

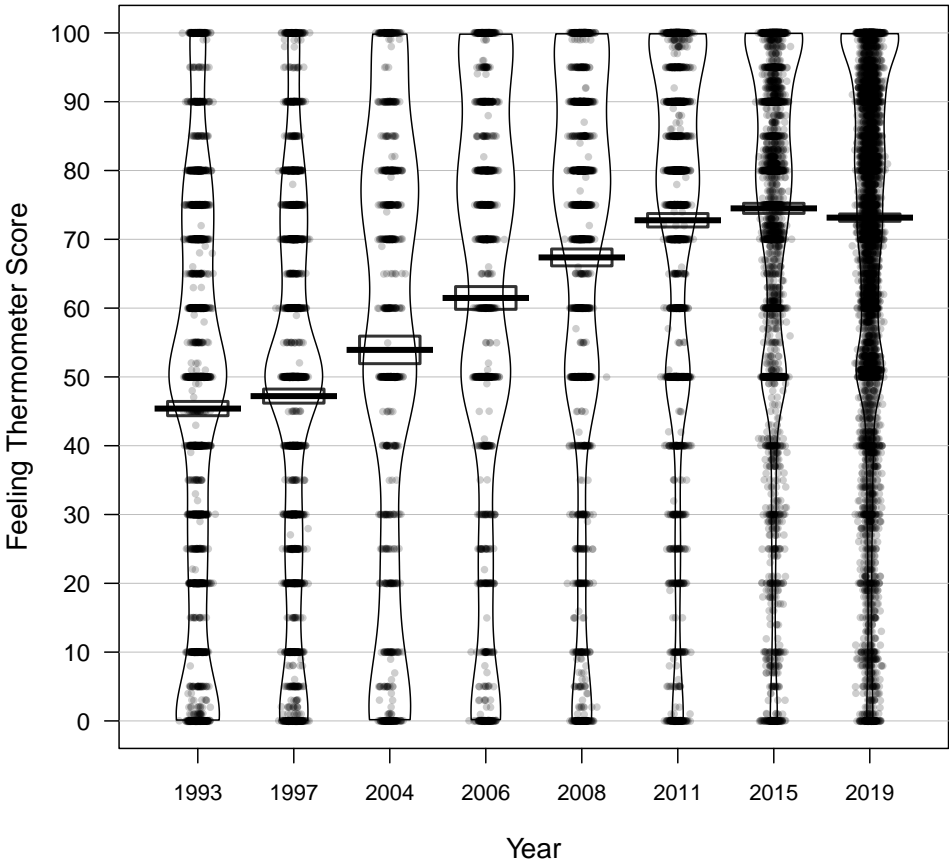
The Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Vote in a More Tolerant
Canada
Online Appendix

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1 Attitudes Towards Gays and Lesbians Over Time

Figure 1: Gay and Lesbian Feeling Thermometer Over Time



Source: Canadian Election Study

2 Question Wording

3 Question Wording from Past Surveys

Existing research on the Canadian LGB vote has relied on Ipsos polling data (Perrella, Brown and Kay, 2012, 2019) and the 2008 and 2011 General Social Survey (GSS) (Perrella, Brown and Kay, 2019). Ipsos polls only allow respondents to indicate whether or not they “are a member of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community (LGBT)” (yes or no), without indicating which group they identify with. Including transgender in the group also conflates sexual identity with gender identity. By contrast, the General Social Survey (2008 and 2011) allows respondents to identify as “homosexual” or bisexual, but the sample

is too small to allow researchers to distinguish between “homosexual” and bisexual men and women in their analysis of the political consequences of identifying as LGB (Perrella, Brown and Kay, 2019, p. 76).

3.1 Question Wording CES 2019

The CES asked many other policy questions in the Campaign Period Study (CPS), but most survey items were only asked of subsets of the sample. To ensure we include the largest number of LGB identifiers, we only focus on questions related to policy outcomes that were posed to the full sample. These questions do, however, cover the main dimensions of political competition that have been considered in prior research on LGB voters: (1) left-right ideology and (2) immigration.

- How much should the federal government spend on immigrants and minorities?
Spend less (1)
Spend about the same as now (2)
Spend more (3)
Don't know/ Prefer not to answer (4)
- Do you think Canada should admit:
More immigrants (1)
Fewer immigrants (2)
About the same number of immigrants as now (3)
Don't know/ Prefer not to answer (4)
- refugees Do you think Canada should admit:
More refugees (1)
Fewer refugees (2)
About the same number of refugees as now (3)
Don't know/ Prefer not to answer (4)

4 Sexual Identities by Gender and Generation

Figure 2: Percent of Canadians with each Sexual Identity

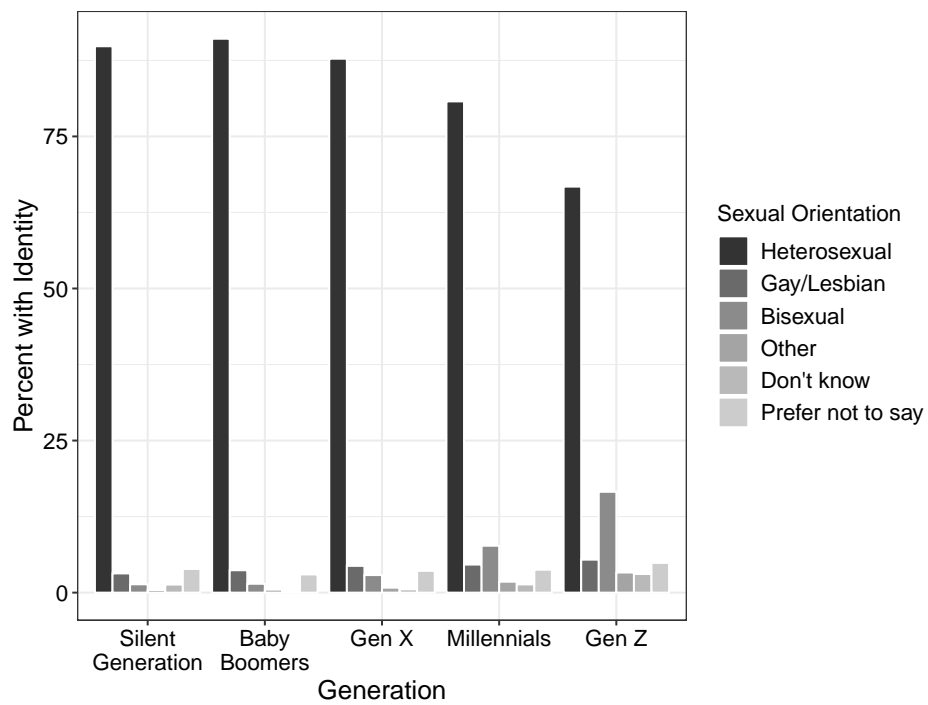
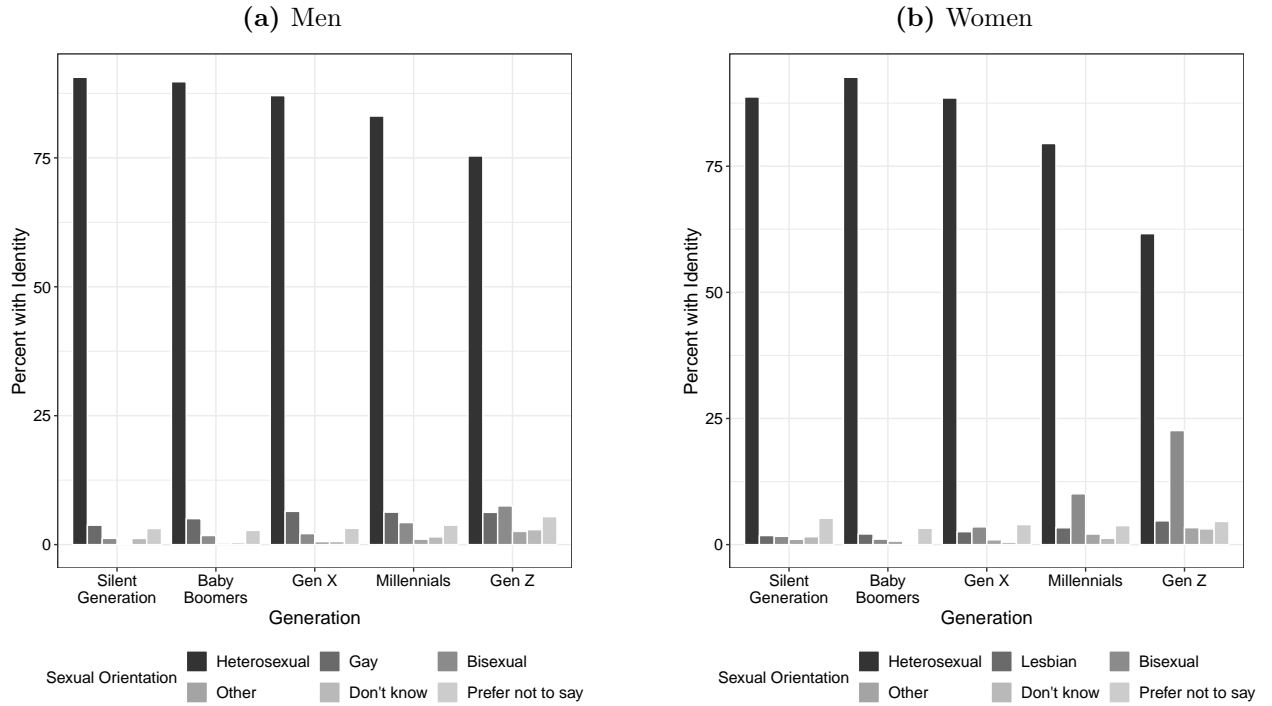


Figure 3: Sexual Identity by Gender and Generation



5 Full Regression Models

Table 1: Models of Vote Choice with Demographic Controls

	Men	Women
CPC: Intercept	1.95*** (0.00)	1.76*** (0.00)
CPC: Gay/Lesbian	-1.54*** (0.00)	-0.65*** (0.00)
CPC: Bisexual	-0.55*** (0.00)	-0.63*** (0.00)
CPC: Post-secondary Education	-0.10*** (0.00)	-0.33*** (0.00)
CPC: University Education	-0.57*** (0.00)	-0.84*** (0.00)
CPC: Income	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
CPC: British Columbia	-1.16*** (0.00)	-1.32*** (0.00)
CPC: Manitoba	-0.97*** (0.00)	-1.15*** (0.00)
CPC: New Brunswick	-1.34***	-1.42***

	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Newfoundland and Labrador	-2.04***	-2.09***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Northwest Territories	-3.42***	-1.41***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Nova Scotia	-1.57***	-2.63***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Nunavut	-1.60***	-0.49***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Ontario	-1.19***	-1.69***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Prince Edward Island	-3.59***	-2.56***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Quebec	-1.55***	-1.90***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Saskatchewan	-0.00***	-0.17***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Yukon	-1.68***	-2.36***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: French Language	-0.09***	-0.25***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Other Language	0.02***	0.25***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: British Ethnicity	0.32***	0.68***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Chinese Ethnicity	0.49***	1.36***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Dutch Ethnicity	0.83***	1.20***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: English Ethnicity	0.33***	0.71***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: French Ethnicity	0.07***	0.54***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: French Canadian Ethnicity	0.19***	0.79***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: German Ethnicity	0.38***	0.88***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Hispanic Ethnicity	-0.65***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Indian Ethnicity	-0.54***	0.36***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Inuk/Inuit Ethnicity	0.59***	0.15***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
CPC: Irish Ethnicity	0.17***	0.65***
	(0.00)	(0.00)

CPC: Italian Ethnicity	0.36*** (0.00)	0.49*** (0.00)
CPC: Other Ethnicity	0.12*** (0.00)	0.76*** (0.00)
CPC: Polish Ethnicity	0.31*** (0.00)	0.58*** (0.00)
CPC: Scottish Ethnicity	0.34*** (0.00)	0.78*** (0.00)
CPC: Ukrainian Ethnicity	0.53*** (0.00)	0.99*** (0.00)
CPC: Born in Canada	-0.16*** (0.00)	-0.16*** (0.00)
CPC: Retired	-0.18*** (0.00)	-0.21*** (0.00)
CPC: Unemployed	-0.34*** (0.00)	0.24*** (0.00)
CPC: Student	-0.79*** (0.00)	-0.74*** (0.00)
CPC: Other Employment	-0.27*** (0.00)	0.13*** (0.00)
CPC: Urban	-0.41*** (0.00)	-0.64*** (0.00)
NDP Intercept	-0.11*** (0.00)	0.30*** (0.00)
NDP: Gay/Lesbian	-0.17*** (0.00)	-0.32*** (0.00)
NDP: Bisexual	0.34*** (0.00)	0.62*** (0.00)
NDP: Post-secondary Education	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.18*** (0.00)
NDP: University Education	-0.44*** (0.00)	-0.27*** (0.00)
NDP: Income	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
NDP: British Columbia	0.26*** (0.00)	-0.06*** (0.00)
NDP: Manitoba	-0.07*** (0.00)	-0.11*** (0.00)
NDP: New Brunswick	-0.61*** (0.00)	-1.27*** (0.00)
NDP: Newfoundland and Labrador	-0.49*** (0.00)	-0.51*** (0.00)
NDP: Northwest Territories	0.63*** (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
NDP: Nova Scotia	-0.20***	-1.04***

	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Nunavut	-1.24***	-4.39***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Ontario	-0.08***	-0.38***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Prince Edward Island	-0.69***	-1.07***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Quebec	-0.36***	-0.86***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Saskatchewan	1.27***	0.52***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Yukon	2.43***	-1.89***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: French Language	-0.07***	-0.06***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Other Language	-0.11***	-0.09***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: British Ethnicity	-0.33***	-0.34***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Chinese Ethnicity	-0.17***	-0.50***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Dutch Ethnicity	0.48***	-0.36***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: English Ethnicity	-0.37***	-0.14***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: French Ethnicity	-0.38***	-0.23***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: French Canadian Ethnicity	-0.37***	0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: German Ethnicity	-0.24***	0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Hispanic Ethnicity	-0.45***	0.16***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Indian Ethnicity	-0.53***	-0.66***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Inuk/Inuit Ethnicity	-1.07***	-0.11***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Irish Ethnicity	-0.27***	-0.18***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Italian Ethnicity	-0.54***	-0.09***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Other Ethnicity	-0.66***	0.03***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
NDP: Polish Ethnicity	-0.66***	-0.23***
	(0.00)	(0.00)

NDP: Scottish Ethnicity	-0.40*** (0.00)	-0.02*** (0.00)
NDP: Ukrainian Ethnicity	-0.20*** (0.00)	0.15*** (0.00)
NDP: Born in canada	0.03*** (0.00)	0.25*** (0.00)
NDP: Retired	-0.53*** (0.00)	-0.78*** (0.00)
NDP: Unemployed	-0.03*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
NDP: Student	0.47*** (0.00)	0.44*** (0.00)
NDP: Other Employment	0.30*** (0.00)	0.12*** (0.00)
NDP: Urban	-0.08*** (0.00)	-0.13*** (0.00)
BQ Intercept	-4.01*** (0.00)	-5.32*** (0.00)
BQ: Gay/Lesbian	-0.26*** (0.00)	-0.07*** (0.00)
BQ: Bisexual	-0.20*** (0.00)	-0.19*** (0.00)
BQ: Post-secondary Education	-0.04*** (0.00)	-0.54*** (0.00)
BQ: University Education	-0.23*** (0.00)	-0.60*** (0.00)
BQ: Income	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
BQ: British Columbia	-0.94*** (0.00)	-0.81*** (0.00)
BQ: Manitoba	-0.56*** (0.00)	-0.98*** (0.00)
BQ: New Brunswick	-1.07*** (0.00)	-1.83*** (0.00)
BQ: Newfoundland and Labrador	-0.93*** (0.00)	-0.47*** (0.00)
BQ: Northwest Territories	-0.09*** (0.00)	-0.64*** (0.00)
BQ: Nova Scotia	-0.85*** (0.00)	-1.40*** (0.00)
BQ: Nunavut	-0.15*** (0.00)	-0.01*** (0.00)
BQ: Ontario	-1.54*** (0.00)	-1.16*** (0.00)
BQ: Prince Edward Island	-0.56***	-1.88***

	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Quebec	2.69***	4.18***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Saskatchewan	-0.03***	-0.10***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Yukon	0.02***	-1.40***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: French Language	0.80***	1.49***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Other Language	0.21***	0.63***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: British Ethnicity	-0.08***	-0.39***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Chinese Ethnicity	-0.40***	-0.85***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Dutch Ethnicity	1.19***	-0.81***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: English Ethnicity	-0.57***	-1.86***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: French Ethnicity	0.42***	0.00***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: French Canadian Ethnicity	0.40***	0.10***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: German Ethnicity	-0.20***	-3.55***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Hispanic Ethnicity	-2.13***	-1.09***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Indian Ethnicity	-1.56***	-3.36***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Inuk/Inuit Ethnicity	-0.00***	-0.49***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Irish Ethnicity	0.23***	-1.08***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Italian Ethnicity	-1.04***	-0.90***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Other Ethnicity	-0.01***	-0.61***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Polish Ethnicity	-1.51***	-3.24***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Scottish Ethnicity	-1.41***	-0.31***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Ukrainian Ethnicity	-1.07***	0.15***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
BQ: Born in Canada	0.27***	0.18***
	(0.00)	(0.00)

BQ: Retired	0.31*** (0.00)	0.28*** (0.00)
BQ: Unemployed	-0.59*** (0.00)	0.88*** (0.00)
BQ: Student	-0.29*** (0.00)	-0.12*** (0.00)
BQ: Other Employment	0.13*** (0.00)	-0.16*** (0.00)
BQ: Urban	-0.19*** (0.00)	-0.74*** (0.00)
Green Party: Intercept	-1.26*** (0.00)	-1.20*** (0.00)
Green Party: Gay/Lesbian	-0.09*** (0.00)	0.19*** (0.00)
Green Party: Bisexual	0.29*** (0.00)	0.62*** (0.00)
Green Party: Post-Secondary	-0.08*** (0.00)	-0.11*** (0.00)
Green Party: University Education	-0.23*** (0.00)	-0.26*** (0.00)
Green Party: Income	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Green Party: British Columbia	0.62*** (0.00)	0.76*** (0.00)
Green Party: Manitoba	-0.20*** (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Green Party: New Brunswick	0.97*** (0.00)	0.63*** (0.00)
Green Party: Newfoundland and Labrador	-1.03*** (0.00)	-1.39*** (0.00)
Green Party: Northwest Territories	0.58*** (0.00)	0.61*** (0.00)
Green Party: Nova Scotia	0.32*** (0.00)	0.05*** (0.00)
Green Party: Nunavut	0.10*** (0.00)	-2.54*** (0.00)
Green Party: Ontario	0.25*** (0.00)	0.04*** (0.00)
Green Party: Prince Edward Island	1.11*** (0.00)	-0.18*** (0.00)
Green Party: Quebec	0.05*** (0.00)	-0.12*** (0.00)
Green Party: Saskatchewan	0.17*** (0.00)	0.33*** (0.00)
Green Party: Yukon	1.31***	0.13***

	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: French Language	-0.16***	0.08***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Other Language	0.03***	0.11***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: British Ethnicity	0.15***	0.19***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Chinese Ethnicity	-0.27***	-0.83***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Dutch Ethnicity	1.41***	0.42***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: English Ethnicity	0.12***	0.17***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: French Ethnicity	0.37***	0.23***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: French Canadian Ethnicity	0.13***	0.37***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: German Ethnicity	0.48***	0.44***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Hispanic Ethnicity	-0.59***	0.16***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Indian Ethnicity	-1.09***	-0.51***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Inuk/Inuit Ethnicity	-0.45***	0.97***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Irish Ethnicity	0.23***	-0.10***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Italian Ethnicity	-0.46***	-0.05***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Other Ethnicity	-0.04***	0.04***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Polish Ethnicity	-0.18***	-0.11***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Scottish Ethnicity	-0.13***	0.39***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Ukrainian Ethnicity	0.11***	0.30***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Born in Canada	-0.06***	0.07***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Retired	-0.36***	-0.50***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Unemployed	0.00***	0.42***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Student	0.71***	0.62***
	(0.00)	(0.00)

Green Party: Other Employment	-0.23***	0.12***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
Green Party: Urban	-0.17***	-0.37***
	(0.00)	(0.00)
AIC	17885.33	21141.37
BIC	19046.04	22322.97
Log Likelihood	-8774.67	-10402.68
Deviance	17549.33	20805.37
Num. obs.	7398	8378
K	5	5

*** $p < 0.001$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.05$

Table 2: Models of Political Attitudes by Sexual Orientation and Generation

	Ideology		Immigration	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Intercept	0.71*	0.64*	0.82*	0.93*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Gay/Lesbian	-0.11*	-0.03	-0.09*	-0.04
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Bisexual	-0.04	-0.08*	-0.05	-0.08*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Millenials/Generation Z	-0.01	-0.03*	-0.03*	-0.04*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Post-Secondary Education	-0.01	-0.03*	-0.05*	-0.06*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
University Education	-0.03*	-0.08*	-0.17*	-0.21*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Income	0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
British Columbia	-0.08*	-0.07*	-0.07*	-0.08*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Manitoba	-0.05*	-0.02	-0.11*	-0.04*
	(0.02)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)
New Brunswick	-0.10*	-0.05*	-0.12*	-0.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Newfoundland and Labrador	-0.10*	-0.01	-0.12*	-0.07*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Nova Scotia	-0.12*	-0.11*	-0.15*	-0.14*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Ontario	-0.07*	-0.05*	-0.05*	-0.05*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Prince Edward Island	-0.16*	-0.09	-0.09	-0.04

	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Quebec	-0.07*	-0.06*	-0.10*	-0.06*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Saskatchewan	-0.04*	-0.04*	-0.03	-0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
French Language	-0.00	-0.02*	-0.02	-0.03*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Other Language	0.01	0.06*	-0.00	0.03
	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
British Ethnicity	-0.04	0.02	0.01	-0.11*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Chinese Ethnicity	-0.04	0.07*	0.02	-0.01
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Dutch Ethnicity	-0.03	0.03	-0.06	-0.11*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
English Ethnicity	-0.00	0.06*	0.02	-0.08*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
French Ethnicity	-0.04	0.03	0.03	-0.08*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
French Canadian Ethnicity	-0.03	0.03	0.04	-0.05*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
German Ethnicity	-0.04	-0.00	0.03	-0.10*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Hispanic Ethnicity	-0.02	-0.00	-0.03	-0.23*
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Indian Ethnicity	-0.03	0.06*	0.02	-0.10*
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Inuk/ Inuit Ethnicity	0.29*	-0.11	0.12	-0.04
	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.08)
Irish Ethnicity	-0.04	-0.00	-0.01	-0.11*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Italian Ethnicity	-0.01	0.02	0.06*	-0.11*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Other Ethnicity	-0.04	-0.00	0.03	-0.08*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Polish Ethnicity	-0.05*	-0.01	0.06	-0.07*
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Scottish Ethnicity	-0.05*	0.00	0.00	-0.11*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Ukrainian Ethnicity	-0.03	0.00	0.03	-0.05*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Born in Canada	-0.01	-0.04*	0.04*	0.05*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Retired	-0.01	0.01	-0.06*	-0.05*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)

Unemployed	-0.06*	-0.01	0.02	0.04*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Student	-0.05*	-0.03*	-0.10*	-0.15*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Other Employment	-0.03	-0.00	0.00	0.02*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.02)	(0.01)
Urban	-0.02*	-0.02*	-0.06*	-0.05*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Homosexual*Millenials/Generation Z	0.06*	-0.01	-0.02	-0.02
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Bisexual*Millenials/Generation Z	0.05	-0.00	0.01	-0.03
	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.04)	(0.03)
<i>N</i>	8500	9021	9361	10889
<i>R</i> ²	0.03	0.06	0.09	0.12
adj. <i>R</i> ²	0.03	0.06	0.09	0.12
Resid. sd	0.25	0.22	0.32	0.27

Standard errors in parentheses

* indicates significance at $p < 0.05$

6 Details on Matching Analyses

6.1 Balance Plots

These plots show standardized mean differences between treatment (married) and control (unmarried) respondents in the unadjusted (unmatched) and adjusted (matched) datasets. Distance is the difference in the propensity score. What is most important is that on most variables differences are closer to 0 in the adjusted dataset. The balance does not as clearly improve for heterosexual men than for the other groups. We are, therefore, more cautious in interpreting the results for them.

Figure 4: Heterosexual Men

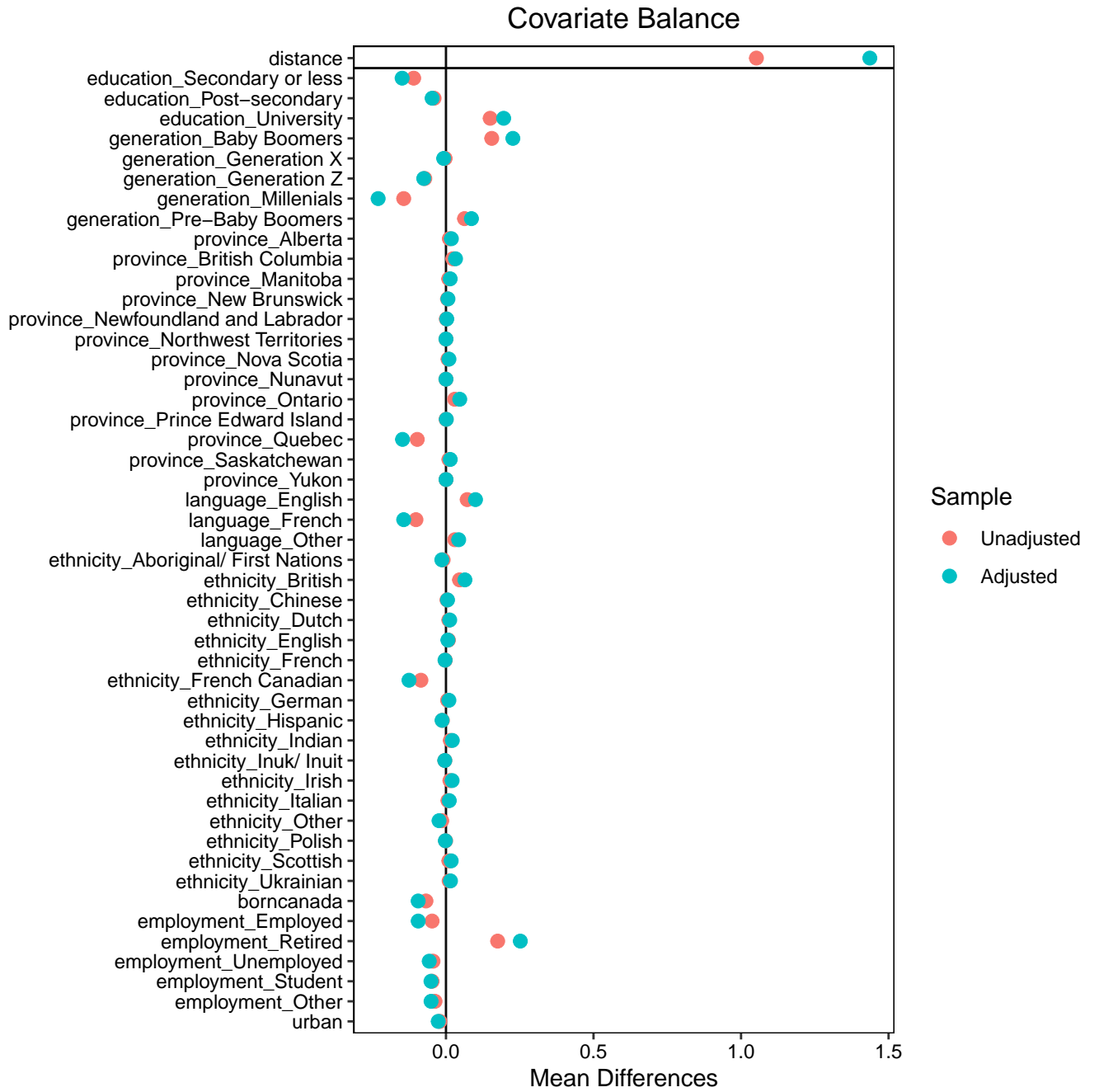


Figure 5: Gay Men

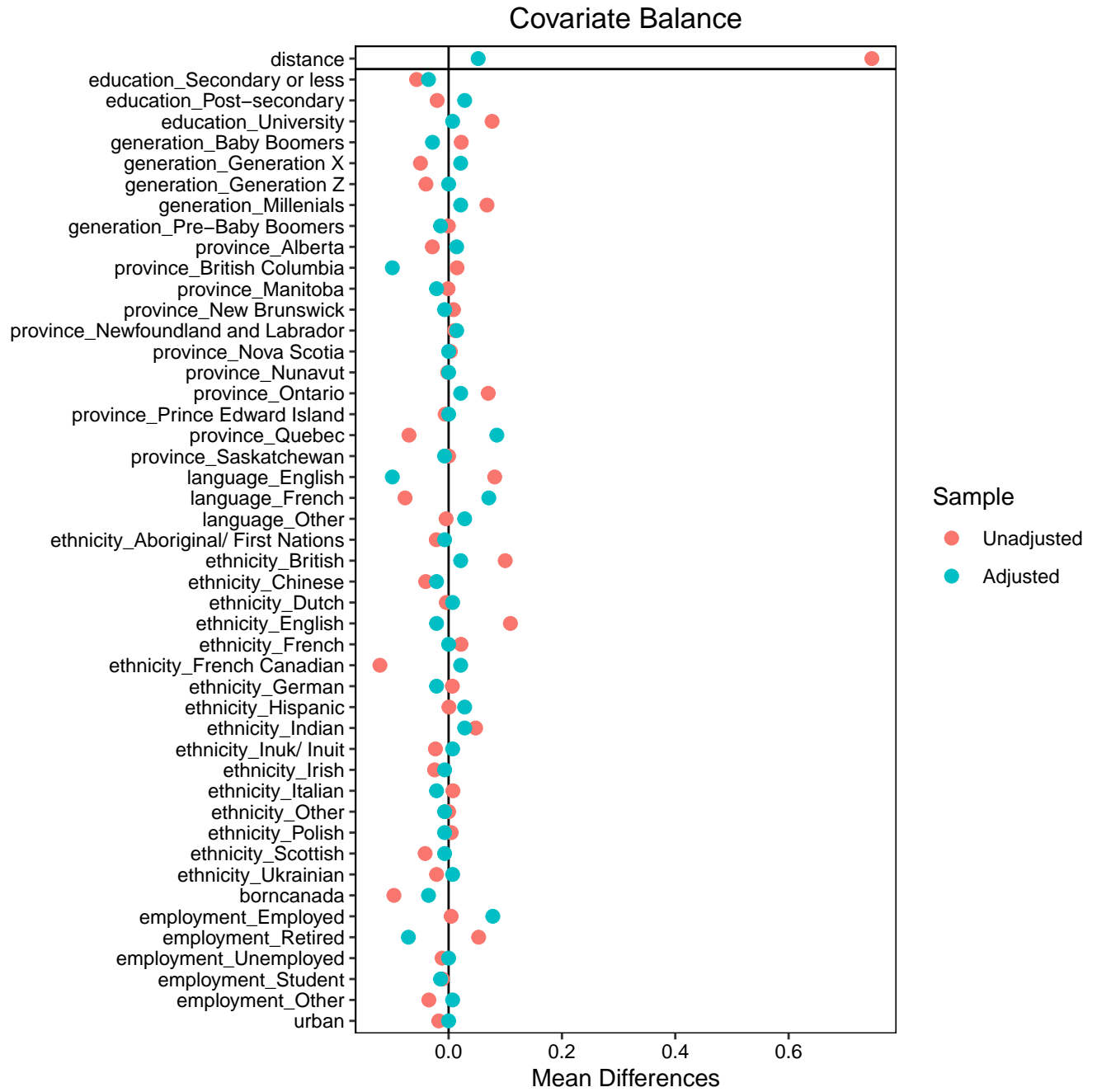


Figure 6: Bisexual Men

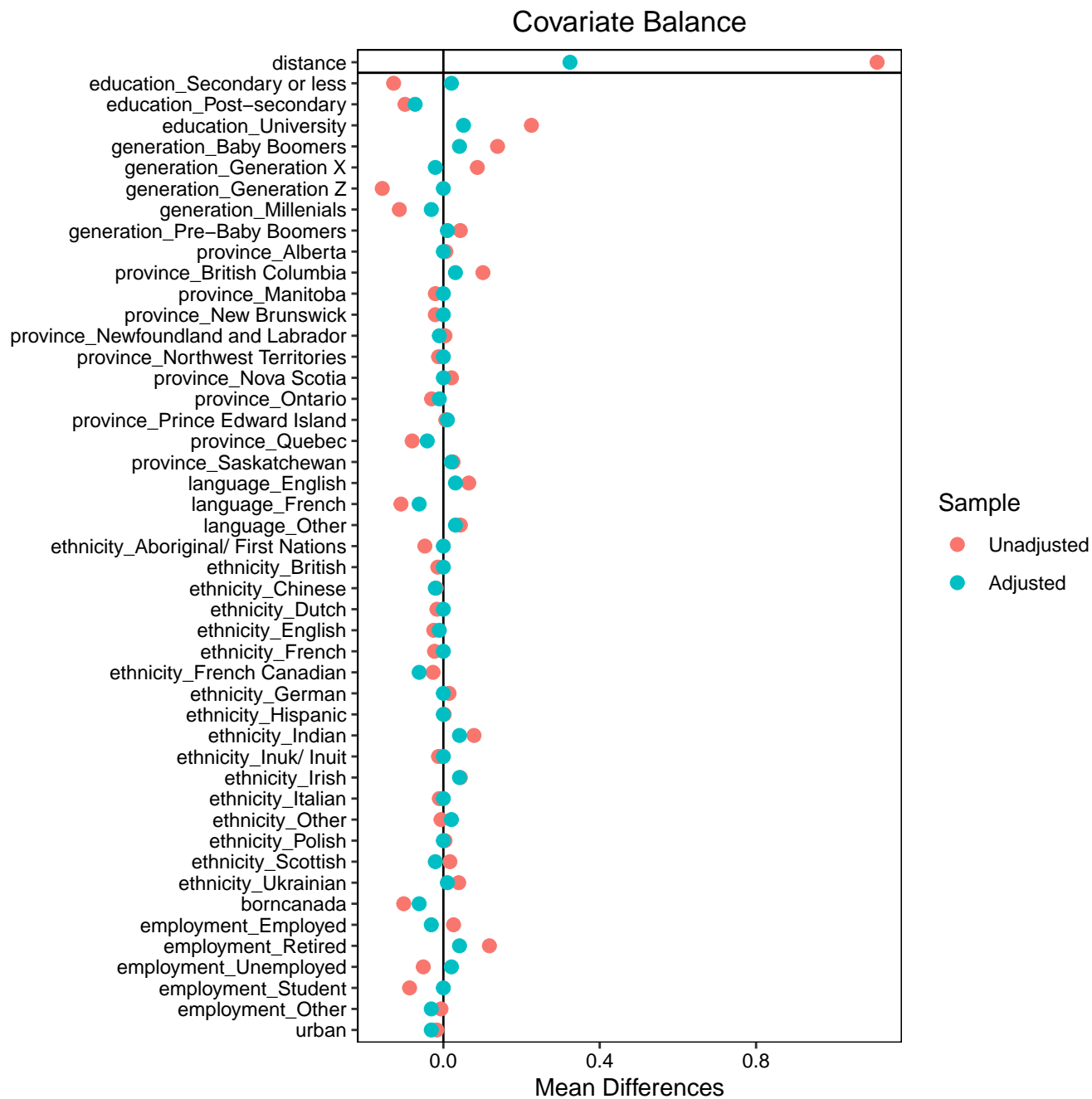


Figure 7: Heterosexual Women

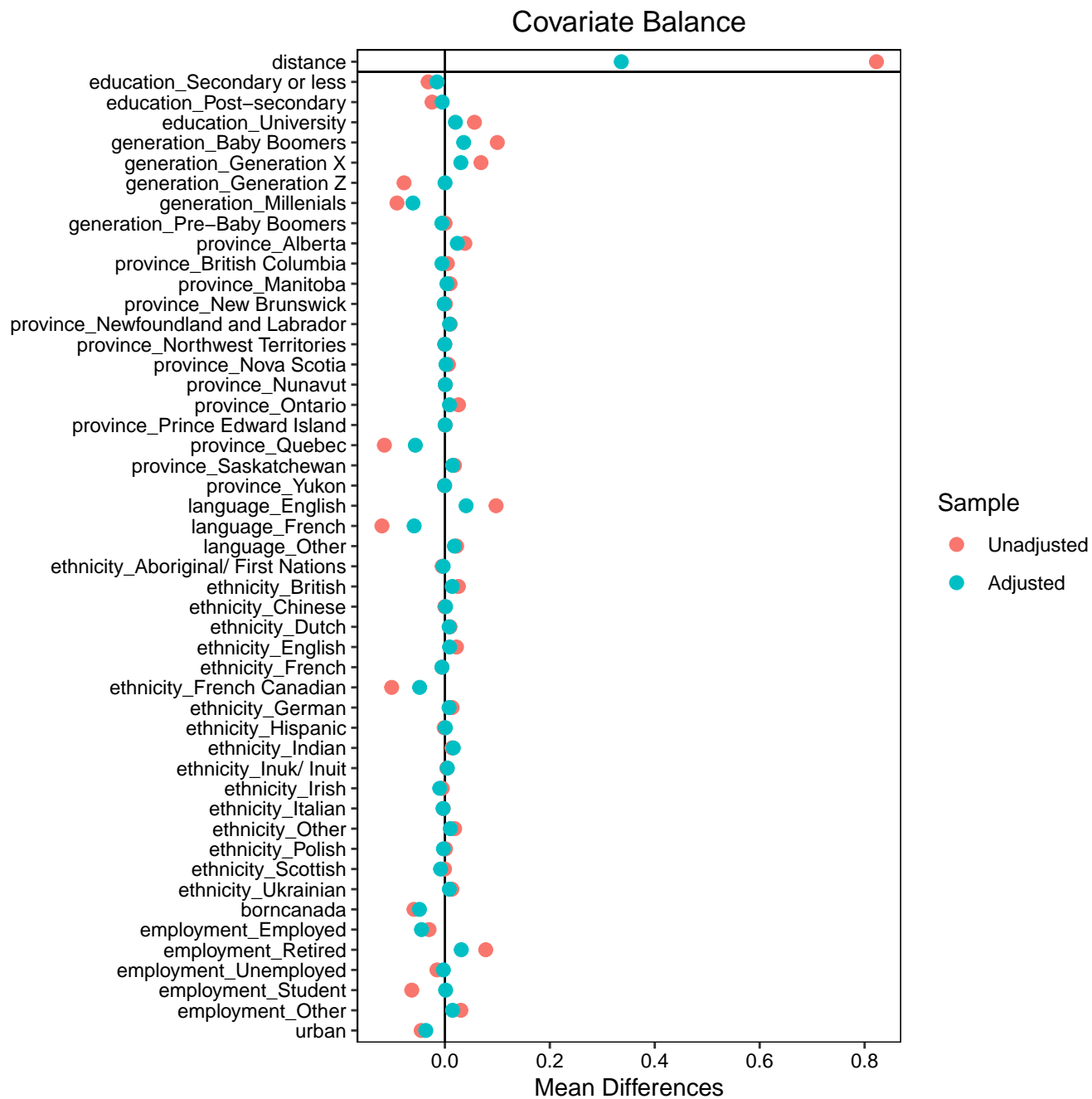


Figure 8: Lesbian Women

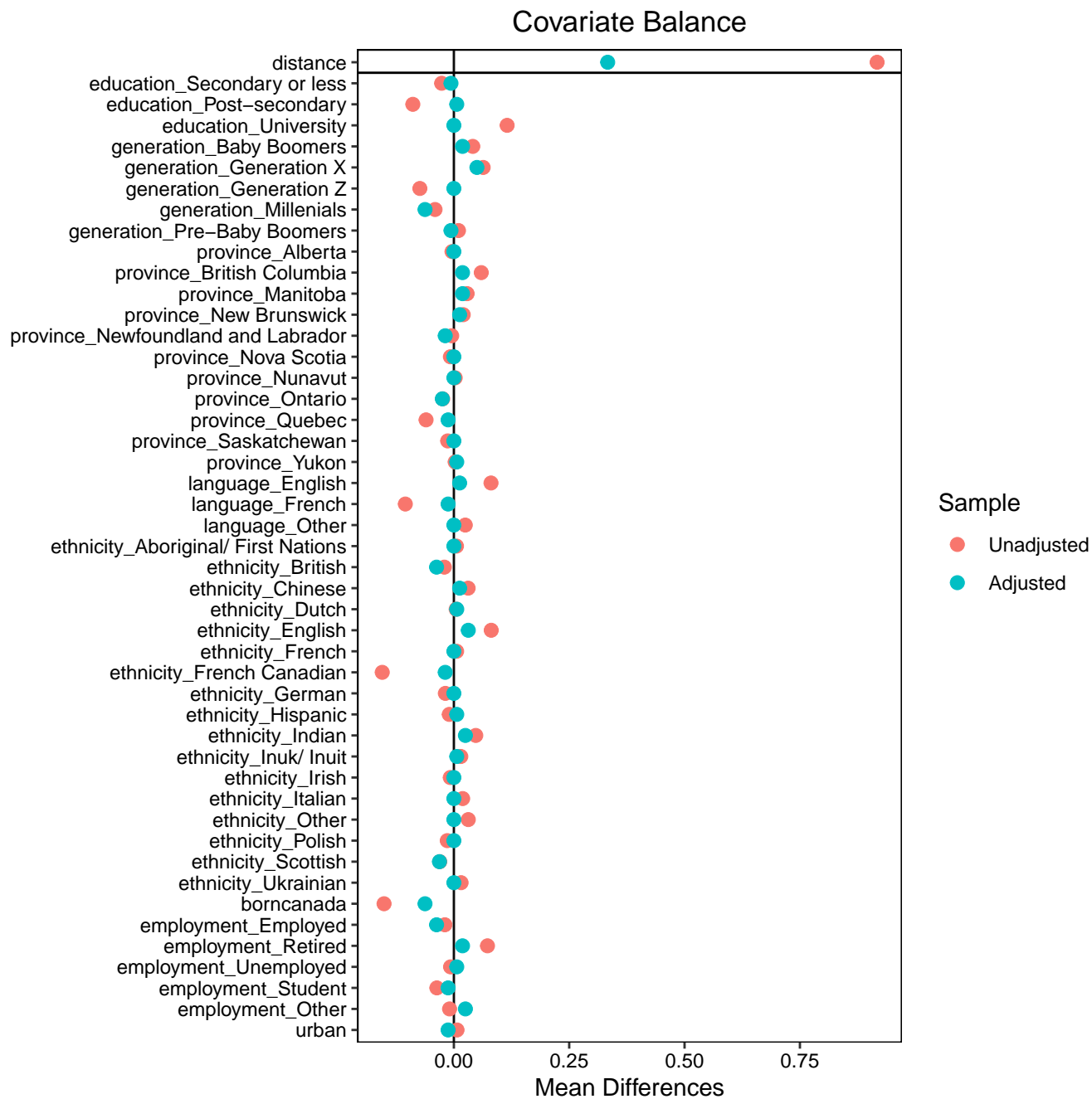
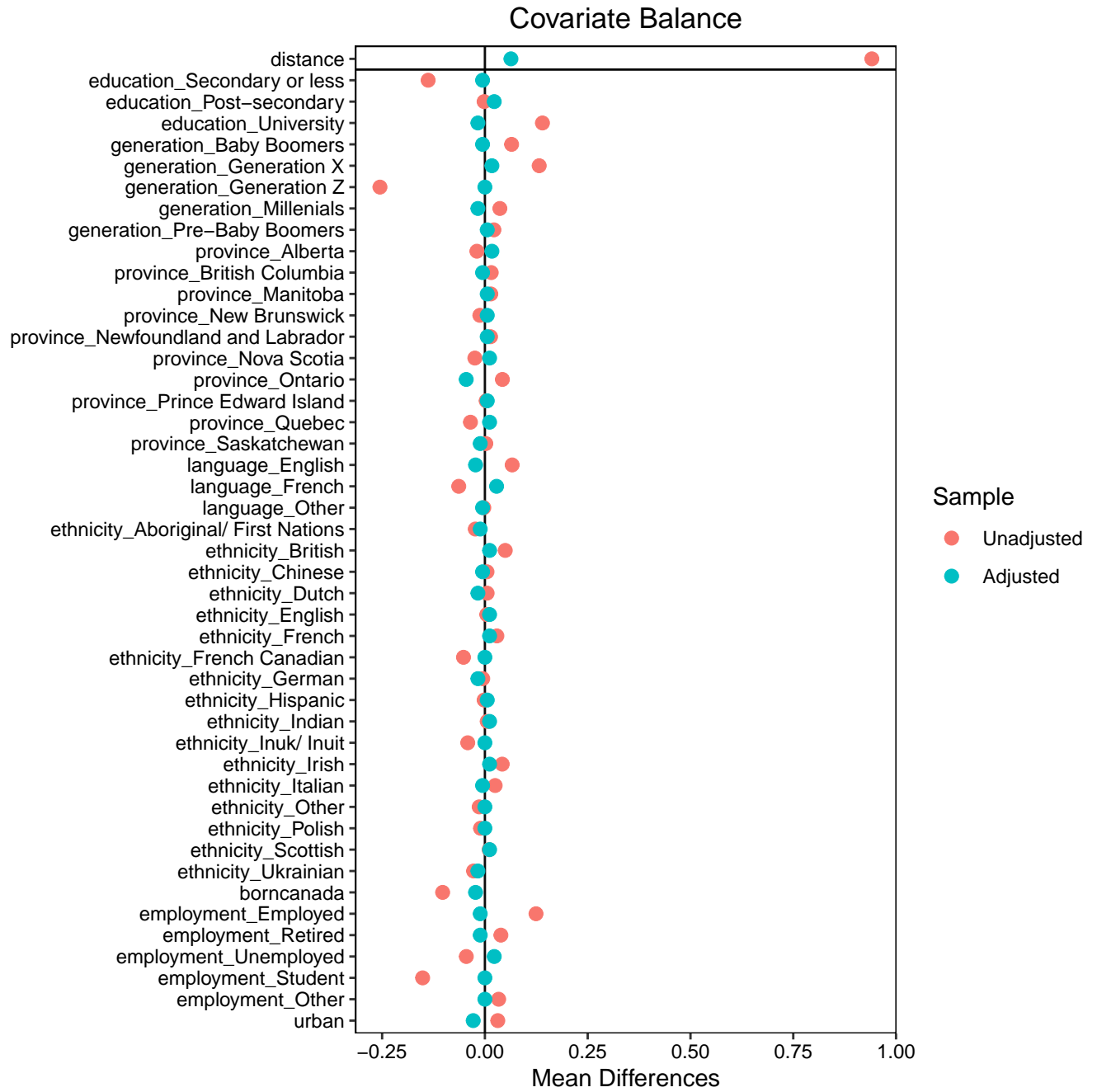


Figure 9: Bisexual Women



6.2 Respondents in Full and Matched Datasets

	Control	Treated
Heterosexual Men		
Full	5028	6271
Matched	5028	5028
Gay Men		
Full	659	141
Matched	141	141
Bisexual Men		
Full	243	97
Matched	97	97
Heterosexual Women		
Full	7703	6111
Matched	6111	6111
Lesbian Women		
Full	291	160
Matched	160	160
Bisexual Women		
Full	772	176
Matched	176	176

References

- Perrella, Andrea ML, Steven D Brown and Barry J Kay. 2012. "Voting behaviour among the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered Electorate." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 45(1):89–117.
- Perrella, Andrea ML, Steven D Brown and Barry Kay. 2019. Profile of the Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Electorate in Canada. In *Queering Representation: LGBTQ People and Electoral Politics in Canada*, ed. Manon Tremblay. UBC Press p. 51.