered: 30 Skipped: 2



Annex B4 – For most Conservative MPs, convincing a greater number of constituents to vote for the party is their most important goal as a party representative whereas NDP and Liberal MPs, mostly focus on helping to shape public policy in Parliament

### Q9 From the following choices, which is your most important goal as a party representative?

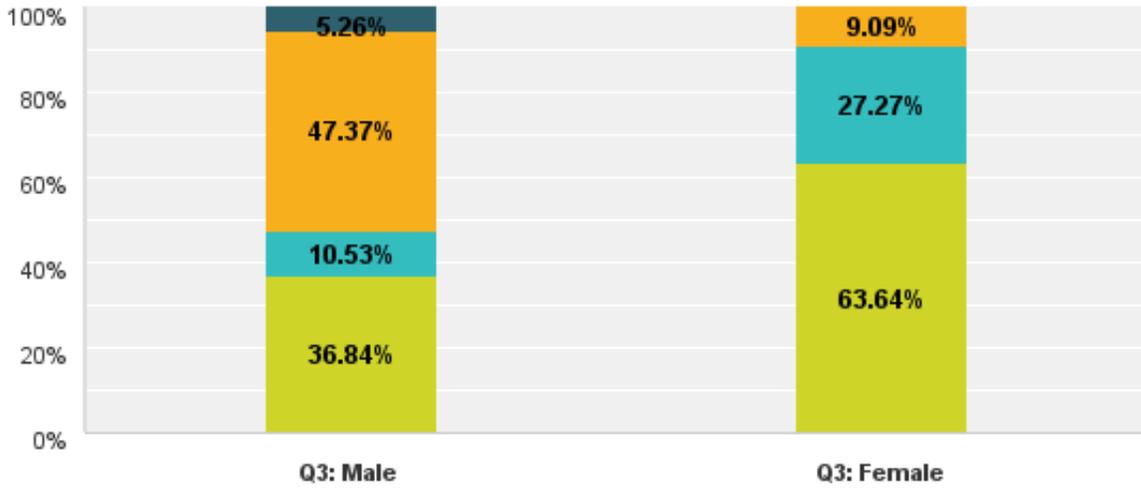
Answered: 30 Skipped: 2



Annex B5 - Women are more focused on securing tangible benefits for their constituency while men are more focused on helping to shape public policy in Parliament

### Q8 From the following choices, which is your most important goal as an MP?

Answered: 30 Skipped: 2

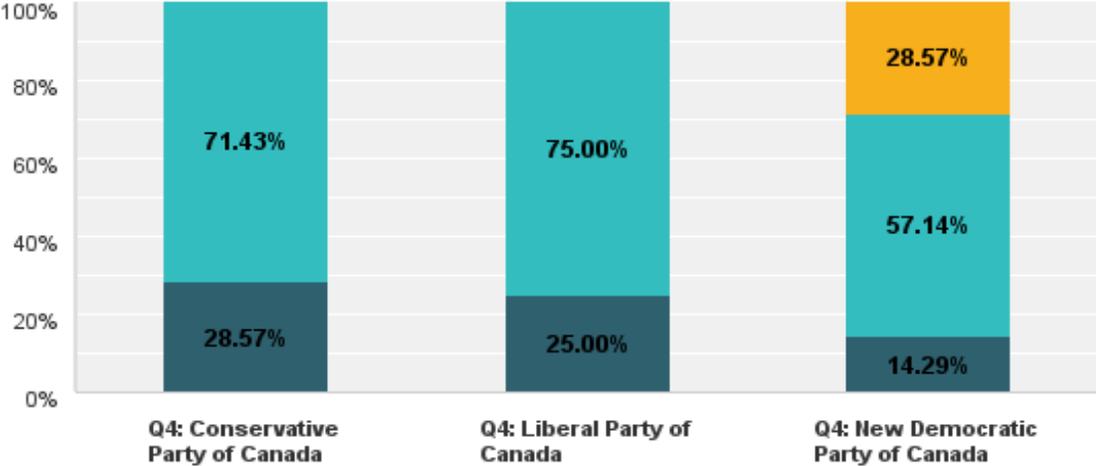


- Secure tangible benefits for constituents and the constituency
- Help inform, shape and express local opinion on public issues
- Help shape public policy in Parliament
- Build or maintain a large and well-financed local campaign team
- Other (please specify)

Annex C1 - Rewards for toeing the party line and consequences for not toeing the party line

### Q13 In your party, is there an explicit or implicit reward for “toeing the party line”?

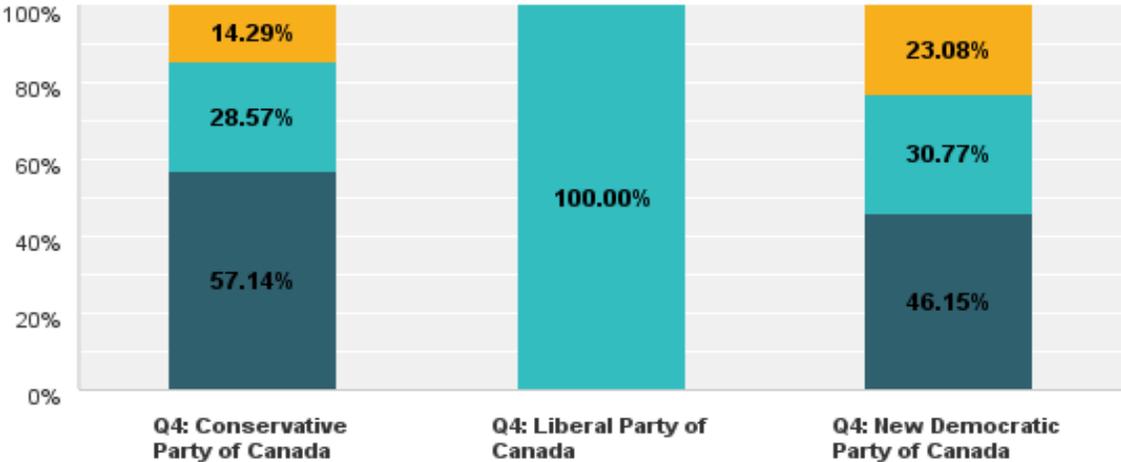
Answered: 25 Skipped: 7



- There is an explicit reward for "toeing the party line".
- There is an implicit reward for "toeing the party line".

### Q14 In your party, is there an explicit or implicit consequence for not “toeing the party line”?

Answered: 24 Skipped: 8

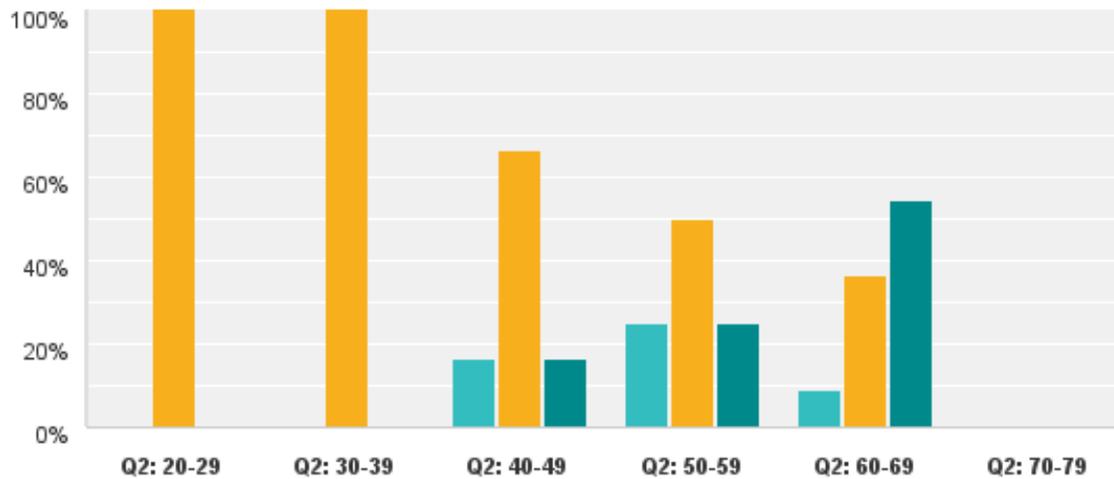


- There is an explicit consequence for not "toeing the party line".
- There is an implicit consequence for not "toeing the party line".
- NO, there is no consequence for not "toeing the party line".

Annex C2– Negative consequences for not toeing the party line and the positive rewards for toeing the party line have less and less effect on older MPs

### Q15 Given these rewards or consequences, do you feel a desire or a need to “toe the party line”?

Answered: 24 Skipped: 7



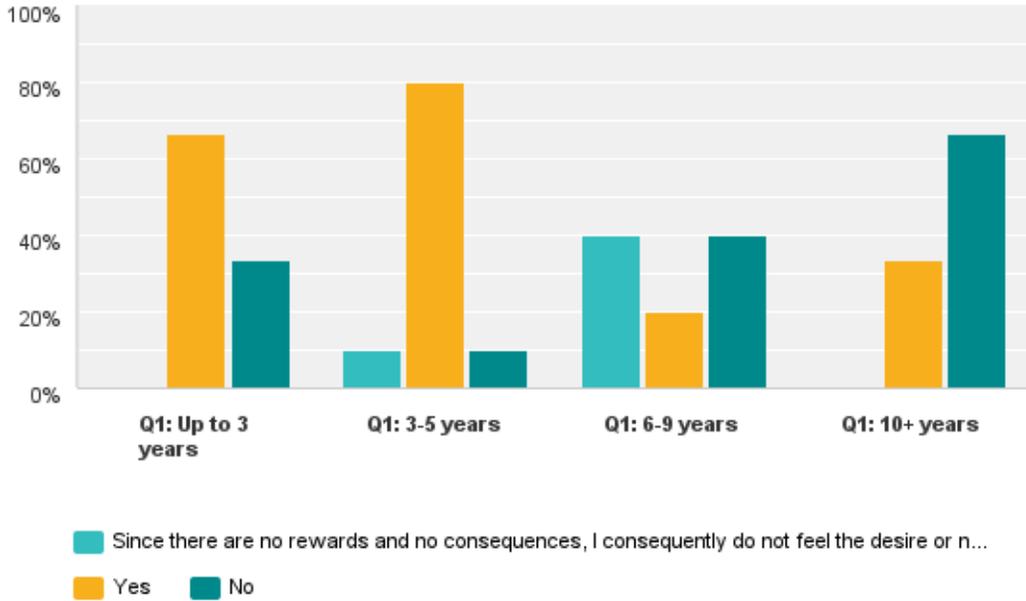
■ Since there are no rewards and no consequences, I consequently do not feel the desire or n...  
■ Yes ■ No

	Since there are no rewards and no consequences, I consequently do not feel the desire or need to toe the party line.	Yes	No	Total
Q2: 20-29	0.00% 0	100.00% 1	0.00% 0	1
Q2: 30-39	0.00% 0	100.00% 2	0.00% 0	2
Q2: 40-49	16.67% 1	66.67% 4	16.67% 1	6
Q2: 50-59	25.00% 1	50.00% 2	25.00% 1	4
Q2: 60-69	9.09% 1	36.36% 4	54.55% 6	11
Q2: 70-79	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0.00% 0	0
Total Respondents	3	13	8	24

Annex C3 – Rewards and consequences for toeing or not toeing the party line does not incite more experienced MPs (6 years or more) to toe the party line as well as it does less experienced MPs

**Q15 Given these rewards or consequences, do you feel a desire or a need to “toe the party line”?**

Answered: 24 Skipped: 8

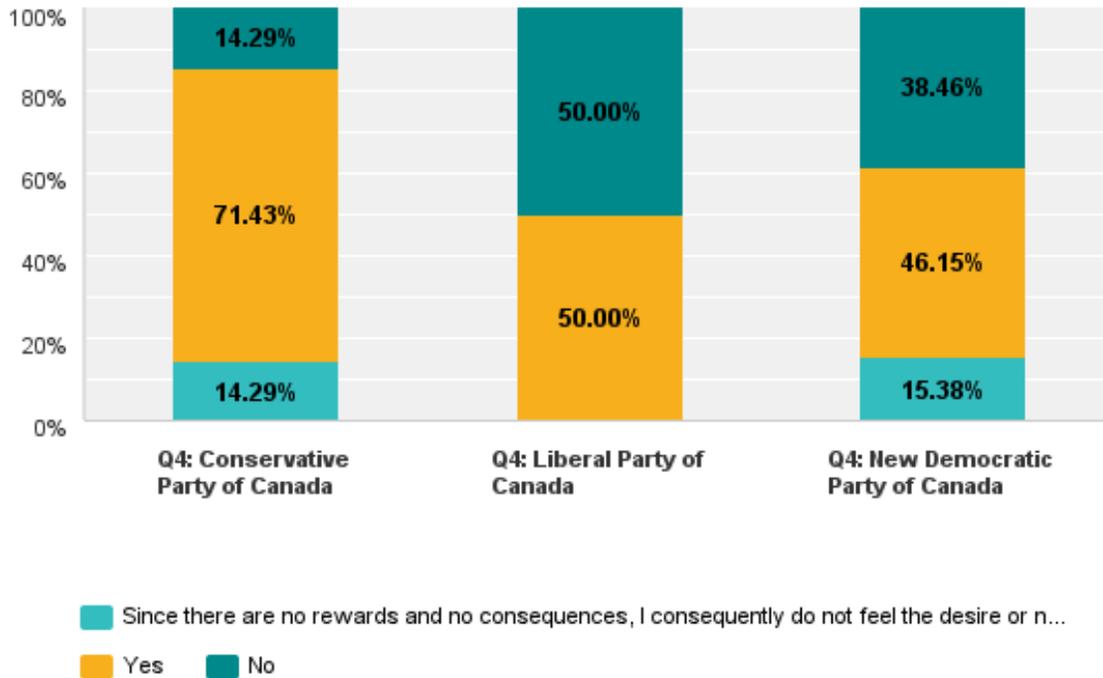


	Since there are no rewards and no consequences, I consequently do not feel the desire or need to toe the party line.	Yes	No	Total
Q1: Up to 3 years	0.00% 0	66.67% 2	33.33% 1	3
Q1: 3-5 years	10.00% 1	80.00% 8	10.00% 1	10
Q1: 6-9 years	40.00% 2	20.00% 1	40.00% 2	5
Q1: 10+ years	0.00% 0	33.33% 2	66.67% 4	6
Total Respondents	3	13	8	24

Annex C4 – Rewards and consequences for toeing or not toeing the party line have a bigger impact on Conservative MPs, making them feel the need or desire to toe the party line

### Q15 Given these rewards or consequences, do you feel a desire or a need to “toe the party line”?

Answered: 24 Skipped: 8



Annex C5– Rewards and consequences for toeing or not toeing the party line have a bigger impact on women making them feel the need or desire to toe the party line more than men

### Q15 Given these rewards or consequences, do you feel a desire or a need to “toe the party line”?

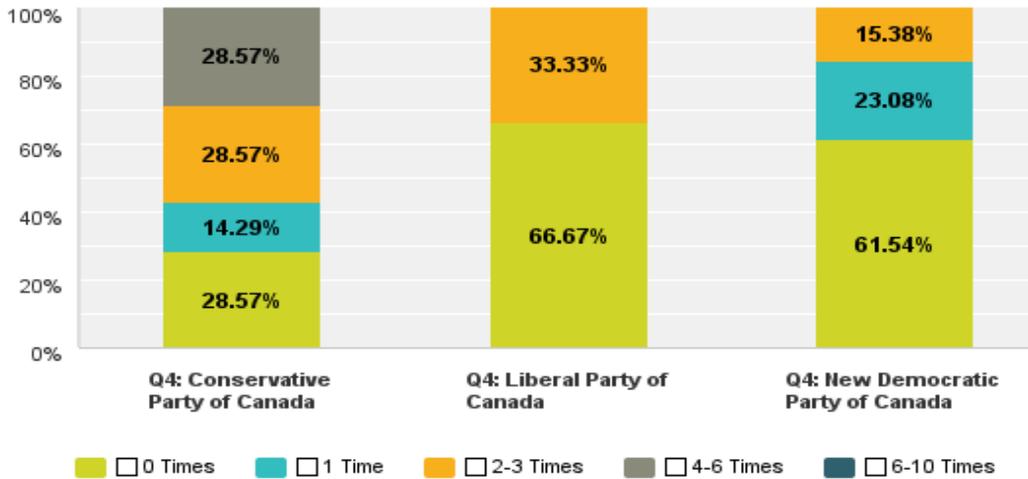
Answered: 24 Skipped: 8



Annex C6– More Conservative MPs vote against their party and they vote out against their party more frequently than MPs of other parties

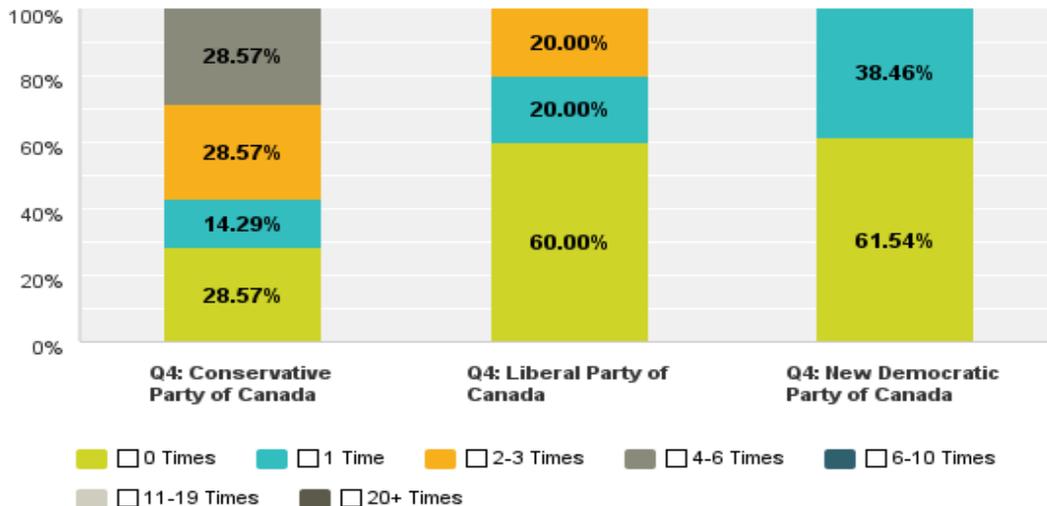
**Q23 How many times since June 6th 2011 (the start of the 41st Parliament) have you voted against your party to represent differing riding interests? (Please approximate if you do not know the exact number.)**

Answered: 26 Skipped: 6



**Q24 How many times since June 6th 2011 (the start of the 41st Parliament) have you voted against your party to represent your differing personal views? (Please approximate if you do not know the exact number.)**

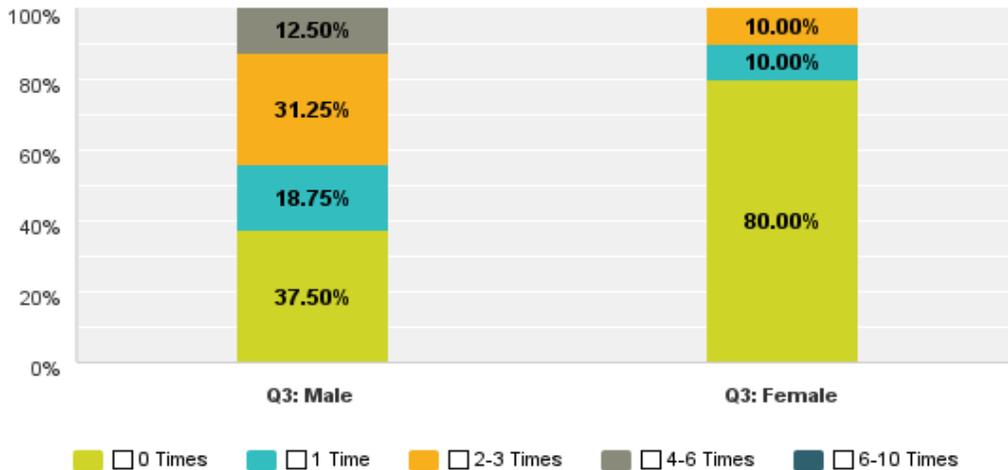
Answered: 25 Skipped: 7



Annex C7– Less women vote against their party than men and those who do, do so less frequently than men

**Q23 How many times since June 6th 2011 (the start of the 41st Parliament) have you voted against your party to represent differing riding interests? (Please approximate if you do not know the exact number.)**

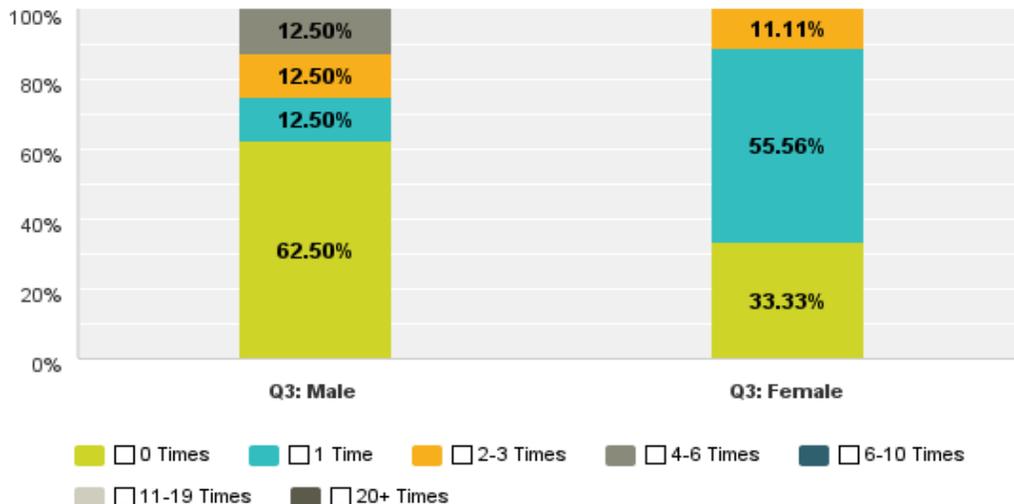
Answered: 26 Skipped: 6



0 Times 1 Time 2-3 Times 4-6 Times 6-10 Times

**Q24 How many times since June 6th 2011 (the start of the 41st Parliament) have you voted against your party to represent your differing personal views? (Please approximate if you do not know the exact number.)**

Answered: 25 Skipped: 7

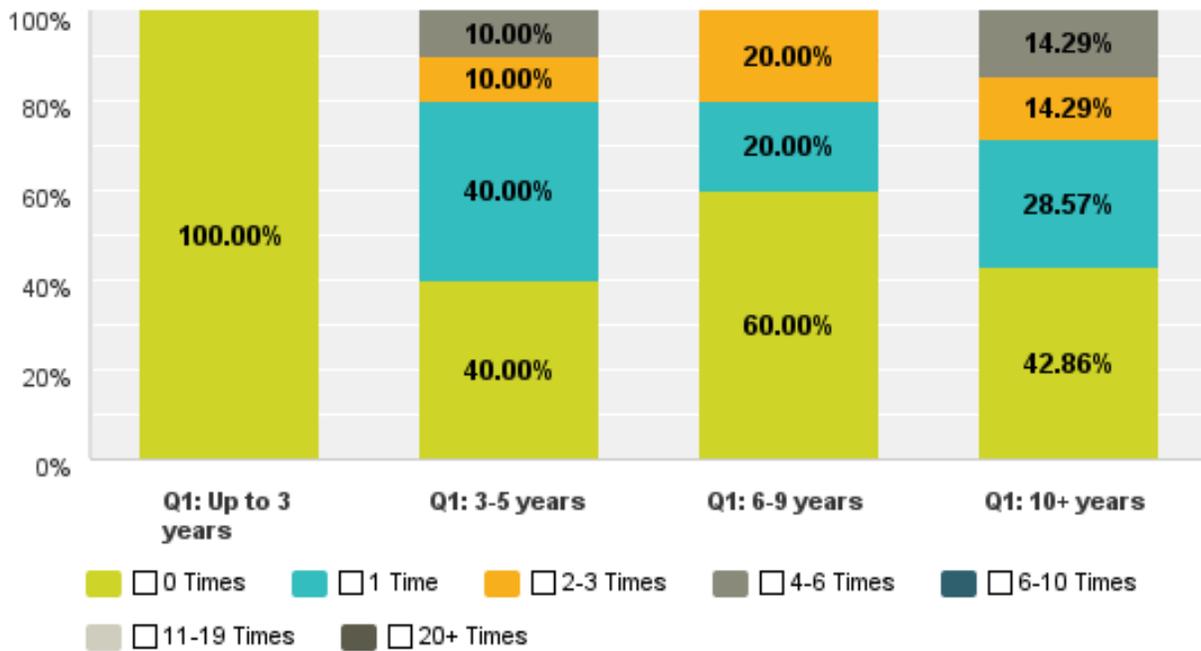


0 Times 1 Time 2-3 Times 4-6 Times 6-10 Times 11-19 Times 20+ Times

Annex C8 – Less experienced MPs show higher party loyalty when voting

**Q24 How many times since June 6th 2011 (the start of the 41st Parliament) have you voted against your party to represent your differing personal views ? (Please approximate if you do not know the exact number.)**

Answered: 25 Skipped: 7

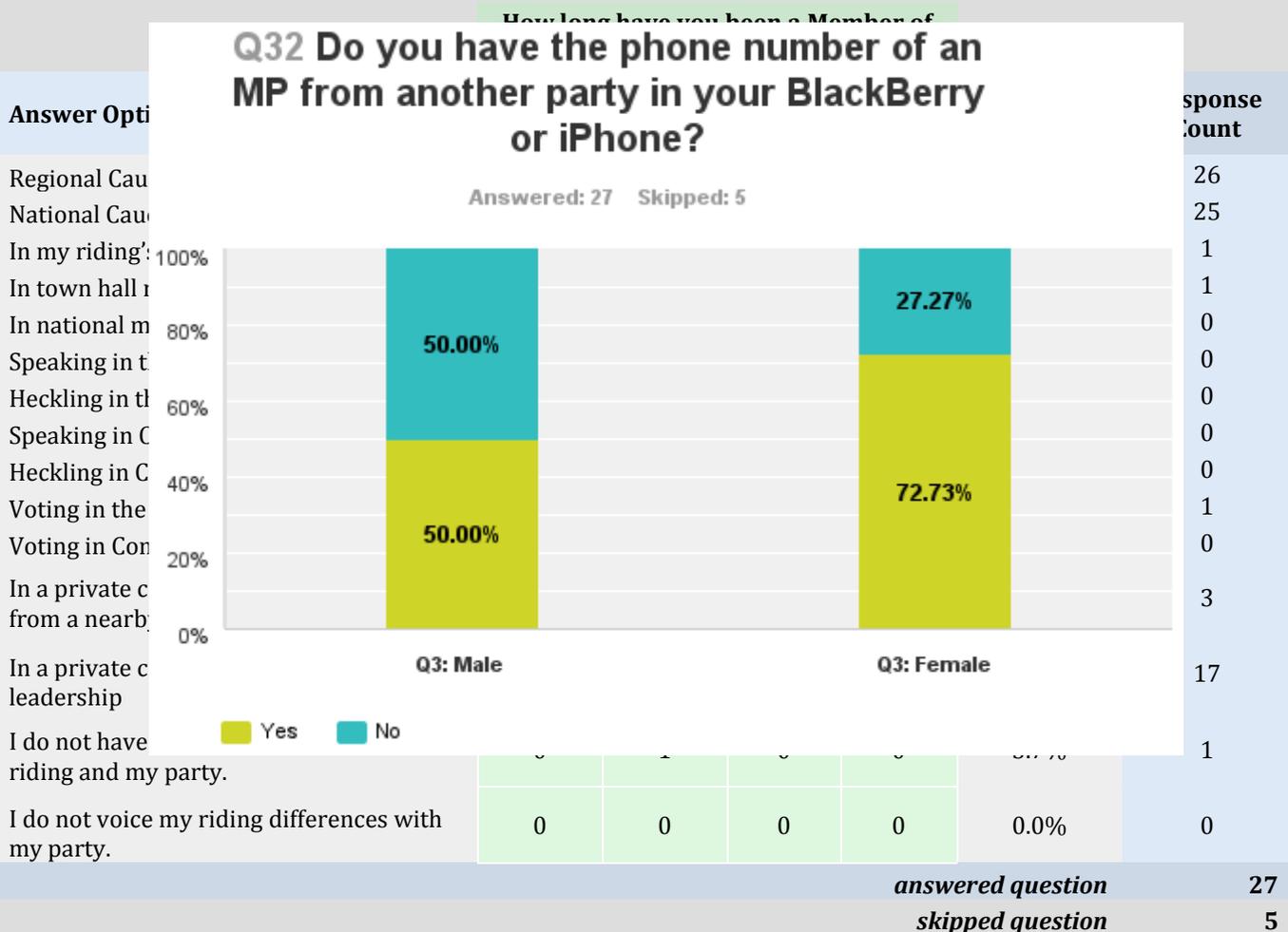


Annex C9– Only MPs 60 years or older suggested public venues to voice differences between their constituency and their party

<b>What is the best opportunity for you to voice differences between your constituency and your party with your party?(Check a maximum of 3 that apply)</b>								
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>20-29</b>	<b>30-39</b>	<b>40-49</b>	<b>50-59</b>	<b>60-69</b>	<b>70-79</b>	<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
Regional Caucus	1	1	6	6	12	0	96.3%	26
National Caucus	1	2	5	5	12	0	92.6%	25
In my riding's media	0	0	0	0	1	0	3.7%	1
In town hall meetings in my riding	0	0	0	0	1	0	3.7%	1
In national media	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0
Speaking in the House of Commons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0
Heckling in the House of Commons	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0
Speaking in Committee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0
Heckling in Committee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0
Voting in the House of Commons	0	0	0	0	1	0	3.7%	1
Voting in Committee	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0
In a private conversation with another MP from a nearby riding in my party	0	1	1	0	1	0	11.1%	3
In a private conversation with party leadership	1	2	4	3	7	0	63.0%	17
I do not have any differences between my riding and my party.	0	0	1	0	0	0	3.7%	1
I do not voice my riding differences with my party.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%	0
							<b>answered question</b>	<b>27</b>
							<b>skipped question</b>	<b>4</b>

Annex C10 - Only MPs with 10 or more years' experience suggested public venues to voice differences between their constituency and their party

What is the best opportunity for you to voice differences between your constituency and your party with your party?(Check a maximum of 3 that apply)



Annex D1- Longer standing MPs are more likely to have the phone number of an MP from another party in their Blackberry or Iphone

### Q32 Do you have the phone number of an MP from another party in your BlackBerry or iPhone?

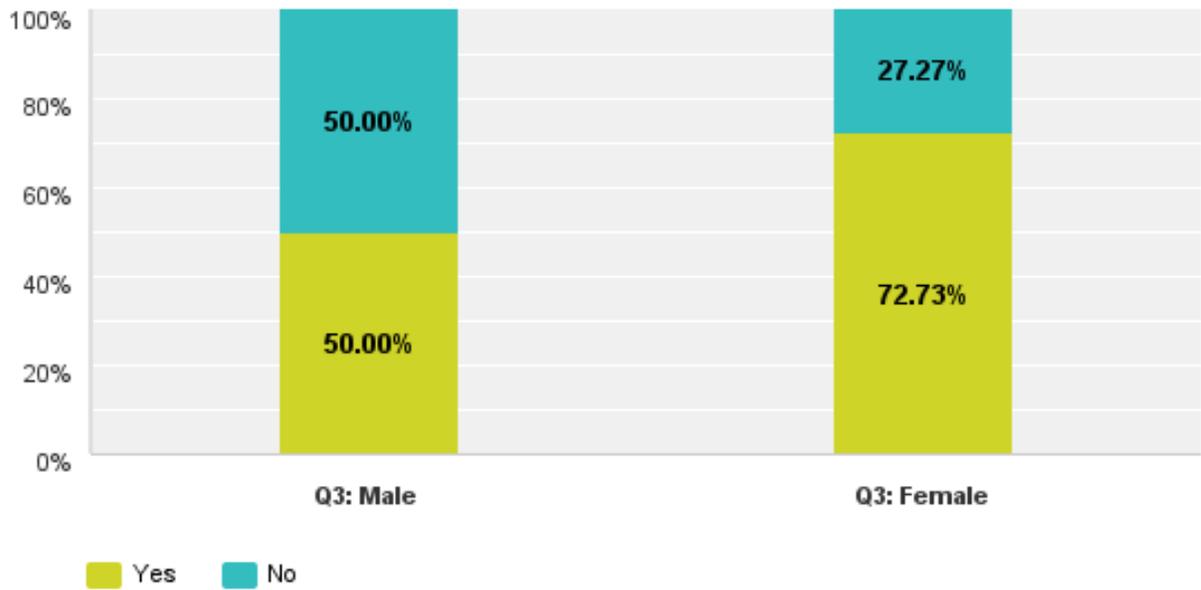
Answered: 27 Skipped: 5



Annex D2 – More women have the phone number of an MP from another party saved in their phone than men

### Q32 Do you have the phone number of an MP from another party in your BlackBerry or iPhone?

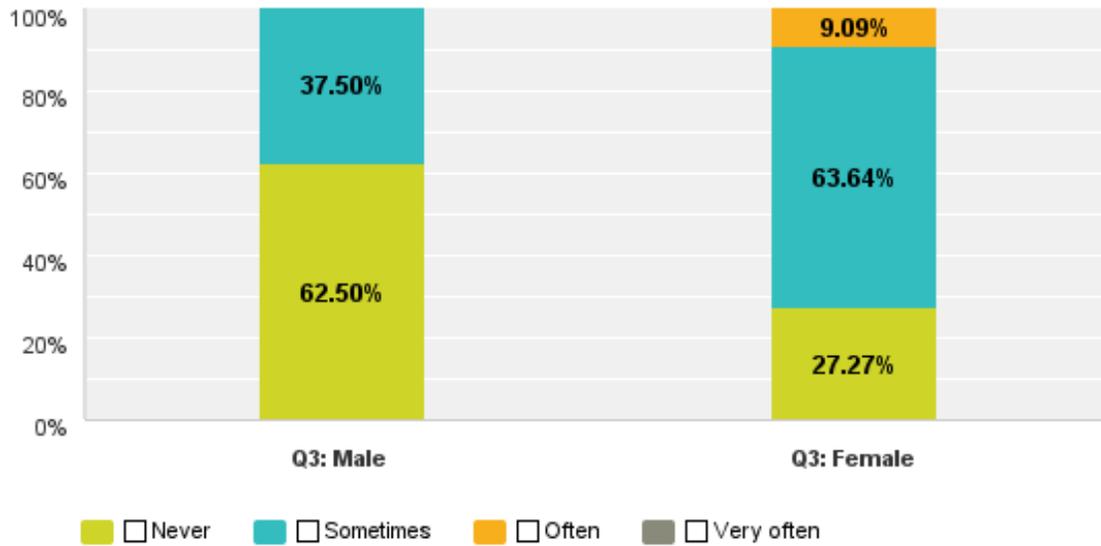
Answered: 27 Skipped: 5



Annex D3 - Women are going out for drink or food with an MP from another party more frequently than men

### Q33 How frequently do you go out for a drink or for food with an MP from another party?

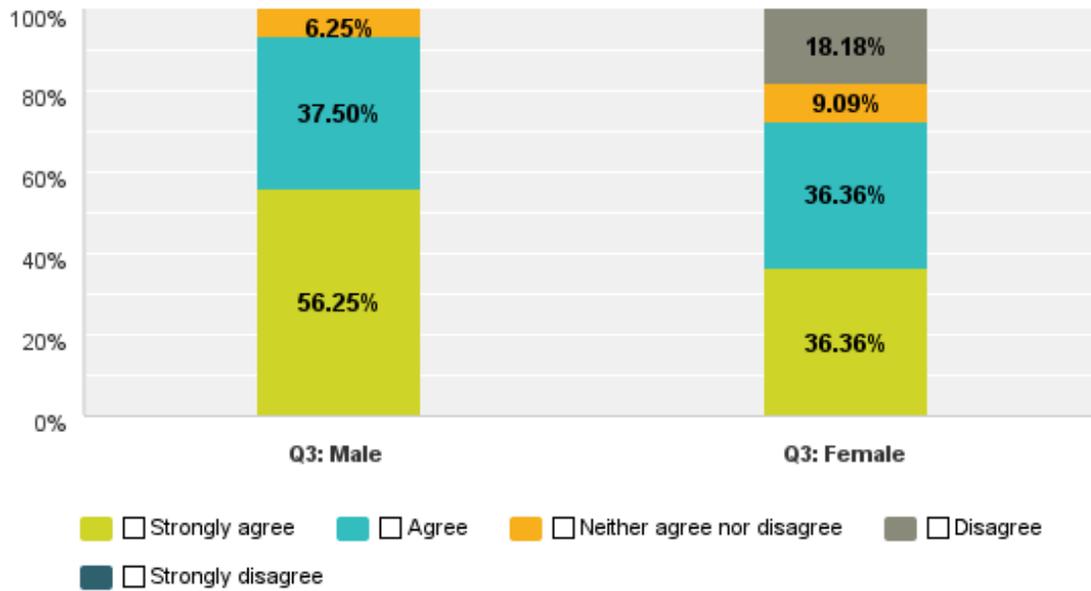
Answered: 27 Skipped: 5



Annex D4- Only women disagreed that the House of Commons would get legislation through more efficiently if MPs cooperated and collaborated more

**Q36 To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "The House of Commons would get legislation through more efficiently if MPs from different parties cooperated and collaborated more."**

Answered: 27 Skipped: 5



Annex D5– MPs with 10 or more years’ experience are more likely than less experienced MPs to report a decrease in their level of partisanship since first being elected

<b>Would you say your level of partisanship has increased or decreased since first being elected?</b>						
<b>Answer Options</b>	<b>How long have you been a Member of Parliament?</b>				<b>Response Percent</b>	<b>Response Count</b>
	<b>Up to 3 years</b>	<b>3-5 years</b>	<b>6-9 years</b>	<b>10+ years</b>		
Increased	1	5	3	3	46.2%	12
Decreased	1	0	0	3	15.4%	4
Has stayed the same	1	6	1	2	38.5%	10
<b><i>answered question</i></b>						<b>26</b>
<b><i>skipped question</i></b>						<b>6</b>

Annex D6- Only men have experienced a decrease in their level of partisanship since first being elected

Q39 Export ▾

**Would you say your level of partisanship has increased or decreased since first being elected?**

Answered: 26 Skipped: 6

	Increased, because (please complete):	Decreased, because (please complete):	Has stayed the same, because (please complete):	Total
Q3: Male	43.75% 7 Responses	25.00% 4 Responses	31.25% 5 Responses	16
Q3: Female	50.00% 5 Responses	0.00% 0 Responses	50.00% 5 Responses	10
Total Respondents	12	4	10	26

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- <sup>1</sup> (McLaughlin, 2013)
  - <sup>2</sup> (Conacher, 2013)
  - <sup>3</sup> (Rathgeber, 2013)
  - <sup>4</sup> (CBC News, 2011)
  - <sup>5</sup> (CTVNews.ca Staff, 2012)
  - <sup>6</sup> (Delacourt, 2013)
  - <sup>7</sup> (Office of MP Michael Chong, 2014)
  - <sup>8</sup> (The Globe and Mail, 2013)
  - <sup>9</sup> (Thompson & Curry, 2013)
  - <sup>10</sup> (Journals Branch of the House of Commons, 2014)
  - <sup>11</sup> (Curry & Thompson, 2013)
  - <sup>12</sup> (Docherty, 1997, pp. 144-145)
  - <sup>13</sup> (Savoie, 1999, p. 359)
  - <sup>14</sup> (Kam, Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics 168)
  - <sup>15</sup> (Sieberer 154; Kam, Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics 29)
  - <sup>16</sup> (Sieberer, 2006, p. 153)
  - <sup>17</sup> (Sieberer 152; Kam, Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics 11)
  - <sup>18</sup> (Wherry, 2014)
  - <sup>19</sup> (Sieberer 156; Kam, Party Discipline and Parliamentary Politics 31; Loat et MacMillan 164)
  - <sup>20</sup> (Kam, Bianco, Sened, & Smyth, 2010, p. 289)
  - <sup>21</sup> (Sieberer, 2006, p. 172)
  - <sup>22</sup> (Curry & Thompson, 2013)
  - <sup>23</sup> (Bastedo, Chu, Hilderman, & Turcotte, 2011, pp. 14, 18)
  - <sup>24</sup> (Blidook, 2013, p. 25)
  - <sup>25</sup> (Blidook, 2013, p. 29)
  - <sup>26</sup> (Grisdale, 2011, p. 40)
  - <sup>27</sup> (Pearson, n.d., p. 8)
  - <sup>28</sup> (Pearson, n.d., p. 20)
  - <sup>29</sup> (Pearson, n.d., p. 24)
  - <sup>30</sup> (Pearson, n.d., pp. 1-2)
  - <sup>31</sup> (Alexander & Andersen, 1993; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993)
  - <sup>32</sup> (Pearson, n.d., p. 1)
  - <sup>33</sup> (Settles, Cortina, Stewart, & Malley, 2007, p. 270)

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- <sup>34</sup> (Settles, Cortina, Stewart, & Malley, 2007, pp. 271-272)
- <sup>35</sup> (Thompson & Curry, Breaking rank: How often do MPs vote against their own party?, 2013)
- <sup>36</sup> (Lawless & Fox, 2005, p. 98)
- <sup>37</sup> (Lawless & Fox, 2005, pp. 45, 86)
- <sup>38</sup> (Wicks & Lang-Dion, 2008, p. 36)
- <sup>39</sup> (Wicks & Lang-Dion, 2008, p. 37)
- <sup>40</sup> (Sears, 2014, p. 12)
- <sup>41</sup> (Thompson & Curry, Breaking rank: How often do MPs vote against their own party?, 2013)
- <sup>42</sup> (Sears, 2014, p. 12)
- <sup>43</sup> (Strategic Direction, 2008, p. 29)
- <sup>44</sup> (House of Commons, 2012)
- <sup>45</sup> (Thompson & Curry, Breaking rank: How often do MPs vote against their own party?, 2013)
- <sup>46</sup> (Docherty 87)
- <sup>47</sup> (Driedger, 2013, pp. 15-16)
- <sup>48</sup> (Loat & MacMillan, 2014, p. 29)
- <sup>49</sup> (Curry & Thompson, 2013)
- <sup>50</sup> (Curry & Thompson, 2013)
- <sup>51</sup> (Indridason, To dissent or not to dissent? Informative dissent and parliamentary governance, 2008, p. 364)
- <sup>52</sup> (Loat & MacMillan, 2014, p. 150)
- <sup>53</sup> (Loat & MacMillan, 2014, p. 150)
- <sup>54</sup> (Alexander & Andersen, 1993; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993)

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