Who Participates in Civic Life in Canada? – A Follow-up to the 2004 Democratic Audit

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Abstract

In 2004, Young and Everitt (2004), Gidengil et al. (2004) and other scholars undertook a democratic audit covering a broad range of Canadian institutions. In their study on citizens and advocacy, one of the main conclusions was that advocacy groups represented a marginal proportion of Canadians: Mostly Canadians with higher income and those with higher levels of education. The picture painted in this audit was generally a critical one as these activities did not represent Canadians overall but only a fraction of the population. As a follow-up to this audit, this research paper aims at exploring whether similar trends were present regarding Canadians' participation in various political activities and advocacy groups in 2011. Using the same data source as the 2004 democratic audit (Canadian Election Study), this research paper uses the 2011 dataset (in comparison to the 2000 dataset used in the audit) to look at whether there has been a shift in terms of who participates in advocacy and other political activities in Canada. Like the previous audit, this paper focuses on various demographic groups including region, age, income and educational attainment in an attempt to find who participates in advocacy in Canada and whether the critical approach as determined in the 2000 audit is still the case in 2011.

Introduction

Voter turnout data and polls during elections often have an important role in evaluating the state of democracy in Canada from year to year. However, little attention is given to civic engagement between elections as a way to gage the state of democracy in Canada. Can an evaluation of participation rates in civic engagement between elections give us information on the state of democracy?

There are two main streams of thought when exploring the link between advocacy groups and democracy. The first perceives advocacy groups as great agent of democracy in society. The main argument they propose is that through education and social capital, advocacy groups can mobilize citizens and result in an increased and more diverse number of voices in the public sphere. The second argument illustrates the idea that advocacy groups are not democratic but rather reflect the needs of a particular section of Canadian society: the wealthy, more educated, older Canadian. This critical account, which was the main conclusion of the 2000 democratic audit of advocacy groups in Canada, suggests that "individuals with great wealth and social status will be overrepresented among group members, reflecting patterns of inequality and exclusion in the society at large" (Young and Everitt, 2004:26). **This research paper's main aim is to assess whether this critical account is still predominant when assessing the state of civic engagement in Canada today. In more specific terms, this research paper will be looking at the Canadian Election Study survey data to assess whether there have been any changes in demographic representation since the 2000 democratic audits (Young and Everitt, 2004; Gidengil et al. 2004).**

In exploring this, this paper will first look at the context of democracy in Canada by both looking at the state of the democratic deficit and the limitations of representative democracy in Canada. Following this first chapter, definitions of civic engagement and advocacy will be discussed as well as the different types and forms of advocacy in Canadian society. The chapter will end with a brief look at the potentials and limitations of advocacy. Chapter 3 will demonstrate the research question and research design and chapter 4 will present the findings and compare them to what was found in the 2000 democratic audit.

CHAPTER 1 – The Democratic Deficit in Canada

Democratic Deficit - Canadians increasingly disengaged from traditional politics

Canada has been shown as being well advanced and a leading example of successful democratic practice through the years. However, these praises have been questioned in recent years. Not only Canada but the whole democratic world has been plagued by low voting numbers, and many are "turning away from traditional political institutions, and a large number are expressing declining confidence in both their elected politicians and the electoral process" (Cross, 2004:vii). This major trend has been labelled "democratic deficit" or "democratic malaise" by numerous scholars, political leaders, government commissions, citizen groups and the media and it illustrates this "substantial decline in Canadians' confidence in their democratic practices and institutions" (Cross, 2004:vii). According to Bastedo (2014), Canada has entered a "viscious cycle of non-participation" (83) where every year, participation in traditional politics decreases. As he notes,

> not only is voter turnout decreasing over time, but also every year fewer people are getting involved in traditional political activities such as joining or donating to political parties. […] If nothing is done to reverse this trend, we could reach the point where democratic legitimacy is threatened. (Bastedo, 2014:83)

Bastedo paints a grim picture of the future of traditional politics in Canada and he shows the extent to which there is reason for concern when it comes to the future of Canada's democratic health.

This democratic deficit is not only seen in low voting turnout and participation in political parties but it is also evident when analyzing public literacy regarding political issues in Canada. Gidengil et al. show that political literacy in Canada is very low. In fact,

"over 40% of Canadians were unable to name the leaders of the federal political parties, even though they were being interviewed right after an election in which those leaders had figured prominently" (2004:69). Given that participants in this survey agreed to take this post-election survey (something that would not be done by people that tune out of politics completely), this figure is probably an overstatement of the reality. As a result, the democratic deficit can be measured in many different ways. Looking at voter turnout, data on political literacy, and other items, it is clear that Canada is facing a national problem that could have great consequences on our society.

As seen earlier, this problem is not Canadian-specific, similar trends have affected the United States (Putnam, 1995; Weber and Loumakis, 2003) as well as other countries (Dalton, 2008). As a result, it may be interesting to look at why a democratic deficit is emerging in countries like Canada and the United States and whether this shift represents a disinterest or a generational change in the medium of participation.

Why is the state of democracy slowly eroding in Canada and other countries? Some factors like the movement of women in the labour force, mobility, other demographic transformations, and the technological transformation of leisure are all mentioned by Putnam (1995). With women entering the workforce, there has been reduced time and energy allocated to building social capital. For instance, membership in organizations like Red Cross and the League of Women Voters and other organizations previously run by women have been halved since the late 1960s in the United States (Putnam, 1995:70). Another important factor contributing to the democratic deficit is increased mobility (Jedwab, 83) of the population, demonstrated by Putnam (1995) as the re-potting hypothesis. This idea holds that frequent re-potting of plants "tend to disrupt root systems,

and it takes time for an uprooted individual to put down new roots" (71). In other words, residential stability are clearly associated with greater civic engagement as people are more in tune with their surroundings and not in a constant learning mode of re-rooting themselves in a new environment.

While it is difficult to predict the specific effects of each of these elements, changing demographics of the common household may also have a role to play in the eroding state of democracy. For instance, fewer marriages, more divorces, fewer children, etc. may have an impact on family's ability to be engaged in their community (Putnam, 1995:71). Lastly, the technological transformation of leisure may also have an important effect on citizens' ability and awareness of politics and civic life. The more private and individualistic associations to the technologies that surrounds us has, according to Putnam (1995) made our communities "wider and shallower" (71).

The extent to which each of these elements have affected and eroded democracy in Canada remains unknown. However, this discussion shows that there has clearly been an important and documented shift in recent years in regards to low civic literacy and engagement in Canadian society (Milner, 2010:77).

The Limitations of Representative Democracy

Normally, citizen engagement happens during an election. Representative democracy allows citizens to tune in during an election campaign every few years to pick their leader and then tune out for the rest of the time. Since not all citizens can be experts on every issue that affects the country, representative democracy allows citizens to pick the person that they think can represent them the best. As a result, "it is rational for citizens to

be ignorant of much involved with governance, since they have already elected representatives to serve them" (Williamson, 2013:191).

However, a few problems related to representative democracy has come up in recent years. With the rise of governance and the idea that government should steers instead of rowing in decision-making, the role of the representatives that have been chosen by the public has diminished. This limits the strength of democracy in Canada and sets the scene for a different and/or additional avenue for citizen participation in the policy process. Williamson explains why.

> More recent trends in democratic theorizing call for greater citizen participation in public decision-making. This is primarily based on concerns with government's increasing use of network structures that allocate significant decision-making to private-sector organizations. Thereby diminishing the impact of elected representation on government functions and heightening the capacity for resource-advantaged individuals and groups to capture policy processes. (Williamson, 2013:192)

Other than the lowered representativeness of citizens in traditional politics and decision-making bodies, political parties have been perceived as "damaged goods" (Jordan and Maloney, 2007:2) as participatory vehicles because of both their inability to attract supporters and make public participation meaningful within the party. Political parties are too preoccupied with winning elections to represent these fragmented issues present in the electorate. As Jordan and Maloney note,

> the breadth of support, on which successful parties rely, can be interpreted as a democratic weakness: strategically (in pursuit of vote maximization) parties cannot afford to reflect the narrow and intensely held, concerns of individual. In contrast interest groups excel at capturing the intensity of interest of a fragmented public. (2007:7)

As a result of this failure for traditional political institutions to represent citizens and their interest, the public has turned to advocacy groups and other non-traditional methods of representation to have their interests represented.

Since there is an advocacy group for most interests, citizens may have an easier time taking this avenue of participation to develop their interest instead of the one offered by political parties. Political parties and advocacy groups do have different bottom lines, the former is to maximize votes to win elections, and the latter is to advance a particular issue and bring it to the forefront of the policy agenda. However, when Canadians were asked "Which do you think is a more effective way to work for change nowadays: joining a political party or an interest group?" (CES, 2000) in the 2000 Canadian Electoral Study survey, the results showed the importance of interest groups for Canadian citizens. In answering this question, a majority (70% of survey respondents) perceived groups to be more effective than political parties (Howe and Northrup, 2000), which demonstrates the importance of advocacy groups in Canadian society. There are many ways to get attention on an issue, but interest groups seem to have the strongest effect for Canadians. Other types of participation like contacting your elected representative, trying to get media attention or participating in government consultations have all been tried as alternative ways to affect decision-making and policy. However, the concern of one person is not as strong as the concerns of a group of individual with that same concern. Having the ability to pool resources can be helpful in influencing more forcefully the issue at hand (Young and Everett, 2004:8). In a way, advocacy

groups have had the ability to mobilize citizens in a way that traditional politics has failed at doing. Jordan and Maloney note that

> major party decline is correlated with a failure of linkage between the parties and the political process. Groups have been successful because they have filled the linkage 'void'. […] No matter how adroit parties have proven to be in assimilating new issues within their programmes, the public do not fall neatly into two, three or four partisan camps. There are too many issues cutting across constituencies. (2007:6)

Since almost all interests are represented in some ways in an existing interest group, these entities become an expression of what the public's interests are and therefore have an important democratic function.

CHAPTER 2 –Civic Engagement and Advocacy in Canada

Why has civic engagement through advocacy developed?

Through the years, there have been different theories that have tried to explain why interest groups have developed and why individuals have participated in these groups. The following few theories and their brief explanation serve to explain this. Understanding these factors driving advocacy groups helps understand the different motives driving participation.

According to pluralist theorists, groups form when "like-minded individuals join together in pursuit of their common interest and pressure or lobby government for policies that will favour their group" (Smith, 2005:21). Furthermore, as groups try to maximize their interests, pluralism includes this process of bargaining between competing groups. The main assumption around pluralism is that "political power is dispersed among political institutions and interest groups, and that different people have different kinds of power in different issue area" (Young and Everitt, 2003:16).

The Marxist and Neo-Marxist theories bring the idea that individual choice (as demonstrated by pluralism) is "overwhelmed by the structural forces that shape behaviour. The pattern of group formation is affected by economic and social inequality, which create systematic obstacles for marginalized groups in the political system" (Smith, 2005:25). According to this perspective, the involvement of citizens in advocacy groups, according to this theory, represents a struggle from the working class to resist the situation of exploitation forced upon them by the capitalist class (Smith, 2005:25).

As previously mentioned, institutionalism can also explain the development of advocacy groups in society. Groups can be seen as chameleons that shape themselves to their surroundings to be more influential. However, historical institutionalism focuses on policy legacy. The main idea stemming from this perspective is that "policies that were put into place during one historical period shaped politics and policy development in the subsequent period. The notion of path dependence captured the idea that choices made in one historical period foreclosed subsequent political and policy outcomes" (Smith, 2005:31). For example, in Italy, civic participation into advocacy groups only proliferated in the 1990s when three institutional events took place. First, the decentralization of the country; second, electoral reform at the local level; and third, the re-organization of certain policy sectors (Bifulco, 2013:177). Clearly, these changes at the institutional level largely reshaped the ability and space for a more involved electorate. Another way to understand institutions as an important factor linked to interest group development is by looking at the general importance of context. Many aspects related to context can shape interest groups' ability to proliferate. For example, the time when the advocacy group develops, the institutional architecture where it is developed, the models of social organization present, the rules of participation, the political leadership present in the country as well as the social bases of participation (Bifulco, 2013:177) are all aspects related to context that are institutional elements shaping the development of advocacy groups. Some scholars like Zakus and Lysack (1998:5) go as far as to publish a list of 14 predisposing conditions for community participation in the health sector specifically. For instance, elements like "a political and administrative system which promotes and accepts decentralization and regional/local authority for decision-making on health policy, resource allocation and

programs" (Zakus and Lysack,1998:5) come up in their analysis as conditions that can help community participation. These institutional elements largely show the importance of the institutional framework on advocacy.

The last important theory explaining the emergence of advocacy and why individual join such groups is Rational choice theory. Rational choice theory is the idea that "each individual seeks to maximize their own 'utility' or seeks benefits for themselves" (Smith, 2005:40). Young and Everitt explain this well in stating that "many of us are drawn into political activity in an effort to make government provide a service, like a medical treatment or a new school in our neighbourhood that we or members of our families need" (2004:3). In this light, however, collective action through advocacy seems difficult to explain because if everyone within the group is concerned with their own advantage, coming together may be difficult. As demonstrated in his book *The Logic of Collective* Action, Olson shows that large interest groups have difficulties maintaining support of those who benefit from the lobbying. The main reason why this happens is because there is a tendency for group participants to free-ride (Olson, 2002:132). There is a solution to this problem: selective incentives. These selective incentives, when restricted to members of the group can lead to group cohesion. For instance, the idea that you must join a group in order to receive information from the group or you must "join a group to receive access to governmental decision-makers who may affect your business" (Smith, 2005:42) are all examples of ways in which selective incentives can help group development within a context of self-interested individuals. Although some have contested Olson's view of rational theory as explanatory to advocacy (Jordan and Maloney, 2007:52), it remains an essential part of the literature on why groups form and why individuals participate in them.

While some other theories exist in explaining why advocacy groups exist in society, these four theories demonstrate the main trajectories taken in the literature.

Defining civic engagement and advocacy

There are three main perspectives through which **civic engagement** can be analyzed and defined: First, the social capital perspective includes participation in voluntary organizations and other group memberships. Through social trust, individuals socialize into cooperative behaviour to engage (Armony, 2004: 24). The second perspective, the third sector perspective, includes participation in civic associations, and NGOs. These associations serve as government watchdogs, and provide services to citizens by monitoring public exposure and advocacy (Armony, 2004: 24). Finally, the public sphere perspective represents the informal networks, social movements, public forums, and associations. These groups exercise informal control and influence over policy-makers, legislatures and courts through grassroots mobilization and social protest (Armony, 2004: 24). According to Armony, scholars like Habermas (1989), Fraser (1993), Putnam (1993), Cohen and Arato (1992), Tarrow (1994), and many others have contributed in this analytical foundation of civic engagement (2004:24). Clearly, civic engagement encompasses diverse activities. As a result, this paper uses civic engagement to mean the term at its broadest level. It includes all three perspectives (social capital, third sector and public sphere). More specifically, civic engagement in this paper includes citizen participation in voluntary organizations, civic associations and NGOs, and informal networks and social movements.

Like the term “civic engagement”, “**advocacy**” does not have a clear-cut definition in the literature. Instead, it has been seen as a challenging subject to define for scholars. Grossman and Saurugger demonstrate this struggle in defining the term. They note that advocacy is

> une réalité extrêmement difficile et delicate a saisir et a définir. Alors que leur formation est un phénomène commun à toutes les sociétés et que la notion est constamment employés dans le débat public sous forme de 'groupe d'intérêt', "groupe de pression' ou 'lobby', elle présente des aspects sociologiquement et idéologiquement très divers et hétérogènes. (2012:9)

This heterogeneity has lead to minimal scholarly work in comparison to research done on elections and more measurable aspects of citizen participation. While “voting is visible, readily identifiable, and quantifiable act, for which we have objective as well as subjective measures” (Milner, 2002:25), scholars conducting research on advocacy groups have shown the subject to be difficult in three main ways. First, advocacy is difficult to measure because it covers a large scope of activities. For instance, there is an important difference between organizing a large protest with thousands of participants and having a small group write a letter to their member of parliament regarding a specific issue. The heterogeneity of the activities involved can make measuring their success a challenging task. The second way that scholars have been reluctant to study advocacy group is also linked to measuring success. It is not easy to determine causality (Pekkanen and Smith, 2014:2) when assessing the success of advocacy groups because there are normally many variables that may influence the outcome of a policy. As a result, it is difficult to directly link success to advocacy. The third challenge in regards to advocacy is that it is fungible. “As wide as is the range of actions available to a nonprofit that decides to advocate, the nonprofit is similarly presented with a set of choices about whether to advocate directly or

to find a surrogate" (Pekkanen and Smith, 2014:2). These three elements and some others have resulted in limited research on advocacy groups, especially in the Canadian context. In addition, definitions on advocacy groups have been multiple and are varied, which has also had an impact on the ability to research it. If scholars are not agreeing on how to define advocacy, how shall they discuss it?

This paper uses a broad definition of advocacy, so that it remains inclusive to the body of research available. Before sharing this definition, it is important to look at where other definitions have brought us so that the proper one may be contextualized within its contenders.

The literature on advocacy uses multiple terms like advocacy groups, pressure groups and interest groups to explain similar types of activities. Since this paper is interested in citizen engagement outside of elections, all of these types of groups are part of this analysis since they all carry advocacy functions. For instance, they all stress elements like "seeking to influence policy on restricted range of issues" (Jordan and Maloney, 2007:28), they all do not wish to govern, and they all have an individual-based membership (ibid, 2007:29). The policy influencing role of groups is an important facet that many definitions have demonstrated. For instance, Grant's definition of an interest group is "an organization which seeks as one of its functions to influence the formulation and implementation of public policy" (2000:14). Similarly, the importance of interest groups' goal of influencing public policy is also demonstrated by Pross. He states that these organizations' members "act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common interest - the fact that they are organizations is crucial. In political life, there are many interests and over time a considerable number exert influence in the policy process,

but unless they have access to more resources than most individuals and the majority of companies, they lack the ability to sustain their influence" (1993:145). Perkiness and Smith also demonstrates advocacy as an "attempt to influence public policy, either directly or indirectly" (2014:3). Taking all of these definition together, it is clear that advocacy groups are organizations that have a goal of influencing public policy in a specific area by means of influence. On a broader scale, advocacy groups are defined as "une entité qui a comme objectif de représenter les intérêts d'une section spécifique de la société dans l'espace public" (Grossman and Saurugger, 2012:9). However, a more specific definition sees interest groups as an "organisation constituée qui souhaite influencer les pouvoirs politiques dans un sens favorable à ses intérêts" (ibid, 20012:9). While the broader definition shows interest groups as an organization looking to influence political actors and general public opinion, the more specific definition is focused on the relationship or link between political actors and the group itself. As a result there are three aspects that are important to take into consideration when finding a definition for advocacy groups: its interest, its organization and its influence on formal political actors (Grossman and Saurugger, 2012:9). The definition that will be used in this research paper is broad but encompasses many elements mentioned by other scholars in the field. For the purpose of this paper, advocacy groups are "any organization that seeks to influence government policy, but not to govern" (Young and Everitt, 2004:5). More specifically, advocacy groups and interest groups will be used interchangeably and will include many different types of groups like

> an organization formed by two or three individuals who live on the same street and are lobbying their municipal government to install a stop sign, as well as a group like the Council of Canadians, which claims thousands of members and lobbies government on issues ranging from the environment to national sovereignty. It also

> includes industry associations and business lobby groups. (Young and Everitt, 2004:5)

In all, interest groups are defined as groups that aim to influence public policy by other means than governing. Since advocacy is a broad subject, it can encompass many different types of activities and many different forms of participation.

Types and Forms of Advocacy Groups in Canada

There are tens of thousands of advocacy groups in Canada (Young and Everitt, 2004:8). As the earlier definition suggests, all of these groups have one common thread linking them to one another: Their common goal of influencing policy regarding the issue or cause they represent. These groups can therefore take many forms.

> Some are venerable institutions with lengthy histories, and others spring up for a few months and then disband. Some boast thousands of members, and others only a handful. Some are highly professionalized, with paid staffs and permanent offices, while others are run by volunteers from their homes in their spare time. (Young and Everit, 2004:9)

While cataloguing all the different types of groups is beyond the purpose of this paper, looking at a few ways in which groups can differ is important in understanding their scope and role in Canadian society. The first main aspect that differentiates groups from one another is the different topics they cover. Boris and Steuerle begin to demonstrate different types of politically active nonprofit organizations by looking at the difference in subject they support. For instance, the following types of groups show this diversity:

- neighbourhood associations and community organizations
- religious organizations
- philanthropic organizations
- policy research organizations
- Issue- ad value-based organizations
- identity based organizations
- educational institutions

- workplace organizations
- business and trade associations
- specialty regulated political organizations (Boris and Steuerle,1999:301)

Clearly, the different topics surrounding these groups make them distinct from one another and a typology like this one, by topic, can be used when analyzing these entities to better regroup them.

Some groups have different driving factors leading to their development. While some have self-interest fueling their energy, other groups have the public's interest as their driving force (Pross, 1993:146). For example, the Canadian Pharmaceutical Association and the Canadian Bankers' Association have one goal in mind: to further their economic well-being through lobbying and other forms of pressure. In other words, these organizations represent "industries that lobby government to further their members' pecuniary interests" (Young and Everitt, 2004:6). On the other hand, groups concerned in matters related to the public interest like Greenpeace, the Canadian Taxpayer Federation and other groups like these have their focus set on citizens even though they also seek more influence at the same time. Furthermore, they "service their own personal interests but also represent their conception of the public interest" (Young and Everitt, 2004:6). These two different driving factors has an influence on the type of advocacy that they represent. Participation in advocacy groups can take many different forms and these forms are influenced by a large number of variables such as

> le contexte étatique dans lequel les groupes agissent, le domaine politique spécifique, le rôle que joue le group d'intérêt dans la société, les ressources financières, sociales et sociétales des groupes d'intérêts, leur forme organisationnelle ou l'objectif recherché, la négociation de la consultation, le recours à l'expertise, la juridisation et la politisation. (Grossman and Saurugger, 2012:16)

All of these aspects can largely shape and determine the form that an advocacy group can and will take. Poss also shows the importance that institutions and other factors can have on advocacy groups and he goes further in comparing advocacy groups to "talking chameleons" (1999:145). Like chameleons, the idea is that groups will take the shape that best adapts or fits the organizational structure that surrounds them. Furthermore,

> those [advocacy groups] that take their lobbying role seriously adapt their internal organizations and structure to suit the policy system in which they happen to operate. That is why pressure groups working only at the provincial level in Canada are often quite different from those that concentrate their efforts at the federal level. (Pross 1999:147)

Clearly, the form that an advocacy group takes largely relies on the context in which it has developed. This is why all groups have their different way of functioning and working within the complex institutional environment in which they operate.

Another way to distinguish interest group activity and the different forms it can take is by looking at where the activities take place. While some advocacy groups' activities happen in civil society, some take place in the formal institutions of government (Boris and Steeple, 1999:296). Actions taking place in civil advocacy can include social movement advocacy or grassroots advocacy like signing petitions or conducting a protest or rally. On the other hand, actions taking place in formal institutions and government represents more formal actions like lobbying or testifying (Boris and Steuerle, 1999:196). While some groups can use both methods to influence policy, they represent different forms of participation.

Even though there is little consensus among scholars on how to define advocacy and what form it takes, there is agreement that advocacy is important to society and democracy. In his analogy of the car and its four wheels, Koff (2009) demonstrates the

importance of advocacy to society. According to Koff, "society, like a car, needs four wheels to run. Each one symbolizes a secure that provides a channel for participation" (2). The first wheel represents government, the public sector and the second wheel represents for-profit organizations. "The third wheel denotes the volunteer or nonprofit sector. It is composed of a myriad of diverse organizations that serve the public at large or the public good of a defined membership as opposed to the specific self-interest of a constituency" (Koff, 2009:2). Finally, the last wheel represents the informal sector like family, neighbourhood and other elements. Without one of these wheels or if one of these wheels is broken, society is not balanced and citizens loose an important avenue for participation. This analogy clearly demonstrates the importance of advocacy and the non-profit sector and the need for all pieces (or wheels) to be present for the public good.

Theorizing Advocacy - The Potentials and Limitations of Advocacy Groups

There are many ways in which advocacy has been theorized as being a positive element for society. In fact, three scholars have shown these positive features of advocacy: Tocqueville, in his book *Democracy in America;* Putnam, through his work on social capital and Paulo Freire, through his popular education approach. All these scholars have shown the praises of advocacy for society in different ways.

Tocqueville, born in 1805, was a French political thinker and historian who observed political life in America. In his books, which largely set the background for many scholars to come, he demonstrates that civic participation can provide a way for citizens to engage more fully into politics (Weber et al. 2003:28). Furthermore, Tocqueville, as a critic of individualism, saw the importance of people in society coming together for a common purpose as the key to civic health. Tocqueville's example clearly shows this idea:

> If some obstacle blocks the public road halting the circulation of traffic, the neighbours at once form a deliberative body; this improvised assembly produces an executive authority which remedies the trouble before anyone has thought of the possibility of some previously constitute authority… An association, be it political, industrial, commercial, or even literary or scientific, is an educated and powerful body of citizens which cannot be twisted to any man's will or quietly trodden down, and by defending its private interests against the encroachments of power, it saves common liberties. (Milner, 2002:16)

As a first account of the importance of civic groups on society, Tocqueville had an important role in setting the scene for future theories and ideas regarding advocacy. In fact, Putnam, who's work owes much of its main attributes to Tocqueville's analysis also demonstrated this idea that citizens participating in advocacy groups and associations develops a sense of social trust and cooperation, which Putnam names "social capital" (Jedwab, 73). Although the term "social capital" was first used by Coleman (Haney et al. 2002: 227), Putnam most recently developed the ideas that it entails. According to Putnam, social capital refers to

> features of social organization such as network, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. For a variety of reasons, life is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital. In the first place, networks of civic engagement foster sturdy norms of generalized reciprocity and encourage the emergence of social trust. Such networks facilitate coordination and communication, amplify reputations, and thus allow dilemmas of collective action to be resolved. When economic and political negotiations is embedded in dense networks of social interaction, incentives for opportunism are reduced. At the same time, networks of civic engagement embody past success at collaboration, which can serve as a cultural template for future collaboration. Finally, dense networks of interaction probably broadens the participants' sense of self, developing the "I" into the "we". (Putnam, 1995:66)

Clearly, much like Tocqueville's argument, Putnam's idea of social capital reflects the importance of civic engagement to the performance, vitality, well-being and effectiveness of society (Koff, 2009:1). Furthermore, these groups have become a feature that enables civic society to act together in an effective way to "pursue shared objectives" (Koff, 2009:1).

Similarly, Verba et al. also show the positive effects of advocacy groups on society stating that "through volunteering people develop themselves, their communities, and the public good" (Koff, 2009:2). In all, social capital theory gives a positive account of citizen participation in public affairs. It is seen as an effective way for individuals with similar objectives to follow these objectives through.

Another main theory when looking at the benefits of advocacy groups on democracy and society is the popular education approach. Developed in part by Paulo Freire, the central aim of this theory rests on the recognition of individuals in society as knowing people instead of "passive beneficiaries of welfare provided through state intervention" (Ravensbergen and VanderPlaat, 2009:390). In other words, this popular education approach

> emphasizes the capacity of people to be creative, reflexive human beings that is, to be active agents in shaping their lives, experiencing, acting upon and reconstituting the outcomes of welfare policies in variable ways. This discourse advocates for citizens to produce change in their environment rather than being the object of change producing strategies on them. (Ravensbergen and VanderPlaat, 2009:390)

From this understanding, if it is our goal to have a knowledgeable highly literate society when it comes to policy and civic affairs, citizens must practice this involvement in their everyday life. For instance, Jordan and Maloney explain this through imagery. They demonstrate that "we do not learn to read or write, to ride or swim by merely being told to do it, so it is only by practicing popular government on a limited scale, that the people will ever learn to exercise it on larger" (2007:9). This perspective puts a lot of emphasis on citizen capacity to learn and be rational and defines citizens in a positive and capable light.

In addition to these explanations of civic participation and advocacy, other scholars have demonstrated the many positive influences of this type of participation to not only

individual citizens, but also to the broader institution and public policy realm. In other words,

> active community engagement has been hypothesized to have personal as well as community benefits. Political activist report a variety of gratifications they receive from their work, including material gains such as career advancement, social gains such as the company they enjoy, civic gains such as fulfilling a sense of duty, and collective outcomes such as the opportunity to influence government policy. Other forms of civic engagement, like volunteering, have been found to be relate to additional psychological functions and needs such as providing individuals with a way to express their values or to learn more about a particular social issue. Further, volunteer activity has been associated with an increase in self-esteem and with improved personal health outcomes. With respect to community advantages, researchers have argued that the efficiency of a local government and the economic development of an area may be strongly influenced by the active engagement of the local citizenry in community affairs. (Haney et al., 2002:225)

Reading these positive accounts of civic participation, we can conclude that advocacy and the participation of citizens in the policy process nurtures "compassion, comradeship, self-confidence, and active public-spirited citizens. […] People develop themselves, their communities, and the public good (Koff, 2009:2). However, these positive accounts do not resonate to all in the literature.

Although many have demonstrated the positive elements related to civic participation, advocacy is still questioned as an avenue of increased democracy in Canadian society. Furthermore, in *Bowling Alone,* Robert Putnam demonstrates that while advocacy groups have been on the rise, the number of people involved in the traditional political process has declined (Weber et al., 2003:26). These trends raise questions about the validity of the social capital approach and show that the educational argument may not hold true in terms of civic participation in public interest groups. In fact, it raises questions about advocacy having an effect on civic knowledge and participation in the formal process.

Two main points have emerged from the literature regarding the negative linkage of advocacy and democracy. First, looking at civic participation within the groups, these can be seen as anti-democratic. For instance, the following list shows a few difficulties that individual advocacy groups may have: the lack of knowledge within groups; the number of public members, their credibility, and attitudes; the access to appropriate information sources; the lack of qualification within the group; the difficulty of diffusing citizen goodwill; complacency; representation; selfishness; lack of authority; recruitment, selection and cost (Koff, 2009:126; Irvin and Stansbury, 2004:58). There are many other internal possible risks that advocacy groups can have on democracy like group polarization. For instance, Young and Everitt demonstrate that

> Groups may attract people with similar points of view or experiences: some advocacy groups construct their membership very narrowly to include only individuals who share a salient characteristic like a religious affiliation, ethnic heritage or sexual orientation. These sorts of groups have been referred to as 'bonding groups,' because they and people together and reinforce shared perspectives. As a result, prejudice and distrust of others is continually reinforced through contact with like-minded individuals (Young and Everitt, 2004:36).

There can be great dangers in having a room full of people with the same viewpoint on a certain issue reinforcing one another. If the group's aim and internal workings are democratic ones, there are no imminent problems. On the other hand, if a group's goal is undemocratic or of bad consequence for society, the group can create a space for these ideas to develop no matter their intent.

Secondly, many scholars (Williamson, 2013:191; Golden, 1998; Jordan and Maloney, 2007:17; Young and Everitt, 2004; Mendelberg, 2002:165; Milner, 2004:86; Painter-Main, 2014:85; Milner,2010:34; Ravensbergen and VanderPlaat, 2009:390; Kimball et al., 2012:8; Weber et al., 2003:35; Schlozman, 1995:267; Gidengil et al, 2004:24) have questioned

advocacy group's ability to be representative of Canadians. While these scholars demonstrate nuances in discussing representativeness of advocacy groups, some illustrate the idea that advocacy groups represent a certain section of society and therefore continue to disenfranchise the same members of society that are already disenfranchised in other areas. According to Jordan and Maloney,

> who participates matters! Politicians and policy-makers will respond to the best organized interests that advance the most coherent, compelling and convincing case, or those who mobilize the most resources or simply shout the loudest. (The squeaking wheel gets the grease belief) If some voices are unraised or unheard the result is likely to be political inequality. Clearly the persistent problem for advanced democracies is that of inequality, most notably the continuing socio-demographic unrepresentativeness of participators. The democratic implications are clear. The fact that those most involved are drawn from a relatively small subset of the citizenry creates a democratic paradox. Arguably, those who stand to gain the most from involvement (disadvantaged groups) participate the least. (Jordan and Maloney, 2007:17)

Clearly, inequality within organizations is problematic in a democratic state. Since material, and knowledge resources are important to group proliferation, citizens with higher incomes and more education will dominate the policy agenda. Golden notes that the pressure system is "tilted heavily in favour of the well-off, especially business, at the expense of the representation of broad public interests and the interests of those with few political resources" (1998:247). These trends represent a limitation of advocacy' groups' ability to affect the decision-making process because the source is a biased one. Schattschneider also observes this problem and states that "the flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with an upper-class accent" (1960:35). This imagery demonstrates that advocacy groups lack democratic representativeness, which needs to be addressed if ideas from these groups are to be used.

CHAPTER 3 – Research Question and Research Design

Research Question

What do we know about advocacy groups and their ability to include citizens from many different demographic groups? A large scale democratic audit of advocacy groups in Canada, done in the early 2000s provides answers to this question. The authors conclude that "while more accessible than other representative institutions, many interest groups are still dominated by older, white, and well-educated Canadians, weakening their ability to compensate for the under-representation of some groups in political institutions" (Young and Everitt, 2004:43). In that same audit, other Canadian political scientists like Gidengil, Blais, Neville and Nadeau have demonstrated a similar trend to the one expressed by Young and Everitt stating that "the young, the less educated, and the poor are less likely to be involved [in civic life]" (2004:142). The low level of political participation at elections is not the only reason to worry about democracy in Canada. "Even more disconcerting is the profile of those who participate" (Gidengil et al. 2004:142). According to Jordan and Maloney, we need to not only analyze "the amount of civic activity but its distribution, not just how many people take part but also who they are" (2007:19) as these elements are important to the democratic functioning of society.

While Irvin and Stansburry (2004:56) reiterates this critical view of advocacy by demonstrating a few disadvantages to advocacy group proliferation, like cost, difficulty of diffusing citizen goodwill, complacency, representation, lack of authority, the power of wrong decisions and persistent selfishness, other scholars also show the democratic merits

that advocacy can have on society. For instance, according to Jordan and Maloney, participation in advocacy groups can

> engender mutual cooperation and accommodation, reciprocity and respect; inculcate members with pro-democratic values, attitudes and beliefs; provide 'order and stability' giving 'form and shape to relationships between citizens'; deliver opportunities for social and political participation; and are vehicles of self-government within which citizens are able to meaningfully participate in decisions which affect them" (2007:8)

In addition, citizen participation can "decrease distrust in government, educate citizens about important issues, build support for government efforts, foster a sense of shared risk between government and citizens and ameliorate democratic deficits associated with network governance" (Williamson, 2013: 193). All these elements show that advocacy groups and citizen participation are important to democracy and their future shows great potential in terms of helping alleviate the imminent democratic deficit.

Advocacy groups, as we have seen, have great potentials in expanding citizens' role in public policy, but their representativeness of the population at large remains questionable for critics. This paper's main aim is to use the most current data to examine whether the critical account still holds today. In other words, do we see similar trends in terms of who participates in advocacy groups when comparing the 2011 Canadian Election Study (CES) data to the 2000 CES data analysis done in the 2004 democratic audit? Looking at age, income, educational attainment and regions, this quantitative analysis, much like the 2000 democratic audit, aims to determine whether there are "systematic differences in the level and nature of political engagement across these societal divides" (Gidengil et al. 2004:4)

Research Design

Overall, this research paper analyzes the data from the 2011 Canadian Election Study and compares it to findings from the 2000 CES. In doing so, the intent of this section is to lay out the methodology that was used to arrive at the conclusions made. This section first gives a brief explanation of what is the Canadian Election Study by explaining its main components and basic methodology. Second, this section looks at the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and the main functions used in this analysis. Third, some methodological considerations and caveats are explained. In all, this section's main aim is to clearly demonstrate the approach taken in analyzing the 2011 CES survey data.

Canadian Electoral Study (2011)

Initiated in 1965 (Elections Canada, 2014), the Canadian Electoral Study is a series of surveys done at every Canadian federal election and is orchestrated by a number of institutions including the Université de Montréal, Elections Canada, McGill, SSHRC, and the University of British Columbia (Canadian Electoral Study, 2014). This study has three main objectives.

> [First, it seek to] provide a thorough account of the election, to underline the main reasons why people vote the way they do, to indicate what does and does not change during the campaign and from one election to another, and to highlight similarities and differences between voting and elections in Canada and in other democratic countries. The second mandate is to contribute to the development of scientific knowledge regarding the motivations of voters and the meanings of elections and election campaigns in democratic societies. The third mandate is to assemble a rich set of data about Canadians' attitudes and opinions on a wide variety of social, economic, and political issues, and to make that data publicly available to researchers in political science, sociology, economics, communications, and journalism. (Canadian Electoral Study, 2014)

This paper focuses on the third mandate, as it explores Canadians' participation in politics as well as their informal participation in other forms of engagement like advocacy groups.

The 2011 Canadian Electoral Study is comprised of four different surveys: the Campaign Period Survey (CPS), the Post Election Survey (PES), Mail Back Survey (MBS) and the Web-Based Survey (WBS) (Northrup, 2012:1). 4,308 Canadian citizens completed the CPS telephone interview. THE CPS used two types of samples: 850 respondents participating in the CPS were from a panel sample and 3,458 respondents were from a 'new' sample obtained from a modified random digit dialling (RDD) procedure and a random selection within the household using the birthday selection method.

The second survey, the PES, was done by telephone to the same 4,308 participants to the CPS. However, not all respondents that participated in the CPS participated in the PES (Northrup, 2012:1). In fact, a total of 3,362 individuals completed the PES survey; 767 from the panel sample and 2,595 from the new RRD sample. At the end of the PES survey, respondents were asked for their postal address. Similarly, at the end of the CPS, respondents were asked to provide their email addresses. From this, the MBS and the WBS were sent to those who provided the information. As a result, a smaller number of individuals responded to the MBS (1,567 responses) and the WBS (767 responses) (Northrup, 2012:1). Questions from three of these four surveys were used in this data analysis. Please see table 1 below for a complete list of the questions used in this analysis by survey. All technical information about the Canadian Electoral Study can be found in the 2011 Canadian Election Survey technical documentation written by David Northrup (2012). This documentation is included in the bibliography.

Table 1 – Specific CES Questions used in this analysis by survey.

Campaign Period	- Age group data - Educational attainment data

Survey (CPS)	- Income data - Did you vote in the last federal election
Post-Election Survey (PES)	- Voting a duty or choice? - Interest in politics - Volunteering for a party or candidate [last 12 months] - Bought products for political, ethical, environmental reasons [last 12 months] - Have you taken part in a march, rally or protest? [last 12 months] - Have you used the internet to be politically active? [last 12 months] - Have you volunteered for a community or a non-profit organization? [last 12 months] - Have you ever been a member of a federal political party? - How many days in a week do you: Watch news on TV - How many days in a week do you: Read the news in the newspaper - How many days in a week do you: Listen to the news on the radio - How many days in a week do you: Read the news on the Internet - How many days in a week do you: Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet - How many days in a week do you: Discuss politics and news with family - How many days in a week do you: Discuss politics and news with friends
Mail Back Survey (MBS)	- If people start trying to change things, it usually makes them worse - Active in community service group [last 5 years] - Active in Business Association [last 5 years] - Active in Professional Association [last 5 years] - Active in Environmental Group [last 5 years] - Active in Women's Group [last 5 years] - Active in Labor Union [last 5 years] - Active in Ethnic Association [last 5 years] - Active in Sports Association [last 5 years] - Active in Religious Organization [last 5 years] - Active in Parents Group [last 5 years] - Active in Farmers Association [last 5 years]
Web-Based Survey (WBS)	- None of the questions analyzed belong to this survey

Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)

The software package used for statistical analysis in this paper is the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). The main SPSS features used in this analysis are descriptive statistics including elements like crosstabulation and frequency. The recoding feature was also largely used in this analysis. All responses representing “no answer” or “do not know” were coded as being “missing values” and were excluded from the analysis

because they represent individuals that do not have an opinion on the matter at hand where we are only interested in analyzing data from respondents that have an opinion. This also explains why the total counts for different questions vary. Although this data was excluded from analysis, the number of missing responses was still evaluated. Missing data can give important information about surveys. For instance, there may be a valid reason why a large number of respondents decide not to answer a question, which is important to understand and look at.

The sample weight, available in the database was used to weight the data in this analysis. Provincial weights are incorporated into this sample weight (Northrup, 2012:7). The "weight by" function in SPSS was used to apply this weight. Secondly, the different questions analysed in this paper were recoded into different variables using different scales so that it better reflected the subject at hand. For example, instead of using each province individually, the variable was recoded so that data would be compared between different Canadian regions.

Methodological Considerations

To ensure that the sample is representative of the population, sample weight (available in the database) was applied to the data. Using the "weight by" feature in the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software, this weight was applied where available.

Most variables in the dataset were recoded to simplify the analysis and to have the ability to present the information in chart form. For example, instead of using each province individually, the variable was recoded so that data would be compared between

different Canadian regions. For example, since the variable on respondents' age was divided into all possible ages (ie: 1=18 years old, 2=19 years old, 3=20 years old etc…), these were regrouped (ie: 1= 18 to 24 years old, 2= 25-34 years old, 3= 35 to 44 years old) to give the ability to report and give trends based on the age groups instead of the individual ages of respondents. Most variables were recoded in this way. For more information on how variables were recoded, please see Annex 1.

All "no answer" or "do not know" responses were coded as being "missing values" and were excluded from the analysis because they represent individuals that do not have an opinion on the question at hand. Since we are only interested in analyzing data from respondents that have an opinion, we excluded this data from the analysis.

Methodological Caveat

A few potential methodological limitations are present when using datasets like the CES to conduct an analysis. First, since the CES is administered on a voluntary basis, engaged Canadians are more likely to be interested in participating in a public opinion survey on civic life and politics. As a result, we cannot overlook the tendency of surveys to over-represent the politically engaged and it is important to keep in mind that the data in this survey may show higher proportions of participation then actually present in Canadian society.

Second, since questions from three of the four CES surveys were used in this analysis, some questions have lower observation counts than others. As a result, some demographic questions like questions regarding Aboriginal status and ethnic self-identification were not analyzed.

Third, when comparing the 2000 data from Young and Everitt (2004), to the 2011 CES analysis in this paper, it is important to note that the questions analyzed in both surveys have slightly changed in some instances. As a result, while broad comparisons are possible, comparing the exact percentages of agreement regarding various questions in both surveys is not.

CHAPTER 4 – Presentation of Findings and Discussion

This chapter focuses on the four main demographic trends that have been present in the literature on who participates in advocacy. The four main demographic trends include age, income, education and region. Each of these parts (organized by demographic subject) will firstly show the findings of the 2000 democratic audit done by Young and Everitt (2004) and Gidengil et al. (2004). Second, a presentation of the findings from the 2011 CES analysis will be discussed. Finally, a comparison between both the 2000 audit and the 2011 analysis will be done to explore the extent to which circumstances have changed through the years in terms of who participates in advocacy and civic activities. In other words, this chapter will demonstrate to what extent the demographic profile of those who participate in civic participation and advocacy groups have changed between 2000 and 2011.

Age

i. What we know

The past literature has told us quite a bit on the relationship between age and civic participation. In fact, there seems to be consistency among different types of participation when it comes to the link between age and participation in elections, political parties, interest groups, protest activities, voluntary associations and volunteering activities. Gidengil et al. (2004) analyzed the rate of participation of individuals in the different age groups and demonstrated a few findings. In general, the study found that the younger generation were less likely to be engaged in different types of political activities. They were less likely to vote than their parents and grandparents, they were less likely to belong to a political party or interest group, and they were less likely to be part of voluntary

association or volunteer in general. However, following the baby boomers, younger Canadians were the second highest age group to be involved in protest activities (Gidengil et al., 2004).

While younger Canadians show to be tuned out of politics, older Canadians (born in 1945 and earlier), seem to be the group most active in all the political activities. Even though they show the highest amount of participation to these activities, their participation in volunteering and protest activities is not the highest of the age groups. One factor that may be attributable to this is their deteriorating health (Gidengil et al., 2004:160). Volunteering and protesting usually requires some physical work and some older Canadians not have the physical capacity to participate in those types of activities. While these findings developed by Gidengil et al. (2004) clearly demonstrate the decreased involvement of younger Canadians in different political activities, one question that may arise is in asking why this is the case.

There are many different potential factors that may help explain why younger Canadians participate less in the civic process. Whether the decline of youth in the political sphere is a result of a generational effect or the life cycle effect remains questionable. Furthermore, are young people tuning out of politics because of the time they are in in their life, or are they disengaged because of a cultural and generational explanation? In other words, the point of interest here is whether "today's young Canadians are less likely to have belonged to a political party than their parents were when they were the same age" (Gidengil et al., 2004:130) or do they represent a changing culture in Canadian citizenship that will continue to expand through the years.

Cultural/Generational Factor

The main premise of the cultural/generational factor is that a large scale change is happening in the way Canadian youth perceive political participation. Due to increased individualism, social isolation and the decline in social capital, Delli Carpini suggests that

> civic engagement has become *defined* as the one-on-one experience of working in a soup kitchen, cleaning trash from a local river, or tutoring a chid once a week. What is missing is an awareness of the connection between the individual, isolated 'problems' these actions are intended to address and the larger world of public policy. (Delli Carpini, 2000:346)

The more individualistic outlook on problem-solving has therefore resulted in increased individual participation in specific community-based activities at the expense of public policy and the traditional institution. Because these community small scale activities are less calculated than participation in traditional political activities, we may be missing an important part of civic life, in which youth are largely involved.

In demonstrating how younger adults are much less likely to be present in the formal political arena, Painter-Main demonstrates that non-participation may reflect a "decline of deference" (2014:75). In the development of a culture that does not support submission and obedience, youth may become increasingly involved in less traditional types of political activities. Norris (1999) demonstrates this changing nature of participation among Canadian youth.

> This generation is not "dropping out" of politics but shifting to new and different forms of participation. For Norris, increasing political sophistication and cognitive mobilization have meant that alternative forms of participation and engagement have become the preference of younger generations, in part because the traditional forms provide little in the way of direct impact on political outcomes. Voting, for example, can be a particularly unsatisfying form of participation in that the structure of the process provides little in the way of opportunity for *engagement*; instead, one marks one's ballot, and this may or may not have an effect on the political outcome depending on the nature of the system in place. (O'Neill, 2007:21)

For instance, instead of participating in institutionalized activities, young Canadians, through petition signing, political consumerism may demonstrate a new type of involvement (Painter-Main, 2014:75). As a result, the decline in youth in political activities may not show disengagement from democracy, it may only reflect a change in culture and in the mode of participation from this particular age group. It should be mentioned that it is too early to tell if this is the future trajectory of political participation in Canada because even though there are elite-challenging activities happening among youth, a significant number still do not express themselves politically at any level.

Another factor that shows that low youth participation may be part of a cultural/generational phenomenon is "political efficacy". Political efficacy refers to "the belief that one has the capacity to understand and influence political decision making (internal efficacy) and that government is responsive to citizens (external efficacy)" (O'Neill, 2007:17). In past surveys and clearly shown in the 2004 democratic audit, Canadians between the ages of 18 and 25 showed the lowest levels of political efficacy when compared to the other age groups. When citizens have lower levels of political efficacy, they do not think that government is responsive to citizens and they therefore are less likely to vote in the election because of this cynicism. While this aspect may contribute to the reason why youth are less likely to be engaged in political activities, it remains one way in which generational culture can impact civic participation.

Life-Cycle Factor

Another way that low civic participation in the youth population has been explained is through by the life-cycle effect. The life-cycle effect refers to the fact that the

> nature of responsibilities and experiences varies over an individual's lifetime. Early in life one is likely to be focused on one's education, in middle age individuals are more likely to be occupied with their families, children and homes, and in older age the focus shifts to retirement and health concerns. While the precise nature of the experience can vary, the key dynamic is the shift in those experiences over time, which translates into shifts in political interest, attitudes, values and behaviour" (O'Neill, 2007:3).

In other words, the stage in life to which an individual belongs largely influences their political outlook and behaviour as well as the importance given to civic engagement. As life unfolds, individuals are pressed with different realities. This idea can explain low youth participation into the political sphere because perhaps youth are not focusing on this element of their lives at their age. Older citizens, on the other hand, who may have to rely more on the government social safety net (healthcare, pension) may have more at stake and therefore more reason to effect the social and political institution and policy.

From this explanation, individuals in the early stages of their life as a citizen are in a situation that may contribute to low civic participation. For instance, since political knowledge is acquired through time, young Canadians may not have the civic knowledge, confidence and capacity to participate in the process. O'Neill (2007) provides evidence that "the youngest Canadians display levels of political knowledge significant below that of older Canadians, a gap [… which] stems at least partly from life cycle effects" (13). Similarly, Gidengil also demonstrates this stating that younger Canadians "have had less exposure to the world of politics and less time to store up political information" (Gidengil et al., 2004:54). Clearly, decreased political knowledge can be seen as a factor influencing youth participation in civic activities. If this is the case however, we should be able to see a similar amount of low youth participation in previous years.

ii. Findings (CES 2011)

In looking at the relationship between age and participation in political activities, in interest groups and news consumption, many elements of analysis emerge. These trends and relationships analyzed from the 2011 CES are demonstrated in the tables and charts included below. While the charts' main aim is to illustrate more clearly the general differences between the categories, the tables aim to give more detailed and precise information on each topic.

Political activity in the last 12 months by age group

Table 1 and Chart 1 shows participation in political activity in the last 12 months by age group. This section of the CES survey included six dichotomous (yes-no) questions. While one of the five questions includes participation in traditional politics (volunteering for a party or candidate), the five other questions all question respondents' participation in non-traditional political activities (buying products for political, ethical, environmental reasons, volunteering for a community or a non-profit organization, signing a petition, using the Internet to be politicall active, taking part in a march, rally or protest). Four main interesting trends/observations were found when exploring the relationship between age and participation in various political activities.

First, with a few exceptions, younger respondents reported higher levels of participation than their older counterpart with regards to their involvement in petition signing, buying products for political, ethical, and environmental reasons, and using the internet to be politically active. On the other hand, rates of volunteering for party or candidates increased with age. It is interesting to note that the only political activity

representing traditional politics in this list (volunteering for a party of candidate) tended to be a more popular type of engagement for older Canadians. In fact, looking at this data, older individuals (9.1%) tend to participate more in volunteering for a party candidate, relative to younger Canadians (2.5%). While participation in most of the non-traditional political activities were more popular among younger age groups, older age groups volunteer for parties and candidates at a higher rate. It is also important to note that since the respondents were to respond to this question with the last 12 months in mind, there may have been other factors influencing older Canadians' ability to participate in these different types of activities. For example, protest, rallies and meetings require mobility, which may be more difficult for older Canadians compared to the younger population. As a result, it is important to note that this data represents participation in a short amount of time (the last 12 months) and not overall lifetime participation.

Second, respondents 44 years of age and younger used the Internet to be politically active at a much higher rate than respondents 45 and over. Furthermore, the use of the Internet to be politically active was highest among 18 to 24 year old respondents (46%) and lowest for respondents 65 and over (18%). This category showed the largest gap among the different age groups.

Third, volunteering for a community or non-profit organization is most reported by respondents between the ages of 45 and 54. Respondents in other age groups reported lower and similar rates of participation to this activity. And finally, no large variations were observed between respondents' age and participation in marches, rallies and protests.

News consumption and sharing by age group

Chart 2, Table 2, Chart 3 and Table 3 demonstrate different types of news consumption and sharing as they pertain to different age groups. While four categories represent news consumption by apparatus (watching the news on TV, listening to the news on the radio, reading the news in the newspaper and reading the news on the Internet), the three categories of news sharing include discussing politics and news with family, discussing politics and news with friends, and exchanging political news and ideas on the Internet. The percentages mentioned for this series of questions represents the percentage of respondents who participate in these different types of news consumption or sharing 4 days or more a week. Even though TV remained the most popular medium for getting news for all age groups, some interesting differences exist when looking at each categories. When looking at Chart 2, it is clear that different age groups have different preferences when it comes to how they access their news. While older respondents show traditional methods like TV and the newspaper as the most popular way of getting their news, young Canadians tend to prefer the Internet when compared to the other age groups. On the other hand, middle aged Canadians have higher rates than other age groups when it comes to listening to the news on the radio.

Some differences appear when it comes to age differentials and the popularity of the different modes of news consumption. For instance, while watching the news on TV was the most common way for Canadians of all ages to consume news, older Canadians 65 and over (93%) were much larger consumers of news on TV than young Canadians aged 18 to 24 (49%). Similarly, older Canadians read the newspaper at a much higher rate than young Canadians (difference of 25 percentage points).

On the other hand, the reverse trend happens when looking at the percentage of Canadians reading the news on the Internet. Younger Canadians are much more likely to be using the Internet to get their news than older Canadians. In fact, 46% of respondents aged 25 to 34 read the news on the Internet 4 days of the week or more compared to 25% of their 65 and older counterpart.

When it comes to the number of Canadians listening to news on the radio 4 or more times a week, a different trend appears. Middle aged individuals between 35 and 54 years old were the most likely to use the radio to get their news than younger and older Canadians. Potential factors leading to this includes the combined factors of commuting to work, which reduces with age and owning a vehicle, which increases with age.

Activity in advocacy groups and associations in the last 5 years by age groups

No strong trends emerged when looking at activity in advocacy groups and association and respondents' age (Table and Chart 3). However, three observations were noted. First, when compared to other age groups, respondents 18 to 24 years of age had the highest level of activity in community service groups, business associations, environmental groups, ethnic associations, and farmers associations.

Second, respondents 25 to 34 years of age reported the lowest level of activity (in the last 5 years) in community service groups, environmental groups, sports associations, and religious associations out of all age groups. Third, while respondents aged 65 and over reported the highest level of activity in women's groups, respondents 18 to 24 years of age reported the lowest level of activity in this same group. A difference of 16 percentage points separates both groups.

Graph 1

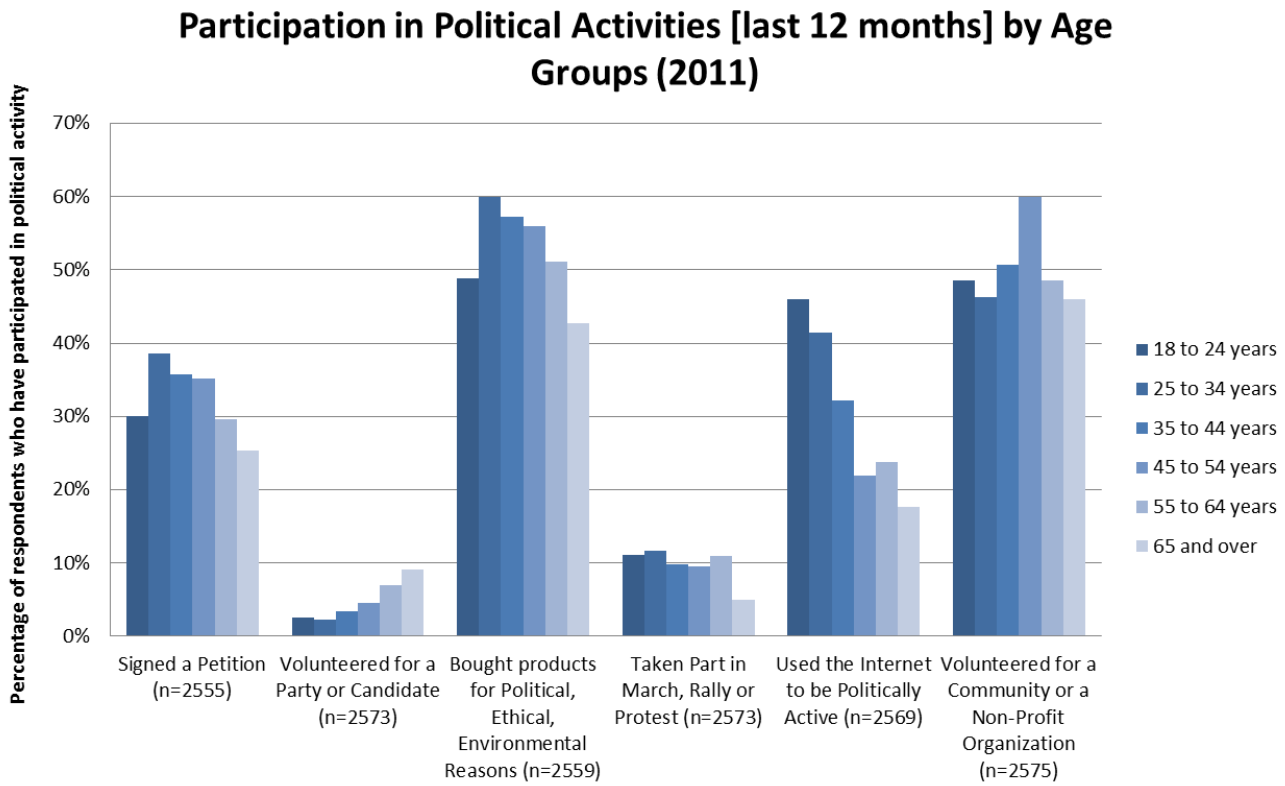

Table 1

Participation in Political Activities [last 12 months] by Age Groups (2011)						
	Age Groups					
	18 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 and over
Signed a Petition (n=2555)	30.0%	38.6%	35.7%	35.1%	29.6%	25.3%
Volunteered for a Party or Candidate (n=2573)	2.5%	2.3%	3.4%	4.6%	6.9%	9.1%
Bought products for Political, Ethical, Environmental Reasons (n=2559)	48.9%	60.0%	57.3%	55.9%	51.1%	42.7%
Taken Part in March, Rally or Protest (n=2573)	11.1%	11.6%	9.8%	9.5%	11.0%	4.9%
Used the Internet to be Politically Active (n=2569)	46.0%	41.5%	32.2%	21.9%	23.7%	17.7%
Volunteered for a Community or a Non-Profit Organization (n=2575)	48.5%	46.3%	50.7%	60.0%	48.5%	46.0%

Graph 2

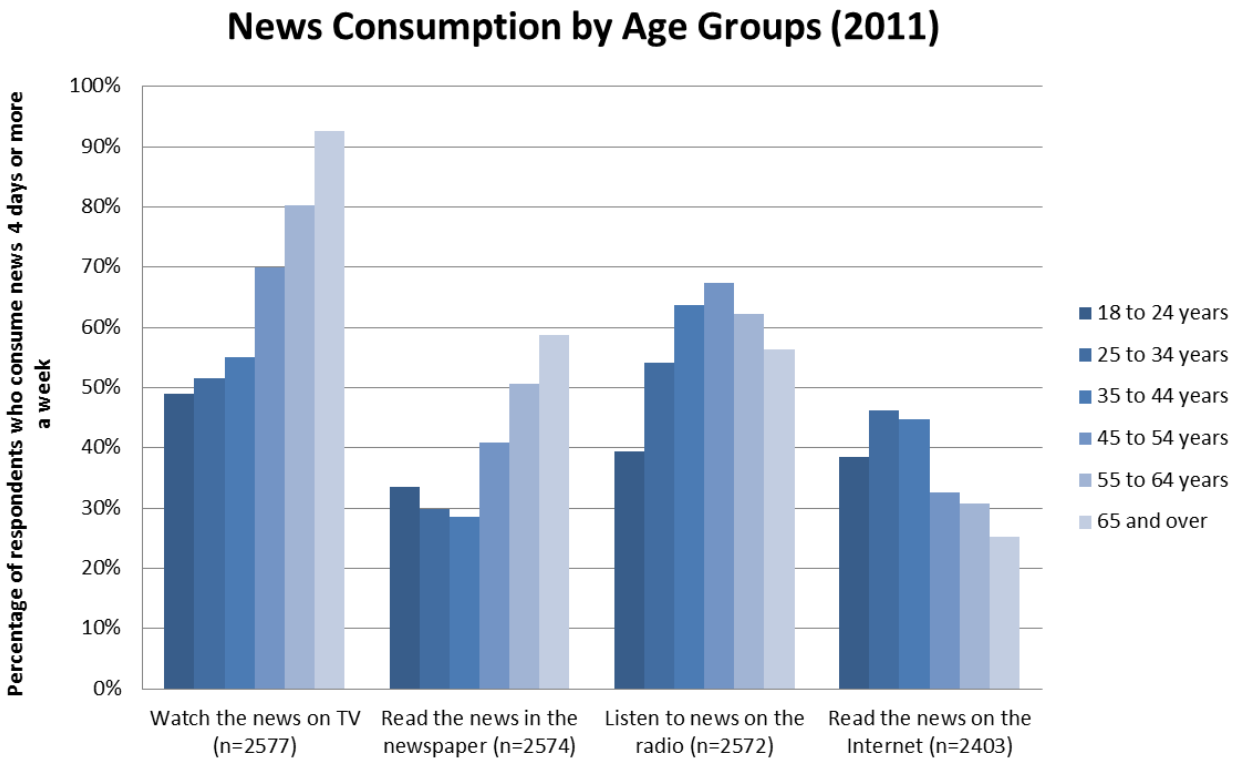

Table 2

News Consumption by Age Groups (2011)						
	Age Groups					
	18 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 and over
Watch the news on TV (n=2577)	49.0%	51.6%	55.0%	69.9%	80.2%	92.6%
Read the news in the newspaper (n=2574)	33.5%	29.9%	28.6%	40.8%	50.6%	58.8%
Listen to news on the radio (n=2572)	39.4%	54.1%	63.7%	67.4%	62.2%	56.3%
Read the news on the Internet (n=2403)	38.4%	46.3%	44.7%	32.6%	30.7%	25.3%

Graph 3

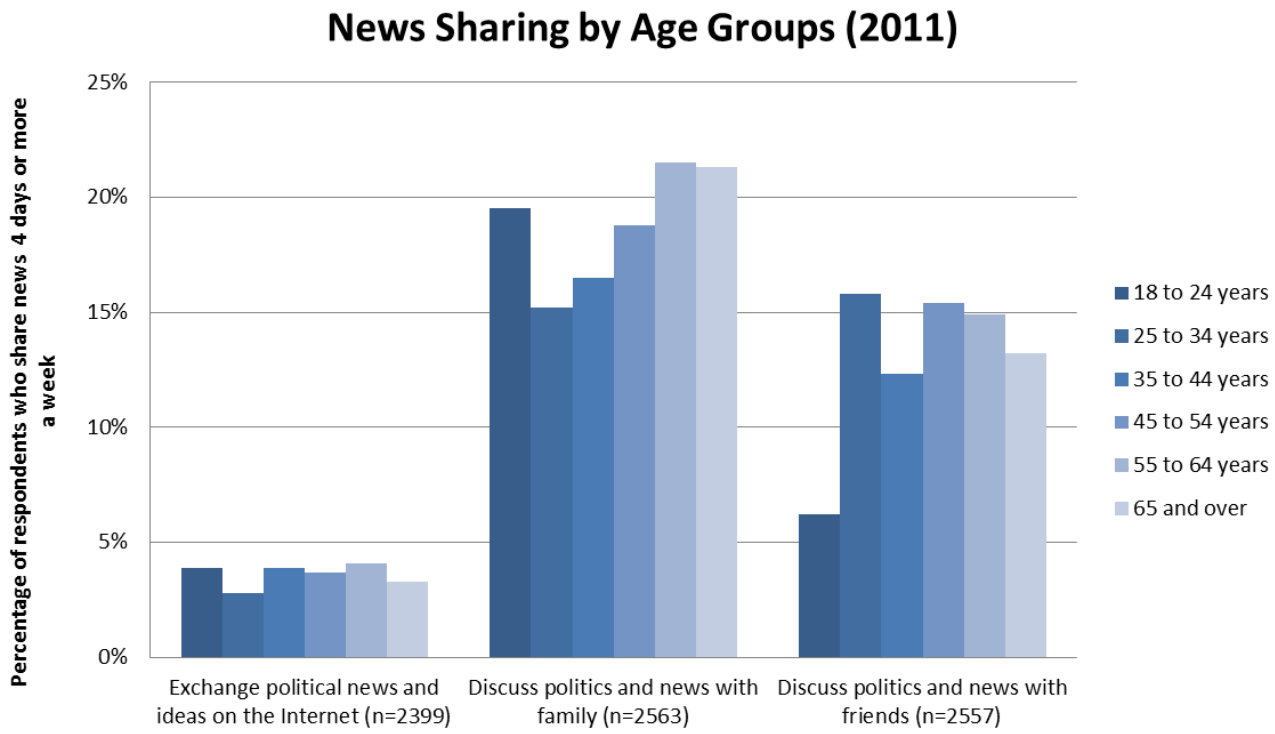

Table 3

News Sharing by Age Groups (2011)						
	Age Groups					
	18 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 and over
Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet (n=2399)	3.9%	2.8%	3.9%	3.7%	4.1%	3.3%
Discuss politics and news with family (n=2563)	19.5%	15.2%	16.5%	18.8%	21.5%	21.3%
Discuss politics and news with friends (n=2557)	6.2%	15.8%	12.3%	15.4%	14.9%	13.2%

Graph 4

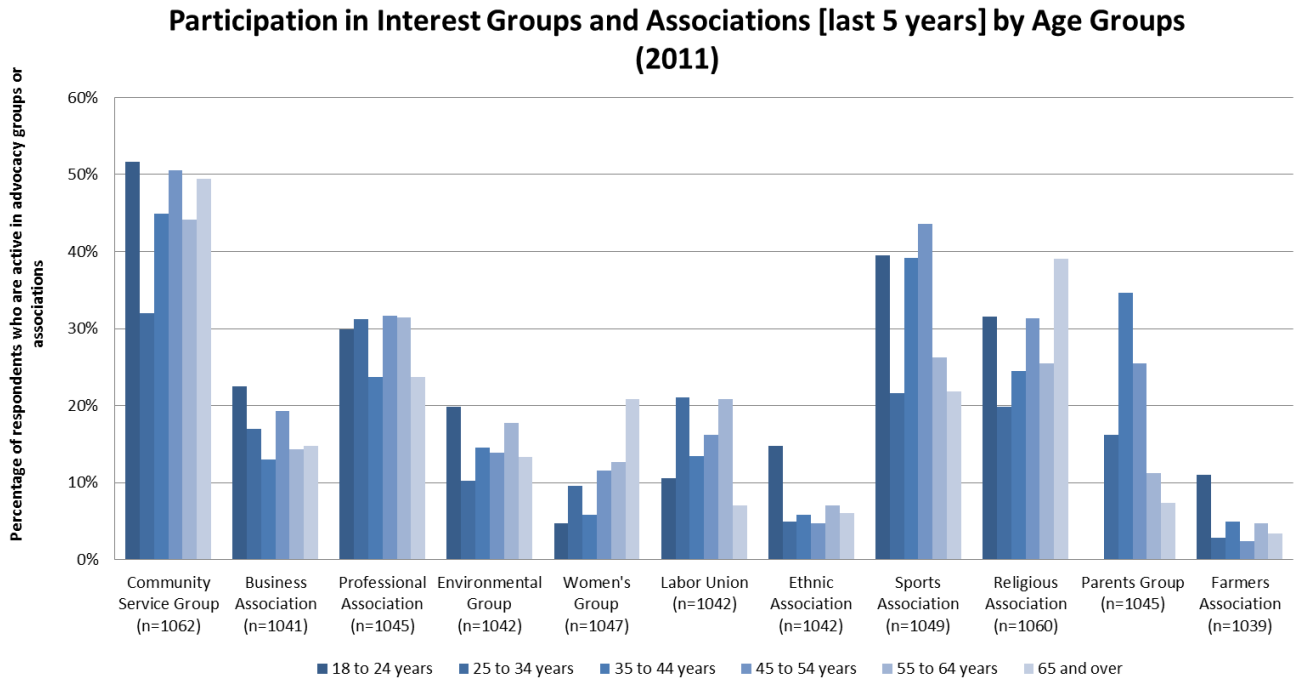

Table 4

Participation in Interest Groups and Associations [last 5 years] by Age Groups (2011)						
	Age Groups					
	18 to 24 years	25 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	45 to 54 years	55 to 64 years	65 and over
Community Service Group (n=1062)	51.7%	32.0%	44.9%	50.5%	44.2%	49.5%
Business Association (n=1041)	22.5%	17.0%	13.0%	19.3%	14.3%	14.8%
Professional Association (n=1045)	29.9%	31.2%	23.7%	31.7%	31.4%	23.7%
Environmental Group (n=1042)	19.9%	10.3%	14.5%	13.9%	17.7%	13.3%
Women's Group (n=1047)	4.7%	9.6%	5.8%	11.6%	12.7%	20.9%
Labor Union (n=1042)	10.6%	21.1%	13.5%	16.2%	20.8%	7.0%
Ethnic Association (n=1042)	14.8%	4.9%	5.8%	4.7%	7.0%	6.0%
Sports Association (n=1049)	39.5%	21.6%	39.2%	43.6%	26.3%	21.8%
Religious Association (n=1060)	31.6%	19.8%	24.5%	31.3%	25.5%	39.1%
Parents Group (n=1045)	0.0%	16.2%	34.7%	25.5%	11.2%	7.4%
Farmers Association (n=1039)	11.0%	2.8%	5.0%	2.4%	4.7%	3.4%

Income

i. What we know

What do we know about the link between income and civic participation in Canada? In general, and unsurprisingly, the more affluent citizens have more participation in all activities. They vote in a larger number, they belong more to political parties and interest groups, they participate in larger numbers to voluntary associations and they volunteer at a higher rate (Kimball et al. 8; Gidengil et al. 2004:108). As a result, the material circumstances of individuals have a clear impact on people's involvement into political activities. Why do the richer participate at a higher rate than the poorer? This question has been examined by many scholars (Putnam, 1995:71; Young and Everitt, 2004:32; Kimbal et al. 8; Jordan and Maloney, 10; Mendelberg, 166; Painter-Main, 2014:71; Milner, 2010:37; Cloutier, 238).

A first explanation to the higher rate of participation in richer Canadians in with regards to resources. Although this may not be the case for all individuals with low incomes, there are some costs associated with voting and other types of participation that may be of consequence for the less affluent. Participation requires time and energy, something that some Canadians with lower income may not have. Also, because Canadians with lower incomes seem to be more likely to live in rental units, and move from one location to another at a faster pace, this may have an impact on their ability to get involved in their community. Mobility also means that individuals may not be on the correct voter list and may not be aware of the ways that they can participate in their community.

Since elected officials respond more to voters than non-voters (Kimball et al. 8), the proportion of Canadians with higher incomes may get more attention at election time.

> Since income and political knowledge are correlated, those with higher incomes tend to be more knowledgeable about politics and more able to translate their self-interest into policy preferences and voting choices. Thus, income is correlated with an ability to make one's voice heard in politics. […] Government policy and politicians are more responsive to elite and high-income consituents than the low- and middle-income citizens. (Kimball et al. 2012:9)

Since the point of political parties is to win elections, it becomes easier for elected officials to pay attention to individuals that will vote and participate in the political institution. However, this can be seen as a viscous cycle because as poorer Canadians are misrepresented during election campaigns, they are simultaneously "less likely to believe that the political system is responsive and they are also less likely to have much interest in politics" (Gidengil et al. 2004:108) and this effect may in turn affect their participation in all other types and forms of political activities.

Another important aspect resulting in the higher proportion of participation among richer Canadians is linked to an increasingly popular type of participation in the advocacy world: chequebook participation. More and more, participation in groups is limited or importantly attached to monetary donations. This further alienates poorer Canadians and attracts more affluent Canadians into different political activities. Advocacy is becoming less about policy influencing membership and more about money. Jordan and Maloney illustrates this well by showing an example. They state that

> Mass membership organizations (the American Association for Retired Persons (AARP), Greenpeace, etc.) may make an important contribution to the policy-making process, but they do not enhance political or social integration, and that the vast majority of members limit their involvement to signing a cheque, hardly any attend group meetings and there is no face-to-face interaction." (Jordan and Maloney, 10)

Although this is an American example, it shows the changing face of advocacy and the importance of money in civic participation of this type. Similarly, in Canada, Young and Everitt show this as well stating that there is a growing trend toward advocacy groups that

"encourage only 'chequebook participation' from their members; these groups are more interested in soliciting donations than volunteers. This trend makes advocacy group membership much more available to Canadians who have higher disposable income (2004:32). Clearly, there is an increasing demand for participants with money at the expense of participants that are less affluent. This is problematic because it results in a misrepresentation of Canadians into advocacy groups and other sources of civic participation. With an interest in social capital Putnam explains the changing bond between group members. He notes that

> The bond between any two members of the Sierra Club is less like the bond between any two members of a gardening club and more like the bond between any two Red Sox fans (or perhaps any two devoted Honda owners): they root for the same team and they share some of the same interests, but they are unaware of each other's existence. (Putnam, 1995:71)

This example clearly demonstrates that there the relationship between group members does not rely on increased social trust and citizenship but rather relies on a more consumerist ties.

ii. Findings (CES 2011)

Political activity in the last 12 months by age group

For the purpose of this analysis, the income brackets used are "less than $29.999", "$30,000 to $59,999", "$60,000 to $89,999", and "$90,000 and over". When looking at participation in political activity in the last 12 months by income categories (as shown in Graph 5 and Table 5), one main trend appears. There is a strong link between respondents' income and their participation in political activities. For all activity types, participation

gradually increases with income. Furthermore, results show that individuals with higher income were more likely to sign petitions, volunteer for a party or candidate, buy products for political, ethical, and environmental reasons, take part in a march, rally or protest, use the internet to be politically active, and volunteer for a community or a non-profit organization. These differences are significant, and their direction is the same across the board. Also clearly shown in Graph 5, the following four questions demonstrate this large gap between respondents in lower and higher income groups.

First, while 20% of respondents with an income less than $29,999 have signed a petition in the last 12 months, 38% of respondents with an income of $90,000 and over reported the same. This represents a difference of 18 percentage points between the highest and lowest income groups. Second, while 40% of respondents belonging to the income group "less than $29,999" bought products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons in the last 12 months, 61% of respondents with an income of $90,000 and over reported the same (difference of 21 percentage points).

Third, more respondents with an income of $90,000 and over used the Internet to be politically active than any of the other income groups. A difference of 17 percentage points separate respondents belonging to the "$90,000 and over" income group and the "less than $29,999" income group. Finally, volunteering for a community or a non-profit organization was highest among respondents with an income of $90,000 and above (59%), and lowest among respondents with an income of less than $29,999 (35%).

News consumption and sharing by age group

With the exception of watching the news on television, respondents with higher income consume news the most in all other forms. Furthermore, individuals with higher income listen to the news on the radio, read the news on the Internet, and read the newspapers at a more frequent rate than individuals belonging to lower income brackets. As shown in table 6, a 28 percentage point difference separates the lowest income group (less than $29,999) and the highest income group ($90,000 and over) with regards to the use of the Internet to read the news.

On the other hand, individuals with lower income ($59,999 and lower) watch the news on TV at a higher frequency than higher income Canadians ($60,000 and higher). In general, watching the news on TV remains the most popular way to consume news for all age groups. When it comes to news sharing illustrated in chart 7, the trend remains unchanged where individuals in higher incomes are more likely to discuss politics and news with family and friends than respondents in lower income brackets.

Activity in advocacy groups and associations in the last 5 years by age groups

When it comes to respondents' participation in different interest groups and associations, some groups and associations had more participation from respondents in higher income brackets while other groups were more mixed when it came to participants' income. In fact, when it comes to participation in community service groups, business associations, professional associations, environmental groups, labour unions, ethnic associations, sport association, and parents groups, a larger proportion of participants belong to higher income brackets. As shown in Graph 8, the largest gap between the highest and lowest group was present for respondents involved in professional

associations (a difference of 29 percentage points separate respondents in the higher and lower income brackets) and sport associations (a difference of 33 percentage points separate respondents in the higher and lower income brackets).

On the other hand, income does not seem to be related to participation in religious associations and farmers associations. Women's groups are the only groups for which the highest number of participants belongs to the lowest income bracket and for which participation seems to decrease with income.

Graph 5

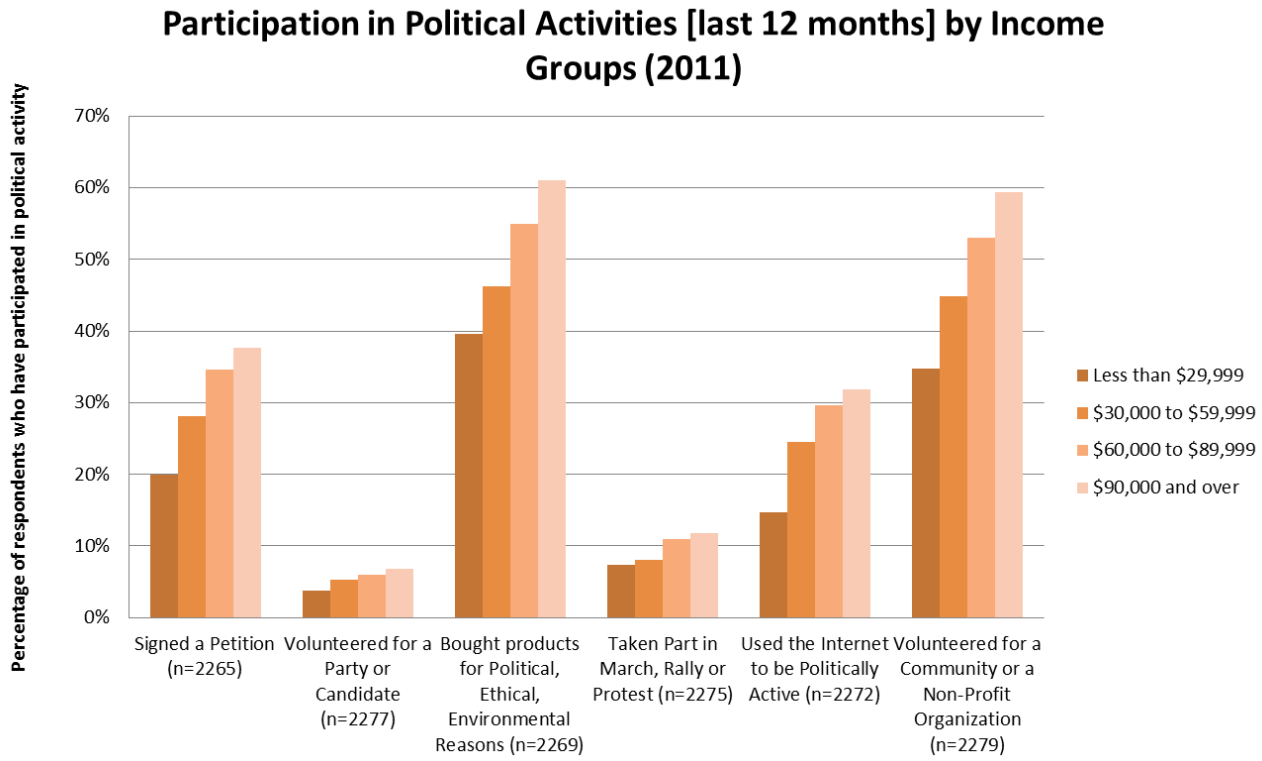

Table 5

Participation in Political Activities [last 12 months] by Income Groups (2011)				
	Income Groups			
	Less than $29,999	**$30,000 to $59,999**	**$60,000 to $89,999**	**$90,000 and over**
Signed a Petition (n=2555)	19.9%	28.1%	34.6%	37.7%
Volunteered for a Party or Candidate (n=2573)	3.8%	5.3%	6.0%	6.8%
Bought products for Political, Ethical, Environmental Reasons (n=2559)	39.6%	46.2%	55.0%	61.1%
Taken Part in March, Rally or Protest (n=2573)	7.4%	8.1%	11.0%	11.8%
Used the Internet to be Politically Active (n=2569)	14.7%	24.5%	29.6%	31.8%
Volunteered for a Community or a Non-Profit Organization (n=2575)	34.8%	44.9%	53.1%	59.4%

Graph 6

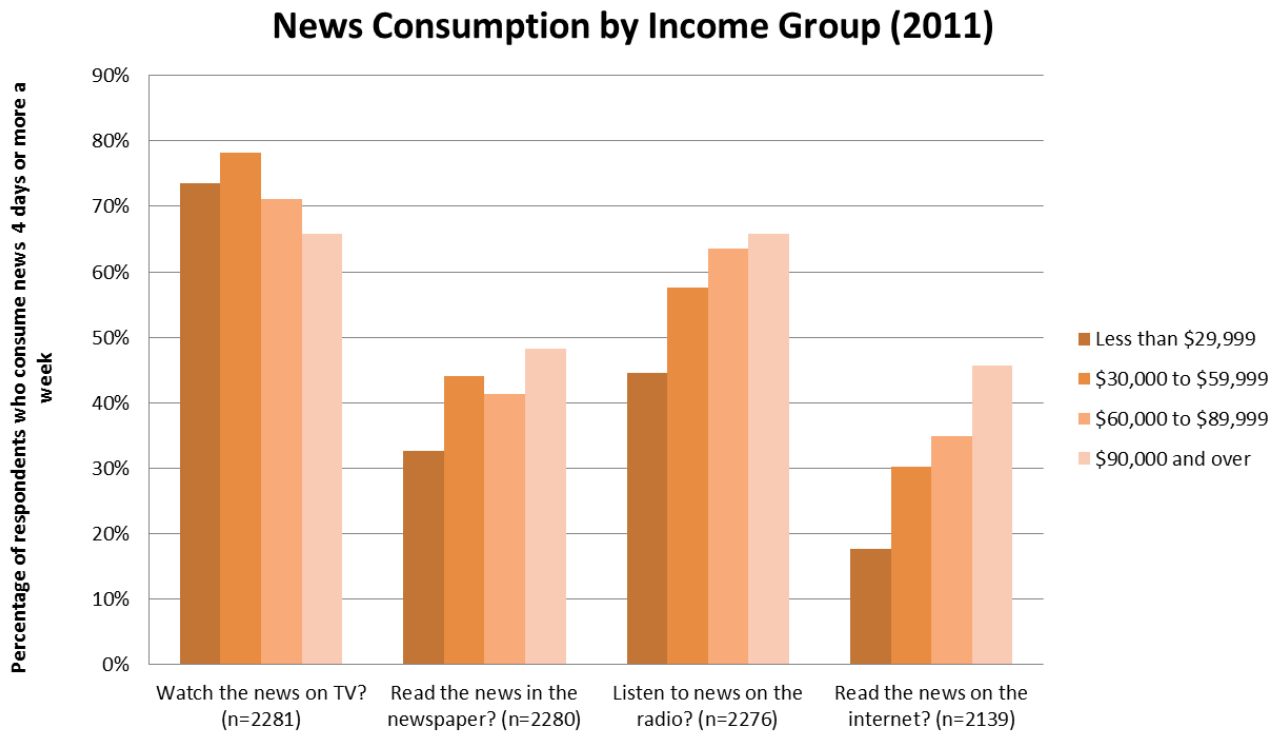

Table 6

News Consumption by Income Groups (2011)				
	Income Groups			
	Less than $29,999	**$30,000 to $59,999**	**$60,000 to $89,999**	**$90,000 and over**
Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet? (n=2135)	73.6%	78.2%	71.1%	65.8%
Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet? (n=2266)	32.7%	44.1%	41.4%	48.3%
Discuss politics and news with friends? (n=2261)	44.5%	57.6%	63.5%	65.8%

Graph 7

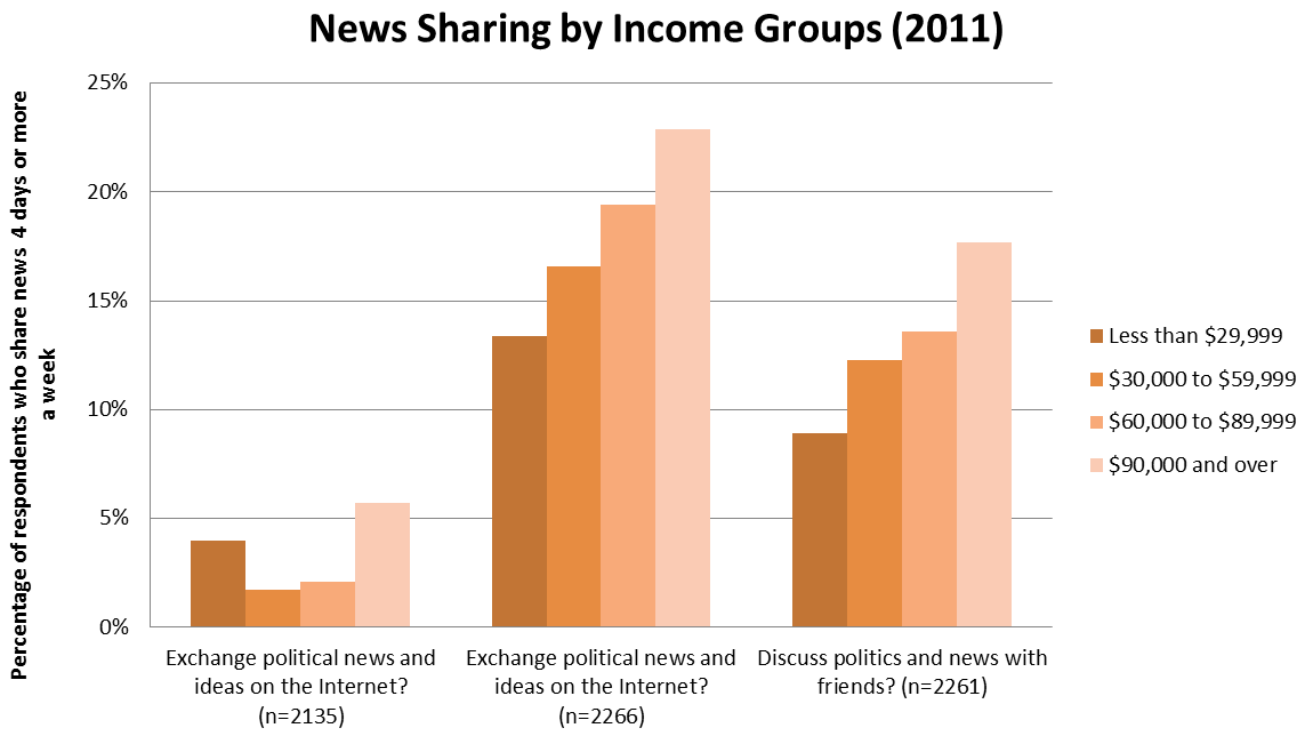

Table 7

News Sharing by Income Groups (2011)				
	Income Groups			
	Less than $29,999	**$30,000 to $59,999**	**$60,000 to $89,999**	**$90,000 and over**
Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet? (n=2135)	4.0%	1.7%	2.1%	5.7%
Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet? (n=2266)	13.4%	16.6%	19.4%	22.9%
Discuss politics and news with friends? (n=2261)	8.9%	12.3%	13.6%	17.7%

Graph 8

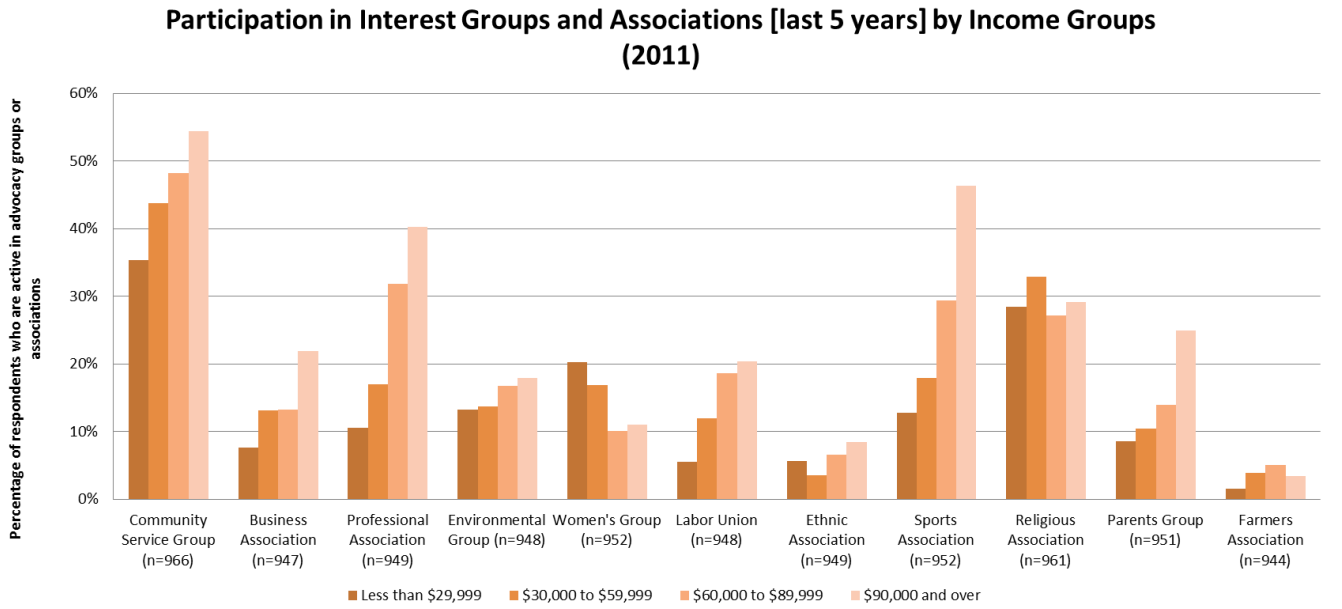

Table 8

Participation in Interest Groups and Associations [last 5 years] by Income Groups (2011)				
	Income Groups			
	Less than $29,999	$30,000 to $59,999	$60,000 to $89,999	$90,000 and over
Community Service Group (n=966)	35.4%	43.8%	48.2%	54.4%
Business Association (n=947)	7.6%	13.1%	13.3%	21.9%
Professional Association (n=949)	10.6%	17.0%	31.8%	40.3%
Environmental Group (n=948)	13.2%	13.7%	16.7%	17.9%
Women's Group (n=952)	20.3%	16.9%	10.1%	11.0%
Labor Union (n=948)	5.5%	12.0%	18.6%	20.4%
Ethnic Association (n=949)	5.6%	3.5%	6.6%	8.5%
Sports Association (n=952)	12.8%	17.9%	29.4%	46.4%
Religious Association (n=961)	28.4%	32.9%	27.2%	29.2%
Parents Group (n=951)	8.6%	10.4%	13.9%	24.9%
Farmers Association (n=944)	1.5%	3.9%	5.1%	3.4%

Education

i. What we know

Some pretty strong conclusions have been made in regards to the influence of education on civic participation. Still with the goal of comparing the 2011 data to the 2000 findings of the democratic audit, it is clear that education remains an important demographic to look at when comparing participation rates. In the democratic audit, Gidengil et al. concluded that the more schooling people have, the more they participate in civic activities. Thus, more educated Canadians had higher rates of voting, participation in a political party and interest group, participation in protest activities, participation in voluntary association, and are more likely to volunteer (Gidengil et al., 2004). Even though Gidengil et al. is used to support this claim, these findings have been largely supported in the literature by many different scholars (Mendelberg, 166; Young and Everitt, 32, Milner, 49, Painter-Main, 2014:73; Milner, 2004:76).

Because of the consistency and strength of the relationship between education and civic participation, many different explanations have been given to explain this phenomenon. It is clear that education leads to increased cognitive proficiency and an ability to think critically, which may in turn have an effect on the ability to participate in political activities. For example, belonging to a political party

> is a fairly demanding form of political activity. Party membership not only entails a time commitment, it also puts a premium on the possession of cognitive skills. As Norris points out, common branch activities include discussing local issues and party policies, chairing or writing minutes for branch meetings, drafting newsletters or press releases, selecting candidates, attending conferences, and arranging local fund-raising events. Not surprisingly then, university-educated Canadians are significantly more likely to have been members of a political party. (2004:110)

Education equips citizens with the cognitive ability to understand complex issues and it fosters the idea that civic life is normal and essential to citizenship.

An individual's surroundings can also impact the ability for people to be informed about politics and community issues. Since individuals with higher levels of education are more likely to have jobs, they are also more likely to be surrounded with other citizens in a similar income and knowledge group. Mendelberg explains stating that "People with little education are not only more likely to lack access to occupations where reasoning and public speaking skills develop. They also lack access to the pool of cultural arguments about public issues available to people in these occupations and in institutions of higher education" (Mendelberg, 2002:166). Clearly, the increased political skills and resources available in the surroundings of people with higher education enables greater participation on many fronts. This also shows the important correlation between income and education and how together, they represent the primary factor associated with citizen participation (Williamson, 193). Cognitive proficiency and the ability for individuals to be aware of factual political information present in their surroundings are both important aspects explaining why individuals with higher education have shown to be more involved in civic life.

ii. Findings (CES 2011)

Political activity in the last 12 months by age group

The education variable was divided into five different education brackets. From lowest to highest, these include: "Lower than high school", "Completed high school",

"Completed technical, community college", "Bachelor's degree" and "Graduate/Professional degree". When it comes to respondents' participation in political activities in the last 12 months, one main trend appears: Political activity increases with an increase in educational attainment. Furthermore, in in all types of political activities, respondents with graduate or professional degrees were at least twice more likely to participate in the different political activities than individuals with educational attainment lower than high school. This significant difference shows that the education gap and political power gap seem tightly intertwined. More specifically, when comparing respondents with educational attainment lower than high school to those with a graduate/professional degree, some major differences exist. Table 9 shows that a difference of 29 percentage points separate these two groups when it comes to their reported participation in signing petitions; a difference of 9 percentage points for their participation in volunteering for a party or candidate; a difference of 42 percentage points for their participation in buying products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons; a difference of 11 percentage points for their participation in marches, rallies and protests; a difference of 33 percentage points for their use of the Internet to be politically active; and a difference of 36 percentage points for their participation in volunteer work for community or non-profit organizations. This shows a strong link between educational attainment and participation in these various political activities.

News consumption and sharing by age group

News consumption and sharing among respondents differs by educational attainment. Similar to participation in political activities, the more educated consume and share news with others at a higher rate than individuals with lower educational

attainment. However, one exception exists when looking at this trend. Individuals belonging to the lower education group watch the news on TV in larger numbers than respondents with higher educational attainment. In fact, while 83% of individuals with an education attainment lower than high school watch the news on TV four days or more a week, 67% of survey participants with graduate or professional degrees do the same. While watching news on TV is more popular among individuals with lower educational attainment, the more reading based sources of news like reading the news in the newspaper, listening to the news on the radio, and reading the news on the Internet were more popular sources of news consumption among individuals with higher educational attainment. An interesting fact of interest in looking at this data is that while watching news on TV remains by far the most popular way to consume news for individuals with lower educational attainment, the most used source of news for respondents with graduate or professional degrees is listening to the news on the radio closely followed by reading the news in the newspaper.

A similar picture appears when looking at the relationship between news sharing and educational attainment. As illustrated in table 10, when it comes to news sharing, individuals with graduate and professional degrees exchange political news and ideas on the Internet, and discuss politics and news with family and friends in larger numbers than respondents with lower educational attainment. Interestingly, discussing politics and news with family remains the most popular form of exchange among the different educational groups.

Activity in advocacy groups and associations in the last 5 years by age groups

While the trends are not as clear when looking at respondents' participation in interest groups and associations, a few general findings still exist and are worth mentioning. Instead of looking at the highest and lowest level of educational attainment, it is easier to look at the top two higher groups (Graduate/Professional degree AND Bachelor's degree) and compare this data to the two lower education levels (Lower than High School AND Completed High School). In this way, we are comparing individuals with completed Bachelor's degree and higher to respondent's that have at the most completed high school.

With these categories in mind, two main trends are important to note. First, respondents that completed a bachelors degree and above are more likely to be involved in community services groups, business associations, professional associations, environmental groups, ethnic associations, sport associations, and parent groups than individuals that have a high school degree or less. Second, individuals that have not completed high school are more likely to belong to farmers associations and religious associations than individuals in all other education groups. Interestingly, respondents that completed technical, or community college education participated in labour unions in larger numbers than any of the other education groups.

Graph 9

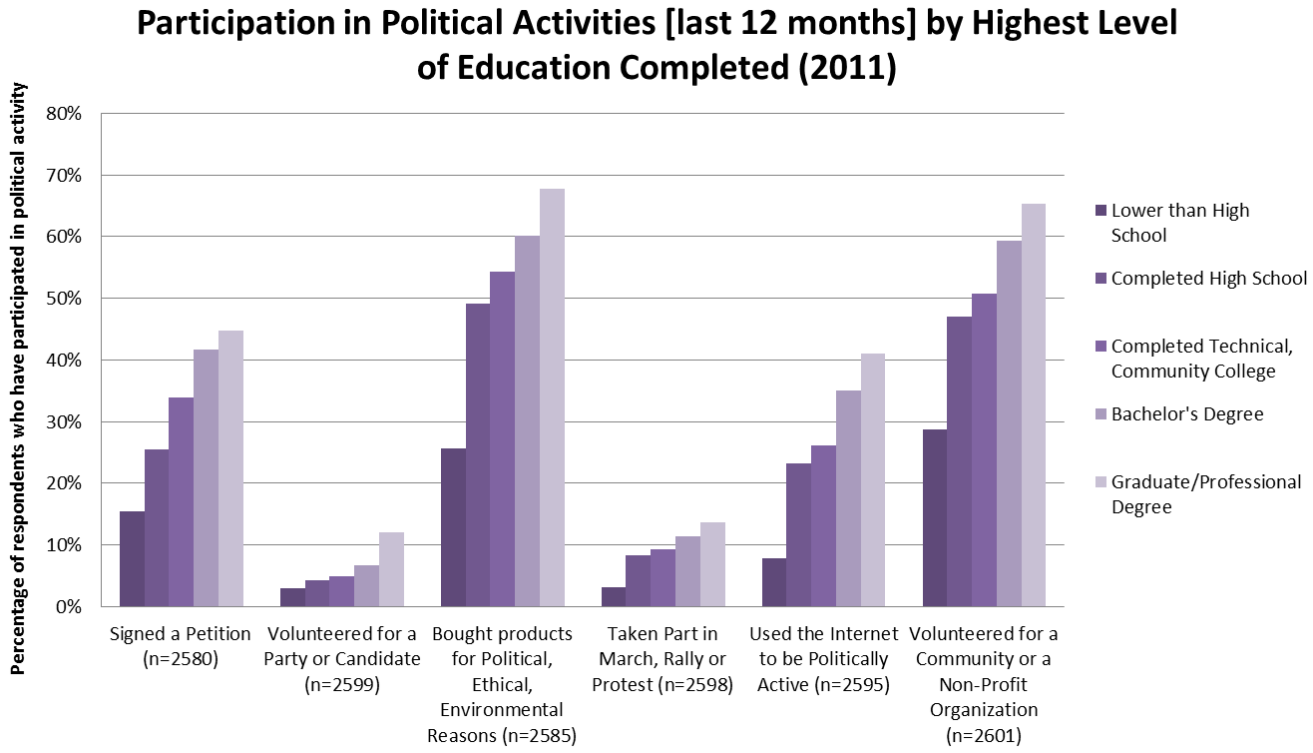

Table 9

Participation in Political Activities [last 12 months] by Highest Level of Education Completed (2011)					
	Highest Level of Education Completed				
	Lower than High School	**Completed High School**	**Completed Technical, Community College**	**Bachelor's Degree**	**Graduate/ Professional Degree**
Signed a Petition (n=2580)	15.5%	25.5%	33.9%	41.6%	44.7%
Volunteered for a Party or Candidate (n=2599)	3.0%	4.2%	4.9%	6.7%	12.1%
Bought products for Political, Ethical, Environmental Reasons (n=2585)	25.6%	49.1%	54.3%	60.1%	67.8%
Taken Part in March, Rally or Protest (n=2598)	3.2%	8.3%	9.3%	11.4%	13.7%
Used the Internet to be Politically Active (n=2595)	7.9%	23.2%	26.2%	35.0%	41.1%
Volunteered for a Community or a Non-Profit Organization (n=2601)	28.7%	47.0%	50.8%	59.3%	65.3%

Graph 10

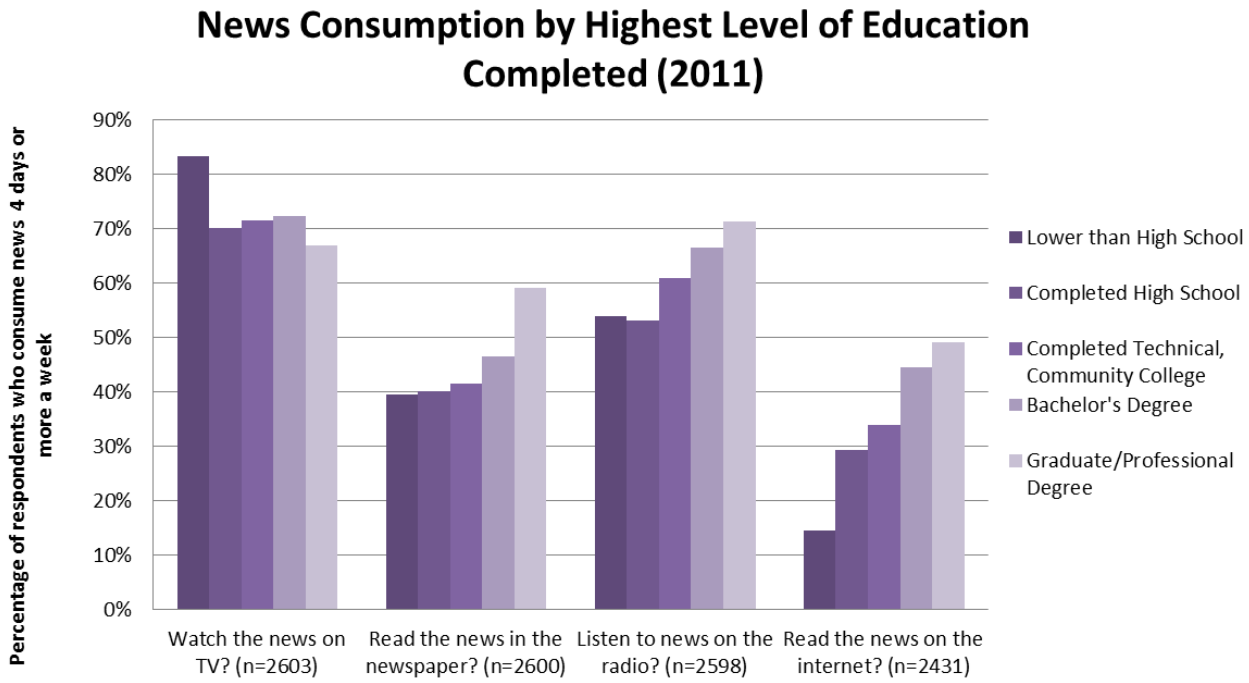

Table 10

News Consumption by Highest Level of Education Completed (2011)					
	Highest Level of Education Completed				
	Lower than High School	**Completed High School**	**Completed Technical, Community College**	**Bachelor's Degree**	**Graduate/ Professional Degree**
Watch the news on TV? (n=2603)	83.3%	70.1%	71.5%	72.2%	66.8%
Read the news in the newspaper? (n=2600)	39.5%	40.1%	41.5%	46.4%	59.0%
Listen to news on the radio? (n=2598)	53.9%	53.1%	60.9%	66.4%	71.2%
Read the news on the internet? (n=2431)	14.6%	29.2%	33.9%	44.4%	49.1%

Graph 11

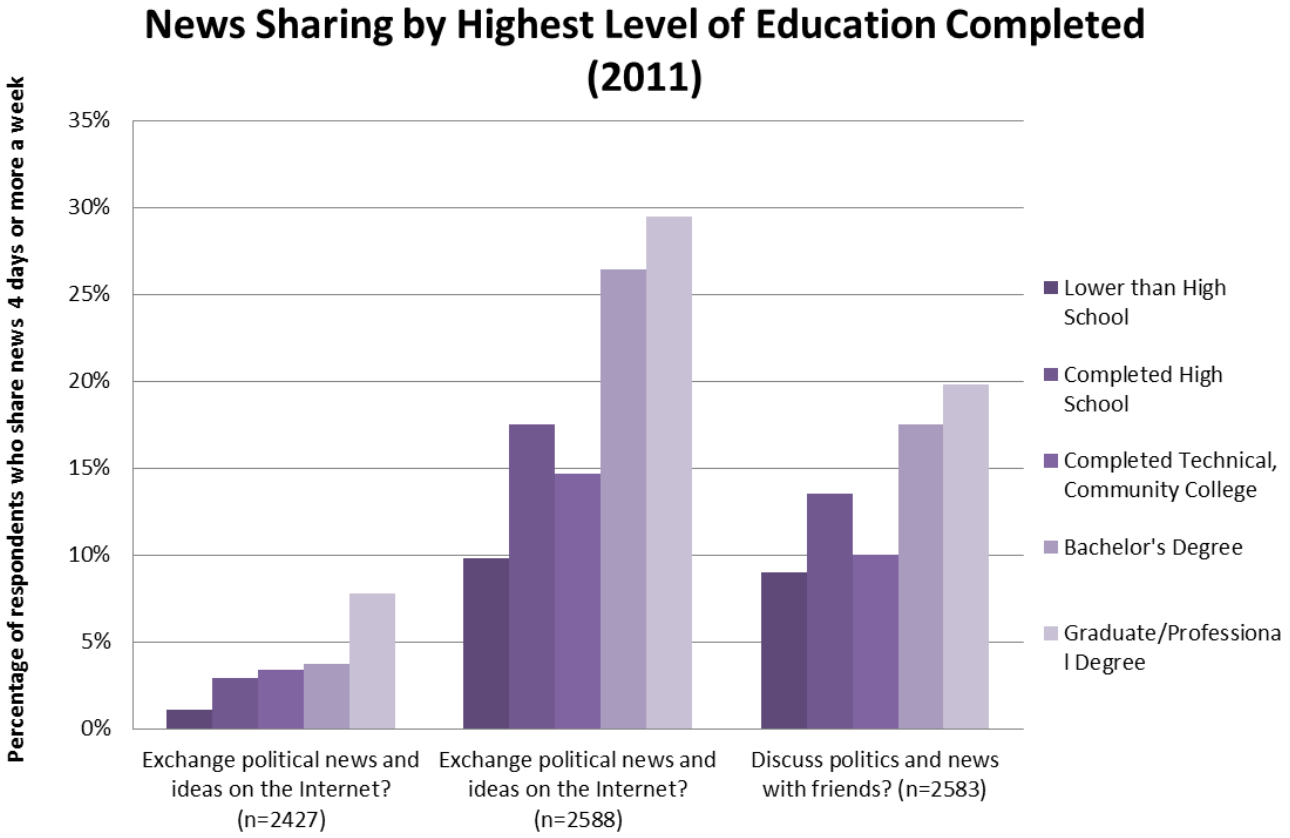

Table 11

News Sharing by Highest Level of Education Completed (2011)					
	Highest Level of Education Completed				
	Lower than High School	Completed High School	Completed Technical, Community College	Bachelor's Degree	Graduate/ Professional Degree
Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet? (n=2427)	1.1%	2.9%	3.4%	3.7%	7.8%
Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet? (n=2588)	9.8%	17.5%	14.7%	26.4%	29.5%
Discuss politics and news with friends? (n=2583)	9.0%	13.5%	10.0%	17.5%	19.8%

Graph 12

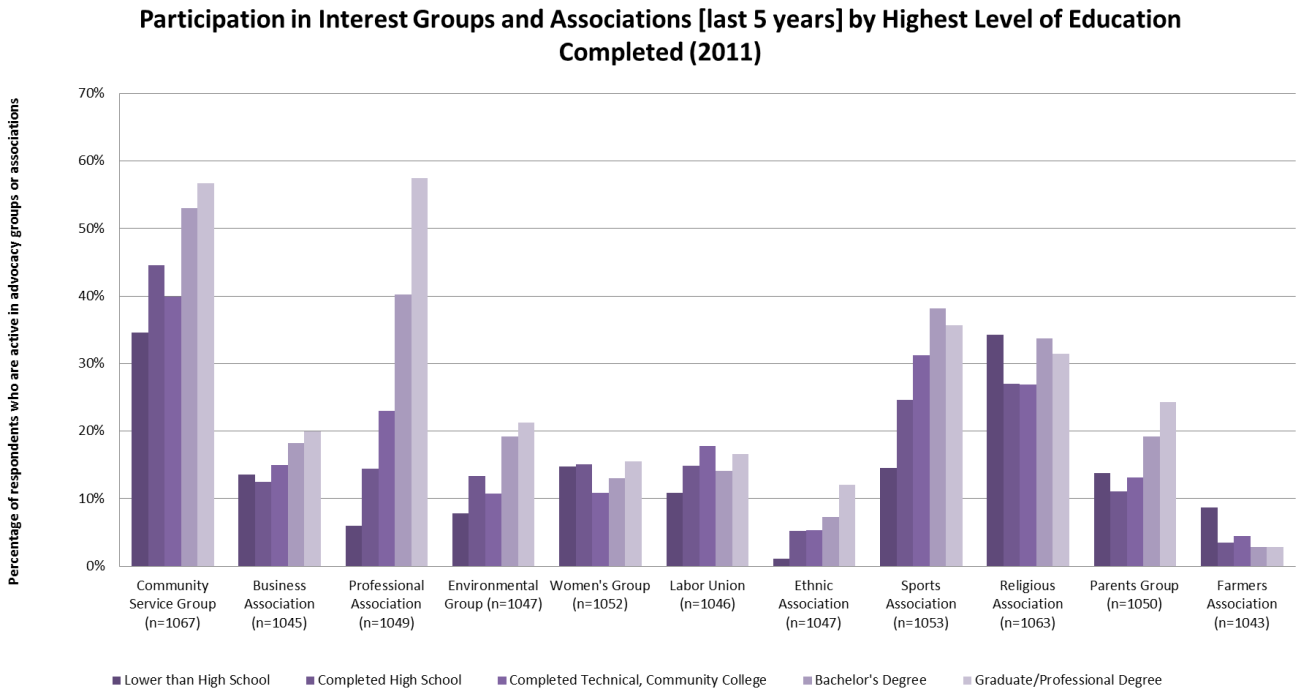

Table 12

Participation in Interest Groups and Associations [last 5 years] by Highest Level of Education Completed (2011)					
	Highest Level of Education Completed				
	Lower than High School	**Completed High School**	**Completed Technical, Community College**	**Bachelor's Degree**	**Graduate/ Professional Degree**
Community Service Group (n=1067)	34.6%	44.6%	39.9%	53.0%	56.7%
Business Association (n=1045)	13.6%	12.5%	15.0%	18.2%	20.0%
Professional Association (n=1049)	6.0%	14.4%	23.0%	40.2%	57.5%
Environmental Group (n=1047)	7.8%	13.4%	10.7%	19.2%	21.3%
Women's Group (n=1052)	14.8%	15.1%	10.9%	13.0%	15.5%
Labor Union (n=1046)	10.9%	14.9%	17.8%	14.1%	16.6%
Ethnic Association (n=1047)	1.1%	5.2%	5.3%	7.3%	12.0%
Sports Association (n=1053)	14.5%	24.6%	31.2%	38.2%	35.7%
Religious Association (n=1063)	34.3%	27.0%	26.9%	33.7%	31.5%
Parents Group (n=1050)	13.8%	11.1%	13.1%	19.2%	24.3%
Farmers Association (n=1043)	8.7%	3.5%	4.5%	2.8%	2.8%

Region

i. What we know

The past literature has shown the prairies and more specifically Saskatchewan residents as having the highest levels of civic participation in Canada. On the other hand, Quebec has consistently remained the province with the lowest rates of participation in various types of volunteer work, contributions and participation (Reed and Selbee, 2000:9). Why is this the case? Looking at these two poles, some possible explanations come to light. First, exploring Quebec's low volunteering rate, a possible explanation lies in Quebec's secular culture. Not all, but some major volunteer groups that are popular in other provinces have roots in religion. For example, the Salvation Army, World Vision, many homeless shelters, and many other volunteer organizations have roots in religion. Since Quebec culture has been and is increasingly secular, these organizations may be less popular partly for this reason. On the other hand, the Western regions have a larger percentage of religious families, which may have an impact in their participation in the various volunteer groups.

A second possible reason why individuals living in the prairies have higher rates than Quebec when it comes to volunteering is likely linked to the idea of Western alienation. Western alienation is defined by the Canada West Foundation as being an ideology of "regional discontent rooted in the dissatisfaction of western Canadians with their relationship to and representation within the federal government" (Gibbins, 1980). According to this ideology, the Western provinces (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba) have been alienated from mainstream Canadian political affairs in favour of Quebec and Ontario through different decisions made at the federal

level. While these different alienating decisions have existed for a long time, the factors that has developed this sense of alienation more recently is in issues like Quebec sovereignty, uneven population distribution and representation in the House of Commons, tax policy, and various social policies (same-sex marriage, abortion, etc…). While this sense of alienation in these provinces has historically led to new populist political parties in the House of Commons, it seems plausible that some westerners became more interested in other, more non-traditional methods of participation based on their community instead of the federal traditional political system that had historically alienated them.

The 2000 democratic audit showed low levels when it came to Atlantic Canadians' interest group participation rate. While the western regions had the highest rates of participation in interest groups, Atlantic Canadians had low participation levels. Why is this the case? A possible reason for this low participation may lie in Atlantic Canadians' lower levels of education and material circumstances. For instance, with lower education comes lower literacy rates. These low literacy rates can then lead to lower participation in groups that require these aptitudes. Similarly, low material resources can also impact one's participation rate in advocacy. Individuals that do not have the "car" or the "time" or the "income" to participate in advocacy groups are also limited in their ability to get engaged in such groups. Also, interest groups tend to want members that hold a certain skill or capacity to invest money in the cause. This may also disadvantage individuals from rural and/or poorer backgrounds, which are more numerous in the Atlantic provinces in proportion to the rest of the Canadian regions.

ii. Findings (CES 2011)

Political activity in the last 12 months by age group

When exploring respondents' participation in political activities in the last 12 months and their region of residence, a few facts of interests develop. First, individuals living in Ontario or west of Ontario volunteered for community or non-profit organizations, used the Internet to be political active, and bought products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons at a higher rate than respondents living in Quebec or the Atlantic provinces. On the other hand, survey respondents living in Quebec participated in rallies and protests in larger numbers than individuals from other regions. Second, the two activities attracting the most individuals from all provinces are buying products for political, ethical, and/or environmental reasons and volunteering for a community or non-profit organization. On the other hand, less respondents flagged volunteering for a party or candidate or taking part in a march, rally or protest as a source of political activity in which they participate.

News consumption and sharing by age group

In examining news consumption and sharing by Canadian region, a few conclusions can be made. First of all, while Quebec residents have the highest level of news consumption through television, they remain the lowest or second lowest in terms of news consumption for all other types of news sources. Specifically, they read the news in the newspaper, they listen to the news on the radio and they read the news on the internet at a lower rate than Canadians living in other regions. A similar pattern is noticeable when looking at news sharing. Quebecers remain the least likely to discuss politics and news with

family and friends or exchange political news and ideas on the internet. The second main trend present in this data is in regards to Ontario. In general, the province of Ontario has higher rates of news consumption and sharing in most categories than other provinces. For instance, Ontario respondents were the highest or second highest when it came to the percentage of respondents watching the news on TV, reading the news in the newspaper, listening to the news on the radio, or reading the news on the Internet at least 4 times a week. Similarly, Ontarians and individuals from British Columbia discussed politics and news with family and friends and exchanged political news and ideas on the Internet at a higher rate than Canadians living in other provinces. In general, watching the news on TV remains the most popular way to consume news for Canadians in all regions and discussing politics and news with family stays the most popular type to exchange for all regions.

Activity in advocacy groups and associations in the last 5 years by age groups

Similarly to news consumption and sharing, the data on activity in interest groups and associations demonstrates similar trends. For instance, Quebec respondents had the highest level of participation in community service groups, business association, professional associations, environmental groups, women's groups, labour unions, sports associations, religious associations, and farmers' associations when compared to other regions. The difference in participation between Quebec and the prairies in regards to religious associations is significant with 32 percentage points between the two. Similarly, while 30% of respondents from Quebec participated in a community service group in the last 5 years, 64% of individuals living in the prairies did the same. This shows an important contrast between Quebec and the rest of Canada when it comes to citizen participation in

different groups. Canadians living in the prairies remain the highest in terms of group participation. In fact, they have the highest level of participation in many groups including farmers' associations, parent groups, religious associations, sport associations, ethnic associations and community service group.

Graph 13

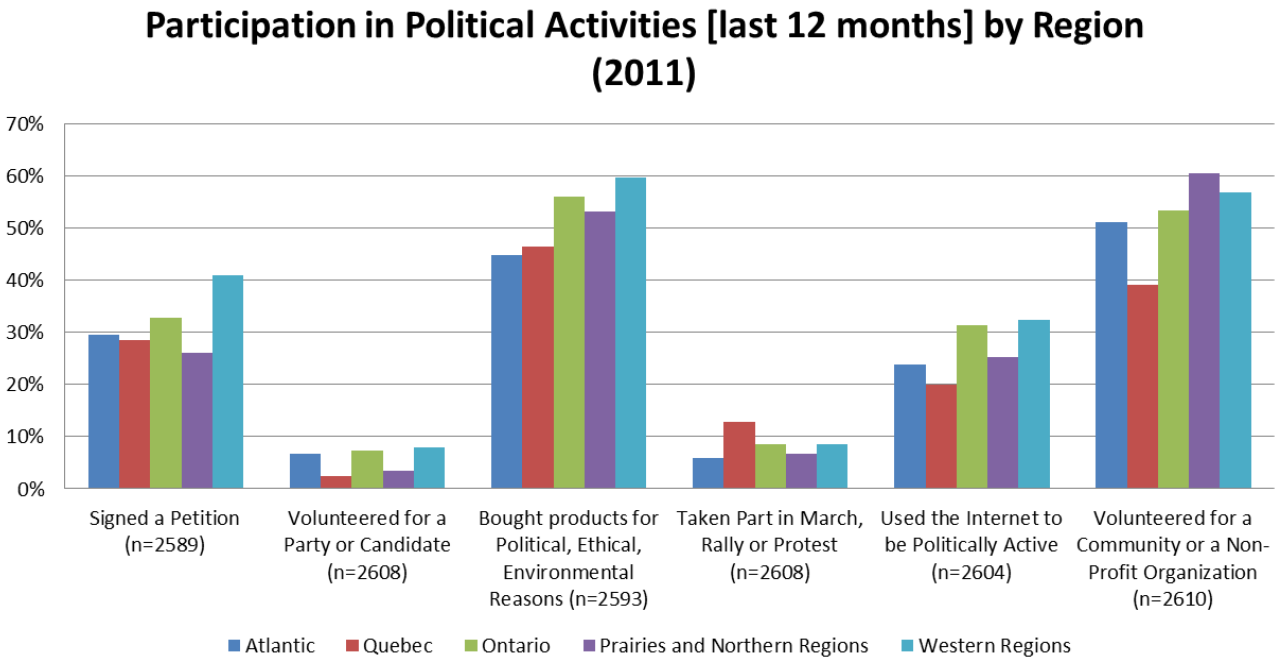

Table 13

Participation in Political Activities [last 12 months] by Region (2011)					
	Highest Level of Education Completed				
	Atlantic	**Quebec**	**Ontario**	**Prairies**	**Western**
Signed a Petition (n=2589)	29.5%	28.5%	32.7%	26.1%	41.0%
Volunteered for a Party or Candidate (n=2608)	6.8%	2.4%	7.3%	3.4%	8.0%
Bought products for Political, Ethical, Environmental Reasons (n=2593)	44.9%	46.4%	56.0%	53.2%	59.6%
Taken Part in March, Rally or Protest (n=2608)	5.9%	12.9%	8.5%	6.7%	8.5%
Used the Internet to be Politically Active (n=2604)	23.8%	20.0%	31.3%	25.2%	32.4%
Volunteered for a Community or a Non-Profit Organization (n=2610)	51.2%	39.2%	53.4%	60.6%	56.8%

Graph 14

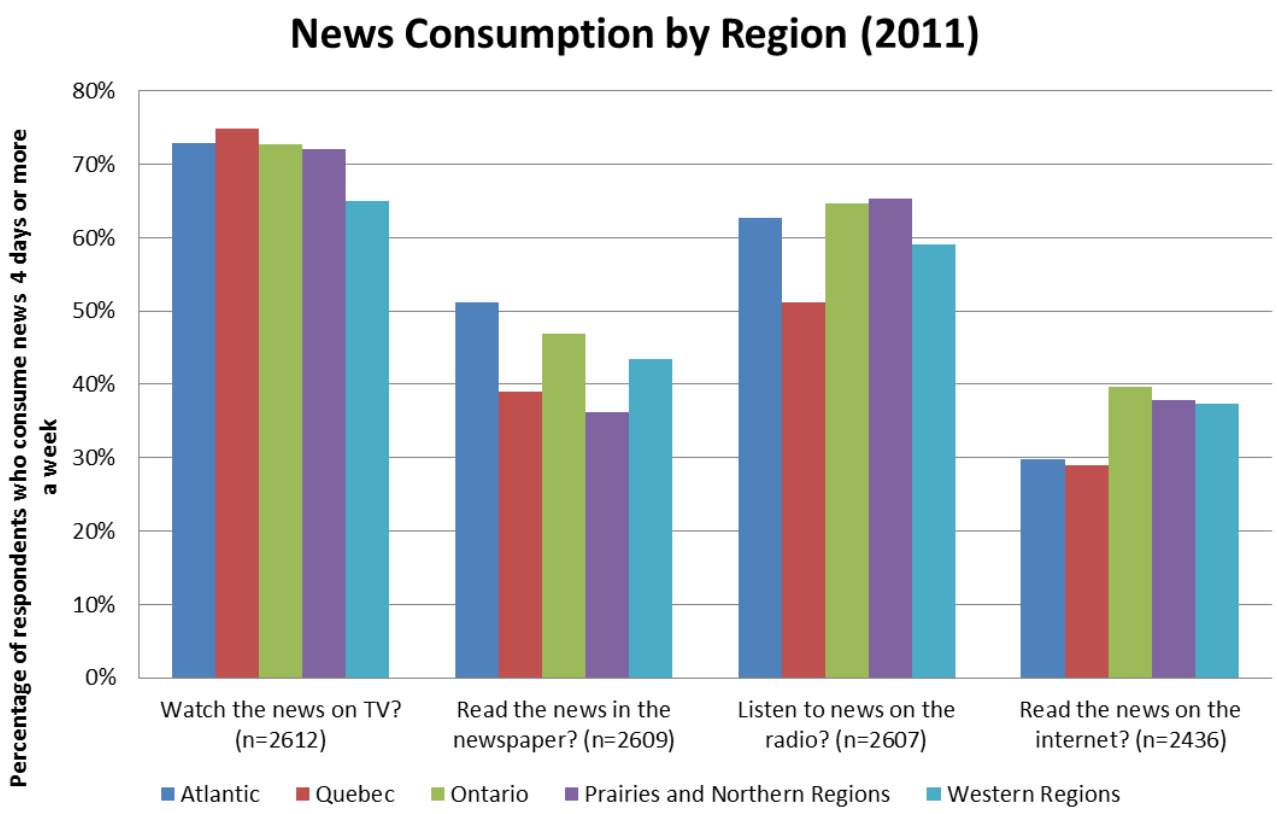

Table 14

News Consumption by Region (2011)					
	Highest Level of Education Completed				
	Lower than High School	**Completed High School**	**Completed Technical, Community College**	**Bachelor's Degree**	**Graduate/ Professional Degree**
Watch the news on TV? (n=2612)	72.8%	74.8%	72.7%	72.1%	65.0%
Read the news in the newspaper? (n=2609)	51.1%	39.0%	46.9%	36.2%	43.5%
Listen to news on the radio? (n=2607)	62.7%	51.1%	64.7%	65.3%	59.0%
Read the news on the internet? (n=2436)	29.7%	28.9%	39.6%	37.8%	37.4%

Graph 15

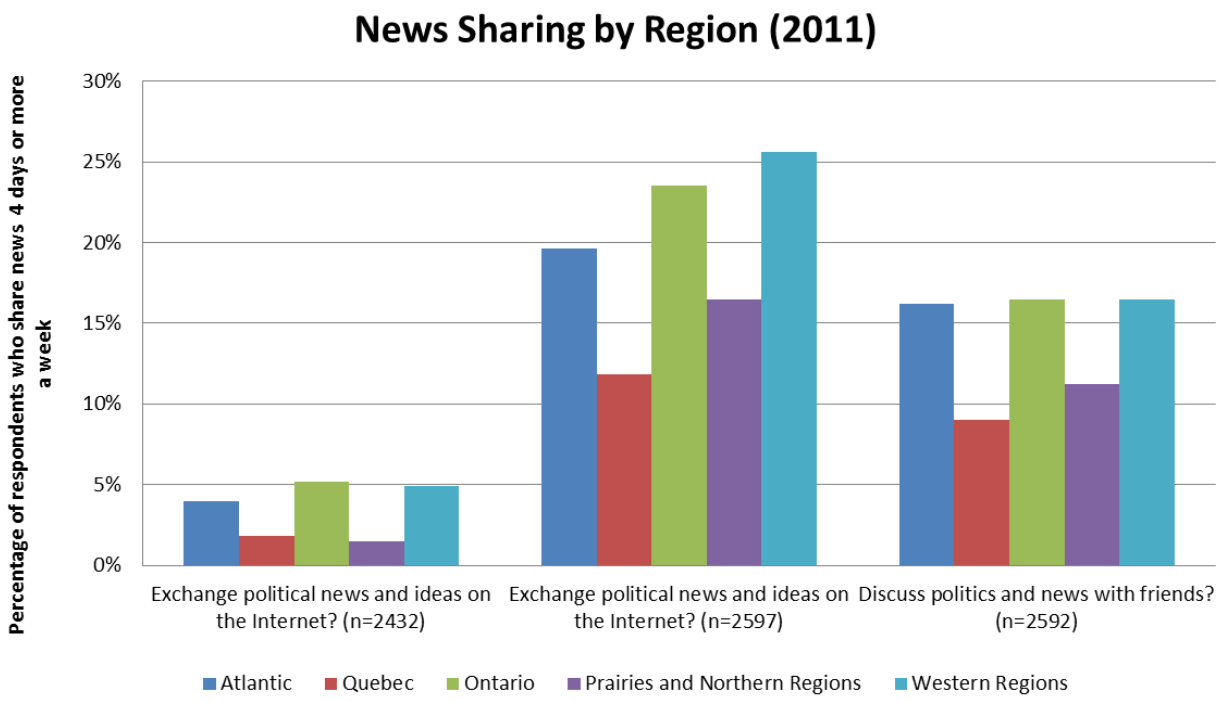

Table 15

News Sharing by Region (2011)					
	Highest Level of Education Completed				
	Lower than High School	**Completed High School**	**Completed Technical, Community College**	**Bachelor's Degree**	**Graduate/ Professional Degree**
Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet? (n=2432)	4.0%	1.8%	5.2%	1.5%	4.9%
Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet? (n=2597)	19.6%	11.8%	23.5%	16.5%	25.6%
Discuss politics and news with friends? (n=2592)	16.2%	9.0%	16.5%	11.2%	16.5%

Graph 16

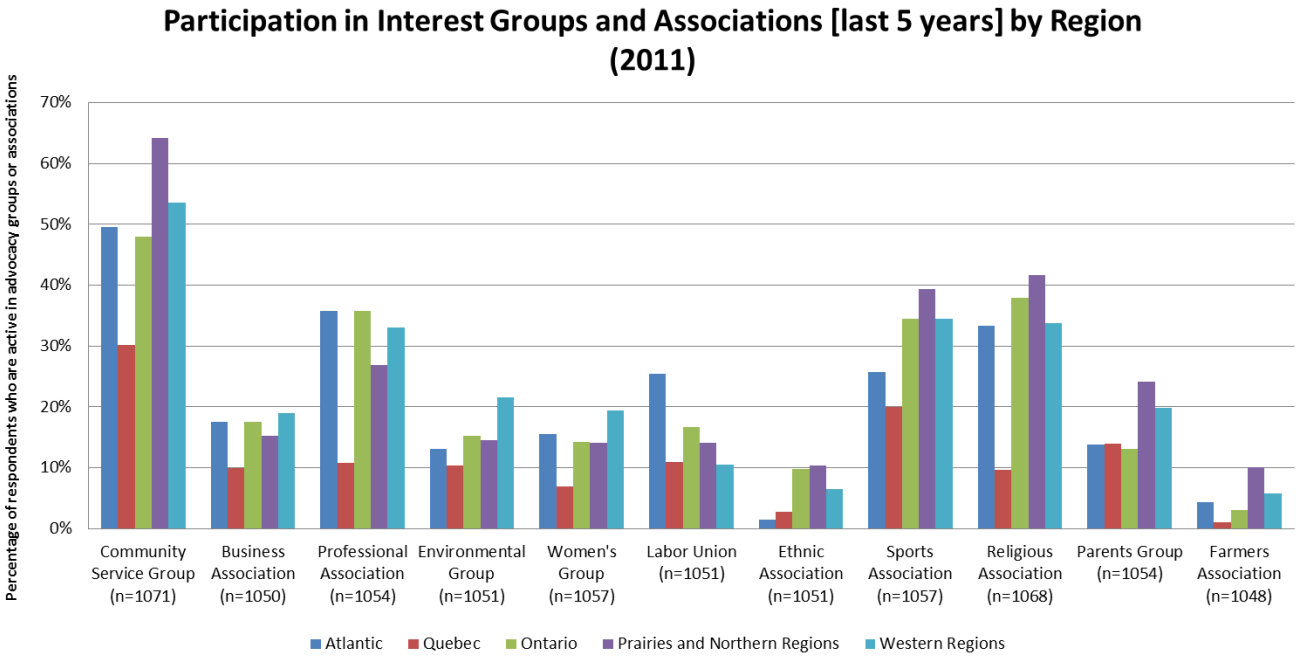

Table 16

Participation in Interest Groups and Associations [last 5 years] by Region (2011)					
	Highest Level of Education Completed				
	Lower than High School	Completed High School	Completed Technical, Community College	Bachelor's Degree	Graduate/ Professional Degree
Community Service Group (n=1071)	49.6%	30.2%	47.9%	64.2%	53.5%
Business Association (n=1050)	17.5%	9.9%	17.5%	15.2%	19.0%
Professional Association (n=1054)	35.7%	10.8%	35.7%	26.9%	33.1%
Environmental Group (n=1051)	13.1%	10.3%	15.3%	14.5%	21.6%
Women's Group (n=1057)	15.5%	6.9%	14.3%	14.1%	19.4%
Labor Union (n=1051)	25.4%	11.0%	16.7%	14.1%	10.5%
Ethnic Association (n=1051)	1.5%	2.7%	9.8%	10.3%	6.5%
Sports Association (n=1057)	25.7%	20.0%	34.5%	39.3%	34.5%
Religious Association (n=1068)	33.3%	9.6%	37.9%	41.6%	33.8%
Parents Group (n=1054)	13.8%	13.9%	13.1%	24.2%	19.9%
Farmers Association (n=1048)	4.4%	1.0%	3.1%	10.0%	5.8%

Comparing the 2000 Audit to the 2011 Findings (Age, Income, Educational Attainment and Region)

In comparing the findings of the 2000 CES study (democratic audit) to this 2011 CES replication, some trends remain the same while some others differ. This section represents the main elements of comparisons between the 2000 and 2011 CES findings in regards to civic engagement. It is important to note that since some of the survey questions have changed between 2000 and 2011, some comparisons are made in more general terms than specific.

Firstly, there is a clear similarity between the 2000 and 2011 CES data when exploring civic engagement and the education attainment. In both survey years, as education attainment increased, levels of participation in various political activities increased. For instance, while Young and Everitt (2004:31) found that much more respondents with a university education were interest groups or party members compared to individuals with high school attainment, this study of the 2011 CES data found similar results. In fact, this study showed that as respondents' educational attainment rose, so did their rates of participation in all political activities mentioned in the survey. This trend is also present when looking at news consumption and sharing and regarding most membership to groups and associations, although not all. Similar to the 2000 audit, participation in labour unions remains quite high for individuals with lower education attainment although the 2000 audit shows a greater difference in this regard.

Another main element of similarity between the 2000 audit and this 2011 analysis is regarding income. The 2000 audit conclusion that interest groups "appear to be less inclusive of low-income Canadians" (Young and Everitt, 2004: 31) and this finding is in line

with what was found in the 2011 CES analysis. Young and Everitt (2004) found that Canadians with an income lower than $30,000 had lower party and interest group membership rates and lower participation in most advocacy groups than respondents with higher income. A similar trend to this one was found in 2011. Much like the impact of educational attainment, and most likely related to it, individuals with lower income were less likely to be involved in almost all types of political activity and groups. The only two exceptions is in regards to participation in womens' groups and religious groups, for which participation rates did not seem to be impacted to individuals' incomes. While religious groups were not assessed in the 2000 audit, a similar trend than 2011 is present in terms of womens' groups in 2000. Participation to these these seemed to be less shaped by income.

A third element of similarity is in regards to regional differences in terms of advocacy. "Where people live affects how much interest they have in politics" (Gidengil et al., 2004:24) and this holds true in 2011 as well. Trends related to Quebec are similar in both the 2000 audit and 2011 CES analysis. In the 2000 democratic audit, Gidengil et al. (2004) show that Quebecers have the lowest or second lowest rates of participation in all types of advocacy groups asked in the survey. The reason they attribute to this is the secular culture of the province. Since many advocacy groups and associations have some religious affiliations, Quebeckers may have been less attracted to this mode of participation for this reason (Gidengil et al., 2004:153). The 2011 analysis in this paper demonstrates a similar trend. In fact, just like the 2000 audit, respondents living in Quebec had the lowest or second lowest rates of participation in all advocacy groups and associations surveyed. Similarly, their rate of participation in all types of political activities was the lowest in all

cases except for participation in rallies and protest, where Quebecers rated the highest in terms of participation. In the 2000 audit, Gidengil et al. (2004) noted a similar trend stating that "Quebeckers are more likely to have participated in an illegal strike or occupied a building or factory" (140). In this sense, trends related to Quebec respondents have not changed between 2000 and 2011. Almost every finding in 2000 regarding Quebec have been restated in this analysis of the 2011 CES data.

One other similarity when looking at the regional effects on civic engagement is that respondents living in the prairies seem to have higher rates of participation in the various advocacy groups and associations. In both cases (2000 audit and 2011 analysis), participation in most groups and associations seem to be higher in the prairie provinces.

Although no clear similarities exist when comparing the effects of age groups on participation rates in different civic activities, baby boomers still seem to carry the weight when it comes to participation in various (but not all) advocacy groups. However, younger age groups dominate the Internet as a source of political activity and news.

In all, when comparing the 2000 democratic audit to this 2011 analysis, there are more similarities than differences between the two sources. For instance, it was found that while youth have an easier time incorporating new technologies into their civic life than older Canadians, there are similar patterns in terms of their participation in various advocacy groups than youth in 2000. Another important similarity between the 2000 democratic audit and this 2011 analysis is the way that income and education affects participation in civic life in Canada. This reflects the idea illustrated by Gidengil et al. (2004) that the more educated and the richer participate in larger numbers in civic life. As a result, although this paper has found interesting nuances different to the findings

illustrated in the 2004 democratic audit, the main take away points are quite similar to the ones found in the previous audit.

Conclusion

In 2004, a group of scholars examined the state of democracy in Canada and published a series of books evaluating inclusiveness, participation and other factors as they relate to different Canadian political institutions. The 2004 democratic audit had an important role in asking important questions about the state of democracy in Canada. In looking at who participates in civic life in Canada two main streams of thought have been explained in this paper: the critical account, which questions the representative element of advocacy groups and other types of activities and views advocacy as reflecting the needs of a specific section of society; and the ideal group, which perceives advocacy groups as great agents of democracy through their ability to generate an increased number of voices in public debates. Conclusions from the 2000 audit show the strength of the critical argument as many findings showed that civic life seemed to attract individuals that belonged to specific demographic groups therefore not being representative of society overall.

By analyzing data in the 2011 Canadian Election Study, this research aimed at exploring to what extent the main findings on civic participation have changed in the last 10 years. By looking at the CES data on civic literacy and citizen participation as they pertain to different traditional and non-traditional forms of engagement, this research examined representativeness of different demographic groups in various civic activities. More specifically, age, income, education and regionalism were of particular interest to assess these groups' representativeness and compare them to the 2004 democratic audit findings. This analysis was done to see whether, in 2011, the critical account still held true or whether different advocacy groups and civic activities had become more representative of the population at large.

In all, the main questions asked in this paper were the following: do the 2011 findings reiterate what was found in the 2004 democratic audit? Does the critical viewpoint regarding advocacy hold true? More specifically, does the conclusion that "individuals with great wealth and social status will be overrepresented among group members, reflecting patterns of inequality and exclusion in the society at large" (Young and Everitt, 2004:26) still hold true? By in large, the answer to this question is yes. According to this 2011 CES data analysis, advocacy groups, much like other types of civic activities, remains over-representative of the wealthy, more educated and older Canadians. As a result, the same part of society that is disenfranchised in other facets of civic life, are also underrepresented in advocacy activities in Canada.

Although it has been noted that there are more similarities than differences between the 2004 audit and this 2011 data analysis, this research has brought some additional nuances dealing with new technologies that the previously completed audit did not have. For instance, the large differences between age groups in regards to who participates in political activities on the Internet are important to note as a potential generational shift. As a result, it may be interesting to look at how different generations will use these technologies to participate in civic life. In fact, when the next CES data becomes available, it would be interesting to look at questions related to citizens' use of the Internet to share or further their civic participation. Will the Internet close this participation gap between the rich and the poor, the wealthy and poor, the more educated and less educated; or will it make it larger? This type of question will be interesting to evaluate as these technologies evolve.

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ANNEX 1
CES Survey Questions and Re-Coded Responses

The following document details the literal and follow-up questions from the *Canadian Election Study* (2011) that were used for the purpose of this analysis. Due to statistical and analytical needs, certain variables have been re-coded. Information concerning the regrouping of responses is also included in this document. The responses "Don't know", "Refused", "Left blank", and "Do not use the Internet" were excluded from the analysis and are referred to here as "Missing data".

Table 1 – Demographic Variables

<table>
<tr><th>Demographic Variable</th><th>Question Asked in Survey</th></tr>
<tr><td>Region of Canada</td><td>Respondent's province of residence.
<table>
<tr><th>Response Options in Survey</th><th>Re-Coded Responses</th></tr>
<tr><td>Nfld</td><td rowspan="4">Atlantic</td></tr>
<tr><td>PEI</td></tr>
<tr><td>NS</td></tr>
<tr><td>NB</td></tr>
<tr><td>Qc</td><td>Québec</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ont</td><td>Ontario</td></tr>
<tr><td>Manitoba</td><td rowspan="2">Prairie Region</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sask</td></tr>
<tr><td>Alberta</td><td rowspan="2">Western Region</td></tr>
<tr><td>BC</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
<tr><td>Age Groups[1]</td><td>Literal question: To make sure we are talking to a cross section of Canadians, we need to get a little information about your background. First, in what year were you born?
<table>
<tr><th>Response Options in Survey</th><th>Re-Coded Responses</th></tr>
<tr><td>Year – Discrete Values</td><td>N/A</td></tr>
<tr><td>1987 -1993</td><td>18 - 24 years</td></tr>
<tr><td>1977 -1986</td><td>25 - 34 years</td></tr>
<tr><td>1967-1976</td><td>35 - 44 years</td></tr>
<tr><td>1957-1966</td><td>45 - 54 years</td></tr>
<tr><td>1947-1956</td><td>55 - 64 years</td></tr>
<tr><td>1913-1946</td><td>65 years and over</td></tr>
<tr><td>Don't know</td><td rowspan="2">Missing data</td></tr>
<tr><td>Refused</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
</table>

[1] Base year: 2011

<table>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Educational Attainment</td><td>Literal question: What is the highest level of education that you have completed?
<table>
<tr><th>Response Options in Survey</th><th>Re-Coded Responses</th></tr>
<tr><td>no schooling</td><td rowspan="4">Lower than High School</td></tr>
<tr><td>some elementary school</td></tr>
<tr><td>completed elementary school</td></tr>
<tr><td>some secondary school</td></tr>
<tr><td>completed secondary school</td><td rowspan="3">Completed High School</td></tr>
<tr><td>some technical, community college</td></tr>
<tr><td>some university</td></tr>
<tr><td>completed technical, community college</td><td>Completed Technical, Community College</td></tr>
<tr><td>bachelor's degree</td><td>Bachelor’s Degree</td></tr>
<tr><td>master's degree</td><td rowspan="2">Graduate/Professional Degree</td></tr>
<tr><td>professional degree or doctorate</td></tr>
<tr><td>don't know</td><td rowspan="2">Missing data</td></tr>
<tr><td>refused</td></tr>
</table></td></tr>
<tr><td>Income Category[2]</td><td>Literal question: Could you please tell me your total household income before taxes for the year 2010? Be sure to include income from all sources to the nearest thousand dollars. What was your total household income?
<table>
<tr><th>Response Options in Survey</th><th>Re-Coded Responses</th></tr>
<tr><td>Income x 1000 – Discrete Values</td><td>N/A</td></tr>
<tr><td>0-29</td><td>Less than $29,999</td></tr>
<tr><td>30-59</td><td>$30,000 to $59,999</td></tr>
<tr><td>60-89</td><td>$60,000 to $89,000</td></tr>
<tr><td>90+</td><td>$90,000 and over</td></tr>
<tr><td>Don’t know</td><td rowspan="2">See income follow-up question</td></tr>
<tr><td>Refused</td></tr>
</table>
Follow-up question: We don't need the exact amount; does</td></tr>
</table>

[2] The literal question was asked first and respondents who answered “Don’t know” or “Refused” were asked the follow-up question. Responses to both questions have been re-coded through the same process and into a single variable.

	it fall into one of these broad categories? **Response Options in Survey** / **Re-Coded Responses** Less than $29,999 → Less than $29,999 Between $30,000 and $59,999 → $30,000 to $59,999 Between $60,000 and $89,999 → $60,000 to $89,000 Between $90,000 and $109,999 → $90,000 and over More than $110,000 → $90,000 and over Don't know → Missing data Refused → Missing data

Table 2a – Attachment Questions

Variable	Question Asked in Survey
Canada	**Pre-question:** How much do you identify with each of the following? **Literal question:** Canada
Province	**Pre-question:** How much do you identify with each of the following? **Literal question:** Your province
City	**Pre-question:** How much do you identify with each of the following? **Literal question:** Your city / town
Neighbourhood	**Pre-question:** How much do you identify with each of the following? **Literal question:** Your neighbourhood
World	**Pre-question:** How much do you identify with each of the following? **Literal question:** The world

Table 2b – Re-Coded Responses

Response Options in Survey	Re-Coded Responses
A great deal	Quite a lot or a great deal
Quite a lot	
Not very much	Not very much or not at all
None at all	
Left blank	Missing data

Table 3a – Participation in Political Activity Questions

Variable	Question Asked in Survey

Bought Products for Political, Ethical, Environmental Reasons	**Pre-question:** Have you done any of the following things in the last 12 months? **Literal question:** Have you bought products for political, ethical or environmental reasons?
Volunteered for a Community or a Non-Profit Organization	**Pre-question:** Have you done any of the following things in the last 12 months? **Literal question:** Have you volunteered for a community group or a non-profit organization?
Signed a Petition	**Pre-question:** Have you done any of the following things in the last 12 months? **Literal question:** Have you signed a petition?
Used the Internet to be Politically Active	**Pre-question:** Have you done any of the following things in the last 12 months? **Literal question:** Have you used the internet to be politically active?
Taken Part in March, Rally or Protest	**Pre-question:** Have you done any of the following things in the last 12 months? **Literal question:** Still thinking about the last twelve months, have you taken part in a march, rally or protest?
Volunteered for a Party or Candidate	**Pre-question:** Have you done any of the following things in the last 12 months? **Literal question:** Have you volunteered for a party or a candidate?

Table 3b – Re-Coded Responses

Response Options in Survey	Re-Coded Responses
Yes	Yes
No	No
Don't Know	Missing data
Refused	

Table 4a – News Consumptions and Sharing Questions

Variable	Question Asked in Survey
Watch the News on TV	**Pre-question:** Generally speaking, how many days in a week do you do the following things? **Literal question:** First, watching the news on TV?
Listen to News on the Radio	**Pre-question:** Generally speaking, how many days in a week do you do the following things? **Literal question:** Listen to news on the radio?
Read the News in the Newspaper	**Pre-question:** Generally speaking, how many days in a week do you do the following things? **Literal question:** Read the news in the newspaper?
Read the news on the	**Pre-question:** Generally speaking, how many days in a week

Internet	do you do the following things? **Literal question:** Read the news on the internet?
Discuss Politics and News With Family	**Pre-question:** Generally speaking, how many days in a week do you do the following things? **Literal question:** Discuss politics and news with family?
Discuss Politics and News With Friends	**Pre-question:** Generally speaking, how many days in a week do you do the following things? **Literal question:** Discuss politics and news with friends?
Exchange Political News and Ideas on the Internet	**Pre-question:** Generally speaking, how many days in a week do you do the following things? **Literal question:** Exchange political news and ideas on the Internet

Table 4b – Re-Coded Responses

Response Options in Survey	Re-Coded Responses
None	Never
1 day a week	Rarely
2 days a week	
3 days a week	
4 days a week	Most Days
5 days a week	
6 days a week	
7 days a week	
Do not use the Internet	Missing data
Don't know	
Refused	

Table 5a – Activity in Advocacy Groups and Associations

Variable	Question Asked in Survey
Community Service Group	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years. **Literal question:** Community service group.
Sports Association	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years. **Literal question:** Sports Association
Religious Association	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years. **Literal question:** Religious Organization
Professional Association	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years. **Literal question:** Professional Association
Business Association	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years. **Literal question:** Business Association
Labor Union	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years. **Literal question:** Labor Union
Environmental Group	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years. **Literal question:** Environmental Group
Women's Group	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years. **Literal question:** Women's Group
Parents Group	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years. **Literal question:** Parents Group
Ethnic Association	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years. **Literal question:** Ethnic Association
Farmers Group	**Pre-question:** Please indicate whether you have been active in any of the following voluntary associations during the past five years.

	Literal question: Farmers Association

Table 5b – Re-Coded Responses

Response Options in Survey	Re-Coded Responses
Yes	Yes
No	No
Left Blank	Missing data