CAN YOU HEAR ME NOW?

YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE 2015 FEDERAL ELECTION

SAMARA'S DEMOCRACY 360: COMMUNICATION

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the weeks after the October 19th, 2015 general election, Samara Canada surveyed Canadians about how they experienced the recent electoral campaign. The survey responses were analyzed by age—18 to 29; 30 to 55; 56 and older—and debunk the myth of apathetic youth.

KEY FINDINGS

Compared to older people, younger people were more likely to discuss politics, with 72% of them saying they discussed politics using one or more methods. Young people reported talking about politics offline more than online.

Young people were also more likely to share that they voted, indicating a generational shift in attitude, from voting as a private act of duty to voting as a social, shared experience.

Parties did not contact young people as much as they did older people: Only 52% of young Canadians reported contact, compared with 82% of the oldest cohort. Even online, older people reported more contact from political parties. Only 22% of people of any age reported digital contact from parties and candidates.

Only 1 in 5 Canadians didn't want to be contacted by political parties. When contacted, they'd prefer to talk about issues than about why they should vote for a certain candidate.

CONCLUSIONS

APATHETIC? NOT SO MUCH: Young people can no longer be considered politically apathetic. They're concerned about issues and they want to talk about politics. (And a majority of them voted in the federal election—a 15 percentage point jump since 2011.)

PARTIES SHOULD REACH OUT TO YOUNG VOTERS: Now that young voters have proven that they can turn out to vote, parties should improve their use of traditional outreach methods and digital platforms to better reach young Canadians.

DON'T COUNT ON DIGITAL ALONE: Young, digital natives are still looking for an in person connection to politics.

MULTIPLIER EFFECT: Young Canadians are more likely than any other age group to share their voting experience with their social network. To get their message out widely, smart parties can capitalize on young peoples' desire to share.

WHAT MATTERS TO YOU? Canadians, including young Canadians, want parties to ask about which issues are important to them. This is something parties can do even between elections.

INTRODUCTION

What makes someone vote?

The 2015 election reversed a 20-year decline in voter turnout, bringing overall voter turnout from 61% in 2011 up to a surprising 68%, which is a sizeable change in voting behaviour, rarely seen in federal elections. While all cohorts saw an increase in turnout, the 18 to 29 age group saw the biggest change, from 42% in 2011 to 57% in 2015.

Many factors combined to get Canadians to the polls. Canada had its first fixed election date and an extra-long, 78-day campaign, giving people ample time to realize there was an election taking place and familiarize themselves with parties, and their leaders and candidates. For a long stretch of the campaign period, the three major parties were in a neck and neck (and neck) race across the country according to public opinion polls. Additionally, more advance polling locations were available and Elections Canada had its largest pilot of voting services on campuses, making voting easier.[1]

According to existing social science research, there are a number of factors that increase the odds that someone will turn out to vote. Many of these factors were in play in 2015.

1. THEY THINK SOMETHING IS AT STAKE: Voting rates go up when voters think their ballot will shape the outcome in a close race or when there's a debate on a critical issue. Samara's survey showed that 92% of Canadians believed that the outcome of the election would affect the direction of the country, suggesting Canadian voters saw the 2015 election as a defining moment.

2. THEY FEEL OBLIGATED: People feel a duty to vote because it's expected of them as a citizen. According to an Elections Canada report on the 2015 election, 49% of youth said it was "their duty to vote." [2]

3. THEY HAVE VOTED IN THE PAST: After their third time, voting becomes habit and people will continue to vote.[3]

4. BARRIERS HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED: People are likely to vote if it's easy. If they have the required documents, know where and when to cast a ballot, and can get there without geographic, time or mobility barriers. The extended availability of advance polls as well as mail-in ballots made getting to the polls easier than ever before.

5. THEY HAVE BEEN CONTACTED: People are more likely to vote if they've been asked to do so.[4] They're most likely to vote when the person asking them is known to them, but even a stranger can affect someone's willingness to vote. In its 2011 National Youth Survey, Elections Canada found youth were more likely to report they had voted if they had been contacted by parties or candidates during the campaign.[5]

6. THEY FEEL SOCIAL PRESSURE TO VOTE: When friends, family, teachers or colleagues share that they're planning to vote, it signals that voting matters. People are social creatures—and like to do what others are doing. Elections Canada reported that 67% of people under 30 were encouraged to vote by friends in the 2015 election. [6]

While all cohorts saw an increase in turnout, the 18 to 29 age group saw the biggest change, from

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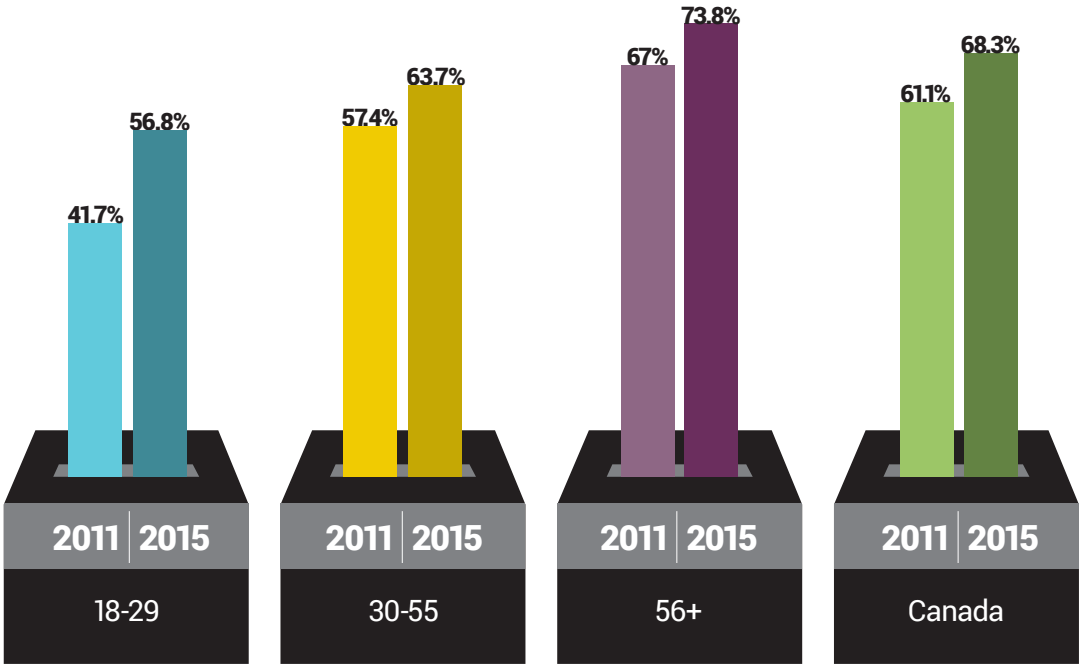
VOTER TURNOUT IN THE FEDERAL ELECTION IN 2011 AND 2015, BY AGE [7]



Compared to older people, younger people were more likely to discuss politics, with

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of them saying they discussed politics using one or more methods.

Using original data[8] collected by Samara in the days following the 2015 election and comparing three age groups—18 to 29; 30 to 55; 56 and over—this report explores how Canadians of different generations experienced the election.

In the first section of the report, we examine how different generations discussed politics—and influenced each other to get involved. In the second section, we consider how different generations were contacted by politicians, including through what channels—traditional or digital—and the contents of those discussions.

HOW CANADIANS TALK ABOUT POLITICS

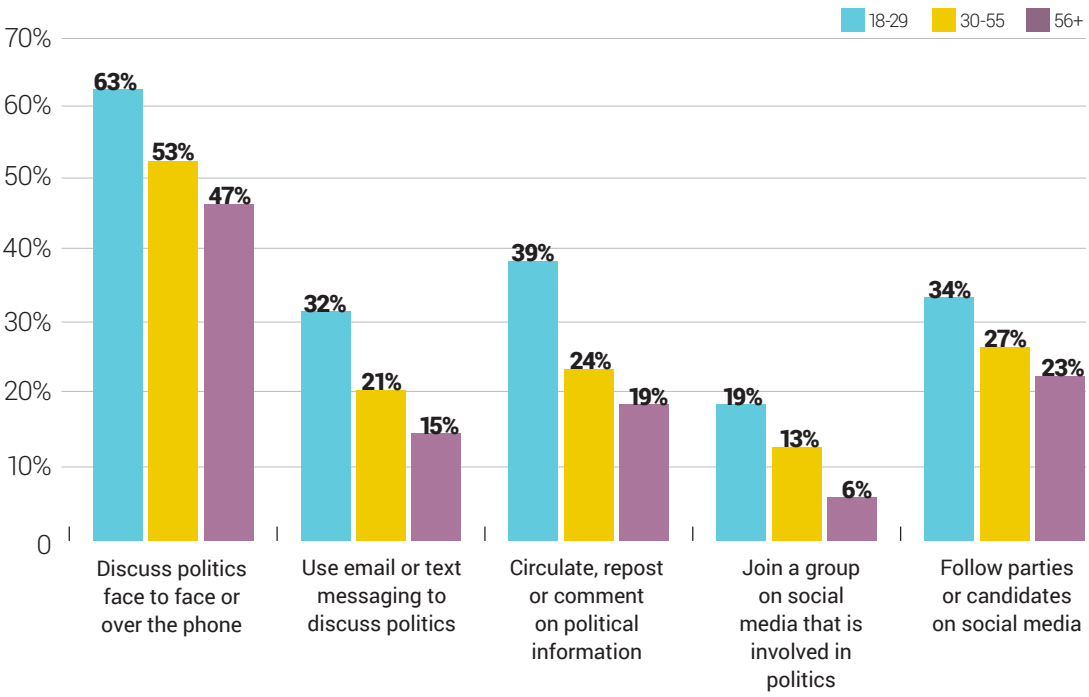
While generations of Canadians have been advised to never discuss politics in polite company, during the 2015 election, young Canadians ignored that advice, getting into discussions with friends, family and colleagues. Youth were actually the most likely group to discuss politics during the 78-day campaign period: 72% said they discussed politics, compared to 62% of those aged 30 to 55 and 58% of those 56 and over.

Samara's previous research into how young people engage in politics showed that young people were willing to protest, boycott and especially talk about issues that concerned them at higher rates than older Canadians. This report shows that young people were also more active conversationalists than older Canadians *during* the election.

Contrary to expectations, young people weren't only engaging online: young people reported the highest rates of contact offline, with 63% of 18-to 29-year-olds saying they discussed politics face to face or on the phone. Across all five forms of discussion, young people reported speaking about politics the most.

Young people reported talking about politics offline more than online.

METHODS CANADIANS USE TO TALK ABOUT POLITICS, BY AGE (%)



In every method used to talk about politics, activity declines as people age.

SHARING IS NOT JUST FOR FACEBOOK

Not only did they discuss politics, the youngest cohort also shared their voting experience at higher rates than older people. Indeed, only 36% of young people kept their voting experience to themselves, while 60% of the oldest cohort did the same.

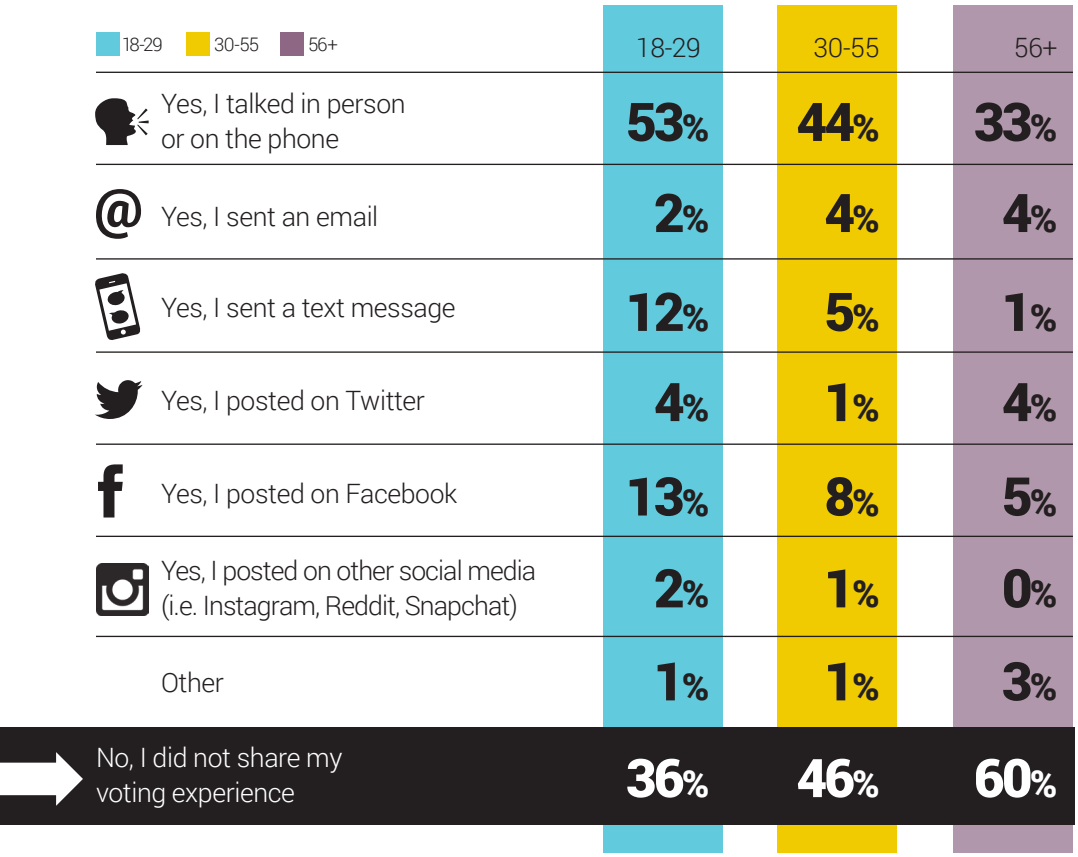
In terms of method, 53% of young Canadians spoke about their experience voting on the phone or in person, while only 33% of Canadians aged 56 or older did. These patterns capture a generational shift in attitude, from voting as a private act of duty to voting as a social, shared experience.

Since we know that social pressure—seeing a trusted friend do something—can have a strong effect on voting, young people themselves encouraged voting in their social group, just through the act of sharing.

"Digital natives" once again defied expectations when it came to sharing: Among 18- to 29-year-olds, the most popular way to communicate their voting experience was in real life (phone or in person), with only 13% sharing their voting experience on Facebook and 4% sharing on Twitter.

Young people were more likely to share that they voted, indicating a generational shift in attitude, from voting as a private act of duty to voting as a social, shared experience.

METHODS USED TO SHARE VOTING EXPERIENCE, BY AGE (%)



Young Canadians are more interested in sharing their voting experience with others. Their stories could have been as much about who they voted for and why, or just the fact that they voted. Youth are hyper-connected and avid communicators—both in real life and online—and as such they are effectively positioned to shape the views of their fellow peers and voters. In the 2015 election, Elections Canada found that 67% of youth indicated their friends encouraged them to vote, compared to 45% of older Canadians.[9] When endorsements, such as that of a newspaper's editorial board, no longer sway public opinion as they may have once done, parties and candidates must seek out new influencers.

"Direct political participation is pretty cool, and it's significant to be able to easily comment about it to hundreds of friends on social media."

– Grace Kennedy, 26, Be The Vote

Parties and candidates must seek out new influencers, and youth are effectively positioned to shape the views of voters.

POLITICAL CONTACT BY GENERATION

Political mobilization, also called political contact, is how candidates and political parties identify supporters, motivate citizens to support their candidates, and encourage voters to participate in the electoral process.

All the political parties had sophisticated outreach efforts during the 78-day campaign. The Liberal Party of Canada reported knocking on 12 million doors and making just as many phone calls, leading to four million conversations.[10] The New Democratic Party reported having 2.8 million conversations by phone or on Canadians' doorsteps.[11] The political parties' records to Elections Canada indicate that the parties collectively spent nearly 70 million dollars on advertisements and voter contact services—over half of parties' total expenses during the 2015 election.[12]

Given their limited resources, political parties typically focus their attention on the reliable voters: the people who will support them, but also those most likely to get out and vote—older Canadian supporters, in other words.

The generational differences were especially notable: Only 52% of youth reported contact, compared to 72% of Canadians aged 30 to 55, and 82% of Canadians aged 56 years or older. Indeed, more young people turned out to vote (57%) than were contacted (52%), a trend that was reversed in the other two groups. However, contact is just one of the factors that influence turnout, as mentioned in the introduction. In this election, other factors may have played a stronger role.

Delving deeper, the survey asked whether people had been contacted in seven different ways (examined below), from traditional phone calls to Twitter.

Only

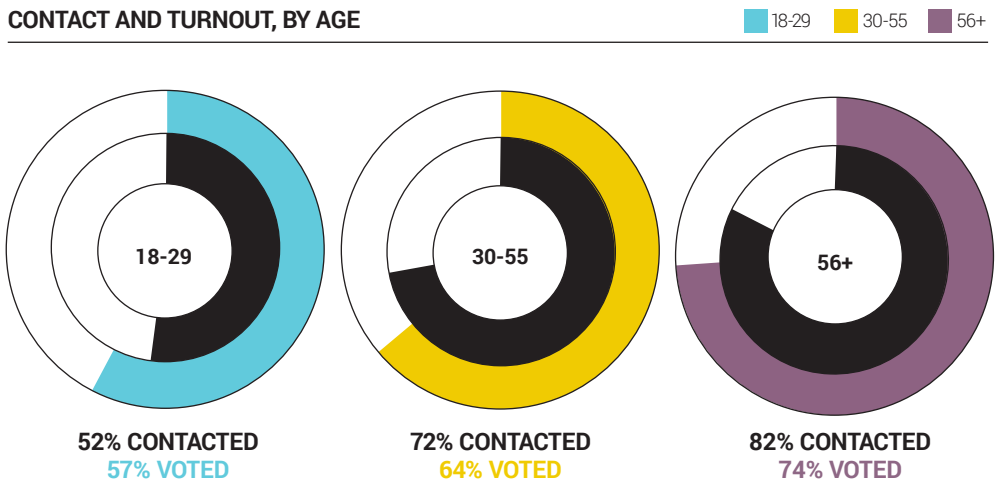
52%

of young Canadians reported contact from parties compared with

82%

of the oldest cohort.

CONTACT AND TURNOUT, BY AGE



More young people voted than were asked to vote.

TRADITIONAL FORMS OF POLITICAL CONTACT

The traditional forms of political contact measured were phone, in person and by mail.

Canadians were more likely to report contact across traditional forms than digital ones. This could be because campaign strategists consider traditional forms of contact to be more effective than using digital tools—and, therefore, continue to prioritize it. In person contact, such as door knocking, is considered one of the most effective forms of political mobilization according to social science research.[13]

Across all three traditional forms of contact, young Canadians were less likely than older Canadians to be contacted. While 71% of Canadians aged 30 to 55 and 81% of those aged 56 and over reported contact by phone, in person or by mail, less than half (47%) of those under 30 reported being contacted through at least one of these traditional forms.

The differences between the generations were especially noticeable in the case of phone contact, where young people received only one-third as many calls as the oldest cohort.

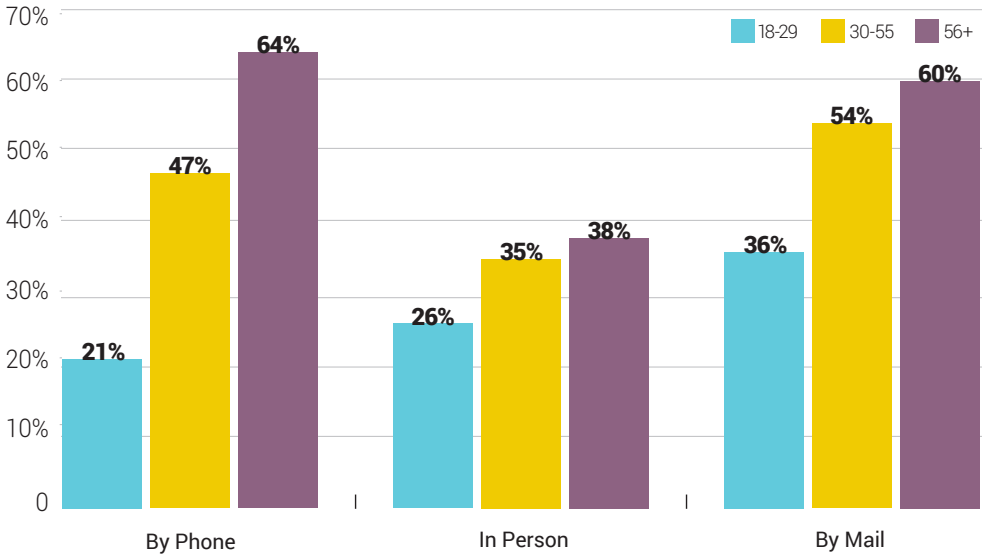
Why is this? Scholars suggest one reason youth are less often contacted by phone is because few of them have landline phones and often mobile phone users are more inclined to screen calls from unknown numbers.[14] While parties may be improving their use of mobile numbers in traditional election phone banks, they do not appear to be supplementing their outreach with other tools in the meantime—other digital contact that can "move with" youth from city to city, such as email addresses or Facebook, still reflect lower rates of contact for young Canadians.

It is possible that political strategists viewed youth as politically risky, given their lower tendency to turnout and weaker partisan ties (historically, young people are less likely to identify with a political party).[15] However, all Canadians are less likely to continually vote for the same party election after election than they were decades ago. This trend of party dealignment means that political parties have to work equally as hard to court all potential voters, regardless of their age. While some accounts have noted that the Liberal Party secured most of the new youth vote in 2015,[16] research suggests that these new voters, as well as established ones, are not necessarily life-long Liberals.

Canadians of all ages were more often contacted in these traditional ways than digital ones, as we will see.

Across all three traditional forms of contact, young Canadians were less likely than older Canadians to be contacted.

POLITICAL CONTACT BY TRADITIONAL METHODS, BY AGE (%)

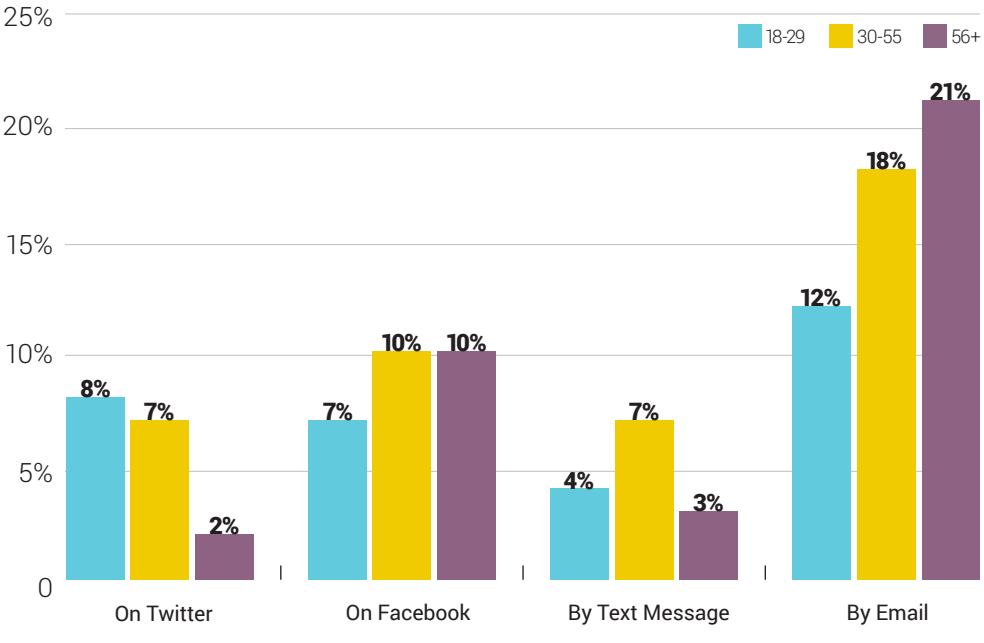


POLITICAL CONTACT WITH DIGITAL PLATFORMS

While parties' use of social media advertising received a lot of press during the campaign, Canadians didn't register this as "contact" from a political party. When asked whether or not they saw an advertisement on social media from a political party, 40% indicated that they had. Yet, only 22% of Canadians reported any online contact. This difference suggests that Canadians could tell the differences when a party was broadcasting a general message or using more personalized outreach.

Contrary to expectations, Canadians aged 18 to 29 were less likely than older Canadians to report being contacted online. Indeed, the age group most likely to report being contacted using all four digital platforms—on Twitter and Facebook, and by email and text message—were Canadians aged 30 to 55.

POLITICAL CONTACT BY DIGITAL PLATFORM, BY AGE (%)



Even online, older people reported more contact from political parties.

Only

22%

of people of any age reported digital contact from parties and candidates.

"I was not contacted online, but plenty of political ads appeared on my Facebook newsfeed."

– Sana Khawaja, 26, Project Civic Engagement

As younger generations are more comfortable with digital technologies than any other, these numbers raise the question: Why do young Canadians report less political contact on digital platforms?

One barrier to digital outreach may be the need to "opt-in" by taking an action, such as signing up for a newsletter or donating to a party, and also providing their email address—interested citizens often have to take the first step. Yet, we know from our analysis of discussion that 34% of young people were following a candidate on social media or liking their Facebook page while less than 7% of them said parties or candidates used these platforms to reach out.

Political contact on digital platforms, especially social media, could be lost in the online "noise." When scrolling through thousands of tweets, contact from a candidate or political party requires a less immediate response compared to picking up a letter in your mailbox or answering the door when a party volunteer comes knocking. Where it's hard to ignore someone arriving at your door to talk about politics, it's easier to dismiss a request to like a Facebook page. However, even taking this possibility into account, reported contact was noticeably different between the generations, suggesting the pattern we see between the generations are not due to recall, but an actual reality.

71%

of Canadians were contacted by traditional methods, compared to

22%

of Canadians who were contacted with digital platforms.

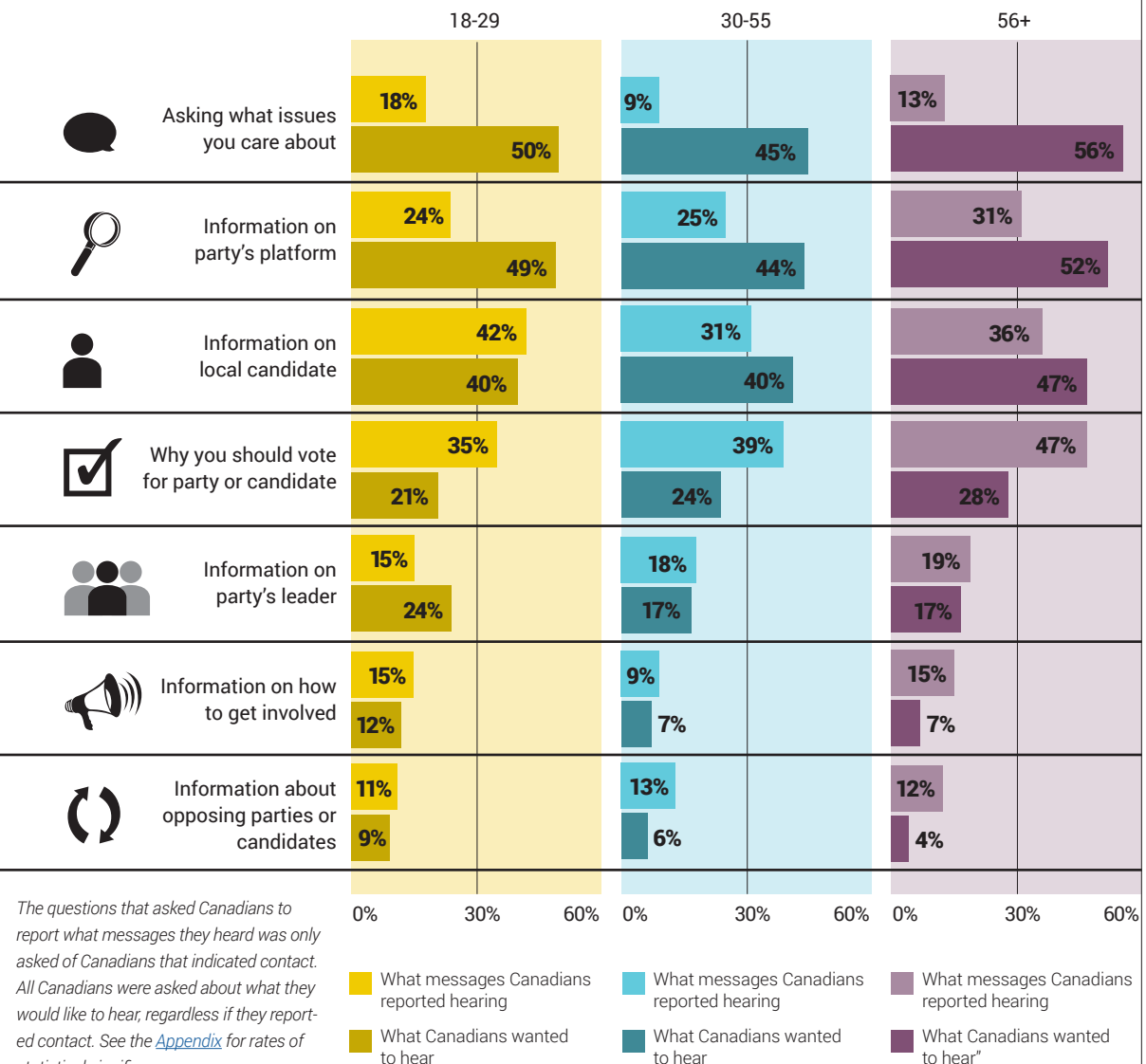
WAIT... WHAT ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT?

The survey also asked about the content of the messages shared by parties and candidates. Often, the contents of those messages were far from what Canadians actually wanted to hear about.

The gaps between what subjects Canadians wanted parties and candidates to communicate and what they did communicate were similar for all age groups, and present a united message to parties going into the next election. While parties and candidates tended to give information on local candidates and who to vote for, Canadians actually wanted to talk about something more substantial: They wanted to talk about issues of concern and how the party's platform addressed those issues.

Once again contradicting the myth of apathetic youth, very few young people reported that they didn't want to be contacted about candidates and parties at all. With very few differences across generations, only 1 in 5 Canadians didn't want to hear from candidates or political parties.

MESSAGES CANADIANS HEARD VS. WHAT THEY WANTED TO HEAR DURING THE FEDERAL ELECTION



The questions that asked Canadians to report what messages they heard was only asked of Canadians that indicated contact. All Canadians were asked about what they would like to hear, regardless if they reported contact. See the Appendix for rates of statistical significance.

"During the election, it became clear there was a disconnect between what young people wanted to talk about, and what parties were saying. Despite this disconnect, it is encouraging to see young people becoming more vocal in asking for what they want, and parties beginning to adapt their communications to meet those needs." – ***Meghan Hellstern, 27, CanYouEngage***

Only

1 in 5

Canadians didn't want to hear from candidates or political parties.

CONCLUSIONS

This research on political contact and political discussion presents a number of important conclusions.

1. APATHETIC, NOT SO MUCH: Young people can no longer be considered apathetic. They're concerned about issues and they want to talk about politics.

2. PARTIES SHOULD REACH OUT TO YOUNG VOTERS: With young voters proving that they will turn out to vote in large numbers, parties risk obsolescence if they overlook young people. Parties should improve their use of traditional outreach methods and digital tools to better reach young Canadians and to ensure this trend continues. Only 52% of youth were contacted, compared to 72% of Canadians aged 30 to 55 and 82% of Canadians aged 56 years or older. Indeed, more young people turned out to vote (57%) than were contacted (52%), a trend that was reversed in the other two groups.

3. DON'T COUNT ON DIGITAL ALONE: Young, digital natives are still looking for an in person connection to politics. Nearly two-thirds discussed politics face to face or over the phone.

4. MULTIPLIER EFFECT: Parties can take advantage of the social pressure that young people exert. Young Canadians are more likely than any other age group to discuss politics and voting with others during an election. Young people are more likely to share their experience and influence their social networks.

5. WHAT MATTERS TO YOU? Canadians, including young Canadians, want to be asked more often about what issues are important to them. Only 17% of Canadians aged 18 to 29 said they did not want to be contacted by political parties. The overwhelming majority of young Canadians want politicians to get in touch, especially if contacting them to discuss issues.

NEXT STEPS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

The huge increase in voter turnout in the 2015 election is unlikely to be sustained unless political parties and Canadians take steps to replicate it in 2019. Here are ways Canadians and political parties can keep young people involved in between elections, and make it more likely that they will vote again in the next election.

1. USE ALL AVAILABLE TOOLS TO GIVE YOUNG CANADIANS SOMETHING TO TALK ABOUT: Young people want to be contacted, but parties shouldn't count on digital to replace traditional outreach methods. They should improve their use of both types of tools to better reach young Canadians. Those who do could receive the benefits of young people's desire to share, and generate precious word-of-mouth buzz to get their message out and raise their party's profile.

2. PROMOTE MEMBERSHIP IN POLITICAL PARTIES TO YOUNG PEOPLE: Canadians of all ages say they want politicians to ask what issues matter to them. While there are many ways Canadians can engage with politicians and political parties, one often-over-looked method is becoming a member of a party.

Although party membership is a direct way to see priorities become policy, few Canadians are members of political parties. The average age of party members is 59, and only 6% of party members are under 30.[17]

Parties can let young people know that one of the benefits of party membership is the ability to influence policy on the issues they care about.

3. JOIN THE CONVERSATIONS YOUNG PEOPLE ARE ALREADY HAVING. As this research has shown, young Canadians like to discuss politics, both online and in person. Parties and politicians can make an effort to join these conversations. They can monitor social media to see what issues young constituents are discussing, and join in these conversations.

Samara's 2015 forum of young Everyday Political Citizens had three recommendations to effectively engage in these conversations:

1. Don't talk about "youth" issues: Young Canadians have the same hopes and fears as older generations, and they are interested in a diversity of issues, including the economy and infrastructure.

2. Use social media for meaningful conversations: Allow for authentic and two-way dialogue to build relationships with young people.

3. Visit youth where they are: Make use of youth-serving organizations to go to where youth already congregate rather than expecting them to show up at a town hall.

These recommendations are published in a colourful poster, titled How to Engage Young Canadians, and is available on Samara's website to download and display.

Samara's EVERYDAY POLITICAL CITIZEN

Samara's Everyday Political Citizen contest celebrates ordinary Canadians working in big or small ways to create positive political change.

LOOKING AHEAD TO THE 2019 ELECTION

Young people bucked many expectations in this last election—voting at high rates when they weren't anticipated to, sharing their experiences with each other, and turning out in spite of lower levels of political contact. With this awareness of the 2015 election in mind, what would the 2019 election look like if it were run by and for younger generations?

WOULD IT BE MORE SOCIAL? Would election officials allow people to take photos while casting a ballot? Could coffee shops, transit hubs, shops and other places frequented by young people be converted into more "public" polling stations?

WOULD THE TIMING OR DAY OF THE ELECTION BE DIFFERENT? Would people be able to vote for their MP at any polling place? Would there be a holiday or would it take place on a weekend to ensure people can go to the polls together? It is time to borrow Australia's "sausage sizzles"—the practice of selling hot dogs at polling stations to make the voting experience more festive and shared?

WOULD PARTIES HAVE TO WORK HARDER DURING PLATFORM DEVELOPMENT TO ENGAGE YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE ISSUES? Since young people—indeed, all Canadians—want to talk about the issues with parties, rather than being seen only for their vote cast? Would party platforms be more flexible throughout the election to capture what they hear from people on the campaign trail?

HOW WOULD THE SELECTION OF PARTY LEADERS CHANGE IF YOUNG PEOPLE WERE MORE INVOLVED? Would the focus continue to be on the leader or their cabinet? Would candidates who recruit and empower youth volunteers on their campaigns with significant responsibility have greater appeal?

WOULD THERE BE A GREATER OR LESSER DIVERSITY of—and interest in—local MPs?

"A candidate in my riding hosted an information session in a youth friendly space about how new legislation might impact our lives, and having the chance to connect with her as an individual made me feel like I could trust her, while her taking the time to listen to me made me feel like I mattered." - ***Sanaa Ali-Mohammed, 27, DawaNet***

Have your say: Engage with these questions on Samara's Facebook and Twitter.

METHODOLOGY

Public opinion data in this report was drawn from Samara's 2015 Post-Election Survey. The survey was conducted in English and French using an online sample of 2,030 Canadian citizens over 18 years of age, living in ten provinces. Data was collected between November 4th and 6th, 2015. The survey has a credibility interval of 2.17 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

Responses were weighted to ensure they reflect a national representative sample of Canadians. Questions focused on Canadians' experience during the federal election campaign.

Samara worked with Professors Peter Loewen (University of Toronto) and Daniel Rubenson (Ryerson University) to complete the data collection, cleaning, and weighting. This survey was part of the Local Parliament Project.

When looking at rates of political contact, Facebook contact was defined as friend requests, messages, or event invitations. Twitter contact was defined as being tweeted at or followed.

Values were rounded to the nearest decimal point. For a complete breakdown of all the questions mentioned in the report, including significance and question wording, please see the Appendix or request a copy from info@samaracanada.com.

The full dataset is available on Samara's website for those who wish to pursue their own research. If you have any questions about the data presented here, please email info@samaracanada.com.

SUPPLEMENTAL TABLES

The following data points were referred to in the report.

THE RESULTS OF THIS ELECTION WILL AFFECT THE DIRECTION OF THE COUNTRY

18-29 30-55 56+ All Canadians

	18-29	30-55	56+	All
Strongly Disagree	0%	1%	0%	1%
Disagree	0%	1%	2%	1%
Neither	8%	8%	5%	7%
Agree	35%	41%	40%	40%
Strongly Agree	58%	49%	53%	52%

N = 1957

DURING THE FEDERAL ELECTION, DID YOU SEE AN ADVERTISEMENT ON SOCIAL MEDIA (E.G. FACEBOOK OR YOUTUBE) FROM A POLITICAL PARTY ABOUT THE ELECTION?

18-29 30-55 56+ All Canadians	18-29	30-55	56+	All
Never	37%	59%	70%	60%
Once or more	63%	41%	30%	40%

N = 1928

RATE OF DIGITAL METHODS OF CONTACT

18-29 30-55 56+ All Canadians	18-29	30-55	56+	All
Never	83%	79%	75%	78%
1	10%	12%	18%	14%
2	3%	3%	5%	4%
3	0%	1%	1%	1%
All four	3%	5%	1%	3%

N = 1888

RATE OF TRADITIONAL CONTACT

18-29 30-55 56+ All Canadians	18-29	30-55	56+	All
Never	53%	29%	19%	29%
1	21%	27%	26%	26%
2	17%	25%	30%	26%
All three	9%	19%	25%	20%

N = 1881

1. Elections Canada, "Report on the 42nd general election of October 19, 2015," (2016).
2. Elections Canada, "2015 National Youth Survey," (2016). Elections Canada defines youth from ages 18 to 34.
3. Paul Howe, *Citizens Adrift* (UBC Press, 2010)
4. Alan S. Gerber and Donald P. Green, "The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment," *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 3 (2000): 653-663.
5. Elections Canada, "2011 National Youth Survey," (2012)..
6. Elections Canada, "2015 National Youth Survey," (2016). Here youth is defined as ages 18 to 29.
7. Elections Canada estimates at the 2011 and 2015 federal elections. See Estimation of Voter Turnout by Age Group and Gender at the 2011 Federal General Election for 2011 estimates. Estimates for the 2015 election were provided by Elections Canada at Samara's request.
8. The data presented in the report is based on Canadians' reported contact, so it relies on their recollections of the election campaign, not official party records.
9. Elections Canada defined youth as Canadians aged 18 to 34. For our calculation, the age groups 18 to 22 and 23 to 29 were averaged. For this calculation, older Canadians refers to Canadians 35 and older. Elections Canada, "2015 National Youth Survey," (2016).
10. See Katie Telford's speech at 2016 Liberal Biennial Convention (May 2016): http://www.macleans.ca/politics/ottawa/katie-telford-on-what-the-liberal-campaign-was-really-all-about/.
11. See New Democratic Party's "Campaign 2015 Review": http://xfer.ndp.ca/2016/-Debrief-Report/Campaign2015Review-Report-EN-Final.pdf. Other political parties have not yet been as public with their internal tracking figures.
12. This figure combined spending on Advertising (radio, TV, and other) and Voter contact calling services using four political parties' election expenses (LPC, CPC, GPC, and NDP). See Elections Canada 2015 Election Expenses: http://www.elections.ca/WPAPPS/WPF/EN/PP/.
13. See Alan S. Gerber and Donald P. Green, "The Effects of Canvassing…" (2000)
14. Harvard University Institute of Politics, "Young Voters and Participation." April 2007. This research found that more than half of 18- to 24-year-olds in the US do not have a land-line phone, rendering them unreachable by a traditional phone bank. This challenge is also experienced by consumer research firms, many of which have invested a substantial number of resources to locate the contact information of those under 30 and yet still struggle (See David Nickerson, "Hunting for the Elusive Young Voter," Journal of Political Marketing, 2006).
15. Barry J.Kay , and Andrea M. Perrella, "Eclipse of Class: A Review of Demographic Variables, 1974–2006." In Mebs Kanji, Antoine Bilodeau and Thomas J. Scotto (eds.), *The Canadian Election Studies: Assessing Four Decades of Influence*. (2012) Vancouver: UBC Press, pp. 121–35.
16. David Coletto, "The Next Canada: Politics, political engagement, and priorities of Canada's next electoral powerhouse: young Canadians," Abacus Data (2016).
17. William Cross and Lisa Young "The Contours of Political Party Membership in Canada," *Party Politics*, 10 (2004) 427-444.

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Samara Canada is a Canadian charity dedicated to reconnecting citizens to politics. Samara Canada's research and educational programming shine new light on Canada's democratic system and encourages greater political participation across the country to build a better political system—and a better Canada—for everyone. To learn more about Samara's work or make a charitable donation to support our programs, please visit www.samaracanada.com or contact us at 416-960-7926.

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