

**Women Pushing Back: Female MPs, Parliamentary Representation, and Women's
Equality Policymaking in the 34th Parliament of Canada**

Erica Rayment
PhD Candidate
Department of Political Science
University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Hall, 100 St. George Street
Toronto, ON M5S 3G3
Email: ericarayment@gmail.com

Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC
June 4, 2019

Working draft – Please do not cite without the author's permission

Feminist political science has theorized the importance of the presence of women in politics for the substantive representation of women's interests (Phillips 1995, Mansbridge 1999). Empirical expectations based on this theoretical proposition suggest that as the share of parliamentary seats held by women increases, so too should the extent to which women's interests are substantively represented in politics through the articulation of women's perspectives in political debates and through policy outputs.

These expectations are only partially confirmed by evidence from studies of women in politics in Canada and elsewhere. On the one hand, comparative studies examining the relationship between the share of seats held by women in legislative bodies and policy decisions and outputs relating to women's equality such as child care or parental leave tend to find that jurisdictions with a higher proportion of women legislators are more likely to adopt policies that promote women's equality (O'Regan 2000, Bratton and Ray 2002, Kittilson 2008). These studies, however, focus on static policy outputs without accounting for how the presence of women in politics translates into policy impact. On the other hand, research from Canada has shown that the substantive representation of women in parliamentary debate has increased over time as women's share of parliamentary seats has grown, but spikes in the number of parliamentary speeches about women occurred during parliaments in which the increase in the number of elected women was modest or nonexistent (Rayment 2018).

This last set of findings suggests that the substantive representation of women in parliamentary debate is driven by factors other than the number of women present in parliament. Taken together, both groups of patterns confirm that the relationship between the presence of women in parliament and the substantive representation of women within those institutions is complex and contingent (Childs and Krook 2006, Mackay 2008, Wängnerud 2009).

If we are to develop a clearer understanding of whether and how the presence of women makes a difference for politics, greater attention must be paid to the processes and mechanisms through which the substantive representation of women occurs. This study therefore focuses on the micro-level processes through which women MPs in the Canadian parliament substantively represent women in parliamentary debate and policymaking, asking three key research questions: What factors contributed to the heightened representation of women in parliamentary debate? Are the issues raised in debate connected to instances of policymaking related to women's equality? Who is involved and what are the processes and mechanisms through which women's equality is defended and promoted in key instances of policymaking?

To address these questions, this study focuses on the 34th Parliament as a single case in which the representation of women in parliamentary debate peaked. In the first part of the analysis, I identify the issues that were addressed in speeches about women in this parliament and examine the content of those speeches. In the second part, I unpack the processes and mechanisms through which the substantive representation of women occurred in a single instance of policymaking related to women's equality that contributed to the spike in the representation of women in parliamentary speech – namely, the government's attempt to recriminalize abortion – focusing on the role of women parliamentarians in these processes. By focusing on a case in which the substantive representation of women is manifested through defense and resistance to policy initiatives that threatened women's equality, this study expands our understanding of how the substantive representation of women occurs.

I find that the spike in the representation of women in parliamentary debate in the 34th Parliament was in part a response to (a) the PC government's attempt to undermine women's equality by recriminalizing abortion and (b) efforts, led predominantly by women MPs across

party lines, to push back against this initiative. I find that while parliamentarians leveraged the tools available to them based on their positional roles within parliament to advocate and defend women's equality, their opportunities for action, influence, and impact were constrained by the structures and norms of the institution. Ultimately, even the efforts of a critical actor occupying a senior cabinet position were overpowered by a more powerful, vocal pro-life contingent in the PC caucus and it was only the eventual cross-party coordination among pro-choice women in the Senate that managed to defeat the government's bill. These results suggest that even strategically positioned advocates may be unable to bring about policy outcomes that preserve women's equality if the broader political conditions under which they operate are inhospitable to those aims.

1. Conceptual Framework

This study conceives of the substantive representation women in terms of what a representative does and the extent to which the actions of the representative "correspond to [...] the wishes, or needs, or interests" of women (Pitkin 1967). The substantive representation of women can be manifested in a variety of ways through a range of activities and outcomes, through "voting, introducing and supporting bills, speaking for women, broadening the political agenda, formulating women's interests, gendering debates and policy content, lobbying the state, feminist policy analysis and feedback" (Celis 2009: 101). In this study I focus on parliamentary debate and policymaking. I conceive of the substantive representation of women in parliamentary speechmaking in relatively neutral, content-agnostic terms as representative claims made about women (Celis 2006, Celis and Childs 2011, Erzeel 2012, Celis et al 2014). In the context of policymaking, I conceive of the substantive representation of women as advocacy in favour of a policy position that promotes women's equality (Wängnerud 2000, Lovenduski and Norris 2003, Childs and Withey 2004, Childs and Withey 2006, Kittilson 2008).

The logic of "the politics of presence suggests that female politicians are best equipped to represent the interests of women" by virtue of women's shared experience and perspective (Wängnerud 2009, 52). Mansbridge (1999) posits that the identity of representatives matters for substantive representation under specific conditions, namely in contexts in which "citizen interests on a given set of issues are relatively uncrystallised" (643). As noted above, however, the relationship between the presence of women in politics and substantive representation of women is nonetheless contingent and probabilistic (Childs and Krook 2006, Mackay 2008, Wängnerud 2009). Women may be more likely to act for women than their male counterparts, but the presence of women in politics does not translate automatically or directly to improved substantive representation of women's interests.

The literature on critical actors offers a useful framework for understanding the connection between the presence of women and the substantive representation of women in policymaking. Rather than conceiving of policy action that promotes women's equality as the result of the presence of a minimum number of women, this framework views the substantive representation of women in policymaking as following from the efforts of a few key representatives. Childs and Krook (2009) define critical actors as "legislators who initiate policy proposals on their own and/or embolden others to take steps to promote policies for women" (138). The defining characteristic of these legislators is their willingness at a relatively low threshold to take action to advance women's issues in policy-making, either through independent efforts or by mobilizing others (Childs and Krook 2009).

The critical actors framework encourages scholars to analyze how the substantive representation of women occurs (Childs and Krook 2006, 2009). This study takes up this call, focusing on the mechanisms through which critical actors substantively represent women, the policy issues they address, the strategies they use, and the impact of their interventions. Because my focus is the substantive representation of women in the Canadian parliament and the role of female MPs in these processes, I situate the critical actor approach within the literature on the parliamentary institutions to facilitate a clearer understanding of the constraints on the action and behavior of MPs as critical actors as well as the opportunities that exist for MPs to influence government decision making.

Recent scholarship on Westminster parliaments takes as its starting point the possibility that parliament and parliamentarians shape the policymaking process. Studies suggest, for example, that government backbenchers have the potential to influence policymaking at the early stages of the policy process. Since governments must secure the votes of backbenchers to ensure that legislation passes, the executive avoids introducing legislation it knows will be rejected by the backbench or an upper house, or makes pre-emptive changes to draft legislation behind the scenes (Russell and Cowley 2016). MPs also use question period and private members' business to influence government policy agendas (Soroka et al 2009, Blidook 2010, 2012).

Typically seen as institutionally weak, legislators in upper houses also have the capacity to block or modify government legislation. Research on the UK finds the House of Lords has exerted a relevant if unpredictable impact on policymaking (Russell and Sciara 2008). My analysis therefore considers: (1) the factors that contribute to whether an MP chooses to act to substantively represent women, (2) the mechanisms legislators leverage to influence government policymaking, and (3) whether and why the interventions of critical actors were successful.

2. Cases, Data and Methods

This study focuses on the substantive representation of women in parliamentary speechmaking and policy action in the 34th Parliament. In an analysis of the proportion of parliamentary speeches about women in every parliament between 1968 and 2015, the 34th and 39th Parliaments were identified as periods during which the share of parliamentary speeches was unusually large (Rayment 2018). As Figure 1 shows, the 34th and 39th Parliaments are clear outliers from the trend line of gradual increase in the share of parliamentary speeches about women.

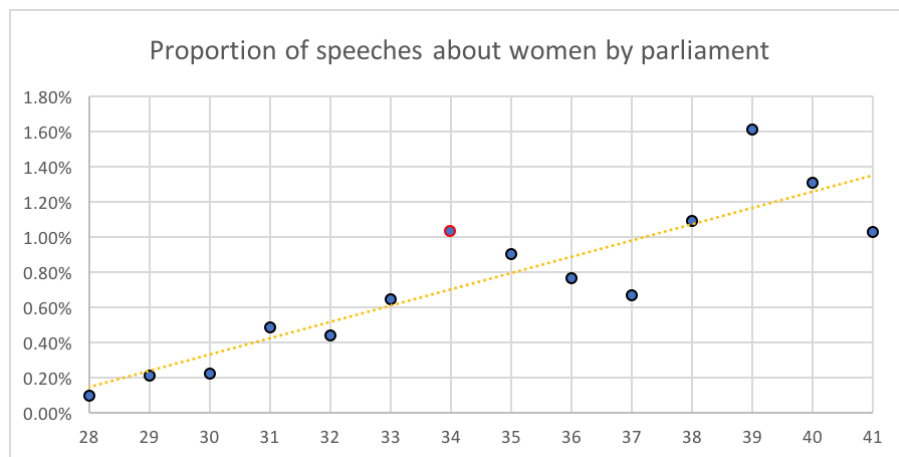


Figure 1. Proportion of speeches about women in every Canadian parliament, 1968-2015

Closer examination of the 34th Parliament as one of the “off-the-line” cases generates new insights into the underlying processes and conditions that lead to heightened attention to women in parliamentary debate (Lieberman 2005). As a single case study, the findings generated through this analysis are not empirically generalizable but nonetheless offer important new conceptual insights that can be assessed and refined in other contexts.

The identification of peaks in the frequency of parliamentary speeches about women is based on an analysis of the content of House of Commons debate between 1968 and 2015 using digitized Hansard transcripts made available through the LiPaD data set (Beelen et al 2017). The LiPaD data set compiles the English-language version of the Hansard parliamentary record as a series of speeches, wherein each speech is an uninterrupted intervention by a single MP covering any aspect of parliamentary debate – from question period, to statements by members, to petitions, to debate on legislation. Each speech in the corpus is linked to the MP who made the speech, the MP’s partisan affiliation and gender, the date on which the speech was made, and two different topic indicators. The ‘maintopic’ tag indicates the element of parliamentary proceedings in which the speech was made – for example, oral questions, routine proceedings, or government orders. The ‘subtopic’ tag indicates the substantive issue or topic addressed in the speech. These categories are generated by editors in the parliamentary Hansard office as topics emerge in debate (House of Commons 2019). Both topic tags in the LiPaD data set are drawn directly from the original Hansard source documents (Beelen et al 2017) and are thus a useful starting point for identifying the context and issue content of parliamentary speeches.

Speeches were determined to be about women if they contained at least one reference to women (mentions of the word “woman” or “women”) for every 330 words in a speech (Rayment 2018). Out of a total corpus of 1.347 million speeches between 1968 and 2015, there were 8,922 speeches about women according to this measure – less than one per cent overall. In the 34th Parliament, 1,108 out of 107,568 speeches (1.03 per cent) were about women.

To identify the factors that contributed to more frequent representation of women in parliamentary debate in the 34th Parliament, I use the Hansard subtopic tags to identify which substantive topics were raised the most frequently in speeches about women. I manually inspect the content of speeches in the five most frequent subtopics and cross reference the issues addressed in these speeches with secondary research on women’s equality policy initiatives. The most frequently addressed topics provide an indication of which issues contributed to heightened attention to women in parliamentary debate and suggest whether the heightened representation of women in parliamentary speech and action on women’s equality policy were linked.

As I confirm through the analysis below, heightened attention to women in parliamentary debate in the 34th Parliament was driven by the PC government’s attempt to recriminalize abortion. To clarify the processes and mechanisms through which women’s equality was defended and promoted in each this instance of policymaking and to understand the role elected women played in the substantive representation of women in these processes, I use thick description to build a clear picture of details of how events in this instance of policymaking unfolded. Drawing on the secondary literature, biographies, media reports, and unsealed cabinet documents, I piece together empirical evidence to determine how the substantive representation of women occurred. Consistent with the critical actors framework that guides the investigation, I focus on identifying the key actors involved in the process of policymaking, the actions they take, and the impact of these actions on eventual policy outputs.

3. Speech topics in the 34th Parliament

Table 1 lists the five topics that were most frequently addressed in speeches about women in the 34th Parliament, according to the Hansard subtopic tags in the LiPaD data set.

Speeches about women in the 34th Parliament by Hansard subtopic		
<i>Subtopic</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Share of speeches about women</i>
Violence Against Women	115	10.4%
Status of Women	82	7.4%
Petitions	67	6.0%
Criminal Code	58	5.2%
Funding for Women's Centres	43	3.9%

Table 1. Count and share of speeches about women in the 34th Parliament by Hansard subtopic

The largest number of speeches about women focused on violence against women. The prominence of this topic is notable, given that it did not appear as a subtopic to which speeches about women were categorized in any parliament prior to 1988. Manual inspection of the content of these speeches revealed that well over half of the 115 speeches about violence against women were directly related to the murder of 14 women engineering students at Montreal's École Polytechnique on 6 December 1989 – that is, they either made explicit reference to the Montreal Massacre, École Polytechnique, or were made on December 6, the anniversary of the tragedy. The Montreal Massacre therefore acted as a focusing event that put the issue of violence against women on the parliamentary agenda in a relatively stable way. In every Parliament after the 34th, violence against women appears as one of the top 10 most frequent subtopics to which speeches about women are categorized.

In the 34th Parliament, more than half of the speeches about violence against women were made during question period. Oral questions are one of the key tools that allow opposition parties to perform the scrutiny function which is central to parliamentary government accountability. Question period has long been characterized by political theatrics. Yet it stands as the element of parliamentary proceedings that garners significant media attention and allows MPs to draw the attention of the government and the wider public to policy issues (Franks 1987, Docherty 2005, Soroka Penner and Blidook 2009). The tendency for speeches about violence against women to be made during question period suggests that MPs who raised the issue did so to put it on the government's agenda or to incite government action. Of the 45 questions that were asked, 43 were posed by opposition NDP and Liberal MPs, and only two came from government backbenchers.

The next largest share of speeches about women was categorized as pertaining to the status of women. Manual inspection of the 82 speeches in this topic revealed attention to a variety of issues about women, from funding for women's centres, to pay and employment equity, to childcare, to violence against women, to statements on International Women's Day. As with speeches about violence against women, the majority of speeches categorized to the status of women subtopic (62 out of 82) were made during question period. Again, the use of question period and the content of the questions themselves suggest these speeches were aimed at influencing policy agendas and holding the government to account for its policy actions, particularly on funding cuts to women's centres.

The 67 speeches categorized to the petitions subtopic focused on violence against women (24 speeches), the removal of GST from sanitary products (14 speeches) and the implementation

of paid leave for pregnant women in hazardous workplaces (10 speeches). Petitions signal the desire of signatories for government to act to remedy a grievance. When MPs present petitions to the House, they make a brief statement about the content of the petition, but the act of presenting the petition on behalf of their constituents does not necessarily imply that the MP agrees with it. Petitions typically have a limited impact on policy outcomes and tell us little about the issue priorities of MPs but offer insight into the issue priorities of reasonably well-organized and engaged citizens (Hough 2012).

The debate around the recriminalization of abortion attracted a significant share of speeches about women. Manual inspection of the 58 speeches categorized as pertaining to the Criminal Code confirmed that the vast majority (45 speeches) were about Bill C-43 – the Progressive Conservative government’s proposed legislation to recriminalize abortion.¹ In addition to the 45 speeches about abortion categorized to the Criminal Code subtopic, seven speeches about women were categorized to a subtopic labelled ‘Bill C-43’ and four speeches categorized to a subtopic labelled ‘abortion’. Speeches categorized to the Criminal Code subtopic were made as part of second and third reading on a government bill. These speeches are therefore distinct insofar as they signal focused and sustained attention to a specific instance of government legislative policymaking on a central women’s equality issue.

Finally, the fifth most frequent subtopic to which speeches about women were categorized was funding for women’s centres. Manual inspection revealed that all 43 speeches about women in this subtopic were made as part of an opposition motion introduced by NDP MP Lynn Hunter, calling for the reinstatement of funding for women’s centres following cuts to operating funding in the two preceding budgets. Opposition motions do not directly influence policymaking, but like question period provide an opportunity for opposition parties to draw attention to an issue and force the government to account for its actions – in this case, the decision of the government to cut operational funding to women’s centres.

The analysis above reveals that speeches about women in the 34th Parliament were driven by external events that focused attention on the issue of violence against women and by attempts by the Mulroney government to roll back previous women’s equality gains, most significantly the recriminalization of abortion through Bill C-43.

4. Women’s equality policymaking and the recriminalization of abortion

Although many diverse issues related to women’s equality were addressed during the 34th Parliament, government policymaking on abortion in the 34th Parliament warrants closer scrutiny. The proposed legislation constituted a clear, focused, and neatly bounded attempt to withdraw an equality gain for women. Moreover, since abortion was categorized as a moral or conscience issue, MPs outside cabinet were allowed a free vote on the legislation (Pal 1991, 270; Tatalovich 1997, 11-13). Instances of free votes such as this offer a unique opportunity to examine the influence of individual legislators under conditions in which the constraints imposed by party discipline are somewhat weakened.

4.1 Overview of Bill C-43

In January 1988, the Supreme Court’s *Morgentaler* decision struck down as unconstitutional the sections of the Criminal Code that restricted access to abortion. Section 251 of the Criminal Code had prohibited abortions “except when performed in an accredited hospital with permission

¹ The remaining speeches occurred as part of the debate on changes to the rape shield law.

of a therapeutic abortion committee” comprised of three doctors, who had to confirm that pregnancy would endanger the life or health of the woman (Saurette and Gordon 2015, 105). After s. 251 was struck down, no legal restrictions governed abortion in Canada, constituting a major gain for women’s movement activists who had identified the removal of abortion from the Criminal Code as a core demand (Bashevkin 1998, 39; Brodie 1992, 66). The Morgentaler decision decriminalized abortion, but the Court signaled that it was parliament’s responsibility to develop a new legal framework (Johnstone 2017, 62-3; Saurette and Gordon 2015, 124). After several attempts to develop a legislative response, a series of high-profile court cases during the summer of 1989 forced the Mulroney government to address the abortion issue (Brodie 1992, 91-6).

On 3 November 1989, Justice Minister Doug Lewis introduced Bill C-43, which would prohibit abortion “unless the abortion is induced by or under the direction of a medical practitioner who is of the opinion that, if the abortion were not induced, the health or life of the female person would be likely to be threatened” (Pal 1991, 302). The bill defined health loosely and “ambiguously as physical, mental and psychological health” (Pal 1991, 302). Anyone found to be performing an abortion outside these conditions would be liable to imprisonment for up to two years (Pal 1991, 302). The bill was intended as a “much-needed compromise” that could satisfy both sides of the issue if they were willing “to accept concessions” (Saurette and Gordon 2015, 133). In practice, it was met with resistance and opposition from all sides. Pro-life campaigners said the bill did not go far enough in restricting abortion access, while pro-choice advocates decried the fact that the bill put abortion back in the Criminal Code except under very specific circumstances (Brodie 1992, 98; Johnstone 2017, 70). The proposed legislation was treated as government policy and cabinet ministers were required to vote with the government to give the bill a reasonable chance of passing.

Bill C-43 passed second reading on 28 November 1989 by a margin of 164 to 114. The entire NDP caucus voted against the bill, consistent with their party’s official pro-choice stance (Pal 1991, 293; Young 2000, 169). The Liberal caucus was divided, with 60 members voting against the bill, including all Liberal women (Brodie 1992, 99). Within the PC ranks, the bill was opposed by 12 PC backbenchers, all of them hardline pro-life men; women in the PC caucus and cabinet unanimously voted in support of the bill (Brodie 1992, 99). Many MPs who voted in favour of the bill at second reading did so to ensure that it made its way to committee, where they hoped it could be changed (Delacourt 1989). But while “the Legislative Committee on Bill C-43 took months to hear witnesses and study submissions,” the bill returned to the House for third reading without amendments (Pal 1991, 295).

Despite the combined opposition to the bill by those on both the pro-choice and pro-life sides of the issue, and last minute organizing efforts by pro-choice activists, the bill passed third reading by “a surprisingly small majority – 140 for and 131 against” (Brodie 1992, 110). The vote on May 29 split almost perfectly along party lines, with only PC MPs and two Liberals (both men) voting in support. The remaining Liberal MPs, all NDP MPs, and 13 PC MPs (mainly pro-life men) voted against the bill (Vienneau 1990a). None of the women in the PC caucus broke ranks with the party.

Bill C-43 made its way to the Senate for consideration in late October 1990. The Senate was deeply divided on the issue, and Senators were permitted a free vote on the bill (Brodie 1992, 114). In an unprecedented tie-vote on 31 January 1991, the Senate defeated Bill C-43. Under s. 36 of the Constitution Act, “if a vote is tied in the Senate, the motion is defeated” and the Speaker is not permitted to cast a vote to break a tie (Senate of Canada 2016). Following the

defeat of the government's bill, there were no provisions in the Criminal Code pertaining to abortion, meaning that abortion remained legal in Canada as it had been since the Morgentaler decision in 1988, and is treated as a health care issue under the jurisdiction of the provinces.

4.2 Critical actors against the recriminalization of abortion

At several crucial stages, women parliamentarians played a central role in opposing and ultimately blocking the passage of Bill C-43. As I show below, these women attempted to influence legislative outcomes on abortion using the tools available to them based on their positional roles within the institution, including behind the scenes in cabinet discussions around legislative development. Ultimately, the actions and efforts of women MPs and cabinet ministers were unable to defeat the government's legislation and it was the votes of PC women Senators in coordination with other Senate women that blocked the legislation that would have recriminalized abortion.

4.2.1 Legislative development

Prior to the introduction of Bill C-43 in the House of Commons, cabinet discussions informed the development of the government's legislation. Barbara McDougall, the Minister of Employment and Immigration and Minister Responsible for the Status of Women, consistently advocated for a more pro-choice approach to the bill. As the sole female member of the government's powerful priorities and planning committee, which plays a key role in establishing the government's legislative agenda, McDougall sought to convey to her colleagues that the abortion issue "was a decisive one for women" (Cab. Doc. 3-88 CMPP, 1988).

The cabinet considered various models and approaches to their proposed legislative framework. At each stage of deliberation, McDougall advocated a legislative option that would allow as much free choice for women as possible. When a three-stage legislative model was being considered – in which abortions would be allowed as a decision between a woman and her doctor in the early stages of pregnancy, with moderate conditions relating to a woman's health in a second stage, and more stringent conditions after fetal viability – McDougall signalled her displeasure with the proposed policy regime, which in her view constituted a major loss for women since it recriminalized abortion in the later gestational stages. She noted that the proposed legislative solution constituted a significant compromise position for her personally and for pro-choice women in general (Cab. Doc. 17-89 CBPP, 1989).

When an even more restrictive two-stage model was considered, in which abortions would be allowed only if the woman's health required it up to 20 weeks of pregnancy with even more stringent requirements after 20 weeks, McDougall expressed her personal disappointment that this was the government's chosen direction (Cab. Doc. 18-89 CBPP, 1989). She attempted to convince other ministers that the approach should not be adopted by appealing to pragmatic political justifications, including the likelihood that the legislation would attract court challenges and would generate strong opposition among women voters (Cab. Doc. 15-89 CBM, 1989). Her exhortations ultimately went unheeded, as the more restrictive two-stage model was deemed to have a greater likelihood of passing the House.

Notably, Prime Minister Mulroney urged his ministers to give McDougall's views and insights serious consideration (Cab. Doc. 17-89 CBPP, 1989). He cautioned that the composition of the priorities and planning committee, which counted McDougall as its sole female member, "was not representative of the general population" and that this numerical underrepresentation had the potential to skew decision-making on an issue of great importance to women (Cab. Doc.

17-89 CBPP, 1989). Implicit in the Prime Minister's effort to amplify McDougall's voice is a recognition that the presence of women in decision-making processes is important for the substantive representation of women's interests in policy outcomes because they bring distinctive insight and perspective to these discussions. Moreover, it highlights the critical role that sympathetic male allies willing to amplify women's perspectives can play in facilitating the substantive representation of women. Despite Mulroney's efforts to highlight McDougall's views, the pro-life position within the caucus and cabinet – driven predominantly by men – proved more influential.

The approach adopted in the version of the bill that was eventually introduced in the House was a significant departure from all previous options that had been considered (Cab. Doc. 21-89 CBPP, 1989). The final version of C-43 was advocated by pro-life members of the PC caucus who refused to accept any legislation that allowed for any period of time in which abortion could be accessed without restrictions, since this approach violated their central tenet that life begins and warrants protection at the moment of conception. Ultimately, the government's desire to introduce a bill they were certain could be passed with the support of a predominantly pro-life caucus in a free vote in the House overrode all other considerations.

In meetings of the priorities and planning committee, McDougall emphasized that “the women in cabinet would be bitterly disappointed” with the decision to introduce a bill that did not allow women unrestricted access to abortions at any stage of pregnancy (Cab. Doc. 24-89 CBPP, 1989). Despite her own objections and those of her female cabinet colleagues, McDougall conceded that they would vote in support of the legislation to ensure cabinet solidarity (Cab. Doc. 24-89 CBPP, 1989).

Although McDougall acted as a strong substantive representative of women, her actions and advocacy failed to block the introduction of legislation unfavourable to women's equality. As the lone documented advocate for a pro-choice option in cabinet discussions, she had fewer allies among the party membership and federal caucus than did PC pro-lifers. The limitations on choice contained in Bill C-43, however, cannot be linked to a lack of effort on McDougall's part.

4.2.2 House of Commons debate

Once Bill C-43 was introduced in the House, the opportunities for women MPs to influence the legislative outcome were limited. Liberal and NDP women along with several NDP men used question period to decry the legislation's recriminalization of abortion. In their interventions during second and third reading debate, women in the opposition parties as well as several NDP and Liberal men consistently articulated a pro-choice perspective. In the final hours of third reading debate, Dawn Black, who had led the charge against C-43 within the NDP caucus, attempted to use procedural tools to block the bill's passage (Black 1990). Noticing that there were only NDP members present in the chamber, she sought unanimous consent for a motion calling for the bill to be withdrawn, but a Conservative MP “who had been relaxing in the members' lobby and following the debate on television, went racing into the House to shout ‘No’,” which stopped the motion from passing (Canadian Press 1990).

Like women in the opposition parties, many PC women MPs “preferred policy options on the pro-choice end of the spectrum” (Pal 1991, 283) and generally expressed this preference in their statements in legislative debate. Their willingness to vote with the government in support of legislation that would have recriminalized abortion, however, suggests that they were averse to breaking ranks with the government's position. Although she voted in support of the bill, Barbara McDougall's statements in parliamentary debate reflected the position she defended in

cabinet deliberations. During second reading debate, she stated that “In the view of many women including myself the absence of legislation [on abortion] appeared to respect what I believe, that the judgment of women faced with a difficult decision and their capacity to make a better decision than anyone in this chamber on their behalf was respected in that environment” (McDougall 1989). Her opposition to the recriminalization of abortion is clear: “Many women, including myself, wanted legislation outside the Criminal Code. [...] Once again, after lengthy discussion our conclusion was that our powers were limited to the Criminal Code. This is not a happy conclusion for me, not by a long way” (McDougall 1989). The other women in Mulroney’s cabinet, including “Kim Campbell [...], Mary Collins, Monique Landry, and Shirley Martin all indicated their pro-choice position [during debate] but argued that the bill, with all its flaws, was better than no bill at all” (Pal 1991, 294). When she took over as Minister of Justice, Kim Campbell “attempted to convince her pro-choice opponents that the bill was the best possible compromise that could be achieved. Identifying herself as ‘a pro-choice woman of child-bearing years’ she indicated that she was ‘very comfortable with the bill’” (Brodie 1992, 108).

For PC ministers and backbenchers, therefore, the pressures of cabinet solidarity and party discipline trumped any representational imperative to defend and preserve women’s equality, despite their avowed personal preferences for a more pro-choice position on abortion. In light of these pressures, they were willing to support the bill as a compromise position.

4.2.3 Women in the Senate

Ultimately, it was the unprecedented tie vote in the Senate in January 1991 that blocked the passage of Bill C-43. Negative votes by three PC women Senators – Pat Carney, Mira Spivak, and Janis Johnson – were central to the defeat of the bill. Eighty-six out of 110 Senators participated in the final vote on Bill C-43. PC Senators enjoyed a recently-achieved narrow majority over the Liberals in the Senate in early 1991 following the September 1991 decision by Prime Minister Mulroney to use an obscure constitutional provision to appoint eight new PC Senators and thus increase the size of the Senate in order to break the legislative deadlock that had emerged around the government’s contentious legislation creating the Goods and Services Tax (Docherty 2002, 36). Senators Carney and Johnson were among the eight emergency appointments in 1990.

With a numerical advantage in the upper house, the government stood a reasonable chance of securing the bill’s passage through the Senate. The Senate vote was not whipped and Senators were free to vote their conscience, but the Government leader in the Senate, Lowell Murray, worked hard to persuade Conservative Senators to vote in support of the bill, and was assisted by pressure emanating from the Prime Minister’s Office (Vienneau 1991b, Vienneau 1990b, York 1991). Despite efforts by the government to persuade PC Senators to support the bill, seven PC Senators voted against their government. As the final vote tally presented in Table 2 shows, voting otherwise split largely along party lines. All other PC Senators voted in favour of the bill, with support from only two Liberals.

	YEAS	NAYS
Progressive Conservative	40	7
Liberal	2	35
Reform/Independent	1	1
Total	43	43

Table 2. Tally of the final Senate vote on Bill C-43, 31 January 1991

Without the decisions of three PC women Senators to preserve women's access to legal abortions in Canada – indeed, without the votes of any one of the 43 Senators who opposed the legislation – Bill C-43 would have passed into law.

Although the bill was opposed by both pro-choice and pro-life Senators, its defeat was facilitated by cross-party coordination among pro-choice advocates. Senator Joyce Fairbairn, a senior Liberal committed to a pro-choice position, coordinated opposition to the bill by making telephone calls to other pro-choice Senators to secure their votes (Sharpe 1994, 208-9; Hausman 2001, 84). Following the vote, Fairbairn confirmed that “there were ‘many, many connections across the floor’ between opponents of the legislation in both parties” (York 1991).

All three PC women Senators who voted against the bill were firmly pro-choice. As a cabinet minister in the first Mulroney government, Pat Carney was the lone PC MP to join Tories for Choice, a group created to oppose pro-life interests in the party (Bercovici 1988). Senator Janis Johnson was a longstanding women's equality advocate whose work as a policy and communications consultant focused on women's health and equality issues (Johnson 2013a). Johnson directly attributed her decision to oppose Bill C-43 to this prior experience (Johnson 2013b). Senator Mira Spivak articulated a clear pro-choice position in her interventions in debate, and was consistently reported alongside Senator Johnson as one of the key pro-choice Conservative opponents of the bill in the Senate (Flanagan 1998, 135-6; Ferguson 1991; Vienneau 1991a).

Carney's decision to vote against the bill seemed particularly important, since it tipped the count against the bill. Carney had informed the Senate leadership that she would not attend the vote because she was in Vancouver seeking physiotherapy treatment for severe arthritis (Fraser 1991). At the last minute, however, she decided to fly to Ottawa specifically to vote against the legislation without notifying the Senate whip's office that she would be there. Her presence for the vote thus took the government by surprise (Nichols 1991).

4.3 Impact and assessment

Pro-choice PC women in an unelected upper house were ultimately the critical actors who blocked legislation that would have recriminalized abortion in Canada. Their opposition to the party and government that had appointed them prevented the retrenchment of previously won equality gains, and contrasted with the unwillingness of PC women MPs and cabinet ministers to do the same.

Compared with the circumstances facing Senators, PC women MPs and cabinet ministers would have faced greater sanctions had they broken ranks with the government and voted against the legislation. Bill C-43 was introduced as government legislation and all members of the cabinet were thus required to maintain solidarity and vote with the government in support of the bill or be prepared to resign their cabinet position. Although backbench MPs were free to vote with their consciences, the pressure exerted on members of the cabinet to vote in support of the bill likely influenced backbenchers who aspired to join the political executive. For backbenchers, voting against the bill could mean sacrificing any future aspirations to cabinet. The vote in the Senate was less constrained. None of the Tory Senators was required to vote in favour of the bill except for Lowell Murray, the Government Leader in the Senate and a member of cabinet. Without a guaranteed bloc of votes to support the government and fewer chances to sanction opponents of C-43, the Senate became a venue for a freer vote than the Commons.

Moreover, by the time Bill C-43 made its way to the Senate, some of the background political circumstances had changed. In particular, medical doctors across the country had begun to stop providing abortions out of fear of prosecution under the new, soon-to-be passed law (Brodie 1992, 113). Public opinion also appeared to have shifted. A December 1990 poll found that 66 per cent of Canadians “did not favour recriminalizing abortion” (Brodie 1992, 114). These factors appear to have led ministers to see the legislation as problematic, with Justice Minister Campbell publicly committing not to proclaim the bill into law “until the concerns and fears of Canadian doctors have been addressed” (Toronto Star 1991).

Members of the Mulroney cabinet confirmed years later that the bill was not a good piece of legislation, but was the best that could be done given divisions within the PC caucus and the country more broadly (Canadian Press 2013). A growing sense that the proposed legislation was hard to defend may have released some of the pressure on PC Senators to pass the bill. Justice Minister Campbell did not appear to be upset that the bill was defeated (Vienneau 1991b) and her staff telephoned Senator Joyce Fairbairn’s office following the vote to inform them that Campbell “was pleased [the bill] was defeated” (Sharpe 1994, 210). By the time it reached the Senate, Bill C-43 was not a hill upon which the Mulroney government was prepared to die.

Taken together, these background conditions made it somewhat easier for PC women Senators than MPs to represent the interests of women as a group. But the relatively weaker sanctions and party discipline patterns in the Senate do not undermine the significance of the decision by PC women to vote against Bill C-43. In her final speech in the Senate in 2007, Carney recalled being subject to “unrelenting pressure” to support the bill, and “was chilled to the bone when I became the first Conservative senator to stand in my seat to vote ‘no’ to the bill, supported by colleagues such as Senator Fairbairn” (Carney 2007). In her memoir, Carney describes the decision to vote her conscience against Bill C-43 as “one of the most chilling moments of [her] political life” (Carney 2000, 332).

5. Discussion

This analysis has shown that the spike in the number of speeches about women in the 34th Parliament was driven at least in part by the Mulroney government’s attempt to recriminalize abortion through Bill C-43 and by resistance to the government’s proposed legislation – predominantly coming from women MPs in the opposition parties. These female MPs, alongside many NDP and some Liberal men MPs, used their speeches in parliamentary debate on the bill to oppose the government’s retrenchment of a core equality gain and to articulate their preference for a more pro-choice approach to abortion.

Although women MPs overall preferred a more pro-choice approach and defended that position in their parliamentary speeches, their opportunities to convert those preferences into action that successfully influenced policy outcomes varied dramatically based on their position in the House. At each stage of the legislative process and with varying prospects for impact, elected women intervened through the means available to them given their position and role in parliament to push back against the government’s attempt to recriminalize abortion.

Given that the substantive representation of women in this case required opposition and resistance to a government legislative policy initiative that threatened to curtail previously won equality gains, such a stance was unproblematic for women in the opposition parties. For New Democrat Dawn Black, for example, the risk associated with acting for women and defending equality by opposing Bill C-43 was virtually nil. In her speeches during debate on the bill, she

consistently critiqued the government's bill and highlighted the negative impacts it would have on women if passed. She also leveraged the procedural tools of parliament to stymie the bill's progress through the House. As an opposition legislator, she risked no negative consequences for voting against a government bill or trying to block its passage – in fact, such behaviour was expected. Since the NDP had officially adopted a pro-choice stance, Black's active defense of women's access to legal abortions was far from controversial. The risk of opposing the government's legislation to recriminalize abortion was thus low for opposition women, but their ability to influence government policy decision-making as opposition MPs in a majority parliament was virtually non-existent without the support of PC women willing to oppose the official government position in a legislative vote. Black's preference for a pro-choice position therefore translated relatively unproblematically to action – both in House of Commons debate and voting – but the opportunities for action available to her had limited capacity to influence outcomes.

By contrast, as government members, women in the PC caucus and cabinet who were inclined to act for women had greater opportunities to influence government policy in defence of women's equality. For example, as a member of the government's powerful cabinet priorities and planning committee, Barbara McDougall was able and willing to leverage her position to attempt to influence the development of the legislation, pushing for a more pro-choice approach. Because it occurred behind closed doors in cabinet discussions that informed the development of the government's bill, her advocacy on behalf of women stood a reasonable chance of influencing government decision making with relatively limited risk to her political career. Once the cabinet decided to proceed with a legislative option that restricted access to legal abortions, McDougall was willing to oppose the government in her statements on the official parliamentary record, registering her objections to the legislation. But voting against the bill and breaking cabinet solidarity would have come at great personal cost, through the loss of her cabinet position. And without the support of other women in the PC caucus and pro-choice supporters in the other party caucuses, there was no guarantee that such a risk would have paid off and defeated the bill. Given the calculation of risk involved in defying the party whip, she chose not to break ranks with her party and vote against the bill.

It was thus easier for women in opposition parties than the government caucus to take a stand against PC threats to women's equality. Yet opposition MPs had fewer opportunities to influence policy decisions and outcomes than those on the other side of the house. By contrast, it was riskier for women in the government caucus to defend women's equality by voting against the government's legislation. But as relative insiders they had access to more opportunities to influence policy options than their colleagues across the aisle.

Pitted against a large and vocal contingent of predominantly male and predominantly Progressive Conservative pro-life MPs, pro-choice women MPs in the House were unable to block the government's bill to recriminalize abortion. The actions of the three PC Senate women who voted against Bill C-43, however, demonstrated that under some conditions a commitment to the substantive representation of women can prevail over other factors and lead to outcomes that preserve women's equality. Ultimately, Bill C-43 was blocked by cross-party coordination among pro-choice women in the Senate and the willingness of Senators Mira Spivak, Janis Johnson, and Pat Carney to defy the government that had appointed them by voting against the bill. Their decision to oppose C-43 contributed to the unprecedented tie vote that defeated the bill. In this case, the different institutional context and shifts in the political environment appear to have made it easier for unelected senators to vote against their government to defend women's

equality than for elected women in the House of Commons to do the same. Three PC women senators effectively preserved abortion rights in Canada.

Pressure on Tory senators to vote in support of the bill was lower than in the House because the vote in the Senate was not whipped and there were fewer opportunities for the government to sanction those who voted against the bill. The effect of party discipline was therefore weaker. Moreover, increasing public opposition to Bill C-43 and a growing recognition within the government that the legislation was problematic likely contributed to the Senators' assessment that voting against the bill would not come with significant negative consequences. The balance between acting to defend women's equality and acting to uphold partisan loyalties tipped in favour of the substantive representation of women among pro-choice women in the Senate.

These findings offer two important insights into how the substantive representation of women occurs. First, previous research has highlighted the importance of "the presence of women in the right places within the legislature" for ensuring women-friendly policy outcomes (Childs and Withey 2006, 20). Although Barbara McDougall leveraged her position in the Mulroney cabinet to advocate on behalf of women, her efforts on their own were insufficient to stop or even soften the government's attempt to recriminalize abortion. The presence of women "in the right places" is thus important – indeed, McDougall's efforts ensured that the voices and concerns of women were heard as the government's legislation was developed – but it provides no guarantee of achieving policy outcomes that promote and protect women's equality if other factors are lined up against this goal.

Second, the Canadian Senate is often dismissed as an undemocratic institution that falls short on the representation of regions for which it is responsible (Docherty 2002). However, the successful efforts of women Senators to coordinate across party lines to block the passage of the PC government's bill to recriminalize abortion demonstrates that whatever its institutional limitations, the Senate has the potential to play an important role in the substantive representation of women. This potential is especially clear when representation takes the form of defending women's equality in response to government proposals that would seek to undermine previously won gains. Consideration of these defensive cases offers a more comprehensive understanding of how and under what conditions the substantive representation of women occurs.

In the 34th Parliament, women parliamentarians were at the forefront of pushing back against the Mulroney government's attempt to recriminalize abortion. The capacity of women MPs to influence policymaking in defense of women's interests was shaped by a large and complex array of intersecting, sometimes competing factors. Ultimately, while elected women were unable to block the passage of Bill C-43, pro-choice Tory women senators voting against their own government's bill blocked the legislation's passage, preserving women's equality.

Works Cited

- Bashevkin, Sylvia. 1998. *Women on the defensive: Living through conservative times*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Beelen, Kaspar, Timothy Alberdingk Thijm, Christopher Cochrane, Kees Halvemaan, Graeme Hirst, Michael Kimmins, Sander Lijbrink, Maarten Marx, Nona Naderi, Ludovic Rheault, Roman Polyanovsky, and Tanya Whyte. 2017. "Digitization of the Canadian Parliamentary Debates." *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 50 (3): 849–864.
- Bercovici, Vivian. 1988. "Pro-choice Tories seek to influence MPs' votes." *The Globe and Mail* (July 18): A1.
- Black, Dawn. 1989. "Criminal Code." Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. *Edited Hansard*. 34th Parliament, 2nd session, 24 May. Retrieved from LiPaD: The Linked Parliamentary Data Project website: <https://www.lipad.ca/full/permalink/3830469/>
- Blidook, Kelly. 2010. "Exploring the role of 'legislators' in Canada: Do members of parliament influence policy." *The Journal of Legislative Studies* 16(1): 32-56.
- Blidook, Kelly. 2012. *Constituency influence in Parliament: Countering the centre*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Bratton, Kathleen A., and Leonard P. Ray. 2002. "Descriptive representation, policy outcomes and municipal day-care coverage in Norway." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (2): 428–37.
- Brodie, Janine. 1992. "Choice and no choice in the House." In Janine Brodie, Shelley A. M. Gavigan and Jane Jenson, eds. *The politics of abortion*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Cab. Doc. 3-88 CMPP. 1988. 'Abortion.' February 2. Cabinet Documents released under the Access to Information Act. Retrieved from: <http://www3.telus.net/index100/minutes1>.
- Cab. Doc. 15-89 CBM. 1989. 'General Discussion – Abortion.' September 21. Cabinet Documents released under the Access to Information Act. Retrieved from: <http://www3.telus.net/index100/minutes1>.
- Cab. Doc. 17-89 CBPP. 1989. 'Items – Abortion.' September 13 and 14. Cabinet Documents released under the Access to Information Act. Retrieved from: <http://www3.telus.net/index100/minutes1>.
- Cab. Doc. 18-89 CBPP. 1989. 'Abortion – Discussion.' September 19. Cabinet Documents released under the Access to Information Act. Retrieved from: <http://www3.telus.net/index100/minutes1>.
- Cab. Doc. 21-89 CBPP. 1989. 'Items – Abortion.' October 10. Cabinet Documents released under the Access to Information Act. Retrieved from: <http://www3.telus.net/index100/minutes1>.
- Cab. Doc. 24-89 CBPP. 1989. 'Items – Abortion.' October 31. Cabinet Documents released under the Access to Information Act. Retrieved from: <http://www3.telus.net/index100/minutes1>.

- Canadian Press. 1990. "NDP abortion ploy irks Tories, Liberals." *The Globe and Mail* (May 26): A5.
- Canadian Press. 2013. "Mulroney-era documents reveal struggle with abortion laws." *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation* (November 17). <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/mulroney-era-documents-reveal-struggle-with-abortion-laws-1.2430081>
- Carney, Patricia. 2000. *Trade secrets: A memoir*. Toronto: Key Porter.
- Carney, Pat. 2007. "Resignation from the Senate." Canada. Parliament. Senate. *Debates of the Senate (Hansard)*. 39th Parliament, 2nd session, 12 December. Retrieved from: https://sencanada.ca/en/content/sen/chamber/392/debates/023db_2007-12-12-e#3
- Celis, Karen. 2006. "Substantive representation of women: The representation of women's interests and the impact of descriptive representation in the Belgian Parliament (1900-1979)." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 28 (2): 85-114.
- Celis, Karen. 2009. "Substantive representation of women (and improving it): What it is and should be about?" *Comparative European Politics* 7 (1): 95-113.
- Celis, Karen and Sarah Childs. 2011. "The substantive representation of women: What to do with conservative claims?" *Political Studies* 60: 213-225
- Celis, Karen, Sarah Childs, Johanna Kantola, and Mona Lena Krook. 2014. "Constituting women's interests through representative claims." *Politics & Gender* 10 (2014): 149-174.
- Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 2006. "Should feminists give up on critical mass? A contingent yes." *Politics & Gender* 2(4): 522-30.
- Childs, Sarah and Mona Lena Krook. 2009. "Analysing women's substantive representation: From critical mass to critical actors." *Government and Opposition* 44(2): 125-45.
- Childs, Sarah and Julie Withey. 2004. "Women representatives acting for women: Sex and the signing of Early Day Motions in the 1997 British Parliament." *Political Studies* 52: 552-564.
- Childs, Sarah and Julie Withey. 2006. "The substantive representation of women: The case of the reduction of VAT on sanitary products." *Parliamentary Affairs* 59 (1): 10-23.
- Delacourt, Susan. 1989. "MPs back abortion bill, warn obstacles remain." *The Globe and Mail* (November 29): A1.
- Docherty, David. 2005. *Legislatures*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Erzeel, Silvia. 2012. "Women's substantive representation in the Belgian Chamber of Representative: Testing the added value of a claims making approach." *World Political Science Review* 8 (1): 28-47.
- Ferguson, Jonathan. 1991. "Bill's defeat pleases critics." *The Toronto Star* (February 1): A12.
- Flanagan, Tom. 1998. *Game theory and Canadian politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Franks, C. E. S. 1987. *The Parliament of Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Fraser, Graham. 1991. "Carney loses panel post." *The Globe and Mail* (February 4): A1.

- Hausman, Melissa. 2001. "Of rights and power: Canada's federal abortion policy 1969-1991." In Dorothy McBride Stetson, ed. *Abortion politics, women's movements, and the democratic state: A comparative study of state feminism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- House of Commons. 2019. "Debates (Hansard)." *Compendium of Procedure, Parliamentary Publications*.
https://www.ourcommons.ca/About/Compendium/ParliamentaryPublications/c_d_debat_eshansard-e.htm (April 29, 2019).
- Johnson, Janis. 2013a. "About Senator Johnson." <https://janisjohnson.ca/about/> (October 21, 2018).
- Johnson, Janis. 2013b. "Protecting a woman's right to choose." <https://janisjohnson.ca/my-work-over-the-years/protecting-a-womans-right-to-choose/> (October 21, 2018).
- Johnstone, Rachael. 2017. *After Morgentaler: The politics of abortion in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Kittilson, Miki Caul. 2008. "Representing women: The adoption of family leave in comparative perspective." *Journal of Politics* 70 (2): 323-334.
- Lieberman, Evan S. 2005. "Nested analysis as a mixed-method strategy for comparative research." *American Political Science Review*. 99 (3): 435-452.
- Lovenduski, Joni and Pippa Norris. 2003. Westminster women: The politics of presence." *Political Studies* 51: 84-102.
- Mackay, Fiona. 2008. "'Thick' conceptions of substantive representation: Women, gender and political institutions." *Representation* 44 (2): 125-139.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent yes." *Journal of Politics* 6 (3): 628-657.
- McDougall, Barbara Jean. 1989. "Criminal Code." Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. *Edited Hansard*. 34th Parliament, 2nd session, 8 November. Retrieved from LiPaD: The Linked Parliamentary Data Project website:
<https://www.lipad.ca/full/permalink/3801636/>
- Nichols, Marjorie. 1991. "Carney the author of her own misfortune." *The Ottawa Citizen* (February 7): A3.
- O'Regan, Valerie. 2000. *Gender Matters: Female policymakers' influence in industrialized nations*. Westport CT: Praeger.
- Pal, Leslie A. 1991. "How Ottawa dithers: The Conservatives and abortion policy." In Frances Abele, ed. *How Ottawa spends, 1991-91: The politics of fragmentation*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.
- Phillips, Anne. 1995. *The politics of presence*. New York: Clarendon Press.
- Pitkin, Hanna. 1967. *The concept of representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rayment, Erica. 2018. "Women in the House: The substantive representation of women in the House of Commons since 1968." Paper presented at the Canadian Political Science Association conference, University of Regina, June 1.

- Russell, Meg and Philip Cowley. 2016. "The policy power of the Westminster Parliament: The 'parliamentary state' and the empirical evidence." *Governance: An International Journal of Policy, Administration, and Institutions* 29(1): 121-137.
- Russell, Meg and Maria Sciara. 2008. "The policy impact of defeats in the House of Lords." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 10(4): 571-589.
- Saurette, Paul and Kelly Gordon. 2015. *The changing voice of the anti-abortion movement: The rise of 'pro-woman' rhetoric in Canada and the United States*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Senate of Canada. 2016. "Voting." *Senate Procedural Notes, Number 4*.
<https://sencanada.ca/media/106257/procedural-note-4.pdf>
- Sharpe, Sydney. 1994. *The gilded ghetto: Women and political power in Canada*. Toronto: Harper Collins.
- Soroka, Stuart, Erin Penner and Kelly Blidook. 2009. "Constituency influence in Parliament." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42 (3): 563-91.
- Tatalovich, Raymond. 1997. *The politics of abortion in the United States and Canada: A comparative study*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Toronto Star. 1991. "Campbell vows to shield MDs from bill on abortion." *The Toronto Star* (January 17): A11.
- Vienneau, David. 1990a. "Row erupts as MPs pass abortion bill." *The Toronto Star* (May 30): A12.
- Vienneau, David. 1990b. "Senate split puts abortion bill in jeopardy." *The Toronto Star* (November 17): A1.
- Vienneau, David. 1991a. "Abortion bill nears final vote." *The Toronto Star* (January 24): A14.
- Vienneau, David. 1991b. "Abortion bill still in doubt senator says." *The Toronto Star* (January 25): A2.
- Wängnerud, Lena. 2000. "Testing the politics of presence: Women's representation in the Swedish Riksdag." *Scandinavian Political Studies* 23 (1): 67-91.
- Wängnerud, Lena. 2009. "Women in parliaments: Descriptive and substantive representation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 51-69.
- York, Geoffrey. 1991. "Senators kill abortion bill with tied vote." *The Globe and Mail* (February 1): A1.
- Young, Lisa. 2000. *Feminists and party politics*. Vancouver: UBC Press.