

“What Do You Mean I Can’t Have a Say?” Young Canadians and Their Government

**Charting the Course for Youth
Civic and Political Participation**

André Turcotte

CPRN Research Report
June 2007



“What Do You Mean I Can’t Have a Say?” Young Canadians and Their Government

Charting the Course for Youth Civic and Political Participation

André Turcotte

**School of Journalism and Communication
Carleton University**

June 2007

Canadian Policy Research Networks

214 – 151 Slater Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3

Tel: 613-567-7500 Website: www.cprn.org

This research paper is one of the six papers prepared for CPRN's Democratic Renewal Series, *Charting the Course for Youth Civic and Political Participation*. All research papers and CPRN's synthesis report for this project are available on the CPRN website at www.cprn.org. The six papers are listed below.

1. *A Group Apart: Young Party Members in Canada* – Lisa Young and William Cross
2. *Indifferent or Just Different? The Political and Civic Engagement of Young People in Canada* – Brenda O'Neill
3. *The Meaning of Political Participation for Indigenous Youth* – Taiaiake Alfred, Jackie Price and Brock Pitawanakwat
4. *Rendre compte et soutenir l'action bénévole des jeunes* – André Thibault, Patrice Albertus and Julie Fortier
5. *The State and Potential of Civic Learning in Canada* – Kristina R. Llewellyn, Sharon Cook, Joel Westheimer, Luz Alison Molina Girón and Karen Suurtamm
6. *“What Do You Mean I Can't Have a Say?” Young Canadians and Their Government* – André Turcotte

CPRN would like to acknowledge and thank Fireweed Democracy for contributing this paper to the research series on youth civic and political participation.

The observations and conclusions are those of the author(s).

Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Introduction	1
Explaining Voting Decline	6
Rational Choice.....	8
Generational Differences	12
Culture.....	13
Toward a Solution: Democratic Reform?.....	16
Conclusion.....	19
References	21

Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Support for Democratic Reform	4
Figure 2. Voting Turnout in Federal Elections, 1874-2006	7
Figure 3. Interest in Politics	9
Figure 4. Civic Duty.....	14
Figure 5. Obligation and Civic Duty	15
Figure 6. Frequency of “Talking Politics as a Kid”	19
Table 1. Attitude Toward Personal Efficacy, Knowledge and Influence.....	9
Table 2. Top Three Most Important Political Issues	10
Table 3. Preference for Policy Options.....	10
Table 4. Spending Priorities	11
Table 5. Perceived Government Responsibilities.....	11
Table 6. Importance of Different Citizen-Oriented Behaviours.....	13
Table 7. Respect for Institutions	16
Table 8. Support for Proposed Reforms.....	17
Table 9. Support for Democratic Reforms	18
Table 10. Frequency of Media Access	20

Abstract

Much has been written about how the lives of young people are different than those of previous generations. The literature concurs in stating that anyone below the age of 30 has experienced more control over more aspects of their daily lives than any previous generation. The political process in Canada and other democracies has failed to adjust to this new reality, and, consequently, young voters are staying away from politics. The general aim of this study is to examine some of the generational reasons for the decline in electoral participation in Canada. While previous analyses have established who is less likely to vote, the objective here is to understand the reasons young voters are more likely to stay away from the polls, beyond their generic lack of interest. Based on the results of the Fireweed Barometer (2006), two International Social Survey Programme data sets (2005 – Citizenship; 2006 – Work and the Role of Government) and the Canadian Election Study data set (2004), this study suggests that some of the reasons for low voting turnout reside in the fact that younger voters hold a different set of priorities and interact with the political process differently than older cohorts. This study also suggests that solutions to this problem lie beyond piecemeal democratic reforms.

Acknowledgements

We at CPRN would like to express our appreciation to the following financial and in-kind contributors:

Laidlaw Foundation

Elections Canada

Human Resources and Social Development Canada

Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation

Canadian Council on Learning

Government of Nova Scotia, Nova Scotia Youth Secretariat

Fireweed Democracy

Laboratoire en loisir et vie communautaire (LLVC), Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, in collaboration with la Table de concertation des Forums jeunesse régionaux du Québec

The project also benefited from the collective insights and advice of our Project Advisory Group (PAG). We also wish to thank the members for attending (as observers) the March 7th Youth Workshop and for their participation at the May 16th Roundtable. The PAG members are:

Rick Anderson, Fireweed Democracy

Uttara Chauhan, Elections Canada

Jennifer Corriero, TakingITGlobal

Nevin Danielson and Spencer Robertson, Government of Saskatchewan, Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation

Violetta Ilkiw, Laidlaw Foundation

Peter MacLeod, The Planning Desk

Andrew Medd, Canada 25

Melinda Morin, Aboriginal Youth (Saskatchewan)

Deborah Pellerin, Government of Nova Scotia, Department of Education

Daryl Rock and Deborah Monette, Canadian Council on Learning

Tom McIntosh, University of Regina

Thanks as well to the anonymous reviewers of the papers, the youth participants of the March 7th Youth Workshop and the May 16th Roundtable attendees for their helpful comments and suggestions. Special thanks to Larry Booi, Canadian Council on Learning (Board Member), for his additional insights and advice.



“What Do You Mean I Can’t Have A Say?” Young Canadians and Their Government

Introduction

Ad Age Agency of the Year: The Consumer ***John Doe Edges Out Jeff Goodby***

Headline from *Advertising Age*, January 8, 2007

Prime Minister Stephen Harper introduced a Senate reform bill Wednesday that gives Canadians a say about who represents them. The bill, which falls short of allowing full Senate elections, calls for voters to choose preferred candidates to represent their provinces and territories. ***However, the prime minister will make the final decision.*** [emphasis added]

CBC, December 13, 2006

TIME's Person of the Year: You

For seizing the reins of the global media, for founding and framing the new digital democracy, for working for nothing and beating the pros at their own game, *TIME's* Person of the Year for 2006 is You.

TIME Magazine, December 13, 2006

British Columbia held a referendum on electoral reform on May 17, 2005 after two years of consultation. With support for the proposed reforms falling short of the required and arbitrary 60%, the B.C. government announced that British Columbians would be able to vote once again on the electoral reform but not until May 2009.

The Globe and Mail, May 20, 2005

In their largest acquisition to date, *Google* has acquired *YouTube* for \$1.65 billion in an all-stock transaction.

The Washington Post, October 10, 2006

A nineteen-year-old journalism student developed an ad for *GM's* Chevy Truck HHR, which aired during Superbowl XLI.

The Globe and Mail, February 8, 2007

It is there for everyone to see. From Internet sites enabling people to post their own movies for millions to watch – or not watch – to the demise of the recording industry and its prepackaged CD format to the benefit of the free-format digital music world; from the immensely popular TV show that let the viewers choose their next *Idol* to companies that ask their customers to design advertising campaigns for their favourite brand, individuals (especially younger ones) want to be in control. Much has been written about how the lives of young people are different than those of previous generations.¹ The literature concurs in stating that anyone below the age of 30 has experienced more control over more aspects of their daily lives than any previous generation. These young people want to control what they do and how they do it, what they watch and when, what they listen to and how, and they embrace this new empowerment with all the speed new technology allows it to be delivered.

What are also there for everyone to see, if they still care to look, are the stodginess of democratic political systems and their unwillingness to adapt to the reality of the empowered young citizen. Once firmly ensconced in power, politicians only reluctantly embrace democratic reforms aimed to increase the degree to which citizens can participate in deciding what their own government does. Former Prime Minister Paul Martin is a case in point. While campaigning for the leadership, Martin extolled the urgency to deal with what he called the “democratic deficit.” In his first statement as prime minister, he underscored his commitments: “As prime minister, I look forward to the opportunity to rally Canadians toward a new sense of national purpose and around a new agenda of change and achievement ... We are going to change the way things work in Ottawa in order to re-engage Canadians in the political process and achieve demonstrable progress on our priorities.”² But he failed to introduce any meaningful legislation dealing with the democratic deficit in his two years in office.

This is not to say that reforms are not proposed – to the contrary, proposals abound. From citizens’ assemblies, campaign finance reform, fixed-date elections and advocacy campaigns, proposals are put forth and discussed. And discussed, and discussed and discussed. For instance, back in November 1990, the Canadian federal government announced the creation of the Citizens’ Forum on Canada’s Future and sent it on a mission to listen to the people to find out what kind of country they wanted for themselves and their children. Thousands of Canadians participated, and their opinions can be found in the Spicer Commission report (Spicer, 1992), but little made it into *Hansard*, let alone into legislation. Some 17 years later, maybe some of those thousands of Canadians are still patiently waiting. In 2000, the British Parliament established the Electoral Commission as an independent body designed to “make politics relevant” (Thiessen, 2006). So far, the results have been disappointing: voting turnout reached an all-time low of 59.4% in Britain in the first election following the creation of the Commission and increased only marginally to 61.4% in 2005.³ In the United States, the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act – also known as the McCain-Feingold Law – was adopted back in 2002, but the issue of “soft money” in U.S. presidential campaigns is far from being resolved more than five years later.⁴

¹ See, for examples, Smith and Clurman (1997); Gabler (1998); Tapscott (1998); Rifkin (2000); Bryman (2004).

² As reported on CTV; see transcript “Paul Martin Sworn In as Prime Minister,” December 12, 2003. Available from <http://www.ctv.ca>.

³ See www.electoralcommission.org.uk.

⁴ In fact, the McCain-Feingold Law has a history dating back to before 2002. For details, see Campaign Finance Reform (2001).

From a theoretical perspective, democratic theorists such as Elster (1998), Bohman and Rehg (1997), and Fishkin (1991), among others, have been promoting for more than a decade the concept of “deliberative democracy” as a way to reform the democratic process, to no avail. In the end, very little change is implemented, and those proposals that are finally adopted are largely cosmetic and insignificant.

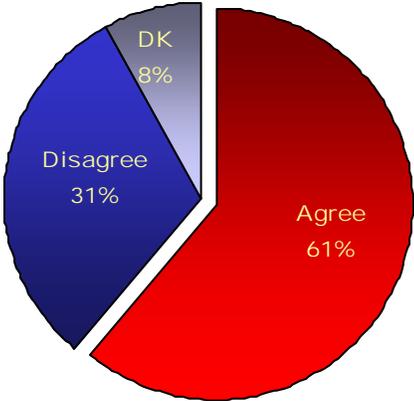
Turning our attention to Canada, which is the focus of this analysis, recent developments suggest a heightened interest in democratic reforms. In the last few years, provincial and federal governments have introduced a series of initiatives aimed at reforming our democratic institutions. Everywhere we look, there seems to be a new consultation process or a new set of initiatives waiting for input from Canadians. As mentioned above, British Columbia held a referendum on electoral reform on May 17, 2005, after two years of consultation, but support for the proposed reforms fell short of the required 60%. British Columbians will have another opportunity to vote on this issue, but not until 2009. New Brunswick also held consultations on electoral reform, and a referendum is to be held in 2008.

In Ontario, the government established the Citizens’ Assembly on Electoral Reform, comprising 103 randomly selected citizens and a chair. The focus of the Assembly was narrow: to determine the options available on how to vote and how votes are translated into seats for Members of Provincial Parliament (MPPs). The Citizens’ Assembly on Electoral Reform recommended a change to the province’s electoral system, proposing the adoption of a mixed-member proportional system. The government will hold a referendum in conjunction with the next provincial election on October 10, 2007, and the new system will only be adopted if at least 60% of Ontarians support the change.⁵ The mandate of the Assembly did not extend to any other aspect of how Ontarians are governed. Electoral reform is also on the public agenda in Prince Edward Island and Quebec.

At the federal level, the 2006 Conservative platform made direct reference to reforming the Senate; restoring representation by population for Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta in the House of Commons; fixed election dates; and more free votes. Prime Minister Harper introduced a proposal to limit senatorial terms in the Upper Chamber to eight years, but the Liberal-dominated Senate blocked this proposal on the grounds that the term *limit* might be unconstitutional without the support of at least seven provinces, as required by the amending formula. The Conservatives also introduced legislation in which Canada's three fastest-growing provinces would get more seats in the House of Commons by 2014. Under the bill, Ontario would get 10 more Members of Parliament (MPs), British Columbia would get seven and Alberta would get five. All other provinces, whose populations are not growing as quickly, would be guaranteed to keep the number of seats they have. The 22 new seats mean that the House of Commons would have 330 seats, up from the current 308. All such efforts are designed to address the declining level of political participation – especially electoral participation. It is assumed that declining voting turnout can be redressed through incremental changes to the way Canadians are governed. Figure 1 shows that, while such efforts are commendable, they fall short of the major overhaul a majority of Canadians (61%) believe is needed.

⁵ See www.citizensassembly.gov.on.ca.

Figure 1: Support for Democratic Reform



Note: N=1014, **STRONGLY AGREE / AGREE: TOTAL =61%, DISAGREE: TOTAL =31%, DON'T KNOW: TOTAL =8%**

Statement: ***“Our democratic institutions do not need tinkering, but a major overhaul.”***

Source: **Fireweed Barometer 2006**

The general aim of this study is to examine some of the generational reasons for the decline in electoral participation in Canada. The reality is that, if the “Do Not Vote Party” had run candidates in the last four Canadian federal elections, it would have formed the government each and every time. The situation among young voters is even more troubling. Since the 2000 election, turnout among young Canadians has hovered below the 40% mark – meaning that in the last three federal elections, more than six in every 10 Canadians between the ages of 18 and 25 could not find a good reason to vote.⁶ As Howe pointed out, younger Canadians have been, at least since 1968, less likely to vote than older Canadians, to the tune of some 15%. But the tendency not to vote has intensified among young Canadians born since 1960. In addition to age differences in voting turnout, there is at least a 20% gap between those born in the 1960s and 1970s and those born before 1945 (Howe, 2003). This is not to say that the lack of participation in elections is a problem plaguing solely Canada (Newton and Norris, 2000). After all, we are quick to defend ourselves by pointing out that less than half of American voters participate in their elections. But such a comparison should not bring any solace. John Kenneth Galbraith once observed that the systematic lack of participation of specific groups of citizens in the electoral process leads to a situation where politicians and political strategists simply ignore the needs and issues of those who fail to participate. They develop electoral platforms designed to reap electoral gains from those likely to vote: white, affluent, older and educated citizens. This creates a culture of contentment where the groups most likely to benefit from government intervention are excluded from the policy-making considerations (Galbraith, 1992). This scenario is of particular interest to the Canadian context. As Blais and his colleagues from the Canadian Election Study team have demonstrated, the lack of interest in voting does not affect all Canadians, but is confined to a very specific group of voters that is slowly disenfranchising itself. Their analysis showed that the single most important point to grasp about the decline in participation since 1988 is that turnout has not declined in the electorate at large, but is largely isolated among Canadians born after 1970. Accordingly, the answer to why turnout has been so low in recent federal elections is that it was being dragged down by the increasing weight of the younger generations, who were just less interested in politics than the older generations. Blais and his colleagues suggested that the bottom line appears to be that the generation born after 1970 is less interested in electoral politics than their elders, pays less attention and is less well informed, and it is not clear at this point that the members of this generation are turning to other forms of political involvement instead (Blais et al., 2002: 46-61).

In the present study, I will build on the current understanding of voting turnout in Canada. While previous analyses have established who is less likely to vote, the objective here is to understand the reasons young voters are more likely to stay away from the polls, beyond their generic lack of interest. Based on the results of the Fireweed Barometer (2006), two International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) data sets (2005 – Citizenship; 2006 – Work and

⁶ There are a lot of discrepancies in the estimates about voting turnout among young voters. According to the “Estimation of the Voter Turnout by Age Group in the 38th General Federal Election” (see <http://www.elections.ca>), turnout among young voters in that election varied between 39% among those aged 18-21.5 years and 35% among those aged 21.5-24 years. In the previous election, according to Pammett and LeDuc (2003), turnout was 22.4% among voters between the ages of 18 and 24. However, no studies suggest that we have witnessed such a surge in turnout between 2004 and 2006. Regardless of the discrepancies, the fact remains that turnout among voters below age 30 is significantly lower than among those over age 45, where it hovers above 70%.

the Role of Government), and the 2004-06 Canadian Election Study data set⁷, I will suggest that some of the reasons for low voting turnout reside in the fact that younger voters – those between the ages of 18 and 30 – hold a different set of priorities and interact with the political process differently than older cohorts. It will be suggested that differences in issue priorities, in the understanding of what it means to act as a citizen and of the role of government, and in democratic values explain why younger voters are less interested in voting. More specifically, this analysis will ask the following questions:

- What are the issue priorities of young Canadians, and do they differ from older Canadians?
- Do young Canadians – who are used to interacting with their broad social sphere in an egalitarian manner based on an unprecedented level of control – have different conceptions of citizenship and of the way their government affects their lives? What do they think of their government, its role and its performance in addressing their needs and expectations?
- Do young Canadians still care enough about politics to want to reform the system?
- Attempts will then be made to position the results within their larger theoretical context.

Explaining Voting Decline

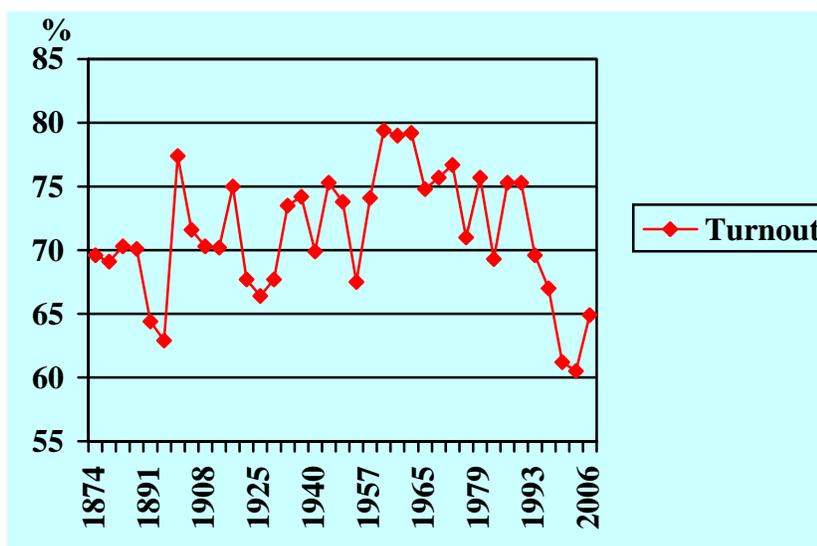
The acclaimed book *The Making of the President 1960* (White, 1961: 3) opens with the following description of the mystery of voting:

It was invisible as always. They had begun to vote in the villages of New Hampshire at midnight, as they always do ... All of this is invisible for it is the essence of the act that as it happens it is a mystery in which millions of people each fit one fragment of a total secret together, none of them knowing the shape of the whole. What results from the fitting together of these secrets is, of course, the most awesome transfer of power in the world.

This remains one of the most eloquent descriptions of the ideals of democracy and of the importance of voting. However, evidence shows that an increasing number of voters, in general, and of Canadian voters, in particular, are left unmoved by such ideals. As Figure 2 indicates, voting turnout in Canada was in serious decline between 1988 and 2004, and the recent upswing in 2006 has done little to correct the situation.

⁷ Only findings that are statistically significant within a 95% confidence interval are reported in this paper.

Figure 2: Voting Turnout in Federal Elections, 1874-2006



Source: Elections Canada

As Pammett and LeDuc (2003) showed, similar dramatic declines have occurred in France, the United States and the United Kingdom. Worldwide voting turnout has declined from an average of 74.8% for the period from 1945 to 1960 to less than 69% for the 1996-2006 period (Ellis et al., 2006: 10).

Academic interest in explaining the decision by a voter not to exercise his or her right to vote goes back to the first election study. In *The People's Choice* (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944: 45), the non-voter was generally understood as a “deliberate” non-voter – someone who consciously decided not to vote. Lazarsfeld and his colleagues believed that non-voting was largely the result of a lack of interest rather than specific socio-economic characteristics (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944: 49). Since then, several other potential explanations for non-voting have been developed. One popular explanation is that today's young voters prefer to express political opinions through less conventional forms of participation. However, as Anne Milan (2005) suggested, data from the 2003 General Social Survey showed that, while young people do engage in various forms of non-voting political behaviour such as signing petitions, boycotting products, attending meetings and demonstrations, they are no more likely to do so than older voters. What seems to be true about young voters is that they are less knowledgeable than previous generations, less likely to be interested in politics, less likely to read newspapers and less likely to see voting as a duty shared by all citizens (Franklin, 2004; Howe, 2003). Such a description tells us the characteristics of young voters but does little to explain their behaviour.

From a theoretical perspective, attempts to explain the political behaviour of young voters can be loosely organized in three groups: rational choice, generational differences and culture.⁸ Although it is beyond the scope of this study to review this large body of literature and to present exhaustive empirical evidence, I will examine a few specific works that provide insights into a

⁸ This typology is an extension of one proposed by Heather Bastedo in *Axes of Apathy* (unpublished mimeograph, 2006).

specific empirical analysis. Decline in voting is a phenomenon that is too complex to be explained by one particular theoretical framework. Hence, I will draw on the three broad approaches to derive variables that may give us some insight into why so many young Canadians simply don't care to vote.

Rational Choice

In *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Anthony Downs (1957) suggested that individuals generally behave as “utility-maximizers.” Accordingly, individuals are perceived as rational actors who decide to make a decision or to take a given course of action only when they evaluate that the benefits of doing so outweigh the costs. In the context of elections, politicians are depicted as entrepreneurs selling policies for votes. Individual voters estimate to what extent the potential rewards from the act of voting outweigh the effort required to obtain information and to vote.⁹ Rational choice theorists accept the assertion made by Lazarsfeld and his colleagues (1944), who argued that interest is the main predictor of voting. It follows that youth should be less engaged in politics in general and consequently less likely to engage in the act of voting since the benefits of doing so are far from evident. In the present study, I suggest that the substance of campaign discourse is largely irrelevant to younger voters. Results show that young voters hold a different set of priorities than their older cohorts. Hence, their decision not to vote is, at least to some extent, essentially rational.

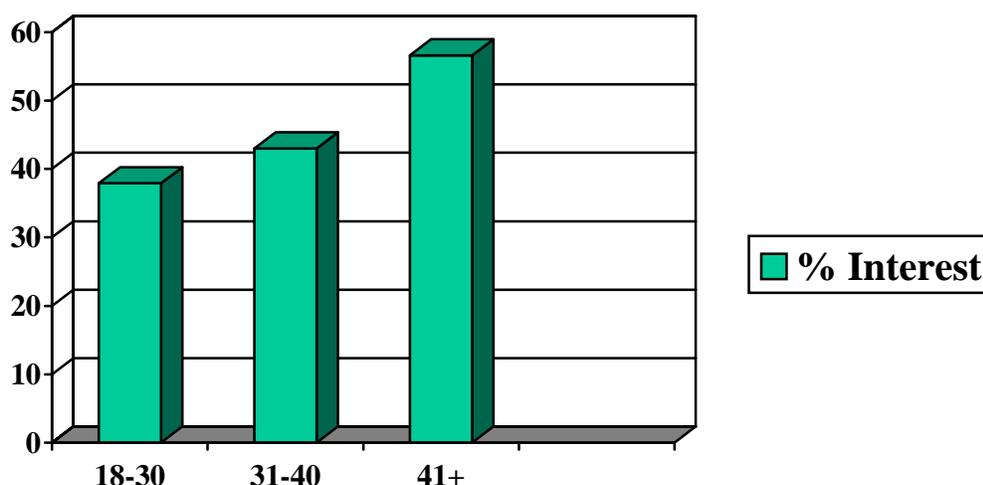
The analytical starting point of this analysis is the well-documented link between interest and voting. As mentioned before, Lazarsfeld and his colleagues (1944) isolated this link back in their study of presidential voting in Erie County, Ohio, in 1940. Since then, this relationship has been repeatedly observed.¹⁰ It is almost obvious that someone who is not interested in politics would be less likely to make the effort to vote. Not surprisingly then, we find that young Canadians¹¹ are less interested in politics than their older counterparts. As Figure 3 shows, while 56.6% of Canadians over the age of 40 are interested in politics, only 43% of those between the ages of 31 and 40 share a similar interest. This percentage drops to 37.9% among Canadians between the ages of 18 and 30.

⁹ For more details, see Downs (1957) and Tullock and Buchanan (2004).

¹⁰ The number of studies that have isolated a relationship between interest and voting is too great to list. One can look at Blais (2000) or Pammett and LeDuc (2004) for recent Canadian examples.

¹¹ There are several ways to operationalize age. In this study, young voters are defined as those between the ages of 18 and 30. This decision was made largely to allow for comparison with other studies conducted by this author. It is also dictated by the need for sizable subsamples. The 31-40 age group represents those Canadians who were the first to experience new technologies as teenagers in the 1980s. See de Kerckhove (1995) for more details on this last point.

Figure 3: Interest in Politics (by/per Age Group)



Note: N= 1068 (N within brackets) – 18-30(223)/31-40(234)/41+(611)
Source: International Social Survey Programme, 2005 – Citizenship data set

Generational differences go beyond lack of interest in politics. In fact, young Canadians are not only disinterested in politics, but also feel powerless, ignored and less informed than others. Specifically, young voters are the most likely to think that they have no influence on what the government is doing (63.3%) or to think that the government does not care about what they think (60.1%) (Table 1). Young voters (59.2%) are less likely than those over the age of 40 (65.9%) – but more likely than their immediate counterparts aged 31-40 (50.9%) – to feel that they have a good understanding of important policy issues. They are also more likely to feel that most people are better informed than they are (25.8% compared with 17% for older cohorts).

Table 1: Attitude Toward Personal Efficacy, Knowledge and Influence

Attitudes	18-30 % Agree	31-40 % Agree	41+ % Agree
No influence on what government does	63.3	50.0	55.1
Government does not care what I think	60.1	52.5	56.5
I have a good understanding of important policy issues	59.2	50.9	65.9
Most people are better informed than I am	25.8	17.0	17.5

Note: N=1068

Source: International Social Survey Programme, 2005 – Citizenship data set

In a previous study conducted in the aftermath of the 2004 election (Turcotte, 2005), I have argued that young voters hold a different set of priorities and interact with the political process differently than older cohorts. As noted in that study, they were significantly less likely than their older counterparts to identify health care and the sponsorship scandal as their top issue priorities and were more likely to want to hear about economic issues and education. Voters born after 1970 relied more on “the party as a whole” to guide their vote choice, while relying much less on local candidates. Moreover, although the campaign had little impact on the vote choice of a majority of Canadians, especially older generations, 37% of young voters decided

whom to vote for in the final days of the campaign. They also evaluated party leaders differently. We continue to find some of the same differences in issue priorities.

When asked to name the most important political issue facing the country, young voters are less likely to identify health care than older voters and are significantly more concerned about unemployment and taxes (Table 2).

Table 2: Top Three Most Important Political Issues (per Age Group)

18-30 % Agree	31-40 % Agree	41+ % Agree
Unemployment (23.1%) Taxes (19.2%) Health care (11.5%)	Health care (25.3%) Education (9.9%) Unemployment (8.2%)	Health care (34.2%) Unemployment (7.7%) The economy (6.7%)

Note: N=1014 (N within brackets)

Question: “What is the most important political issue facing Canada today?”

Source: Fireweed Barometer 2006

Differences in issue priorities become more striking when we examine attitudes about specific policy options, spending preferences and perceived government responsibilities (see Tables 3, 4 and 5 below). In specific terms, when asked about their preferences over a wide range of potential policy positions, younger voters expressed partiality that was – more often than not – at odds with their older cohorts.

Specifically, voters between the ages of 18 and 30 are less likely to favour government regulation of business than voters over age 30 (Table 3). This is also the case with regard to supporting industry to develop new products. Young voters are also most likely to favour financing projects as long as they create jobs. Differences in policy preferences disappear with regard to reducing the workweek as a job creation mechanism. In this instance, young voters aged 18-30 (45.9%) are as likely as those over the age of 40 (45.8%) to support such an initiative, while those aged 31-40 are marginally less likely to do so (42.6%). Nevertheless, results suggest that divergence in policy preferences exists among age groups, and such a divergence can also be found in spending priorities.

Table 3: Preference for Policy Options (per Age Group)

Policy Options	18-30 % Favour	31-40 % Favour	41+ % Favour
Less government regulation of business	38.0	42.0	53.7
Reduce the working week for more jobs	45.9	42.6	45.8
Cuts in government spending	63.9	59.9	70.5
Support industry to develop new products	65.0	79.7	81.7
Financing projects to create new jobs	75.0	68.0	71.9

Note: N=1068

Question: “To what extent do you favour or oppose each of the following?”

Source: International Social Survey Programme, 2006 – Work and the Role of Government data set

Table 4: Spending Priorities (per Age Group)

Spending Priorities	18-30 % Spend More	31-40 % Spend More	41+ % Spend More
Spend on health care	80.1	62.9	75.6
Spend on law enforcement	32.1	36.4	54.5
Spend on defence	29.5	33.1	43.4
Spend on culture and arts	10.9	18.3	20.5

Note: N=1068**Question: “Do you think the government should spend more or less on each of the following?”****Source: International Social Survey Programme, 2006 – Work and the Role of Government data set****Table 5: Perceived Government Responsibilities (per Age Group)**

Government Responsibility	18-30 % Should Be	31-40 % Should Be	41+ % Should Be
Laws to protect the environment	93.8	89.8	94.1
Provide decent housing	81.0	78.2	85.8
Control prices	75.6	70.5	69.1
Help industry grow	61.8	84.0	75.6
Provide jobs for everyone	52.6	38.0	35.0

Note: N=1068**Question: “To what extent should each of the following be a responsibility of the government?”****Source: International Social Survey Programme, 2006 – Work and the Role of Government data set**

As Table 4 indicates, while young voters are more likely to support increased health care spending than their older counterparts, they are significantly less likely to support spending on law enforcement, defence, and culture and arts. More agreement exists among age groups with regard to perception of what the government should be responsible for, but even in that situation, younger voters hold perceptions that are at odds with the others (Table 5). Although almost everyone agrees that the government should be responsible for enacting laws to protect the environment and for providing decent housing, young voters are more likely to think that it should control prices as well as provide jobs for everyone. They are less likely than older voters to see a role for the government in helping industry grow. The picture that emerges from the data presented above is one where a group of voters holds a set of opinions that is different from the rest of the population. If we accept the premise that politicians are entrepreneurs selling policies for votes, it follows that campaign rhetoric will centre on the issue priorities of the group of people representing the larger potential market for votes, thus marginalizing other priorities. Consequently, young voters feel that their priorities are largely ignored, and if they choose to behave rationally (at least as understood by rational choice theorists¹²), little incentive exists for young people to vote.

¹² For a discussion of different interpretations of rationality, see Lupia et al. (2000).

Generational Differences

In *The Silent Revolution* (1977) and subsequently in *Modernization and Postmodernization* (1997), Ronald Inglehart argued that a transformation was taking place in the political cultures of advanced industrial societies. This transformation altered the basic value priorities of given generations, as a result of changing conditions influencing their basic socializations. Inglehart's basic hypothesis was that individuals pursue various goals in hierarchical order – giving maximum attention to the things they sense to be the most unsatisfied needs at a given time. Accordingly, individuals have a tendency to retain a given value hierarchy throughout adult life. Drawing on the work of Abraham Maslow (1987), Inglehart reasoned that the age cohorts who had experienced the wars and scarcities of the era prior to the post-war booming years would accord a relatively high priority to economic security and to what Maslow termed as “safety needs.” For the younger cohorts, a set of “post-bourgeois” values, relating to the need for belonging and to aesthetic and intellectual needs, would be more likely to take top priority. Other scholars, such as Neil Nevitte (1996), have argued that, as a result of material satisfaction during formative socialization as well as greater access to education and changes in the workplace, values have shifted and have impacted on people's interest in and expectations of government. In this paper, I suggest that, as a result of their life experience based on access and control, young voters hold different expectations of government and are more likely to favour democratic reforms that increase citizen participation and control. Accordingly, people in general and young voters in particular are less likely to vote because political institutions have failed to react to the differing expectations of the electorate (Pharr and Putnam, 2000). Times have changed, but political institutions and leaders in particular have not. Some even suggest, echoing Galbraith's concerns, that youth turnout has declined in part as a result of lack of motivation on the part of political strategists to engage youth or even include youth issues in the discourse (Turcotte, 2005).

Much has been written about changes in value priorities¹³ and how they manifest themselves among different age groups. In the Canadian context, Nevitte's *The Decline of Deference* (1996) and Sniderman and colleagues' *The Clash of Rights* (1996) are two eloquent examples. It is beyond the aim of the present study to revisit such results. I only intend to provide some examples to further substantiate such claims.

In the ISSP study conducted in 2005, Canadians were asked to rate the importance of a series of actions and behaviours that a citizen could perform in a democratic society. The mean scores for each age group are presented below in Table 6. A few general conclusions can be drawn initially from the results. First, with one exception, Canadians between the ages of 18 and 30 consistently rate the importance of the citizen-oriented behaviours differently than older Canadians, especially those over age 40. Second, the range of opinions among Canadian adults under 40 is broader than that among Canadians over 40, who tend to perceive all the behaviours as having great importance.¹⁴

¹³ Dalton (1977); Inglehart (1981); Abramson and Inglehart (1986); and Bakvis and Nevitte (1987), are a few seminal examples.

¹⁴ While the differences are small, it remains that, in eight of the nine cases examined, younger voters rate the behaviours differently.

Table 6: Importance of Different Citizen-Oriented Behaviours (per Age Group)

Behaviour	18-30 Mean Score	31-40 Mean Score	41+ Mean Score
Serve in the military	3.55	3.83	4.74
Active in associations	4.21	3.99	4.57
Choose environmentally friendly products	5.02	4.55	5.01
Help the less privileged in the world	5.20	4.44	4.81
Understand other opinions	5.55	5.83	6.04
Always vote in elections	5.62	5.94	6.39
Keep watch on government	5.73	5.89	6.33
Never try to evade taxes	5.88	6.27	6.37
Always obey laws	6.07	6.41	6.46

Note: N=1068

Question: “Rate the importance of each of the following on a scale of 1 to 7 where 1 is ‘not at all important’ and 7 is ‘very important’.”

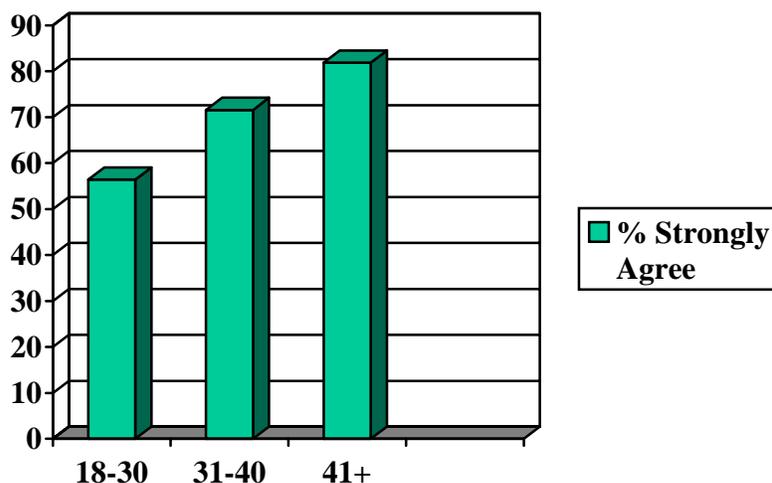
Source: International Social Survey Programme, 2005

In specific terms, Canadians between the ages of 18 and 30 give less importance to *servicing in the military*, *understanding other opinions*, *keeping watch on government*, *never trying to evade taxes* and *always obeying the law* than their older counterparts. In contrast, they give more importance to *helping the less privileged in the world* than other Canadians. Canadians aged 31-40 are less likely than others to see the importance of *being active in associations* and *choosing environmentally friendly products*. Directly relevant to the core of the arguments presented in this paper, young Canadians aged 18-30 rate the importance of *always voting in elections* (5.62) lower than Canadians aged 31-40 (5.94) and those over 40 (6.39). I will expand on the importance of civic duty in the next section.

Culture

As Pammett and LeDuc (2004: 355) once mentioned, voting in elections is part of a larger cluster of values and beliefs that are part of a country’s political culture. Of primary importance is the sense of civic duty. Civic duty has been defined as the feeling that participation is to be valued for its own sake, or for its contribution to the overall health of the polity, and does not need to be justified on self-interested or utilitarian grounds (Pammett and LeDuc, 2004: 355). It would appear that younger voters in Canada do not share this understanding of civic duty to the same extent as other Canadians. When asked to indicate their agreement with the statement that it is every citizen’s duty to vote in federal elections, only 56.4% of young voters strongly agreed as compared with 71.6% of those aged 31-40 and 81.9% of those over the age of 40 (Figure 4).

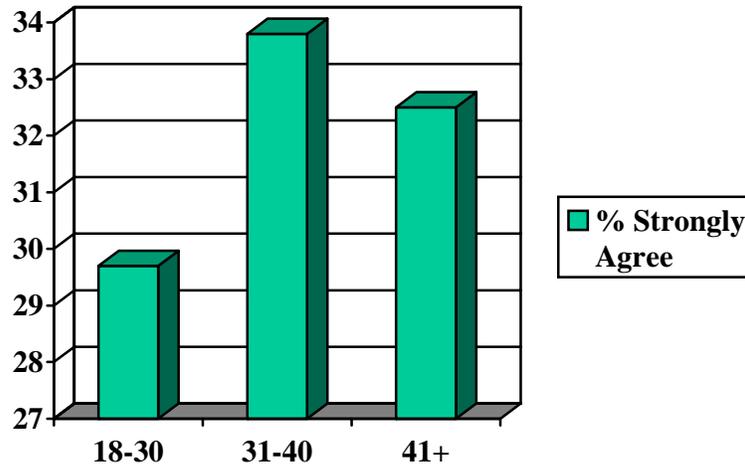
Figure 4: Civic Duty (per Age Group)



Note: N=4323 (N within brackets) – 18-30(691)/31-40(683)/41+(2949)
Statement: “It is every citizen’s duty to vote in federal elections.”
Source: Canadian Election Study, 2004

Related to the concept of civic duty is the relationship between levels of obligation and levels of engagement. Theorists recognize the shift in importance of duty to democracy. In fact, outside of previous patterns of voting, it is the largest relationship discussed in the literature (Pammett and Leduc, 2004). According to André Blais (2000: 113), the recent erosion in voting is specifically related to a decline in a sense of duty. When obligation or duty is absent, so too are positive feelings of efficacy and trust. This point was made above when the findings presented in Table 1 showed that young Canadians are not only disinterested in politics, but also feel powerless, ignored and less informed than others. The literature also reveals that a strong belief in democracy and sense of obligation to it is correlated to engagement and participation (Blais, 2000: 93; Marcus et al., 1995: 46). One way to further examine the link between civic duty and obligation is to see if voters feel that there are some consequences to not exercising their right to vote. When asked whether they agree or disagree with the statement “Someone who does not vote does not have the right to criticize the government,” young voters give little indication that they associate non-voting with an abdication of their right to criticize (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Obligation and Civic Duty (per Age Group)



Note: N=4323

Question: Do you agree or disagree with this statement? "Someone who does not vote does not have the right to criticize the government."

Source: Canadian Election Study, 2004

Under closer scrutiny, Elisabeth Gidengil and her colleagues (2003) found that the decline in voter turnout might well be partly a product of low levels of education since the disengagement problem was less prevalent among those with greater education. This hypothesis is not an entirely new assertion. In their seminal study, Wolfinger and Rosenstone (1980) determined that education was the leading socio-economic characteristic associated with voting. In fact, they found that those possessing a university education were 38% more likely to vote than those with less than five years of schooling.

From a broader theoretical perspective, scholars writing with a political culture focus agree that there have been noticeable shifts in democratic values over the last few years. However, unlike post-materialists, they focus on civic behaviour, maintaining that shifting patterns of engagement have occurred – not merely in politics, but in the community at large. For instance, Robert Putnam (2000) maintained that voter disengagement is rooted in a larger lack of commitment and participation within the community. He argued that social structures and networks have changed, causing an erosion of community commitment that is transferred to government institutions. Citizens are more likely to stay home and watch television rather than engage in their communities. For Putnam, younger people do not feel they are required to participate in traditional politics or processes such as voting.

In a study published in 2005, Gidengil and her colleagues argued that the priorities of Canadians were strikingly similar regardless of their age. The present analysis strongly rejects this assertion. First, I believe that the authors dismissed too hastily small but consistent differences between age groups. Second, too much emphasis was given to analyzing the outcome of the government process (i.e. policy outcomes and priorities), instead of access to the democratic process. In this analysis, my objective is to concentrate on Pammett and LeDuc's focus on

values and beliefs because these may reflect a country’s political culture, of which voting is an essential component. An indication of generational differences in values and beliefs can be found when looking at respect for institutions. Once again, Canadians between the ages of 18 and 30 express different views than older cohorts (Table 7).

Table 7: Respect for Institutions (per Age Group)

Institutions	18-30 % Great Deal of Respect (261)	31-40 % Great Deal of Respect (258)	41+ % Great Deal of Respect (1117)
The media	1.5	1.5	3.6
Federal government	1.5	0.8	3.3
Civil service	2.6	2.3	3.5
Unions	4.0	4.2	5.7
Provincial/territorial government	5.1	3.8	4.7
Big business	5.1	1.5	2.1
Armed forces	5.6	6.1	11.5
Organized religion	8.6	11.0	13.7
Supreme Court	12.6	11.8	17.9
Public schools	15.2	11.5	14.3
Police	21.7	18.6	24.8

Note: N=1636 (N within brackets)

Question: “Please indicate how much confidence you have in the following institutions.”

Source: 2004 Canadian Election Study

These young Canadians have less respect for the *media*, the *federal government*, the *civil service*, *unions*, the *armed forces*, *organized religion*, the *Supreme Court* and the *police* than Canadians over the age of 40. In contrast, they hold *public schools*, *provincial government* and *big business* in higher regard. While the differences are small, they are statistically significant and consistent in supporting the patterns found earlier and substantiate the central argument that younger voters are different; they have different issue priorities, different ideas about civic duty and what it means to be a citizen, and different values. Such differences lead young Canadians to interact differently with the political system that they consider largely irrelevant or, at least, not worth the trouble of voting. Exploring democratic reforms as a potential way to restore some relevance is the remaining question to be explored.

Toward a Solution: Democratic Reform?

The Fireweed Barometer presented to a sample of Canadians a series of potential democratic reform proposals and aimed to gauge support for each of them. As the results in Table 8 indicate, three-quarters of Canadians (75%) support the use of citizens’ assemblies. They also support an independent ethics watchdog (74%), fixed election dates (64%), proportional representation (63%), an elected Senate (63%), direct elections of party leaders (59%) and of a head of state (51%), parliamentary control over appointments of senior government officials (56%) and even the somewhat radical non-Westminster notion of separating the ballot between a vote for the prime minister versus a vote for a local MP (57%). Canadians also express the view that they want to have more substantial interactions with the government than using a little pencil every four years or so to put an “X” on a piece of paper. Citizens want online consultations

between the government and citizens (67%) and direct engagement between citizens and parliamentary committees (65%). They would also support an initiative to pay university graduates to perform one year of community service (54%). Canadians in general are divided on the issue of abolishing the Senate, with 40% in favour and 43% opposed to the idea. A majority (53% opposed; 43% supported) resists a proposal that would make voting compulsory as in other democratic countries, notably Australia and Belgium, as well as a proposal for Internet voting (57% opposed and 39% supported).

Table 8: Support for Proposed Reforms

Proposals	Support
Citizens' assemblies	75%
Independent ethics watchdog	74%
Issue-based citizen online consultation	67%
Volunteer groups in parliamentary committees	65%
Fixed election dates	64%
Proportional representation	63%
Elected senators	63%
Party leaders elected directly by voters instead of party members	59%
Prime minister and MPs elected separately	57%
Parliament to make non-elected government appointments	56%
University graduates paid for one year of community service	54%
Elected head of state	51%
Making voting compulsory	43%
Abolish the Senate	40%
Internet voting	39%

Note: N=1014
Source: Fireweed Barometer 2006

Undeniably, the implementation of even just a few of those proposals would have a major impact on our political system. But would such reforms be sufficiently appealing to the subgroup of voters who need to be reintegrated into the political process?

Table 9 shows that the answer is not that clear. Looking at support for specific proposals among different age groups and accounting for strength in support, we realize that, first, young voters lack enthusiasm for most reforms and, second, their preferences differ from older voters. While they generally share other Canadians' support for proportional representation, the consensus stops there.

Table 9: Support for Democratic Reforms (per Age Group)

Democratic Reforms	18-30 % Strongly Support	31-40 % Strongly Support	41+ % Strongly Support
Proportional representation	34.6	25.8	27.9
Party leaders elected by voters instead of party members	19.2	16.5	16.7
Independent ethics watchdog to oversee politicians	15.4	29.1	29.8
Elected Senate	15.4	16.5	20.3
Abolishing the Senate	7.7	7.1	16.1
Elected head of state	7.7	12.1	13.2
Fixed election dates at the federal level	15.4	15.9	24.7
Parliament to appoint people to non-elected government positions	19.2	12.1	16.5
Making voting compulsory	23.1	13.2	17.6
Volunteer groups to participate in parliamentary committee	19.2	20.3	9.8
Internet voting	26.9	12.6	8.4
Citizens' assemblies	0.0	18.1	19.2
Pay university graduate for one year of community service	30.8	12.6	15.1
Citizens to provide input to MPs over the Internet	15.4	25.3	17.9

Note: N=1014

Source: Fireweed Barometer 2006

Young voters are less likely to be satisfied with the traditional types of reform, such as an *independent ethics watchdog*, an *elected* or *abolished Senate*, *fixed election dates* and *citizens' assemblies*.¹⁵ Young voters want action; they want to *make voting compulsory*, *pay university graduates for one year of community service*, *have volunteer groups participate in parliamentary committees* and *vote over the Internet*. This is a far cry from what has been proposed to date.

¹⁵ It may be speculated that young voters were less likely to be aware of citizens' assemblies, which would explain their extremely low ratings.

Conclusion

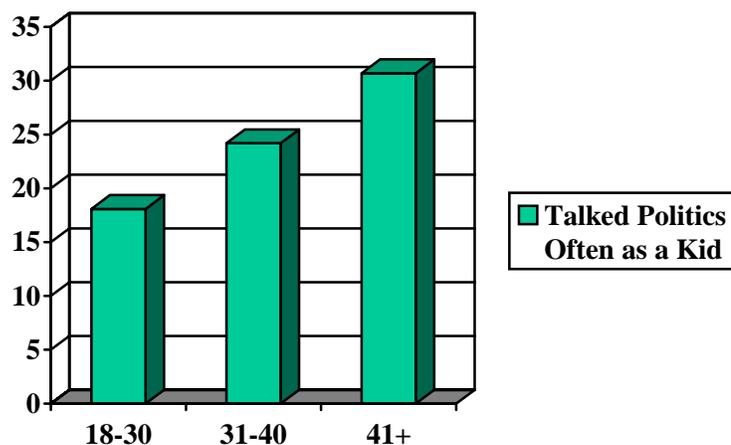
The Canadian political system is facing a dilemma. As mentioned before, since the 2000 election, turnout among young Canadians has hovered below the 40% mark – meaning that, in the last three federal elections, more than six in every 10 Canadians between the ages of 18 and 25 could not find a good reason to vote. Proposals have been put forth to address this problem, largely to no avail. In this paper, I wanted to provide answers to the following three questions:

- What are the issue priorities of young Canadians, and do they differ from older Canadians?
- Do young Canadians – who are used to interacting with their broad social sphere in an egalitarian manner based on an unprecedented level of control – have different conceptions of citizenship and of the way their government affects their lives? What do they think of their government, its role and its performance in addressing their needs and expectations?
- Do young Canadians still care enough about politics to want to reform the system?

Evidence from the data presented suggests that, indeed, some of the explanations for low voting turnout reside in the fact that younger voters – those between the ages of 18 and 30 – hold a different set of priorities and interact with the political process differently than older cohorts. The data show that differences in issue priorities, differences in their understanding of what it means to act as a citizen and of the role of government, and differences in democratic values can provide at least some partial answers as to why younger voters are less interested in voting. The data also indicate that solutions to this situation go beyond the generally cosmetic proposals that have been considered by provincial and federal governments.

The final point to be made is that to engage young voters into a real discussion about addressing the cause of their apathy is a tall order. Figure 6 illustrates that “talking politics” is not something young voters are used to doing. While close to one-third (30.1%) of Canadians over the age of 40 remember talking about politics on a daily basis as a kid, this percentage drops to 24.2% among those aged 31-40 and to only 18.1% among young voters aged 18-30.

Figure 6: Frequency of “Talking Politics as a Kid” (per Age Group)



Note: N=4323
Source: 2004 Canadian Election Study

Moreover, young voters are also less likely to follow politics. They are less likely to watch TV news, listen to radio news and read newspapers (Table 10). Interestingly, they access the three traditional forms of news media with similar frequency. In contrast with other studies, our data show that they are no more likely than older voters to use the Internet as a source of news information.

Table 10: Frequency of Media Access (per Age Group)

Media	18-30 % daily	31-40 % daily	41+ % daily
Watch TV news	16.7	24.1	35.5
Listen to radio news	14.2	16.4	23.9
Read newspapers	12.4	12.4	25.0
Use Internet for news info	6.3	6.4	6.1

Note: N=1068
Source: International Social Survey Programme, 2005

Given this reality and assuming that the political will emerges to address the specific needs of the young Canadian voters who are disenfranchising themselves, one must wonder whether it will be possible to reach them to let them know or whether it is already too late. It should be the objective of future research to explore specifically the possible means to “re-enfranchise” young voters. We have reached a consensus that young voters are no longer interested in the traditional political process, but we still do not fully understand the specific reasons they have opted out of the political process. More importantly, to have a healthy democratic system, it is imperative to isolate the changes that will bring them back.

References

- Abramson, Paul R. and Ronald Inglehart. 1986. "Generational Replacement and Value Change in Six West European Societies," *American Journal of Political Science* Vol. 30, No. 1.
- Bakvis, Herman and Neil Nevitte. 1987. "In Pursuit of Postbourgeois Man." *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 20, No. 3, 357-389.
- Blais, André. 2000. *To Vote or Not to Vote: The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Blais, André, et al. 2002. *Anatomy of a Liberal Victory: Making Sense of the Vote in the 2000 Canadian Election*. Peterborough: Broadview Press, Ltd.
- Bohman, James, and William Rehg (eds.). 1997. *Deliberative Democracy: Essays in Reason and Politics*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Bryman, Alan. 2004. *The Disneyization of Society*. London: Sage.
- Campaign Finance Reform. 2001. *Harvard Law Review* Vol. 114, No. 7. (May): 2209-2215.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1977. "Was There a Revolution?" *Comparative Political Studies*, 9(4) (January): 459-473.
- De Kerckhove, Derrick. 1995. *The Skin of Culture*. Toronto: Somerville House Publishing.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Boston: Addison Wesley Publishing Company Inc.
- Ellis, Andrew, et al. (eds). 2006. *Engaging the Electorate: Initiatives to Promote Voter Turnout from Around the World*. Stockholm: IDEA.
- Elster, Jon (ed.). 1998. *Deliberative Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fishkin, James. 1991. *Democracy and Deliberation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Franklin, Mark. 2004. *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gabler, Neal. 1998. *Life: The Movie*. New York: Knopf.
- Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1992. *The Culture of Contentment*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Gidengil, Elisabeth, et al. 2003. "Turned Off or Tuned Out: Youth Participation in Politics." *Electoral Insight* Vol. 5, No. 2 (July).

- Gidengil, Elisabeth, et al. 2005. "Missing the Message." *Electoral Insight* Vol. 7, No. 1 (January).
- Howe, Paul. 2003. "Where Have All the Voters Gone." *Inroads* (Winter).
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1981. "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity," *The American Political Science Review*, 75: 880-899.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1977. *The Silent Revolution*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., et al. 1944. *The People's Choice*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lupia, Arthur, et al. 2000. "Beyond Rationality: Reason and the Study of Politics." In Arthur Lupia, Matthew D. McCubbins, and Samuel L. Popkin (eds.). *Elements of Reason*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marcus, George E., et al. 1995. *With Malice toward Some: How People Make Civil Liberties Judgments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maslow, Abraham. 1987. *Motivation and Personality*. 3rd ed. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.
- Milan, Anne. 2005. "Willing to Participate: Political Engagement of Young Adults." *Canadian Social Trends* No. 79 (Winter).
- Nevitte, Neil. 1996. *The Decline of Deference: Canadian Value Change in Cross-National Perspective*. Toronto: Broadview Press.
- Newton, Kenneth, and Pippa Norris. 2000. "Confidence in Public Institutions: Faith, Culture, or Performance." In Susan J. Pharr and Robert D. Putnam (eds.). *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Pammett, Jon H., and Lawrence LeDuc. 2003. *Explaining the Turnout Decline in Canadian Federal Elections: A New Survey of Non-Voters*. Ottawa: Elections Canada.
- Pammett, Jon H., and Lawrence LeDuc. 2004. "Behind the Turnout Decline." In Jon H. Pammett and Christopher Dornan (eds.). *The Canadian General Election of 2004*. Toronto: The Dundurn Group.
- Pharr, Susan J., and Robert D. Putnam (eds). 2000. *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries*. Chichester, West Sussex: Princeton University Press.

- Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Touchstone.
- Rifkin, Jeremy. 2000. *The Age of Access*. New York: J.P. Tarcher.
- Smith, J. Walker and Ann Clurman. 1997. *Rocking the Ages*. New York: HarperBusiness.
- Sniderman, Paul M., et al. 1996. *The Clash of Rights*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Spicer, Keith. 1992. *Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future*. Ottawa: Supply and Services.
- Tapscott, Don. 1998. *Growing Up Digital*. McGraw-Hill.
- Thiessen, Erin. 2006. "Making Politics Relevant: The Electoral Commission, United Kingdom." In Andrew Ellis, et al. (eds). *Engaging the Electorate: Initiatives to Promote Voter Turnout from Around the World*. Stockholm: IDEA.
- Tullock, Gordon, and James Buchanan. 2004. *The Calculus of Consent*. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- Turcotte, André. 2005. "Different Strokes: Why Young Canadians Don't Vote." *Electoral Insight* (January).
- White, Theodore H. 1961. *The Making of the President 1960*. New York: Atheneum Publishers.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E., and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press.



Canadian Policy Research Networks – Réseaux canadiens de recherche en politiques publiques
214 – 151 Slater Street, Ottawa, ON K1P 5H3
☎ 613-567-7500 – 📠 613-567-7640 – 🌐 www.cprn.org