Expressing Citizenship Through Electoral Participation: Values and Responsibilities

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The opinions expressed here are her own and do not necessarily reflect the views of Metropolis, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, or the Government of Canada.

The *right* to vote and stand for election is affirmed in the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and there is good reason to facilitate the exercise of this democratic entitlement. Principle among these reasons is that the opportunity to participate meaningfully in the affairs of the state is indicative of the state's health and vitality and, moreover, such opportunities are an important expression and affirmation of citizenship. Indeed, the right to vote and stand for election remains one of the principle demarcations between citizens and non-citizens, further asserting the centrality of electoral participation to any conception of citizenship.

However, a purely rights-based conception of electoral participation is inadequate because, in a real sense, it is the *inclination* of citizens[1] to exercise these rights that largely determines the nature and extent of electoral participation. In short, the value placed on inclusive participation, and citizens' sense of responsibility to achieve it, are perhaps more important than the mere promotion and protection of rights. And while the values-based discourse has been the object of much criticism – based, in part, on applications that have ranged from problematic to offensive – it resonates with Canadians, who if public opinion polling is to be believed, are more strongly attached to their values and the constructed "Canadian way" than to the absolute protection of the rights enshrined in legislation.[2]

Participation as a Responsibility

In its most common conception, electoral participation is taken to include voting, running for office, holding a seat in an elected assembly, and involvement in political parties. To some extent, referenda are another means of participating in electoral activities, while the recall mechanism and online voting may, in the future, emerge as important avenues of electoral participation. Those who participate in this broad slate of activities are conceived as participators and are typically thought to be, among other things, fulfilling some sort of civic duty. As Waldron points out, the concept of civic duty is inextricably tied to responsibility, which entails not threatening the peace and according attention to the wants, needs, and beliefs of fellow inhabitants, a loose framework that the literature on democratic theory appears to support.[3] Robust, responsible participation benefits not only individual participants, but also the state and, sometimes, both. These benefits include political socialization; legitimacy, authority and better policies; integration; and the building and maintenance of social capital.

Political Socialization

Participation in electoral activities teaches citizens about political processes, institutions and the norms of our political system. As an example, Pammett points out that elections "perform an important political socialization function by focussing attention on the political system and thereby providing citizens with opportunities to learn."[4] Political parties are also important agents of political socialization because they articulate issues around which citizens can mobilize and, through the consultations that precede the development of the party platform, offer opportunities to become intimately involved in the formulation of policy. Sayers and Jetha note that for new immigrants, "with little experience in politics, working for a political party at the local riding level provides a relatively quick introduction to the forms of Canadian politics."[5]

Legitimacy, Authority and Better Policies

Elections serve an important legitimization function, as well, because they provide support for the system and the government that results.[6] Further, citizens who have sufficient opportunities to voice preferences and influence outcomes are more likely to abide by decisions if they have had a hand in making them. Finally, the involvement of a wide range of interests in the making of collective decisions improves the quality of those decisions because it allows for the articulation, consideration and negotiation of the interests of those who will be affected.[7]

Integration

For new Canadians, electoral participation is a component of integration and, as Kymlicka notes, "is a symbolic affirmation of citizenship."[8] Moreover, as Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer point out, "By making their voices heard in political debates, immigrants become familiar with the political culture of the country and insert themselves into its political institutions."

They point out that political involvement "permits immigrants to organize themselves, to articulate their interests, and to set their demands on the political agenda . . . and may also have an educational effect for those immigrants who come from less democratic countries."[9]

Social Capital

Electoral participation also promotes the building and maintenance of social capital, which the Policy Research Initiative has defined as the "social networks and shared norms that facilitate collective action."[10] In Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer's view, high rates of participation "promote political community through a shared sense of common responsibilities."[11] On the other hand, as Black points out, declines in participation are typically not uniform but rather, are differentially distributed across particular social groups, including youth, immigrants, and the poor, which effectively results in a marginalization of their interests. As Black notes, "In Canadian politics as elsewhere, voices that are not heard are usually not heeded."[12] This may have deleterious consequences for social capital, which is premised on strong networks, trust and collaboration, relationships that are difficult to forge if interests are misunderstood or ignored.

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Inclusive Participation as a Value

While participation may begin with an individual's decision to become involved, electoral participation is not wholly a personal choice. Rather, it is influenced by institutional barriers, the political opportunity structure, and discrimination. Because much of the research on electoral participation has focussed on identifying exclusionary factors, we now have significant knowledge about the social-structural features that affect an individual's participation in mass politics, particularly voting, as well the factors that affect their "electability." Although most research has, until now, focussed on the effect of single factors, such as gender or race, typically in isolation from other factors, future research should consider the effect that *intersecting* identities may have on electoral participation.

With respect to voting, all Canadians over the age of 18 are eligible to vote, with non-citizens being the notable exception, but voter turn-out in federal and provincial elections typically is not higher than 65 per cent.[13] Voters' personal characteristics – including age, income, education, religiosity, immigrant status and geographic factors – can explain, in part, why some Canadians vote and others do not.

Research indicates that age is a significant predictor and that young people are increasingly less likely to vote than in the past. Moreover, unlike previous generations, they are likely to continue to abstain from voting even as they grow older.[14] In the last federal election, only 22.4 per cent of voters between the ages of 18 and 20 voted; the figure for voters aged 68 and older was 83.3 per cent.[15] Although apathy and cynicism are often cited as the cause of low voter turnout among youth, research suggests that young people are just as politically interested as older Canadians. However, they are also more likely than older Canadians to use political activities apart from voting as their means of engagement and empowerment.[16]

Income and education also affect one's propensity to vote; those with lower levels of income or education are less likely to vote.[17] However, Blais et al. note that even as the educational attainment of Canadians is rising, voter turnout is declining, suggesting that the influence of education, while still important, may be weaker than in the past.[18]

Blais has found that religion is a predictor of voting behaviour, noting that "people who regularly attend religious services are more likely to vote," which is perhaps a result of the connection between religosity and duty, or because "church attendance helps to foster people's sense of attachment to and involvement in their community."[19]

Early research on the political participation of immigrants found that, after the application of controls, there were no significant differences between immigrants – whether British or non-British – and the native-born in terms of voting, campaigning, community activities and contacting politicians.[20] Later research, by Chui et al., found similar rates of participation among immigrants and the native-born, particularly when socio-economic status was controlled, but that there is a small generational effect. That is, children of immigrants participate more frequently than other immigrants and the native-born, possibly because the motivation to engage in political activities is passed on by their parents.[21] More recent research on the correlates of non-voting suggests that newcomers to Canada are less likely to vote than established citizens, perhaps because of citizenship requirements or concern with meeting immediate economic needs rather than participating in politics, although this is unclear.[22]

Geographic factors also have an affect on propensity to vote. For example, higher mobility is correlated with lower voter turn-out, and a longer period of residence in a community correlates with higher voter turn-out;[23] communities with highly mobile populations, including students and seasonal workers, may have low voter turn-out. Geographic concentration – particularly of immigrants and ethnic minorities – is also important and may contribute to the election of individuals from these communities.[24] Indeed, this was the goal of Nova Scotia's Electoral Boundaries Commission when it created, in the redistribution undertaken in the 1990s, four "protected constituencies" designed according to concentrations of minority populations, to "'encourage, but not guarantee' the election of three Acadians and one Black to the legislature."[25]

Not only does participation in the act of voting vary according to personal attributes, but the representation of particular groups in elected bodies is also uneven. Research suggests that women, visible minorities, persons with dis-

abilities, youth, and those from lower socio-economic classes are not elected to governments in proportions that accurately reflect their proportion in the general population.[26] Preliminary results from research conducted by the Political Participation Research Network suggest that immigrants are similarly under-represented in elected bodies.[27]

Achieving strict mirror representation where elected bodies reflect exactly the attributes of the general population, is not, in the short term, a guaranteed means of building representative institutions. As Erickson points out, with respect to women, there is a "fallacy in assuming that increasing the number of women in positions of political power will necessarily produce more public policies and political procedures that favour women."[28] Although achieving numerical parity should not be ignored as a long-term goal, the focus has turned toward increasing the overall participation and representation of marginalized groups and ensuring that structural factors are not the cause of gross under-representation. The focus is on identifying and removing barriers that may prevent or impede effective participation and encouraging the inclusion of a broader range of interests than is currently the case. Although most overt barriers to participation have been removed by, for example, broadening the franchise, many more covert barriers remain. These include differential access to the financial resources and social networks that are needed to win elections, a lack of knowledge or information on how political processes function, an inability to penetrate political parties, a lack of familiarity with political norms and party culture, discrimination, and linguistic and mobility challenges.

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Although rights-based protection for electoral participation – beyond the right to vote and run for office – may guard against some of these impediments, guaranteeing legislative protection for the full slate activities encompassed in a broad conception of electoral participation would be somewhat problematic. First, legislative safeguards would require the categorization of types of participation as electoral or non-electoral to ensure the protection of electoral participation rights and, as the literature on political participation indicates, differentiating between modes of participation is no easy task. Second, while all residents of Canada are eligible to become members of political parties, parties retain significant discretion with regard to membership. For example, they may circumvent traditional candidate nomination procedures,[29] remove elected representatives from party caucus,[30] or set parameters for membership in the party.[31] Parties would likely resist the removal of these discretionary powers.

The rights-based discourse may thus have only limited utility here. A more workable alternative is an appeal to values that stresses, in particular, the value of inclusion. Canadians seem to feel inherently comfortable with a values-based discourse, perhaps because many quintessential Canadian policies – including multiculturalism, universal healthcare, and social welfare – are fundamentally tied to particular values. Indeed, while Canadians permit limits to be placed on particular rights, the mere perception of offence to deeply-held values provokes outcry.[32]

Policy and Research Directions

Unfortunately, while we have some information on the profile of those who participate in electoral activities and are elected to governments, the data are incomplete. With few exceptions,[33] data collection has been limited to the federal and provincial levels, to the exclusion of municipal governments and school boards. We require further information on the composition of Canadian governments on a range of variables that extends beyond the traditional areas of focus – race, gender and ethnicity – to include age, socio-economic status, ability, religion, and sexual orientation. Information on diversity in Canadian political parties would also be useful.

Research in this area, however, reveals that the widespread collection of such data is difficult. Previous research has generally relied on ascription to obtain information about the personal characteristics of elected officials because large surveys are time-consuming and may not garner a response rate that is high enough to yield statistically-significant results.[34] Where surveys have been used, they have typically been supplemented by ascriptive techniques.[35] Although ascriptive techniques are useful for gathering data on some variables, such as gender and race, they are less useful for other variables, including immigrant status, age, educational attainment and, in some cases, ethnicity, making a large-scale survey a more preferable instrument.

However, research conducted by the Political Participation Research Network reveals that response rates for such surveys vary across the different levels of government, with school board trustees being the least likely to respond. In some cases, this may have been because of limited administrative assistance, busy schedules or "polling fatigue." In other cases, and for reasons that are not known, superintendents explicitly instructed their trustees not to participate in the survey, resulting in a 100 per cent non-response rate for some boards. Future work in the area will need to ensure sufficient resources are devoted to informing potential respondents about the nature of the study and its end-use, liaising with the superintendents of school boards, and ensuring that there is adequate follow-up.

In spite of these challenges, the collection of such data is paramount. Information on the composition of governments and the presence, or absence, of diversity within them is the means for exposing marginalization and under-representation. Canadians value diversity and, thus, they need to know if diversity is being included in the bodies that represent their interests. When complete data on the composition of elected bodies is collected and made public, under-representation, should it exist, is difficult to ignore.

Moreover, such data will allow policy-makers to target measures for increasing numerical representation and addressing marginalization.

Policy responses could include an instructional program on the fundamentals of elections and campaigning, or electoral reforms, such as proportional representation, which could increase the electoral representation of traditionally marginalized groups. With respect to voter turnout, a permanent voters list, lowering the voting age, ensuring that accurate election information is available, employing multilingual enumerators, and instituting transportation programs to assist the elderly, the infirm and the disabled to polling stations are all measures that could increase the participation of voters who may not otherwise have the inclination or ability to do so.

Electoral participation may also be improved by focussing on political knowledge and civic literacy. Indeed, this is the thrust of Milner's recent work, which suggests that newspapers, public broadcasting, and targeted civics instruction for older adolescents all have a hand in increasing political knowledge and civic literacy.[36] Youth councils, such as the City of Toronto's Youth Cabinet, which was created in 1998 as an advisory body for city council on youth issues,[37] may encourage youth engagement in electoral processes and policy-making and have the effect of enhancing knowledge and civic literacy.[38]

Given that political parties are one of the principle vehicles for electoral participation and act as agents of political socialization, ensuring that they are open to a broad range of participants is essential. While, in theory, parties should include anyone who is interested in joining, they may, in practice, be inhospitable or act as gatekeepers to participation. This is a prevalent theme in the literature on women in politics, which refers frequently to the so-called "pink-collar ghetto" where women are relegated to clerical and administrative party roles.[39] The research on other marginalized groups in political parties reaches more mixed conclusions. In some cases, parties appear to be open to the participation of minorities, as Sayers and Jetha have found,[40] while in other cases, according to Stasiulis, "there is a legacy of exclusion that is reinforced by the hegemonic bicultural discourse of party politics, by patterns of recruitment through networks, and by party traditions such as the incumbency factor within the electoral process."[41] The New Democratic Party (NDP) has been proactive, instituting a voluntary affirmative action policy that encourages the nomination of "diverse" Canadians in winnable ridings and provides resources to affirmative action candidates, while the Liberal Party, by virtue of its policy stance on a number of issues, is often perceived as simply being more open to ethnic pluralism than other parties.[42] Interestingly, while the Canadian Alliance has been painted as being "anti-immigrant," it recruited, in the 2000 federal election, more minority candidates than the Progressive Conservative party and roughly the same number as the NDP, suggesting that affirmative action policies may not be the only means of opening up parties to diversity. Indeed, research suggests that drawing on ethnic networks at the local level is also effective.[43]

Understanding and strengthening non-electoral participation would also be beneficial. Although the bulk of political participation research, including this article, focuses exclusively on electoral participation, scholars are beginning to recognize the links between electoral and non-electoral participation, and research on multiple ways of participating is emerging.[44] Such an examination and understanding of other avenues of participation is needed because if marginalization from the electoral arena persists, non-electoral forms will remain an important means of influencing decisions and therefore cannot be ignored. Nonetheless, as Kymlicka points out, "many of the barriers that affect women, visible minorities and other disadvantaged groups in the electoral process also affect their access to these alternative mechanisms of representation."[45] As such, linking research on electoral and non-electoral participation may therefore reveal common barriers. At the same time, preliminary research indicates that non-electoral participation may serve as a supplement or a stepping stone to electoral participation, suggesting that we may be able to capitalize on the synergies between the different modes of participation.[46] In addition, participation in community associations has been found to fill an integrative function and to strengthen social capital by building the trust and linkages that are important components of healthy and inclusive participation in electoral activities.

Finally, public service announcements and advertising may encourage the exercise of democratic rights and assist in promoting responsible citizenship and the value of inclusive electoral participation.

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Unless otherwise noted, "citizen" is used here in its informal sense to encompass not only legal citizens, but also non-citizens who are resident in the country.

[2] Polling on social cohesion, which was commissioned by the departments of Citizenship and Immigration and Canadian Heritage in February 2002, revealed that Canadians identify strongly with particular values and are not entirely uncomfortable with limits on some Charter rights. Indeed, the rights enshrined in the Charter are not absolute and are subject to limitation. For example, there are built-in qualifications, such as the denial of the "right to life, liberty and security of the person" (section 7) if such denial is "in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice." The "notwithstanding clause" (section 33) allows federal and provincial governments to pass legislation in contravention of particular sections of the Charter for a five-year renewable period. Finally, the Charter's preamble guarantees the protection of the rights and freedoms outlined but "subject to such reasonable limits prescribed by law as can be demonstrably justified in a free and democratic society," effectively allowing for the override of any Charter right with good reason. See Radha Jhappan, "The Charter and the Courts," Canadian Politics in the 1990s, 4th ed., Glen Whittington and Michael S. Williams, eds. (Toronto: Nelson, 1995) p. 344-345.

[3] Waldron writes, "Like many duties, the duty of civic participation is not just a duty to do X but a duty to do X carefully and responsibly." Jeremy Waldron, "Cultural Identity and Civic Responsibility," Citizenship in Diverse Societies, Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) p. 155. See, also, Robert Dahl, Democracy and its Critics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

[4] Jon H. Pammett, "Elections," Canadian Politics in the 1990s, 4th ed., Glen Whittington and Michael S. Williams, eds. (Toronto: Nelson, 1995) p. 238.

[5] Anthony Sayers and Inayat Jetha, "Ethnic Minority Politicians in Canada," papers presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Toronto, Ontario, May 29-31, 2002, p. 1.

[6] T. Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas Klusmeyer, Citizenship Policies for an Age of Migration (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2002) p. 55; Pammett, p. 238.

[7] See Dahl, for example.

[8] Will Kymlicka, Finding Our Way (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) p. 18.

[9] Alenikoff and Klusmeyer, p. 45.

[10] Policy Research Initiative, "Social Capital as a Public Policy Tool," www.policyresearch.gc.ca.

[11] Aleinikoff and Klusmeyer, p. 55.

[12] Qtd. in Centre for Research and Information on Canada (CRIC), "Voter Participation in Canada: Is Canadian Democracy in Crisis?" Number 3 of The CRIC Papers (October 2001) p. 29.

[13] Richard Johnston, " A Conservative Case for Electoral Reform," Policy Options 22.6 (July-August 2001) p. 13; see also CRIC, "Voter Participation in Canada."

[14] André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, Richard Nadeau and Neil Nevitte, Anatomy of a Liberal Victory: Making Sense of the Vote in the 2000 Canadian Election (Peterborough: Broadview, 2002) p. 46-49.

[15] Jon H. Pammett and Lawrence LeDuc, "Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections: A New Survey of Non-Voters," paper for Elections Canada (March 2003) p. 20.

[16] CRIC, p. 22-23.

[17] See, for example, Pammett and LeDuc, p. 27-28; André Blais, Elisabeth Gidengil, Neil Nevitte and Richard Nadeau, "The Evolving Nature of Non Voting: Evidence from Canada," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, California (August 30-September 2, 2001) p. 1.

[18] Blais et al., "The Evolving Nature of Non Voting," p. 1.

[19] André Blais, To Vote or Not to Vote: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001) p. 52.

[20] Jerome Black, "Immigrant political adaptation in Canada: Some tentative findings," Canadian Journal of Political Science 15.2 (1982): 3-27.

[21] Tina W. L. Chui, James E. Curtis, Ronald Lambert, "Immigrant background and political participation: examining generational patterns," Canadian Journal of Sociology 16.4 (1991): 391.

[22] Pammett and LeDuc, p. 27-28.

[23] Pammett and LeDuc, p. 25-27.

[24] Livianna Tossutti, "Minority Representation in Nomination and Election Contests," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, Toronto, Ontario (May 29-31, 2002).

[25] Courtney argues persuasively that Electoral Boundaries Commissions could be used to enhance minority representation, particularly if the Commissions themselves are designed to reflect the demographic profile of the general population. In the case of Nova Scotia, it is noted that "'the commission could not have ignored minority representation given the presence of Acadian and Black representatives on it.'" John Courtney, Commissioned Ridings: Designing Canada's Electoral Districts (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001) p. 103.

[26] See Erin Tolley, "Political Processes," paper presented at the seminar on Intersections of Diversity, Niagara Falls, Ontario (April 25-26, 2003); Elections Canada, "Participation in the Electoral Process: The Involvement of Women, Youth and Ethnocultural Groups," Electoral Insight 3.1 (2001); Jerome Black, "Representation in the Parliament of Canada: The Case of Ethnoracial Minorities," Citizen Politics: Research and Theory in Canadian Political Behaviour, Brenda O'Neill and Joanna Everitt, eds. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002) p. 355-372; Carolle Simard, "La representation des groupes ethnoculturels dans la région montréalise: vers une participation politique accrue?" Journal of International Migration and Integration, forthcoming.

[27] Political Participation Research Network, "Diversity in Canadian Governments: The Numerical Representation of Women, Immigrants in Minorities in 13 Cities," forthcoming.

[28] Lynda Erickson, "Entry to the Commons: Parties, Recruitment, and the Election of Women in 1993," Women and Political Representation in Canada, Manon Tremblay and Caroline Andrew (eds.) (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1998) p. 219.

[29] This practice has been used by Prime Minister Jean Chretien to appoint "star candidates" in particular ridings.

[30] After she criticized Bloc Quebécois leader Gilles Duceppe, Pierrette Venne was expelled from the BQ caucus and now sits as an Independent in the House of Commons. Even the Canadian Alliance, which is often perceived as the most democratic and transparent of all the federal political parties, has used this discretionary power, refusing to allow dissident Member of Parliament Jim Pankiw back into the Alliance caucus after he left to protest Stockwell Day's leadership.

[31] For example, the Constitution of the federal Liberal Party, section 2.1(b), provides that membership in the party can be denied to those who are members of other political parties.

[32] Witness, for example, the negative public reaction toward the privatization of health care. Even the title of the highly-touted Romanow Report on the Future of Health Care – "Building on Values" – is instructive.

[33] A forthcoming project of the Political Participation Research Network is aimed at compiling data on diversity in governments in a range of Canadian cities. See, also, Carolle Simard, "Les élus des groupes ethniques minoritaires à Montréal : perceptions et représentations politiques, une étude exploratoire," Politique et Sociétés 22.1 (2003) p. 29-54; Myer Siemiatycki and Anver Saloojee, "Ethno-racial Political Representation in Toronto: Problems and Patterns," Journal of International Migration and Integration, forthcoming; Erin Tolley, "'The Higher, the Fewer'? Assessing the Presence of Women at Three Levels of Government," unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario (2000).

[34] See, for example, Alain Pelletier, "Politics and Ethnicity: Representation of Ethnic and Visible-Minority Groups in the House of Commons," Ethno-cultural Groups and Visible Minorities in Canadian Politics, Kathy Megyery, ed. Volume 7 of the Research Studies for the royal Commission on Electoral Reform and Party Financing (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991) p. 101-160; Simard, "La representation des groupes ethnoculturels dans la région montréalise."

[35] See, for example, Black, "Representation in the Parliament of Canada"; and Political Participation Research Network.

[36] Henry Milner, "Civic Literacy in Comparative Context," Policy Matters 2.2 (2001); also, this magazine.

[37] See www.torontoyouth.com.

[38] See Philip Haid, Elder C. Marques and Jon Brown, "Re-focusing the Lens: Assessing the Challenge of Youth Involvement in Public Policy," (June 1, 1999) www.iog.ca.

[39] See Sylvia Bashevkin, Toeing the Lines: Women and Party Politics in English Canada, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993).

[40] Sayers and Jetha's interviews with ethnic minority politicians point to "the permeability of Canadian parties."

[41] Daiva Stasiulis, "'Deep Diversity': Race and Ethnicity in Canadian Politics," Canadian Politics in the 1990s, 4th ed., Michael S. Whittington and Glen Williams, eds. (Peterborough: Nelson, 1995) p. 203-204.

[42] Stasiulis, p. 201.

[43] Tossutti, p. 23; See, also, Sayers and Jetha.

[44] See, for example, Anver Saloojee and Myer Siemiatycki, "Formal and Non-Formal Political Participation by Immigrants and Newcomers," Canadian Issues (April 2003) p. 42-44.

[45] Kymlicka, p. 120.

[46] See Erin Tolley, "Supplement, Substitute or Stepping Stone?: Understanding the Electoral and Non-Electoral Participation of Immigrants and Minorities" paper presented at the Sixth National Metropolis Conference, Edmonton, Alberta (March 21-24, 2003).

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[1] Respondents were divided into the following groups: sex (male, female); age (18-34, 35-50, 51 years and over); education (high school or less; some post-secondary or more); and annual household income (less than $40,000; $40,000-69,999; $70,000 or more).

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[1] Kymlicka,. Norman, (2000), in their article "Citizenship in Culturally Diverse Societies: Issues, Contexts Concepts", distinguish between "common citizenship" and democratic citizenship Kymlicka,. Norman, 2000: 10).

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