

The National Youth Election Survey Report: A Subgroup Analysis of Political and Civic Participation among Canadian Youth

A Report Commissioned by Elections Canada

*Filip Kostelka, Ph.D.
Université de Montréal*

and

*Colin Scott, M.A.
McGill University*

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Note to the Reader

This report was presented at the conference “Youth Political Participation: On the Diverse Roads to Democracy,” June 16–17, 2016, Montreal, Quebec.

Executive Summary

Canada's 42nd federal election was held on October 19, 2015. In addition to being the first federal vote held under fixed-date election laws, at 78 days it was one of the longest political campaigns in Canadian history. With official voter turnout at 68.3%, the 2015 election saw participation rise for the second consecutive federal election by 7 percentage points compared to the previous federal vote, in 2011. Recent evidence on youth electoral participation in Canada has suggested that, *inter alia*, youth vote at lower rates than older adults (e.g., Barnes & Virgint, 2010); that some of this difference corresponds to a generational shift in attitudes, and thus leads to a decline in voter turnout over time (Blais et al., 2004; Blais & Loewen, 2011); and that there is significant variation in the propensity to participate among various youth subgroups (Gélineau, 2013).

In this report, we analyse data from the *2015 National Youth Survey* to assess the state of Canadian youths' involvement in political and civic life. In particular, we aim to find out to what extent youth engage in voting and other forms of political and civic participation, which factors explain differences in participation rates between younger and older citizens, how equal participation is among various youth subgroups, and what factors might account for any potential variation in participation.

In line with previous work, our principal findings show a gap in the self-reported participation between younger and older adults when it comes to voting, but not in most other forms of political and civic behaviours. Reported voter turnout among young Canadians ages 18 and younger is approximately 20 percentage points lower than among older citizens. With respect to other forms of participation, although younger adults are less likely to contact politicians, they do not lag behind older Canadians in terms of overall political participation or a civic engagement through volunteering or participation in community meetings.

The main reason why youth vote less and are less likely to contact politicians can be primarily explained by differences in political attitudes. Youth are less interested and knowledgeable about politics and are less likely to believe that voting is a civic duty. Youth are also less likely to be mobilised by political parties and to receive Election Canada's voter information card. However, this weaker exposure to mobilisation contributed only slightly to youth's lower propensity to participate. Similarly, youth do not participate less because of their socioeconomic situation. Actually, had young Canadians possessed the same socioeconomic characteristics as older Canadians, we estimate that the gap in voter turnout would be even stronger. Altogether, to paraphrase a classic formulation by Sidney Verba and colleagues (1995, p. 15), youth participate less than older voters mostly because "they do not want to," and not because "they can't" or "nobody asked."

Self-reported participation among young Canadians is perhaps more equal across groups of youth than in the past. An important finding from the present research is that, contrary to what might be expected, Aboriginal youth reported voting in 2015 to the same extent as non-Aboriginal youth. Furthermore, after controlling for differences in socioeconomic resources, political attitudes, and mobilising influences, Aboriginal youth were six percentage points more likely than non-Aboriginal youth to report having voted. With respect to other youth subgroups,

only unemployed youth and youth living in rural areas are substantially less likely to participate in all types of political and civic participation. This can be attributed to these respondents' relative disadvantage in terms of socioeconomic resources and low levels of political knowledge. Importantly, we also show that parenthood creates additional obstacles to voter turnout for young women, but not young men, as the fact of having children considerably reduces participation of young mothers, but not young fathers.

Drawing on our principal and secondary findings, we recommend that Elections Canada (EC) coordinate with educational institutions and propose new, innovative activities to stimulate young citizens' interest and knowledge of political processes. EC should cooperate with other relevant authorities in a sustained effort to promote commitment to democracy and explain its requirements at all levels of schooling and beyond. EC should develop strategies to promote registration and reregistration (after moving), specifically among young voters, who are characterized by particularly high degrees of residential mobility. EC should explore new ways to reach young citizens, such as dispatching copies of voter information cards electronically. Last but not least, EC should expand its efforts to make voting accessible to young families in general, but young mothers in particular.

1. Introduction

Since 2008, Elections Canada (2011) has prioritized youth electoral participation and made it a core pillar of its five-year *Strategic Plan (2008–2013)*. As a result, the *National Youth Survey* (NYS) was commissioned. The collection of nationally representative survey data on youth political engagement allows for a deeper understanding of the obstacles and opportunities for youth political participation. Implemented in 2011, the first round of the NYS asked a nationwide sample of 2,665 youth about their political attitudes and behaviours (Gélineau, 2013; Malatest & Associates, 2011). The findings suggest that youth are not a homogenous group; on the contrary, there is much variation across youth from different socio-demographic groups in terms of both participation rates and the factors that motivate political participation.

Canada's 42nd federal election was held on October 19, 2015, and was in many ways different from previous federal elections. The contest was very competitive between the three largest federal parties. Following 78 days of campaigning, the 2015 federal election marked one of the longest campaigns in Canadian history, and the October election was the first federal vote held under fixed-date election laws. With 68.3% turnout, the 2015 election saw a 7-percentage-point increase in voter turnout compared to 2011, marking the second election in a row where voter turnout increased (Elections Canada, 2016). Following the 2015 vote, Elections Canada conducted a second wave of the NYS, surveying a nationally representative sample of 2,506 Canadians under the age of 35 between October 21 and November 26, 2015. In addition to the youth sample, the 2015 NYS also included a subsample of 503 adults aged 35 and older.

An empirical understanding of youth political participation is important because inequalities in political participation today can have a negative impact on the representation of youth and the functioning of Canadian democracy by shaping long-term trends in political engagement. Moreover, there is much evidence to suggest that new generations are less likely to vote and that this trend can account for much of the decline in voter turnout in Western societies (Barnes & Virgint, 2010; Blais et al., 2004; Clarke et al., 2004; Dalton, 2007; Franklin, 2004; Lyons & Alexander, 2000; Miller & Shanks, 1996; Wattenberg, 2007). In this report, we present our analysis of the 2015 NYS with respect to three overarching questions:

- i) To what extent do youth engage in voting and other forms of political and civic participation?
- ii) Which factors explain potential differences in participation rates between younger and older citizens?
- iii) How equal is youth political participation? What inequalities in voter turnout and other political and civic behaviours exist across subgroups of youth and what accounts for them?

This report is developed as follows. In Section 2, we provide a general overview of the state of youth participation during the 2015 Canadian federal election. We show that although youth tend to vote less than older adults, they do not differ significantly in terms of most other political behaviours or civic participation. On the other hand, we find evidence to suggest that

there are a certain number of inequalities in self-reported political participation across youth subgroups. In Section 3, we explore the factors that account for differences between younger and older adults in terms of voter turnout and another form of political participation in which youth lag behind, which is contacting politicians. We find that the participation gap is in each case primarily attributed to differences in political attitudes, and that other classic predictors of participation such as socioeconomic resources and exposure to mobilising influences play a much more modest role. In Section 4, we focus on three youth subgroups: the unemployed, youth from rural areas, and Aboriginal youth. We investigate the causes of disengagement among the first two groups, and the evidence which suggests a noticeable increase in participation among the latter group. Section 5 concludes with a discussion of the findings alongside several policy recommendations.

2. Youth Participation in the 2015 Federal Election

This section portrays the big picture of youth political and civic participation in 2015. In particular, it aims to answer the following questions:

- i) How much do Canadian youth participate in politics and civil society?
- ii) Are there any substantial inequalities among youth subgroups in terms of participation?

We study three types of participation. First, we operationalize electoral participation as whether or not respondents self-reported voting in the October 2015 federal election.¹ Second, we include a measure of non-electoral political participation that we define as self-reported behaviours besides voting that signal an expression of political preference to political actors.² This measure allows us to capture whether respondents have reported engaging in at least one form of such political behaviour in the past year.³ Finally, to contrast different forms of

¹ Self-reported voter turnout in public opinion surveys is typically higher than official voter turnout because of self-selection (those who vote are typically more willing to participate in a survey on voting) and social desirability (reporting abstention could be potentially embarrassing to the respondent). Nevertheless, the existing research shows that the relationships observed in the study of self-reported voter turnout largely hold when voter turnout that is validated against official or other sources (see Brady, Verba & Schlozman, 1995, p. 292; Highton 2005).

² In some political science studies, “electoral participation” is a broad category that, besides voting, also encompasses party activities such as attending party meetings or canvassing. In the present report, this term refers exclusively to respondents’ reports of casting a ballot in the 2015 federal election. In contrast, “non-electoral political participation” corresponds here to all other types of political behaviour, including party activities, some of which may occur during the election time. Specifically, we consider the following five political behaviours: contacting a politician regarding an issue, participating in a demonstration or protest march, displaying a sign for a party or candidate during an election, signing a petition, or participating in an event organised by a candidate or political party. A finer subdivision of “non-electoral political participation” is not used in most sections of this report, because of space constraints. This being said, in Section 3.2, we compare youth and older citizens’ participation levels on each of the five aforementioned political behaviours.

³ For the ease of interpretation and given that, on average, respondents took part in less than one of the participatory behaviours considered here, we dichotomized this measure in our analyses reported below. Respondents who have reported participating in at least one non-electoral political behaviour are given a score 1, while those who reported

participation, we include a dichotomous measure of civic engagement, which we operationalize as whether respondents reported volunteering or having attended a community meeting about a local issue in the past 12 months.

We show that the participation of younger citizens lags behind that of their older counterparts when it comes to turning up on election day, but not with respect to other forms of political and civic participation. As regards the comparison among the youth subgroups, only the unemployed and rural youth are substantially less involved, on average, than the rest of Canada's young citizens. Conversely, in stark contrast with the 2011 federal election, Aboriginal youth reported voting in 2015 to the same extent as non-Aboriginal youth.

2.1 How Much Participation?

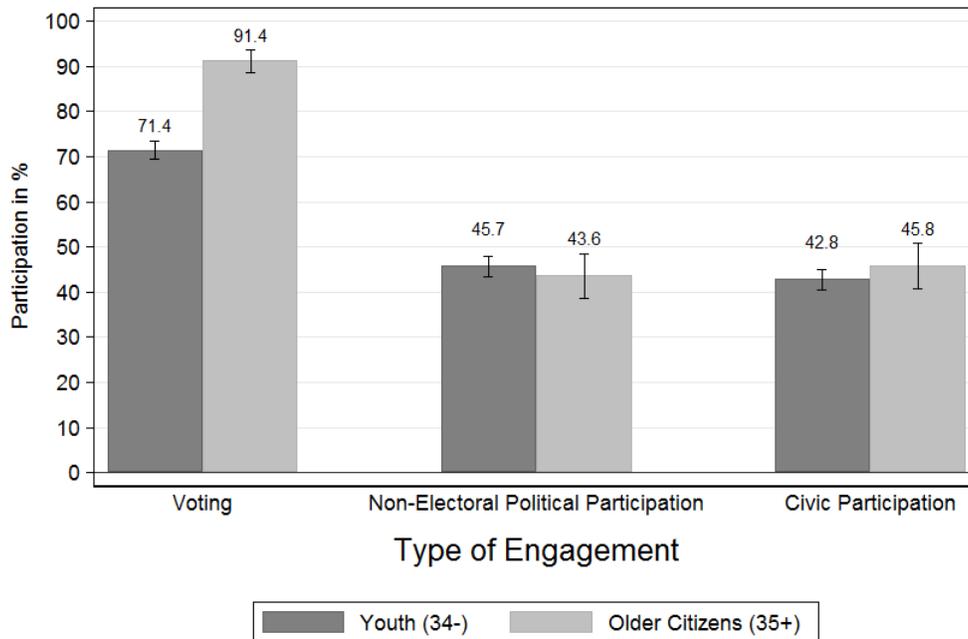
To what extent do youth participate in political and civic life? Figure 1 compares the self-reported participation rates of young Canadians (18–34 years of age) to those of their older counterparts following the 2015 federal election.⁴ The results are consistent with the findings from earlier studies on youth political engagement in Canada (Barnes & Virgint, 2010; Blais & Loewen, 2011; Gélinau, 2013; Howe, 2007). On the one hand, youth self-reported voter turnout is approximately 20 percentage points lower than that of older adults. On the other, there is no statistically significant difference in terms of broader participation in politics and civic life. Canadian youth are as likely as older adults to have reported taking part in at least one form of political participation, and to have reported volunteering or attending meetings on local issues to a similar extent as older adults in the past year.⁵ In short, while Canadian youth report comparable levels of civic and non-electoral political participation as older adults, they tend to vote less than older Canadians.

not engaging in any of these behaviours are scored as 0. Dichotomizing our non-electoral participation variable has no impact on our main findings (see footnote 5).

⁴ For a formal statistical test of the differences between youth and older citizens, see Appendix Table 4.

⁵ This null finding between youth and older citizens holds even when the different types of participatory behaviours are summed in a cumulative index of political participation. Both groups participate on average in approximately 0.75 political acts.

Figure 1. Rates of Civic and Political Participation by Age Group



Note: The error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals.

2.2 Who Participates?

Our next question is to assess whether Canadian youth participate equally in political and civic life, or if there are noticeable disparities across youth from different backgrounds. Table 1 examines the proportion of young Canadians who reported voting and participating in other forms of political and civic activities across different subgroups.

We find that self-reported turnout is highest among young Canadians who are between 23 and 29 years of age and that as a group, students are much more active in all forms of participation than other subgroups of young adults. The former finding is surprising since, according to some studies (e.g., Bhatti, Hansen, & Wass, 2012), corroborated by findings from the 2011 NYS (Gélineau, 2013, p. 6), the propensity to vote is expected to be the lowest for youth in their early- to mid-20s. With respect to self-identified Aboriginal respondents, our results contrast markedly with reported levels of Aboriginal youth turnout in the 2011 federal election. Findings from the 2011 NYS showed that Aboriginal youth were half as likely as non-Aboriginals to report voting (see Gélineau, 2013, p. 7). In contrast, we find no evidence to suggest that Aboriginal youth were less likely to vote than their non-Aboriginal counterparts in 2015 – Aboriginal youth in our sample self-reported voting to the same extent as the national average of young adults.⁶ Moreover, Aboriginal youth also reported greater levels of non-electoral political and, in particular, civic participation.⁷

⁶ Caution should be exercised in generalizing to Aboriginals living on reserve. There is only a small number of them in the 2015 NYS and living on a reserve has been associated with lower levels of reported voter turnout (see Fournier & Loewen, 2011). This notwithstanding, although the 2015 NYS wave contains fewer on-reserve Aboriginal youth respondents compared to the 2011 wave, the share of on-reserve Aboriginal respondents in our

Table 1. Political and Civic Participation by Youth Subgroup

	Voting	Non-electoral political participation	Civic participation
Youth (all)	71.4	45.7	42.8
Age Group			
18–22	66.3	46.4	51.3
23–29	77.8	49.7	43.5
30–34	67.3	39.3	33.7
Gender			
Male	72.1	43.9	39.7
Female	70.8	47.5	46
Residency			
Urban	72.8	48.1	44.7
Rural	68	38.5	42.6
	Voting	Non-electoral political participation	Civic participation
Student Status			
Students	76.1	51.5	53.6
Non-students	68.8	43.3	36.1
Employment Status			
Employed or not seeking employment	72.5	46.4	43.5
Unemployed	46.9	32.7	27.6
Disability Status			
No disability	71.6	45	49.2
Self-reported disability	70.3	60.7	42.6
Aboriginal Status			
Aboriginal	70.1	51.2	51.1
Non-Aboriginal	71.6	45.5	42.6

analysis are similar to those reported in the 2011 NYS after weighting (approximately 15% of Aboriginal respondents). Therefore, our finding of an increase in overall Aboriginal youth participation cannot be attributed to an underrepresentation of on-reserve Aboriginal youth in the 2015 NYS.

⁷ As Section 4.3 below demonstrates, the difference in terms of civic participation is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

Visible Minority			
Visible minority	69.6	48.5	46.2
Other	73	45.6	42
Place of Birth			
Born abroad	67.8	45.8	41.5
Born in Canada	71.9	45.8	43
First Language			
English	71.3	46.4	45.1
French	72.9	45.1	34.1
Other language	68.8	43.3	45
Region			
Atlantic	76.9	49.6	53.8
Quebec	71.2	46	33.5
Ontario	69.1	48	44.3
Prairies	76.7	40	48.7
Alberta	68.9	40.4	45
BC/Territories	75.9	44.8	43.4

Overall, while youth participate less than older adults at the ballot box, there are a few notable differences in self-reported participation across subgroups of youth. As mentioned, youth in their late 20s reported turning out in greater numbers than their younger or older counterparts under the age of 35. The only other notable differences are found for unemployed youth and youth living in rural areas, who are less likely to have reported voting.⁸ In what follows, we extend our analysis to further explore these findings in greater detail to gain additional insights regarding the differences in the factors that drive youth participation in Canada across youth subgroups.

3. What Impedes Youth Political Participation?

In this section, we extend our analysis of youth engagement by turning our attention to the determinants of participation. Our objective is to find out why youth participate less in some forms of political participation than older citizens. We first study the causes of the 20-percentage-point gap in self-reported voter turnout between younger and older adults. Next, we

⁸ In terms of voting, ethno-cultural youth (visible minorities and those born outside Canada) also seem to be slightly underrepresented (by 4 percentage points when compared to the rest of the Canadian youth). However, this effect is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$) when subject to a formal statistical test; thus we conclude there are no substantial differences in self-reported voter turnout between visible minority youth and other younger adults.

propose a more detailed analysis of youth participation in non-electoral forms of political participation. In particular, we investigate why, when compared to older citizens, youth are less likely to contact politicians. We find that the voting gap between younger and older citizens is primarily due to differences in political attitudes, with inequalities in socioeconomic resources and exposure to mobilising influences playing less of a role. In addition, while Table 1 (above) showed that there are no significant gender differences in rates of political participation, further analyses uncovered a difference in the relationship between parenthood and voting.

From the now-classic formulation by Verba and colleagues (1995, p. 15), citizens tend not to participate in politics either “because they can’t, because they don’t want to, or because nobody asked.” From this perspective, we can identify three key factors that drive political participation: respondents’ level of socioeconomic resources, differences in political attitudes, and exposure to mobilising forces. In what follows, we apply a series of logistic regression analyses to assess the extent to which these factors are responsible for differences in participation rates between youth and older citizens before turning, in Section, 4, to differences within the former group.

3.1 Youth Voter Turnout

Results from a logistic regression analysis of self-reported voter turnout on respondents’ socioeconomic resources, political attitudes, and exposure to mobilising influences are presented in Table 2. We present our findings as average marginal effects (AME), which can be understood as the change in the probability of reported voter turnout if a respondent possesses a given characteristic (e.g., having a child). In cases where variables are scored on a continuous scale (e.g., knowledge and political cynicism) AMEs reflect the change in the probability of voting when respondents’ value on the scale increases by one unit.

Our results suggest that individual differences in socioeconomic resources like education and income do not explain differences in self-reported political participation between younger and older adults. In fact, when we control for these differences, the disparity slightly increases when compared to the baseline model including only the categorical variable of whether the respondent is classified as a youth.⁹ Instead, political attitudes – especially political cynicism,¹⁰ the belief that voting is a civic duty, knowledge and interest in politics in general, and interest in the election in particular, are primary drivers of the discrepancy in self-reported voter turnout between younger and older respondents. After controlling for differences in political attitudes, the disparity in self-reported voting is nearly halved, reduced from 19 to 11 percentage points. Finally, participation is also enhanced by exposure to mobilising forces. For younger and older citizens alike, respondents were more likely to report having voted if they received a voter

⁹ The difference between youth and older voters is slightly (by 3 percentage points) lower than in Figure 1 (i.e., 17 percentage points instead of 20). This is due to the omission of individuals with missing values on some of the independent variables in the current analysis.

¹⁰ Political cynicism replicates the measure used by Rubenson et al. (2004, p. 39). It is a latent continuous Likert scale, coded from 0 to 1. It consists of the following items: attitudes towards political parties (variables QF4 and QF2B in the NYS 2015), politicians (QF3), and the government (Q2FC). Formal tests showed that the scale is unidimensional and reliable (Cronbach’s alpha = 0.77). Citizens who score high on the scale typically dislike political parties and politicians, and agree strongly with the statements that all federal political parties are the same and that the government does not care about people.

information card, were contacted by political parties, and were encouraged to vote by their families. Surprisingly, not all types of mobilisation are positively associated with voter turnout¹¹ and, taken together, the role of such mobilising forces is slight, reducing the discrepancy between youth and older citizens by a mere percentage point.

When observing the variation in the marginal effect for being a young Canadian in models 1 to 4, it becomes clear that slightly less than half of the gap in voting between youth and adult citizens is due to differences in attitudes and mobilisation. To further explore the distribution of these factors across older and younger voters, we use the same strategy of “controlled correlation” used by G lineau (2013, p. 14) in his analysis of the 2011 NYS. Specifically, we regress our dichotomized youth variable on all the factors that were found to exert a statistically significant effect on voting in Model 4. This yields an estimate of the extent to which young citizens are more or less likely to possess a given characteristic. The results displayed in Table 3 reveal that younger citizens are substantially less knowledgeable and interested in politics. Youth also tend to agree less with the idea that voting is a civic duty. Interestingly, when controlling for other influences, youth are not significantly more cynical than their elders.¹² On the other hand, youth are less likely to recall receiving a voter information card from Elections Canada or to be encouraged to vote by politicians and political parties (though they report a greater likelihood of being encouraged to vote by family members).¹³

Table 2. Predictors of Self-Reported Voter Turnout for All Citizens

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Baseline	Resources	Attitudes	Mobilisation
	AME	AME	AME	AME
Youth (<35)	-0.17***	-0.19***	-0.11***	-0.10***
Post-Secondary Education		0.14***	0.05**	0.03+
Income Above \$40,000		0.01	-0.01	-0.02
Have Recently Moved		-0.04+	-0.04**	-0.01
Children		-0.08***	-0.03	-0.02
Interested in the Election			0.20***	0.20***
Interested in Politics			0.09***	0.07**
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)			-0.19***	-0.19***

¹¹ Those who declare having been encouraged to vote by the news media show a lower propensity to vote, by 6%. This result is, however, not very robust and should be taken with a pinch of salt, since in a simple bivariate analysis (without the inclusion of other predictors) the effect of media mobilisation is positive (+ 8.2) and statistically significant ($p < 0.001$).

¹² However, in a bivariate setting, youth are more cynical. The average value of young citizens on the 0–1 cynicism scale is 0.45 and that of their older counterparts is 0.41 (p value of the difference < 0.001).

¹³ According to our model, the media mobilisation, which is slightly stronger among youth, exerts a negative effect. Yet, as we mentioned earlier, this result should be interpreted with caution (see footnote 11).

Voting is a Civic Duty			0.23 ^{***}	0.20 ^{***}
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)			0.19 ^{***}	0.16 ^{***}
Received the Voter Card				0.20 ^{***}
Political Mobilisation				0.03 [*]
Family Mobilisation				0.06 ^{***}
Mobilised by Friends or Teachers				0.01
Contacted by Media				-0.05 ^{**}
Contacted by an Organisation				-0.02
Observations	2441	2441	2441	2441
Pseudo R^2	0.03	0.05	0.31	0.36

Note: ⁺ $p < 0.10$, ^{*} $p < 0.05$, ^{**} $p < 0.01$, ^{***} $p < 0.001$. Predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 (no) or 1 (yes) except for political cynicism and political knowledge, which are continuous scales ranging from 0 to 1. The effect of youth in the baseline model is 3 percentage points lower than in Figure 1 because we exclude individuals with missing values on the independent variables used in models 2 to 4.

Table 3. Youth Dummy Regressed on Predictors of Voter Turnout

	(5)
	DV = Youth
	AME
Post-Secondary Education	0.02
Have Recently Moved	0.17 ^{***}
Interested in the Election	0.04
Interested in Politics	-0.08 ^{**}
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)	0.04
Voting is a Civic Duty	-0.05 ^{**}
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)	-0.13 ^{***}
Received the Voter Card	-0.09 ^{***}
Political Mobilisation	-0.07 ^{***}
Family Mobilisation	0.10 ^{***}
Contacted by Media	0.03
Observations	2441
Pseudo R^2	0.09

Note: ⁺ $p < 0.10$, ^{*} $p < 0.05$, ^{**} $p < 0.01$, ^{***} $p < 0.001$. Unless stated otherwise, predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 or 1.

It is important to note that the three types of factors studied above do not entirely explain the difference between youth and adult voters. To account for the remaining 10-percentage-point gap, we also tested interactions between youth and all the predictors to see whether the effects of the tested factors are not different on youth and adult voters (e.g., the effect of education could be of different magnitude for youth and adult voters). None of the interactions, however, proved to be statistically significant (analysis not shown in the present report). The difference between self-reported voter turnout between younger and older respondents is thus probably related to a broader set of factors that are difficult to measure and that can be described as experience. This experience may correspond to the process of aging (age effects) or different socialisation processes (generation effects).¹⁴

Table 1 presented in Section 2 finds no evidence of gender differences in self-reported voter turnout. However, we ran an additional analysis to explore any potential difference in the participation by young men and by young women. In particular, we were interested in the effect of parenthood on voter turnout, as previous research has suggested that the political participation of women may be impeded by motherhood (McGlen, 1980; Quaranta, 2015). To do so, we replicate our full model as shown in Table 2 by including an interaction between children and female (analyses shown in Appendix Table 5). In Table 4, we estimate the interaction effects between gender and being a parent on respondents' self-reported voter turnout. We find evidence to suggest that parenthood has a different effect on voter turnout among young mothers and fathers. For young fathers, the fact of having children has no effect on the probability of self-reported voting. For young mothers, however, having children has a negative and statistically significant effect. In other words, motherhood decreases young women's propensity to vote by 8 per cent. This finding suggests that Elections Canada could tailor interventions toward making it easier for young mothers to vote.

Table 4. Interaction Effects Between Gender and Parenthood

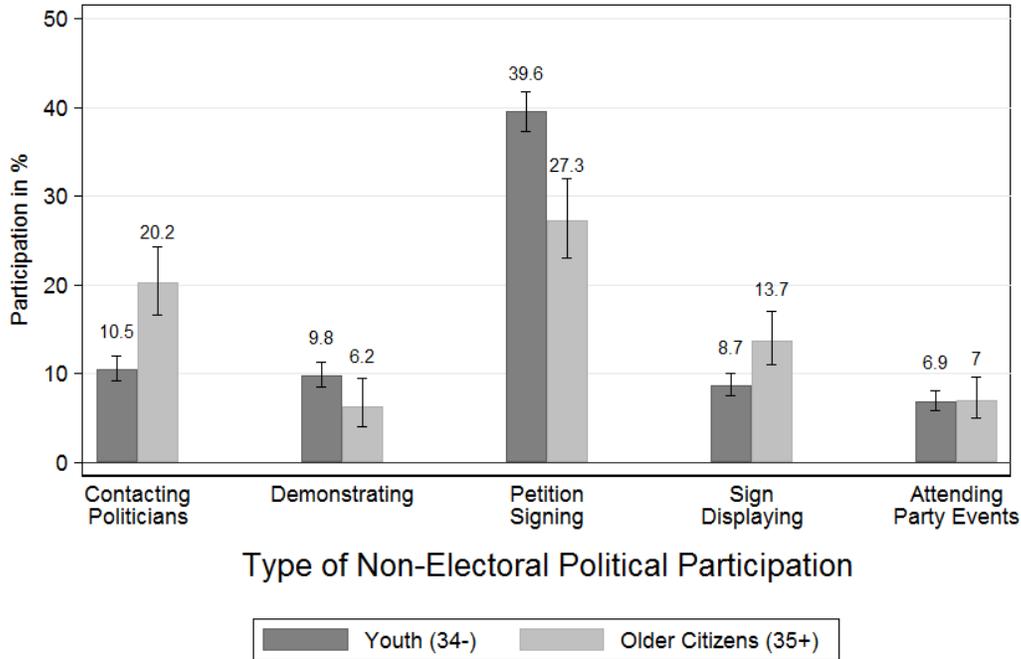
	Contrast in the Marginal Effect	95 % Confidence Interval	
		Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Young Father	.04	-.02	.10
Young Mother	-.08	-.13	-.03

Note: The reference categories for young fathers and young mothers are young men and young women without children, respectively.

¹⁴ The current survey does not allow us to explore the role of these factors at depth. However, when we attentively add controls for age effects in Model 4 (see Appendix Table 6), the AME of the youth dummy decreases to 5 percentage points. This suggests that age effects may account for 50% of the unexplained youth–adult difference in Model 4 in Table 2), and up to 50% may be due to generation effects. Such an estimate is relatively consistent with the findings with earlier studies from Canada (e.g., Blais et al., 2004). Of course, this should be further explored with a much more sophisticated analysis employing representative data from a large number of federal elections. It should be also noted that some of the differences between youth and older citizens that we observe in attitudes (notably political interest and civic duty) are also likely to be generational in nature.

3.2 Youth's Involvement in Other Forms of Political Participation

Figure 2. Different Types of Political Participation by Age Group



Note: The error bars indicate 95% confidence intervals.

In section 2.1, we found that, in terms of non-electoral political participation, youth participate as much as their elders. However, one may wonder whether this equality holds across all types of political behaviours besides voting. This is explored in Figure 2, where youth and older citizens are compared on each constitutive item of the overall measure of non-electoral political participation. It reveals that there are only two activities in which youth participate less: contacting politicians and, to a much lesser extent, displaying a sign for a party or candidate during an election campaign. At least to some degree, this is compensated by youth's greater propensity to sign petitions and to participate in public demonstrations. Yet contacting politicians is a more personal and direct way of making one's voice heard, and intergenerational equality in this type of citizen engagement is desirable. Consequently, the ensuing analysis explores the causes of youth's lower engagement in this type of activity.

Table 5. Predictors of Contacting Politicians for All Citizens

	(6)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Baseline	Resources	Attitudes	Mobilisation
	AME	AME	AME	AME
Youth (<35)	-0.10 ^{***}	-0.09 ^{***}	-0.06 [*]	-0.05 [*]
Post-Secondary Education		0.06 ^{**}	0.04 [*]	0.03 ⁺
Income Above \$40,000		0.02	0.00	0.01
Have Recently Moved		-0.00	-0.01	-0.00
Children		-0.01	0.00	0.01
Interested in the Election			0.05	0.04
Interested In Politics			0.10 ^{***}	0.09 ^{***}
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)			0.07	0.09 [*]
Voting is a Civic Duty			-0.00	-0.01
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)			0.16 ^{***}	0.12 ^{***}
Received the Voter Card				0.06 [*]
Political Mobilisation				0.07 ^{***}
Family Mobilisation				0.00
Mobilised by Friends or Teachers				0.01
Contacted by Media				0.00
Contacted by an Organisation				0.09 ^{***}
Observations	2414	2414	2414	2414
Pseudo R^2	0.01	0.02	0.07	0.12

Note: ⁺ $p < 0.10$, ^{*} $p < 0.05$, ^{**} $p < 0.01$, ^{***} $p < 0.001$. Unless stated otherwise, predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 or 1.

The results presented in Table 5 show a very similar picture to the explanation of youth–adult inequality in voter turnout. The change in the marginal effect of the youth grouping variable in models 6 to 10 suggests that half of the youth’s lower propensity to contact politicians can be accounted for by the three classic types of participation drivers. When they are all controlled for (Model 10), the difference falls from 10% (in the baseline Model 6) to 5%. Like in the case of voting, the biggest contribution, a reduction of 3 percentage points in the difference between younger and older Canadians, comes from political attitudes, especially respondents’

political interest and knowledge.¹⁵ Resources and mobilisation play a smaller role, with each accounting for just 1 percentage point in the discrepancy. The unexplained share of the youth–adult gap may be due, as in the case of voter turnout, to age and generation effects.

4. Disadvantaged Youth Subgroups: Why do they participate less?

In this section we focus on those youth subgroups that participate the least in Canada’s political and civic life: the unemployed and rural youth. We also analyse Aboriginal youth, which used to be strongly underrepresented until the current 2015 federal election. We study each subgroup in turn and proceed in two steps. We first explore to what extent socioeconomic resources, attitudes and mobilisation account for the given subgroup’s lower rates of participation. Subsequently, we reapply the method of controlled correlation to find out which of the relevant explanatory factors identified in the first step of the analysis characterize each subgroup. This way, we can identify the most suitable targets for enhancing political and civic participation among those who participate the least.

4.1 Unemployed Youth

Section 2 above showed that, as a group, unemployed youth are less likely to report having voted, engage in other forms of political participation, and to volunteer or attend a community meeting on a local issue in the past 12 months. This can be seen also in the regression baseline models 11, 13 and 15 presented in Table 6. Controlling for differences in socioeconomic resources, political attitudes, and exposure to mobilisation reduces the discrepancy in voter turnout among unemployed youth by nearly two-thirds, when compared against our baseline model (see Model 12). Similarly, controlling for differences in socioeconomic resources, political attitudes, and mobilisation, the differences in political and civic participation are reduced by half and no longer statistically significant. Our results suggest that much of the discrepancy in voter turnout for unemployed youth can be explained by socioeconomic status, political attitudes, and exposure to mobilising influences. However, these factors do not tell the whole story, suggesting that other considerations like stressful life events could be at play (Hassell & Settle, in press).

¹⁵ It should be noted that the positive effect of political cynicism on contacting politicians in Model 10 might reflect a potentially spurious relationship; in a bivariate setting, the coefficient becomes negative and statistically insignificant.

Table 6. Disparities in Participation for Unemployed Youth

	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
	Voting Baseline	Voting Full	Non- Electoral Baseline	Non- Electoral Full	Civic Baseline	Civic Full
	AME	AME	AME	AME	AME	AME
Unemployed	-0.29***	-0.12**	-0.16*	-0.09	-0.16**	-0.08
Post-Secondary Education		0.04*		0.05 ⁺		0.09**
Income Above \$40,000		-0.02		-0.05 ⁺		-0.01
Have Recently Moved		-0.01		-0.03		-0.01
Children		-0.03		-0.04		-0.09**
Interested in the Election		0.23***		0.03		-0.00
Interested in Politics		0.08**		0.12**		0.08*
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)		-0.22***		0.08		-0.16*
Voting is a Civic Duty		0.21***		0.05 ⁺		0.05*
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)		0.16***		0.19***		0.09 ⁺
Received the Voter Card		0.22***		0.02		-0.03
Political Mobilisation		0.04*		0.11***		0.07**
Family Mobilisation		0.06**		0.02		0.01
Mobilised by Friends or Teachers		0.00		0.08*		0.11***
Contacted by Media		-0.06**		0.02		0.04
Contacted by an Organisation		-0.02		0.14***		0.14***
Observations	1993	1993	1993	1993	1993	1993
Pseudo R^2	0.01	0.36	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.09

Note: ⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Unless stated otherwise, predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 or 1. The dependent variables are the dichotomous measures of voting (models 11 and 12), non-electoral political participation (13 and 14) and civic participation (15 and 16) that were introduced in Section 2.

Next, we examine the factors associated with being an unemployed youth in the 2015 NYS. The results, summarized in Table 7, suggest that unemployed youth differ from other younger adults on a number of factors that are important drivers of political participation. On average, unemployed youth have lower levels of education than other young adults. They are also less likely to believe that citizens have a duty to vote and less likely to be mobilised to vote by their family members. There might be some evidence to suggest that on average, unemployed youth are poorer and are less knowledgeable about politics, but these effects are only marginally significant and, especially in the latter case, should be interpreted with caution.

Table 7. Unemployed Dummy Regressed on Predictors of Participation

	(17)	(18)	(19)
	Resources	Attitudes	Mobilisation
	AME	AME	AME
Post-Secondary Education	-0.03 ^{***}		
Income Above \$40,000	-0.01 ⁺		
Have Recently Moved	-0.00		
Children	-0.00		
Interested in the Election		-0.01	
Interested in Politics		-0.00	
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)		0.01	
Voting is a Civic Duty		-0.02 ^{**}	
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)		-0.02 ⁺	
Received the Voter Card			-0.01
Political Mobilisation			0.00
Family Mobilisation			-0.02 ^{**}
Mobilised by Friends or Teachers			-0.00
Contacted by Media			0.01
Contacted by an Organisation			-0.01
Observations	1993	1993	1993
Pseudo R^2	0.03	0.04	0.02

Note: ⁺ $p < 0.10$, ^{*} $p < 0.05$, ^{**} $p < 0.01$, ^{***} $p < 0.001$. Unless stated otherwise, predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 or 1.

4.2 Youth from Rural Areas

Table 8 highlights our multivariate results predicting self-reported political and civic participation for youth living in rural areas. Although rural youth, on average, are less politically active than their urban counterparts, they tend to be more active with respect to their levels of civic participation, defined here as volunteering or attending community meetings in the previous 12 months, all else being equal. Our findings suggest that the disparities in differences in rural youths' self-reported voting can be completely explained by differences in their socioeconomic resources, political attitudes, and exposure to mobilisation. By contrast, these factors only explain a portion of the inequality in political participation and conceal the inequality in civic participation. In fact, our model suggests that after controlling for differences

in socioeconomic resources, political attitudes, and exposure to mobilising influences, rural youth are significantly *more* likely to report civic participation than their urban counterparts.

Table 8. Disparities in Participation for Rural Youth

	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)
	Voting Baseline	Voting Full	Non- Electoral Baseline	Non- Electoral Full	Civic Baseline	Civic Full
	AME	AME	AME	AME	AME	AME
Rural	-0.07**	-0.02	-0.10***	-0.06*	0.04	0.08**
Post-Secondary Education		0.04 ⁺		0.05 ⁺		0.09**
Income Above \$40,000		-0.02		-0.06*		-0.01
Have Recently Moved		-0.01		-0.03		-0.01
Children		-0.03		-0.03		-0.10**
Interested in the Election		0.21***		0.04		0.01
Interested in Politics		0.08**		0.12**		0.08*
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)		-0.23***		0.08		-0.17*
Voting is a Civic Duty		0.22***		0.05 ⁺		0.05*
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)		0.16***		0.18***		0.09 ⁺
Received the Voter Card		0.22***		0.02		-0.04
Political Mobilisation		0.04*		0.11***		0.08**
Family Mobilisation		0.07**		0.03		0.00
Mobilised by Friends or Teachers		0.01		0.08*		0.11***
Contacted by Media		-0.06**		0.02		0.03
Contacted by an Organisation		-0.02		0.14***		0.14***
Observations	1966	1966	1966	1966	1966	1966
Pseudo R^2	0.00	0.36	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.09

Note: ⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Unless stated otherwise, predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 or 1. The dependent variables are the dichotomous measures of voting (models 20 and 21), non-electoral political participation (22 and 23) and civic participation (24 and 25) that were introduced in Section 2.

In Table 9, we assess the effect for being a youth from a rural area on levels of the factors considered in our model of participation. On average, young rural youth are less knowledgeable about politics and are typically poorer than other young voters. They are less likely to be targeted by politicians, but are also more likely to be influenced to vote by family members. This finding is interesting in that it suggests that for rural youth, the family socialisation process may be of greater importance in impacting political participation.

Table 9. Rural Dummy Regressed on Predictors of Participation

	(26)
	DV = Rural Youth
	AME
Post-Secondary Education	-0.03
Income Above \$40,000	-0.05*
Have Recently Moved	-0.01
Children	0.10***
Interested in the Election	-0.03
Interested in Politics	-0.00
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)	0.02
Voting is a Civic Duty	0.00
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)	-0.12**
Received the Voter Card	0.01
Political Mobilisation	-0.04 ⁺
Family Mobilisation	0.06**
Mobilised by Friends or Teachers	0.00
Contacted by Media	0.04*
Contacted by an Organisation	-0.04 ⁺
Observations	-0.04 ⁺
Pseudo R^2	0.03

Note: ⁺ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Unless stated otherwise, predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 or 1.

4.3 Aboriginal Youth Participation

Finally, we turn our attention to Aboriginal youth participation. Table 1 in Section 2.2 indicated that although Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth reported voting in comparable numbers, there was a noticeable difference both in terms of other forms of political participation as well as civic engagement. Table 10 reports the results of our multivariate logistic regression for our model of participation on measures of political and civic participation. Once we control for differences in socioeconomic resources, political attitudes, and exposure to mobilisation, Aboriginal youth are 6 percentage points *more likely* than non-Aboriginal youth to report having voted in 2015 (see Model 28). This means if Aboriginal youth had the same characteristics as non-Aboriginal youth they would perhaps have reported even higher levels of turnout than non-Aboriginal youth.

Table 10. Disparities in Participation for Aboriginal Youth

	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)
	Voting Baseline	Voting Full	Non- Electoral Baseline	Non- Electoral Full	Civic Baseline	Civic Full
	AME	AME	AME	AME	AME	AME
Aboriginal	0.01	0.06*	0.07	0.05	0.10*	0.09*
Post-Secondary Education		0.04*		0.05 ⁺		0.09**
Income Above \$40,000		-0.01		-0.05 ⁺		-0.01
Have Recently Moved		-0.02		-0.03		-0.01
Children		-0.03		-0.05		-0.10**
Interested in the Election		0.22***		0.02		-0.00
Interested in Politics		0.08**		0.12**		0.08*
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0-1</i>)		-0.23***		0.08		-0.17*
Voting is a Civic Duty		0.21***		0.05*		0.06*
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0-1</i>)		0.16***		0.19***		0.09 ⁺
Received the Voter Card		0.22***		0.02		-0.03
Political Mobilisation		0.04*		0.11***		0.07**
Family Mobilisation		0.06**		0.02		0.01
Mobilised by Friends or Teachers		0.00		0.07*		0.11***

Contacted by Media		-0.06**		0.02		0.04
Contacted by an Organisation		-0.02		0.14***		0.14***
Observations	1993	1993	1993	1993	1993	1993
Pseudo R^2	0.00	0.36	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.09

Note: + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Unless stated otherwise, predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 or 1. The dependent variables are the dichotomous measures of voting (models 27 and 28), non-electoral political participation (29 and 30) and civic participation (31 and 32) that were introduced in Section 2.

In contrast to voting, models 30 and 31 show that the distribution of these factors does not completely explain differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth to report non-electoral political and civic types of engagement. This suggests that other factors, presumably characteristics specific to Aboriginal youth, are responsible for the observed discrepancy between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal youth. More generally, the findings of increased participation from Aboriginal youth presented here could be a result of the mobilisation efforts from leaders within the Aboriginal community, such as the Assembly of First Nations (e.g., Tremonti, 2015). However, given the survey data presented here, we are unable to explore this possibility further.¹⁶

From Table 11, our results suggest that Aboriginal youth are at a disadvantage on a number of other fronts that have been known to be associated with political participation. First, Aboriginal youth in our sample were poorer and more likely to be a parent and to have moved in the past year. Aboriginal youth were also substantially less knowledgeable about politics. Importantly, these respondents from our sample were also less likely to have reported receiving a voter information card. This is significant because, as reported above, our findings suggest a strong relationship between receiving a voter information card and casting a ballot.

Table 11. Aboriginal Dummy Regressed on Predictors of Participation

	(33)	(34)	(35)
	Resources	Attitudes	Mobilisation
	AME	AME	AME
Aboriginal			
Post-Secondary Education	-0.01		
Income Above \$40,000	-0.04***		
Have Recently Moved	0.02**		
Children	0.02*		
Interested in the Election		0.01	
Interested in Politics		0.01	
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)		0.02	

¹⁶ This being said, additional analyses of Aboriginal respondents (not reported here) suggest that being contacted by an Aboriginal organisation is not positively associated with voter turnout in either bivariate or multivariate models.

Voting is a Civic Duty		-0.00	
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)		-0.06 ^{***}	
Received the Voter Card			-0.03 ^{**}
Political Mobilisation			0.00
Family Mobilisation			0.00
Mobilised by Friends or Teachers			0.01
Contacted by Media			-0.00
Contacted by an Organisation			0.02 ^{**}
Observations	1993	1993	1993
Pseudo R^2	0.05	0.02	0.02

Note: ⁺ $p < 0.10$, ^{*} $p < 0.05$, ^{**} $p < 0.01$, ^{***} $p < 0.001$. Unless stated otherwise, predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 or 1.

5. The State of Youth Political and Civic Participation in 2015

5.1 Summary of the Findings

The analyses of the NYS paint a unique portrait of young Canadians' participation across political and civic domains. Our findings suggest that, as a group, youth are not apathetic when it comes to politics. Although they are less likely to vote and to contact politicians when compared to older adults, we find that youth participate at least as much as their elders in most other non-electoral political behaviours and in civic life.

The main reason why youth vote at lower rates and are less likely to contact politicians is primarily a result of differences in political attitudes. Youth are less interested and knowledgeable about politics, and are less likely to believe that voting is a civic duty. Youth are also less likely to be mobilised by political parties and to receive the voter information card, which, however, contributes only little to youth's lower propensity to participate. To paraphrase Sidney Verba and colleagues (1995, p. 15), youth participate less than older voters mostly because "they do not want to," and not because "they can't" or "nobody asked."

Comparing subgroups of Canadian youth, we find that participation in 2015 was perhaps more equal than past studies of youth political participation in Canada might have suggested (see Gélinau, 2013). A particularly encouraging finding is the increase in the participation of Aboriginal youth, who, in contrast with the previous federal elections, voted in 2015 as much as non-Aboriginal citizens. Interestingly, Aboriginal youth, though, remain disadvantaged in terms of voter turnout drivers such as socioeconomic resources and political knowledge. In fact, once we controlled for differences in socioeconomic resources, political attitudes, and exposure to mobilising influencers, Aboriginal youth were 6 percentage points *more* likely to vote relative to non-Aboriginal youth.

This being said, we do find some evidence of inequalities in the rates of political participation among rural and unemployed youth. These groups notably stand out for their

relative disadvantage in terms of socioeconomic resources and low levels of political knowledge. Rural youth are also substantially more likely to have children, which we found to be associated with lower levels of electoral participation for young women more generally, but not young men. This raises additional questions with respect to the gender barriers that may impede young women from voting.

5.2 Policy Recommendations

Overall, our analyses draw a rather positive picture of Canadian youth's political and civic engagement: inequalities in the levels of self-reported participation between youth and older adults and across youth subgroups are relatively limited. That being said, there is still much work to be done, as motivational barriers remain a serious impediment to the political participation of younger Canadians. This is evidenced by the substantial contribution that attitudinal variables, most notably political interest and knowledge, make to explaining the lower propensity of young citizens to vote and reach out to politicians. Not surprisingly, youth are significantly more likely to get engaged if they are interested and knowledgeable about politics. In this regard, Elections Canada (EC) should maintain a commitment to education and outreach. Additionally, community partners and educational institutions should collaborate to propose new, innovative activities to stimulate young citizens' interest and knowledge of political processes.

The fact that youth are not as interested in politics and are less likely to embrace the belief that voting is a civic duty presumably reflects a broader generational value change that affects a large number of established democracies (see Blais & Rubenson, 2013; Kostelka, 2015, chapter 4). This trend may be difficult to reverse and may be particularly problematic in the long term as generational replacement could, all things considered, reduce overall turnout levels in Canada. EC should cooperate with other relevant authorities in a sustained effort to promote commitment to democracy and explain its requirements at all levels of schooling and beyond. The message has to be clear: democracy cannot be taken for granted and there can be no democracy without participation.

As stated above, a small portion of the gap in voter turnout can be attributed to youth's lower likelihood of receiving a voter information card. This may reflect youth's lower voter registration rate (as only registered voters receive the card), as well as greater residential mobility (see Table 3 in Section 3.1). To curb this negative effect, two measures may be considered. First, EC should develop strategies to promote registration and reregistration (after moving) specifically among young voters. One suggestion would be to engage to a greater extent with post-secondary institutions to ensure that new students know how to update their registration information. Second, EC should make sure that voter information cards reach all registered voters. To that effect, it may be useful to explore new ways to reach young electors. For instance, EC might explore the feasibility of collecting registered voters' email addresses and, in addition to dispatching the voter information card by post, send a copy to voters also electronically.

Finally, the proposed measures, including information campaigns and civic training, should target in particular the most disadvantaged subgroups in terms of political and civic

engagement: the unemployed and rural youth. EC should also work to consolidate the higher levels of reported turnout among Aboriginal youth in 2015. Further, the significantly negative association between young motherhood and self-reported voting should encourage EC to expand their efforts to make voting accessible to young families. This may be important also in the long-term perspective since, as scientific literature has repeatedly demonstrated (e.g., Jennings 2007), parents' political attitudes and behaviour strongly affect the behavioural patterns of young adults.

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Appendixes

Appendix A. Sampling Information and Variable Description

Sampling

The 2015 NYS includes a national randomly selected sample stratified by age, gender, and region ($n = 2,255$), as well as a purposive (non-probabilistic) oversampling of specific youth subgroups, including Aboriginal youth. In total, 3,009 Canadians participated in the survey, which included a subsample of older citizens, ages 35 and older ($n = 503$). Approximately two-thirds of respondents in the randomized national sample were contacted by cell phone or landline ($n = 1,503$) with the remaining one-third of respondents from the nationally representative youth sample completing the survey online ($n = 752$). All respondents from the stratified sample of adults ages 35 and over were contacted by a telephone survey. Respondents in the purposive oversampling were recruited through online panels and specialised panels of Aboriginal youth. Table A1 presents sample characteristics. Data were weighted by age and gender within regions (according to the 2011 census).

Appendix Table 1. Youth Subgroups in the 2015 NYS

Subgroups	Sample Size
Female (60.0%)	$n = 1503$
Aboriginal (9.94%)	$n = 249$
Age Group	
18–22 years old	$n = 1078$
23–29 years old	$n = 819$
30–34 years old	$n = 609$
Region	
Atlantic	$n = 163$
Quebec	$n = 509$
Ontario	$n = 1044$
Prairies (Saskatchewan and Manitoba)	$n = 214$
West (Alberta, BC) and Territories	$n = 332$

Descriptive Statistics and Explanation of Independent Variables

Appendix Table 2. Descriptive Statistics – Quantitative Variables

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Cynicism	3009	0.450	0.210	0	1
Knowledge	3007	0.560	0.290	0	1
Age	3009	29.67	12.91	18	91

The construction of the variable Cynicism is described in footnote 10 in the main body of the text. Knowledge corresponds to the share of correct answers to the five following questions in the NYS questionnaire, of which the first three are multiple-choice and the last two are open-ended:

- 1) “Which party won the most seats in the federal election held on October 19th?” (Variable QI1 in the NYS 2015)
- 2) “Which level of government has primary responsibility for education – federal, provincial, or municipal?” (Variable QI2 in the NYS 2015)
- 3) “Which level of government has primary responsibility for employment insurance – federal, provincial, or municipal?” (Variable QI3 in the NYS 2015)
- 4) “What is the name of the premier of your Province or Territory?” (Variable QI4 in the NYS 2015)
- 5) “Now we have a question about a public figure, David Cameron. What job or political office does he now hold?” (Variable QI5 in the NYS 2015)

Appendix Table 3. Descriptive Statistics – Qualitative Variables

Variable / Group	N	%	Description
Post-Secondary Education			
No	721	24.2	Recode of variable QJ3 in the NYS 2015
Yes	2256	75.8	
Income Above \$40,000			
No	1267	48	Recode of variable INCOME in the NYS 2015
Yes	1371	52	
Have Recently Moved			
No	1792	61	Recode of variable QJB in the NYS 2015
Yes	1144	39	
Children			
No	2102	70.5	Recode of variable QJ10 in the NYS 2015
Yes	878	29.5	
Interest in the Election			
No	355	12	Recode of variable QB8 in the NYS 2015
Yes	2608	88	
Interested in Politics			
No	571	19.2	Recode of variable QB9 in the NYS 2015
Yes	2402	80.8	
Voting is a Civic Duty			
No	1452	48.9	Recode of variable QF5A in the NYS 2015
Yes	1518	51.1	
Received the Voter Card			
No	668	22.3	Recode of variable QB4 in the NYS 2015
Yes	2328	77.7	
Political Mobilisation			
No	1181	39.2	Recode of variable QB13 in the NYS 2015
Yes	1828	60.8	
Family Mobilisation			
No	866	28.8	Recode of variable QB15A in the NYS 2015
Yes	2143	71.2	

Mobilised by Friends or Teachers			
No	898	29.8	Recoded combination of variables QB15B and QB15D in the NYS 2015
Yes	2111	70.2	

Variable / Group	N	%	Description
Contacted by Media			
No	968	33.1	Recode of variable QB15E in the NYS 2015
Yes	1956	66.9	
Contacted by an Organisation			
No	1997	69.2	Recode of variable QB15H in the NYS 2015
Yes	889	30.8	

Appendix B. Additional Tables

Appendix Table 4. Comparing Youth Participation to that of Older Adults

	(36) Voting		(37) Political Participation		(38) Civic Participation	
	AME	SE	AME	SE	AME	SE
Youth (<35)	-0.20^{***}	(0.02)	0.02	(0.03)	-0.03	(0.03)
Observations	2953		3009		3009	
Pseudo R^2	0.03		0.00		0.00	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses. ⁺ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001. Youth is a dichotomous predictor.

Appendix Table 5. Voter Turnout and Interaction Effects Between Gender and Parenthood – Full Model

	(39) Full Model	
	b	SE
Post-Secondary Education	0.36 [*]	(0.17)
Income Above \$40,000	-0.15	(0.15)
Have Recently Moved	-0.13	(0.15)
Children	0.34	(0.30)
Children # Female	-1.02 ^{**}	(0.36)
Female	0.35 ⁺	(0.18)
Interested in the Election	1.51 ^{***}	(0.25)
Interested in Politics	0.66 ^{**}	(0.21)
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)	-2.10 ^{***}	(0.40)
Voting is a Civic Duty	1.70 ^{***}	(0.16)
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)	1.49 ^{***}	(0.30)
Received the Voter Card	1.63 ^{***}	(0.17)
Political Mobilisation	0.32 [*]	(0.15)
Family Mobilisation	0.55 ^{**}	(0.17)

Mobilised by Friends or Teachers	0.05	(0.18)
Contacted by Media	-0.56**	(0.18)
Interested in the Election	-0.15	(0.18)
Interested in Politics	-2.85***	(0.41)
Observations	1999	
Pseudo R^2	0.36	

Note: Logit coefficients. ⁺ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001. Unless stated otherwise, predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 or 1.

Appendix Table 6. Predictors of Voting and Age Effects

	Age Effects
	AME
Youth (<35)	-0.05
Age (<i>continuous variable</i>)	0.00 ⁺
Post-Secondary Education	0.03 ⁺
Income Above \$40,000	-0.02
Have Recently Moved	-0.01
Children	-0.03 ⁺
Interested in the Election	0.20***
Interested in Politics	0.07**
Pol. Cynicism (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)	-0.20***
Voting is a Civic Duty	0.20***
Pol. Knowledge (<i>Scale, 0–1</i>)	0.15***
Received the Voter Card	0.20***
Political Mobilisation	0.03*
Family Mobilisation	0.06***
Mobilised by Friends or Teachers	0.01
Contacted by Media	-0.05**
Contacted by an Organisation	-0.01

Observations	2441
Pseudo R^2	0.37

Note: ⁺ $p < 0.10$, ^{*} $p < 0.05$, ^{**} $p < 0.01$, ^{***} $p < 0.001$. Unless stated otherwise, predictors are dichotomous and coded as 0 or 1.