



**LOW VOTER TURNOUT:
A SURVEY OF VOTERS AND NON-VOTERS**

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

Elections Manitoba engaged Prairie Research Associates (PRA) Inc. to conduct a multifaceted examination of voter turnout in the June 2003 provincial election. Voter participation was 20% lower in 2003 than in the last provincial election in 1999. In part, this research was to understand the reason for this decline.

As part of a larger study, which involves an analysis of secondary data, a review of the literature, and qualitative research, PRA conducted a random sample survey of approximately 400 Manitobans who voted and 400 who did not vote in the 2003 provincial election. Below we summarize the key findings from this survey.

Characteristics of voters and non-voters

While voters and non-voters in the 2003 provincial election (hereafter referred to simply as voters and non-voters) share many characteristics, non-voters tend to: be younger; have slightly lower levels of education; and come from households with children under 18.

Non-voters tend to fall into two groups: persistent non-voters and irregular non-voters. Persistent non-voters are those who not only did not vote in the recent provincial election, but they also did not vote in the 2002 municipal election, the 2000 federal election, and the 1999 provincial election. Over one-third of non-voters fall into this category. Irregular non-voters (accounting for just less than two-thirds of non-voters), while not voting in the 2003 provincial election, had voted in at least one of the three previous elections. As demonstrated by past behaviour, most non-voters are in fact irregular voters. Indeed, three-quarters of non-voters reported being very or somewhat likely to vote in the next provincial election.

Voters tend to be consistent in their behaviour. Some 9 respondents in 10 who voted in the 2003 provincial election voted in all three previous elections as well. Almost all voters (94%) reported that they are very likely to vote in the next provincial election. As we will see below, non-voters are not as passionate as voters about voting.

Non-voters are not as likely as voters to have positive influences that encourage an interest in politics and voting. While just over half of non-voters reported that while they were growing up, politics and current events were discussed in their households, three-quarters of voters reported such discussions. Non-voters also appear to be less engaged by politics and current events now. While 6 non-voters in 10 reported that now they sometimes or often talk about politics and current events with family or friends, almost 9 voters in 10 reported such discussions now.

While voters and non-voters are just as likely to report that they live with other eligible voters, non-voters are more likely to come from households containing other eligible voters who also did not vote in the 2003 election. About three-quarters of respondents, whether they were voters or non-voters, are from households containing other eligible voters. However, only one-quarter of non-voters reported that all other eligible members of their household voted. This compares with some 9 in 10 voters. It appears that other household members who vote can play an important role in encouraging all eligible members of the household to vote.

Reasons for voting/not voting

Voters independently provided two broad reasons for voting: the act of voting itself and the outcome of voting. The act of voting is seen as important by many as it is a right or privilege that if not exercised could mean the end of democracy (24%). Voting is also seen as a duty or responsibility (23%). Many also see the outcome as a reason to vote. Voting gives them the opportunity to support a candidate or party (19%) or have a say in how things will be done (14%). It also was said to give the voter the right to complain about the government (14%).

The reasons provided by non-voters for not casting a ballot in 2003 fall into three broad categories: *distraction*, that is, reasons that suggest that they intended to vote but were too busy (24%), were out of town (8%), were ill (3%), or simply forgot (7%); *disassociation*, that is, reasons that suggest that they did not intend to vote because they did not trust the candidates or did not like the choices (13%), did not care about the outcome (12%), or said it did not matter who won (8%); and *displacement*, that is, reasons that suggest that they wanted to vote but technical or administrative issues barred them, including that the polls were too far away (5%), the polls closed too early (3%), or they did not know where to vote (2%).

We tested nine reasons with non-voters, asking respondents to rate how important each was in their decision not to vote. For about one-quarter of non-voters, none of these nine reasons was very important. The most important reasons as rated by respondents were: not knowing enough about the parties (30% said this was very important in their decision not to vote) and being too busy (28% said this was very important in their decision not to vote). The fact that it was clear which candidate would win their riding was very important in the decision of about 1 non-voter in 5.

Further, lack of interest and lack of knowledge as reasons for not voting increased significantly in 2003. After the 1999 election, about 1 non-voter in 10 mentioned these reasons compared with 3 in 10 after the 2003 election, suggesting that the 2003 election engaged fewer potential voters.

Many non-voters need a motivation to bother voting. While three-quarters of those who voted in the 2003 election decided to do so the day the election was called, only about one-quarter of non-voters decided on this same day that they would not be voting. This suggests that the majority of non-voters intended to vote, but as the election progressed, they decided not to. While many made the decision sometime after the election call, about one-third of non-voters decided not to vote on the day of the election.

As noted above, many did not vote because they felt they were not knowledgeable enough to do so. Partly, this results from the fact that non-voters are less likely than voters to report following the 2003 provincial election closely. Indeed, only about 4 non-voters in 10 reported that they followed the election somewhat or very closely, compared with almost 9 voters in 10. Although they did not follow the election closely, over half of non-voters said that they were somewhat or very knowledgeable about the policies and platforms of the parties. This suggests that some non-voters feel that there is no need to follow an election to know the platforms of the parties. In other words, they may feel that nothing changes from one election to the next or that the platforms of the competing parties are similar. Voters not only followed the election more closely, 9 in 10 felt that they were very or somewhat knowledgeable about the party platforms.

Motivators to vote or not vote

Regardless of whether they voted in the 2003 provincial election, most respondents believe that it is important that people vote. While 9 voters in 10 said it is very important or essential to vote, 2 non-voters in 3 said the same. Less than 1 non-voter in 10 thought it not important that people vote.

The reasons why it is important to vote are similar to the reasons provided by voters as to why they cast a ballot in the 2003 election: voting affects outcomes and the act of voting is important. Whether voter or non-voter, about one-quarter of respondents said that voting gives an individual a voice or a say in how things are done. Again, whether voter or non-voter, about one-tenth mentioned each of the following as reasons to vote: supporting a candidate or party, only way to change things, and letting the majority's voice be heard. Both voters and non-voters also commonly mentioned that voting is a right or privilege that must be exercised to maintain democracy.

While the majority of voters and non-voters recognize that voting is important, non-voters are less likely to vote simply for the sake of voting. Thus, non-voters are less likely to agree that voting is every Manitoban's duty as a good citizen. Still, almost half of non-voters strongly agree with this statement.

Other factors play a role in the decision not to vote. Non-voters are more likely to agree that when people do not vote, it tells us that the system is not working. About half of non-voters strongly agree compared with just over a third of voters. Partly, this reflects the fact that almost 3 non-voters in 10 strongly agree that none of the political parties in the last election had a plan to address the issues that are important to them, and another 1 in 4 said that there is no political party in Manitoba that they really agree with. About one-quarter of voters and non-voters agree strongly that they are more likely to vote if the election race is close.

Most respondents feel that voting is something that needs to be taught in schools. While voters are more likely than non-voters to agree that schools should do more to educate children on the benefits of voting and political participation, still 7 non-voters in 10 at least somewhat agree. Similarly, most respondents, whether voters or non-voters, would support Elections Manitoba's encouraging Manitobans to vote by telling them why their vote matters, why it is important, and what the consequences are if people do not vote. About 8 respondents in 10 would support such an initiative, including strong support from 4 non-voters in 10 and half the voters.

As noted above, most non-voters recognize that voting is important. However, non-voters offered few suggestions as to what might have encouraged them to vote in the 2003 provincial election. The most common suggestion is not a simple fix; it would involve changing the way they view candidates and parties. Almost 1 in 5 said that they would have been encouraged to vote if they had had greater trust or confidence in the candidates. Others suggested that they would have been encouraged to vote if they had had more information on the candidates and issues (9%), if the election had been held on a more convenient day (7%), if the polls had been more easily accessible (6%), or if they had had more information on where and when to vote (5%). Almost 4 non-voters in 10 could not think of anything that would have encouraged them to vote, including 1 in 5 who explicitly said that nothing would have encouraged them to vote.

While non-voters said that many changes to the electoral process would make them more likely to vote in the future, few of these changes would make many of them *much more* likely to vote. The most important administrative changes in terms of motivating non-voters to vote are: allowing people to vote in any polling station regardless of where they live (about one-quarter reported they would be much more likely) and providing alternative methods of casting their ballot. If three alternative methods of voting were offered (on-line, by telephone, and through the mail), about 3 non-voters in 10 said they would be *much more* likely to vote in the next provincial election. However, many participants (55% of voters) have concerns about these methods, especially voting on-line, and would actually be less likely to vote if such methods were offered.

Most respondents, regardless of their recent voting behaviour, are at least somewhat satisfied with the current electoral system. However, only 1 non-voter in 5 is very satisfied. Indeed, about 1 non-voter in 10 said that the current system discourages him/her from voting. Almost 6 non-voters in 10 reported that a proportional representation electoral system would make them more likely to vote, although only about 1 in 8 would be much more likely. While proportional representation appears to promise more voters, in fact, about 1 respondent in 5 – whether non-voter or voter – says that he/she would be less likely to vote under such a system. Few respondents support a law that would require people to vote. Even among voters, only one-quarter think it would be a good idea.

Conclusion

Voter turnout in Manitoba has been falling slowly but steadily since 1988. This is similar to what has been happening in other jurisdictions, including most provinces and at the federal level. While voter turnout has been falling, typically, the trend has meant a drop of a few percentage points at each election. In 2003, the voting rate dropped 14 percentage points from 68% in 1999 to 54% in 2003. This represents a 20% decline¹ in voter participation.

The factors in decisions not to vote are many, and non-voters often have more than one reason for not participating. This research suggests that the reasons for non-voting generally fall into two broad categories: those who did not want to for whatever reason and those who intended to vote, but were distracted by lack of time, illness, or travel. Since we have limited comparable information from previous elections in Manitoba, it is difficult to categorically state what reasons account for this substantial decline in 2003.

While some of the reasons for not voting in 1999 and 2003 remain unchanged, the number of those who reported that they were “uninterested in the election” or “did not know enough to vote” grew dramatically in 2003. As well in 2003, a common primary or secondary reason for not voting was the perception that whether they voted or not, the outcome had already been determined well before Election Day. The number of non-voters who cited this reason for not voting as important is significant. In fact, about 4 non-voters in 10 said that this was at least somewhat important in their decision not to vote. If we extrapolate this finding to all eligible voters, this factor influenced the decision of 18% of potential voters (almost identical to the 20% change in voter turnout). While it may not be their only reason (for example, half of those who reported being too busy also said that the fact that it was clear who would win was also

¹ That is, the percentage change between the two elections: $(68\% - 54\%) / 68\%$.

somewhat important), it might be seen as a unique circumstance that contributed to their decision not to vote.

The importance of this factor is further illustrated in that when the election process began, most non-voters intended to vote. Most decided not to vote part-way through or on the day of election. In other words, many made the decision after they thought the outcome was clear.

Thus, it appears that the dramatic decrease in the voting rate was circumstantial. Indeed, if we accept voters and non-voters at their word and consider only those who claimed that they are very likely to vote in the next provincial election, we estimate that some 67% of eligible Manitobans will vote, which is down only slightly from 1999. This suggests that the recent decline in voter participation is not permanent, and given the right circumstances, it will rebound to numbers closer to that experienced in 1999. That said, the slow decline in voter turnout is likely to continue.

1.0 Introduction

Elections Manitoba engaged Prairie Research Associates (PRA) Inc. to conduct a multifaceted examination of voter turnout in the June 2003 provincial election.

As part of a larger study, which involves an analysis of secondary data, a review of the literature, and qualitative research, PRA conducted a random sample survey of two groups of Manitobans: those who voted and those who did not vote in the 2003 provincial election.

At 54%, the 2003 provincial election recorded the lowest voter turnout since the late 1940s and a significant decrease from the last provincial election, in 1999 (68%). The purpose of this research is to understand: the reasons people choose to vote or not to vote; any barriers that might have prevented Manitobans from voting; and changes that might encourage non-voters to participate.

1.1 Methodology

Using the knowledge garnered from the literature review, PRA, in consultation with Elections Manitoba, designed a questionnaire to address numerous issues (see Appendix A).

Respondents were selected by random digit dialling (which allows us to include those with unlisted or new numbers). This technique produces a random sample that includes the highest possible percentage of eligible respondents. This study was to include an equal number of voters (that is, individuals who self-identified as having voted in the 2003 provincial election) and non-voters (that is, those who did not vote in that election). Non-voters were more difficult to find because people hesitate to admit that they do not vote and because non-voters were generally less interested in participating in any survey on voting.

This study involved a random sample telephone survey of 812 adult Manitobans who were eligible to vote in the June 2003 provincial election. The survey was pre-tested before being administered to the sample. Interviewing was conducted from December 1 to 20, 2003.

Table 1 provides more details about the methodology.

Methodology	Key information
Pre-test dates	November 25 – 29, 2003
Survey dates	December 1 – 20, 2003
Sample size: voters	n=410
Sample size: non-voters	n=402
Interviewing method	Telephone
Sample selection	Random digit dialling
Approximate error rate (theoretical) for each sample	± 5.0%, 19 times out of 20

1.2 Weighting of data

Normally, we would weight the data to more closely conform to the known demographics of the population. In this case, however, we do not know the characteristics of voters or non-voters and therefore could not weight the data. That said, the data of the two subgroups are used primarily for comparison purposes to understand the difference between these two subpopulations.

2.0 Characteristics of voters/non-voters

In this section, we report on the characteristics that distinguish those who voted in the 2003 provincial election (voters) from those who did not (non-voters).

- While voters and non-voters share many characteristics, non-voters tend to be younger and have slightly lower levels of education than voters, and come from households with children under 18.
- Non-voters tend to fall into two groups: persistent non-voters and irregular non-voters. Persistent non-voters are those who not only did not vote in the recent provincial election, but also did not vote in the 2002 municipal election, the 2000 federal election, and the 1999 provincial election. Over one-third of non-voters fall into this category. Irregular non-voters (accounting for less than two-thirds of non-voters), while not voting in the 2003 provincial election, had voted in at least one of the three previous elections. In contrast, 9 respondents in 10 who voted in the 2003 provincial election report voting in all three recent elections.
- As demonstrated by past behaviour, most non-voters are irregular voters. Indeed, three-quarters of non-voters reported being very or somewhat likely to vote in the next provincial election. Almost all voters (94%) report that they are very likely to vote in the next provincial election. As we will see below, non-voters are not as passionate as voters about voting.
- Non-voters are not as likely as voters to have positive influences that encourage an interest in politics and voting. While just over half of non-voters reported that while they were growing up, politics and current events were discussed in their households, three-quarters of voters reported such discussions.
- Non-voters appear to be less engaged by politics and current events now. While 6 non-voters in 10 report that now they sometimes or often talk about politics and current events with family or friends, almost 9 voters in 10 reported such discussions now.

- Non-voters are more likely to come from households containing other eligible voters who also did not vote. About three-quarters of respondents, whether they were voters or non-voters, report that their households contain other eligible voters. However, only one-quarter of non-voters report that all other eligible members of their household voted. This compares with some 9 in 10 voters. It appears that other household members who vote can play an important role in encouraging all eligible members of the household to vote.

2.1 Demographic characteristics

Table 2 (next page) presents a demographic profile of voters and non-voters. These two groups share many similarities. For example, there is no difference among voters and non-voters in terms of gender; men and women are just as likely to have voted or not voted in the 2003 election.

However, there are some differences in the two populations. Non-voters tend to be younger and have slightly lower levels of education than voters, and have children under 18 in their households.

- **Non-voters tend to be younger than voters.** In our sample, some 14% of non-voters are 18 to 24 years of age compared to just 5% of voters. Indeed, three-quarters of the respondents in this age cohort are non-voters. Conversely, voters tend to be older than non-voters. In our sample, 76% are 40 years of age or older compared with 42% of non-voters. Indeed, three-quarters of all respondents 65 and older are voters.
- **Non-voters tend to have slightly lower levels of education.** Some 51% of non-voters have high school or less compared with 41% of voters.
- **Non-voters are more likely to report children under 18 years of age in their household.** Some 44% of non-voters reported having children under 18 in their household, compared with 30% of voters.

While it appears that non-voters are more likely to come from households with lower incomes, this difference is only suggestive and is not statistically significant in our study.

Table 2: Demographic characteristics of voters/non-voters		
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
Age*		
18 to 24	14%	5%
25 to 39	42%	18%
40 to 64	36%	53%
65 or older	6%	21%
Gender		
Female	58%	50%
Male	42%	50%
Q71 Household income		
Under \$35,000	39%	32%
\$35,000 to \$50,000	23%	19%
\$50,000 to \$75,000	23%	24%
Over \$75,000	16%	25%
Education*		
Less than high school	20%	20%
High school grad	31%	21%
Some post-secondary	13%	14%
College/University grad	35%	43%
Number of adult members of household size		
One member	24%	23%
Two members	57%	59%
Three or member	18%	18%
Children under 18 in household*		
Yes	44%	30%
No	56%	70%
Live in Manitoba		
All their life	67%	64%
Moved to Manitoba	33%	47%
Place of birth		
In Canada	92%	92%
Outside Canada	8%	8%
* Statistically significant difference (chi sq. prob=.000) Note: Percentages exclude those who did not know or refused.		

2.2 Voting behaviour in past elections

We asked respondents about their past voting behaviour, specifically, whether or not they voted in the three most recent elections prior to the 2003 provincial election:

- the last municipal election in October 2002
- the last federal election in November 2000
- the last previous provincial election in September 1999.

Voters in the 2003 provincial election are also very likely to report voting in all of these previous elections. Conversely, those who did not vote in the latest provincial election are less likely to have voted in these previous elections. As shown in Figure 1, of those eligible to vote in these past elections:

- Over 9 voters in 10 reported voting in each of these three elections.
- About 4 in 10 non-voters reported voting in two of these three elections, while almost half voted in the 2000 federal election.

See Figure 1.

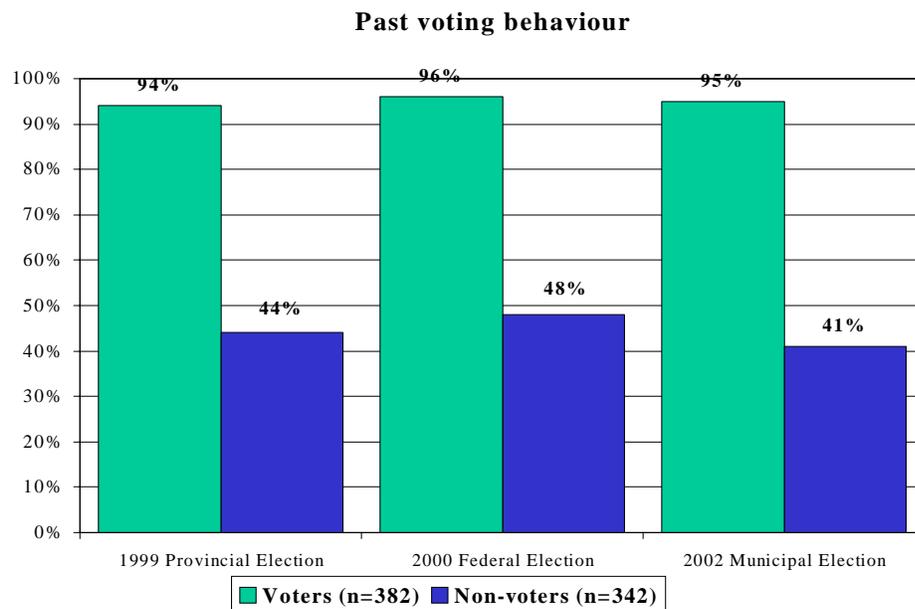


Figure 1

Figure 2 shows that both current voters and non-voters are inconsistent in their voting behaviour.²

- While almost 9 voters in 10 also voted in all three previous elections, some missed voting in at least one.

Non-voters are even less consistent in their behaviour.

² This figure is based on eligible voters for each election. Differences between voters and non-voters is statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).

- Among non-voters, about one-quarter are regular voters, reporting that they voted in all three previous elections. This suggests that circumstances may have prevented their participation in the 2003 provincial election.
- About 4 non-voters in 10 voted in one or two of the last three elections, suggesting that particular circumstances encourage or discourage them to vote.
- Almost as many (37%) reported voting in none of the last three elections, suggesting that they are not engaged by the process at all.

This supports other research that suggests that non-voters are not a uniform block and that membership in the non-voter group fluctuates from election to election. This research also suggests that there is a core group that consistently does not vote.

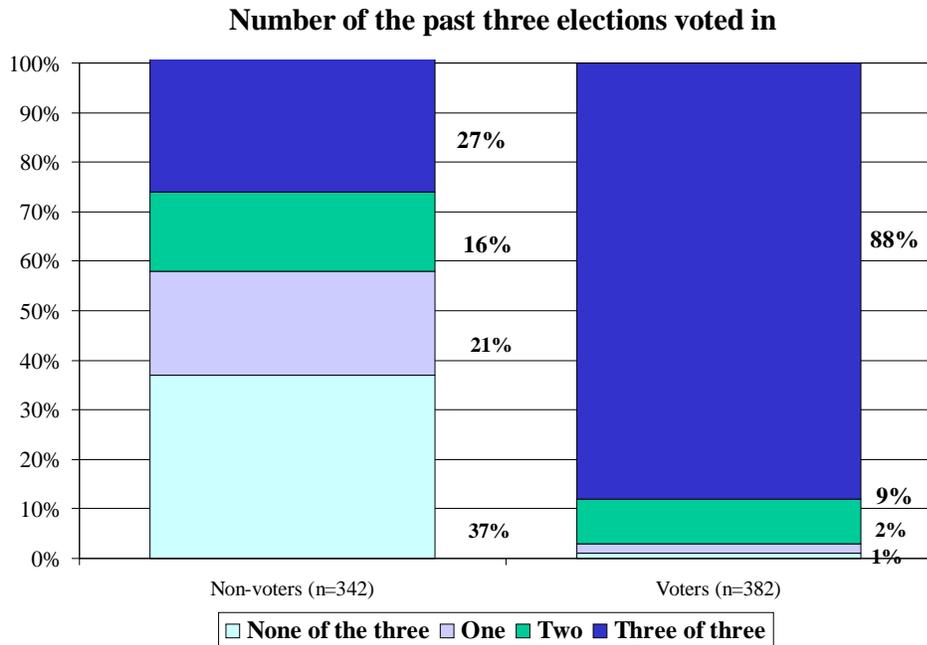


Figure 2

2.2.1 Voting in future elections

Non-voters are not only less likely to have voted in past elections, they are also less likely to see themselves voting in the next provincial election.

Among those who did not vote in the 2003 provincial election:

- Almost 4 in 10 (37%) reported that they are very likely to vote in the next provincial election (that is, they intend to do so).
- Almost as many non-voters (36%) are somewhat likely to vote (that is, they will vote depending on a number of factors and circumstances).
- Almost 1 in 5 (22%) are unlikely to vote (either very or somewhat), that is, they have no real desire or motivation to vote.

Almost all (94%) voters said that they are very likely to vote in the next provincial election. See Figure 3.³

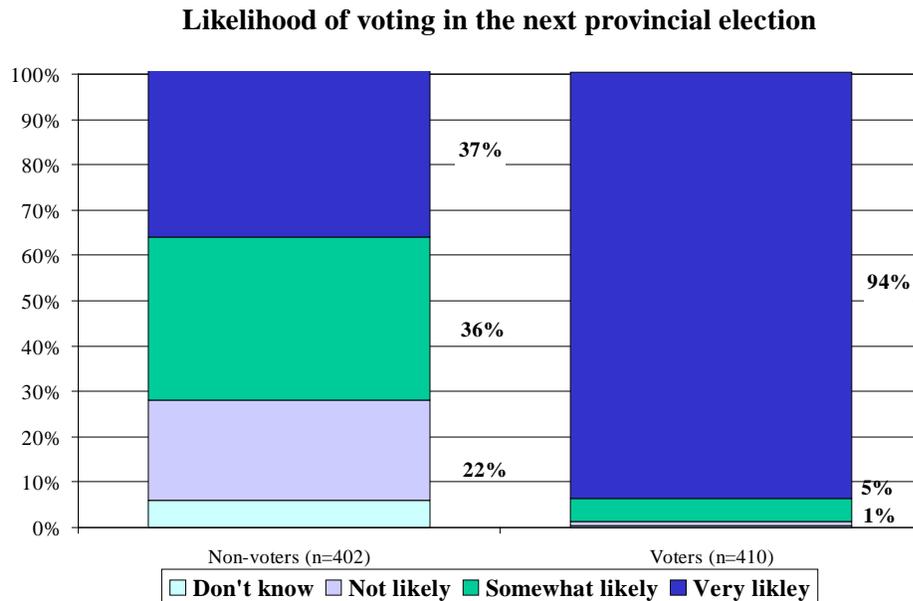


Figure 3

³ Results between voters and non-voters are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).

2.3 Household behaviour

Respondents who reported not voting in the last provincial election tend to come from households where politics and current events are not often discussed.

- Over 8 voters in 10 reported that they sometimes or often talk about politics or current events with family or friends. This compares with only 2 non-voters in 3.
- Similarly, voters appear to have grown up in homes where politics and current events were discussed. Non-voters are more likely to come from homes that did not discuss such issues. Some three-quarters of voters reported that they grew up in homes that sometimes or often discussed such issues, compared with just over half of non-voters.

See Table 3.

Table 3: Discuss politics		
<i>Q61. When you were growing up, did your family talk about politics and current events often, sometimes, seldom, or never?</i>		
<i>Q62. And how about now? Do you talk to your family or friends about politics and current events often, sometimes, seldom, or never?</i>		
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
How often currently talk about politics/current events*		
Often	28%	42%
Sometimes	38%	43%
Seldom	22%	13%
Never	12%	3%
Growing up talk about politics*		
Often	26%	37%
Sometimes	29%	37%
Seldom	26%	16%
Never	18%	10%

* Statistically significant difference (chi sq. prob=.000)

Similarly, while many respondents feel that keeping up on the news by watching TV or reading newspapers is something they would not want to miss, generally, voters are more likely than non-voters to feel this way.

- Some 4 in 10 non-voters at least somewhat agree that if they do not see the news on TV or read a newspaper everyday, they feel like they have missed something important (including 1 in 3 who strongly agree). Almost as many disagree at least somewhat.

- Voters are more likely to agree. Some 6 in 10 agree at least somewhat, including over 4 in 10 who strongly agree. About 1 voter in 4 disagrees.

See Table 4.

Table 4: Importance of keeping up on the news		
<i>Q22. Now I'd like to get your opinion on other statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree. If I don't see the news on TV or read a newspaper every day, I feel that I have missed something important.</i>		
	Agree (8 to 10) %	
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
Strongly agree (8 to 10)	34%	44%
Agree somewhat (6 to 7)	10%	16%
Neutral (5)	16%	17%
Disagree (0 to 4)	39%	23%
Don't know	1%	<1%
Total	100%	100%

Note: Difference is statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000)

2.3.1 Other household members' voting behaviour

Non-voters tend to come from non-voting households. Not voting is not only an individual behaviour, it may also be a family practice.

- Three-quarters of voters and non-voters reported that in the June 2003 provincial election, another person in their household was also eligible to vote.
- Among non-voters, only about one-quarter reported that all other eligible members of their household voted. This compares with some 9 voters in 10 who reported that all eligible household members voted.

See Table 5.

Table 5: Other people in household		
<i>Q5. Are there other people in your household who were eligible to vote in the June 2003 provincial election?</i>		
<i>Q6. As far as you know, did all those eligible in your household vote in the June 2003 election?</i>		
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
Eligible to vote	72%	75%
	(n=288)	(n=310)
All eligible members voted*	26%	90%

* Statistically significant difference (chi sq. prob=.000)

Non-voters are not a uniform group. That said, they tend to be younger and less well educated than voters, and come from households that do not highly value the act of voting. However, only a subset of non-voters is persistent in this behaviour, which suggests that they vote depending on the circumstances. This compares with our voter group, which appears to have a strong commitment to the act of voting.

3.0 Reasons for voting/not voting

In this section, we report on respondents' motivations for voting or not voting and try to identify any barriers in the voting process. We report that:

- Those who voted in the 2003 provincial election independently provided two broad reasons for voting: the act of voting itself and the outcome of voting. The act of voting is seen as important by many as it is a right or privilege that if not exercised could mean the end of democracy (24%). Voting is also seen as a duty or responsibility (23%). Many focus on the outcome as a reason to vote. Voting gives them the opportunity to support a candidate/party (19%) or have a say in how things will be done (14%). It also was said to give the voter the right to complain about the government (14%).
- The reasons for not voting fall into three broad categories: *distraction*, that is, reasons that suggest that they intended to vote but were too busy (24%), were out of town (8%), were ill (3%), or simply forgot (7%); *disassociation*, that is, reasons that suggest that they did not intend to vote because they did not trust the candidates or did not like the choices (13%), did not care about the outcome (12%), or said it did not matter who won (8%); and *displacement*, that is, reasons that suggest that they wanted to vote but technical or administrative issues barred them, including those who said the polls were too far away (5%), the polls closed too early (3%), or they did not know where to vote (2%).
- We tested nine reasons with non-voters, asking these respondents to rate how important each was in their decision not to vote. For about one-quarter of non-voters, none of these reasons was very important. The most important reasons as rated by respondents were: not knowing enough about the parties (30% said this was very important in their decision not to vote) and being too busy (28% said this was very important in their decision not to vote). The fact that it was clear which candidate would win their riding was very important in the decision of about 1 non-voter in 5.

- The reasons for the decline in the voter turnout as provided by respondents suggest that the drop is primarily the result of people becoming disassociated from the system. Respondents suggests that: some of the public believes it does not matter who wins an election because there is no difference among the parties (about 3 in 10); people are becoming less interested in politics (about 1 in 5); or the public no longer trusts candidates or the choices they are offered (about 1 in 10).
- Three-quarters of those who voted in the last election decided to do so the day the election was called. About one-quarter of non-voters decided they would not be voting on this same day, suggesting that they never had any intention of participating in the election. About one-third of non-voters decided not to vote on Election Day, suggesting that circumstances prevented them from voting.
- As noted above, many did not vote because they felt they were not knowledgeable enough to do so. Partly, this results from the fact that non-voters are less likely than voters to report following the 2003 provincial election closely. Indeed, only about 4 non-voters in 10 reported that they followed the election somewhat or very closely, compared with almost 9 voters in 10.
- Although they did not follow the election closely, over half of non-voters said that they were somewhat or very knowledgeable about the policies and platforms of the parties. This suggests that some non-voters feel that there is no need to follow an election to know the platforms of the parties. In other words, they may feel that nothing changes from one election to the next or that the platforms of the competing parties are similar. Voters not only followed the election more closely, 9 in 10 felt that they were very or somewhat knowledgeable of the party platforms.

3.1 Reasons for voting

We asked individuals who reported voting, why they voted in the June 2003 provincial election. These unaided responses were categorized as shown in Table 6 but can be grouped under two broad themes:

- **The importance of the act of voting itself.** The most common reasons for voting, as given by respondents, were philosophical. That is, they relate to the perceived importance of voting itself. Respondents said voting is a “right” or “privilege” that if not used will mean the end of democracy (24%). Others think it is a person’s duty or responsibility to vote (23%). Still others said explicitly that “voting is important” (7%).
- **The outcome of voting.** Others said that voting is a way of effecting change or getting a desired outcome. Many said that they vote to support a candidate or party (19%) or as a way of bringing about change (9%). Others simply wanted to have a voice or say in the election (14%). As many also mentioned that the act of voting gives them the “right” to complain about the government, a right they feel does not extend to non-voters (14%).

Table 6: Reasons for voting in last provincial election	
<i>Q2. As mentioned, people have different reasons for choosing to vote. Why did you vote in the June 2003 provincial election?</i>	
Reason	(n=410)
Importance of the act of voting	
Exercise right/privilege/To protect democracy	24%
Duty/You have to vote/Responsibility	23%
Voting is important/I wanted to vote/People should vote	7%
Outcome of the process	
To support a candidate/party	19%
No right to complain if we don't vote	14%
To have a voice/A say in how things are done	14%
Only way to change things/Only way to make a difference	9%
To let the majority's voice be heard/To find out what Manitobans want	1%
Other reasons	
Always vote	11%
Government/Government decisions affect everyone	1%
System doesn't work if people don't vote	1%
Other reasons	2%
Don't know	2%
Note: Respondents could provide more than one answer. Therefore, column may not sum to 100%.	

3.2 Explanations for not voting

We explored with non-voters the reasons why they did not vote, first by asking them to tell us the reason for this decision and then by asking what, if anything, would have encouraged them to vote. Finally, we tested with non-voters the importance of several reasons in their decision.

3.2.1 Reasons for not voting in 2003

Our examination of the literature⁴ suggests that there are three general groups within the non-voter population: *displaced* voters, who were unable to vote due to administrative problems or technicalities; *distracted* voters, who wanted to vote but had to attend to other commitments; and *disassociated* voters, who did not want to vote. We have grouped the reasons provided by respondents into these three general categories.

- **Distracted.** Many non-voters identified reasons that may be considered distractions in the sense that they took their attention away from voting. Most commonly, non-voters told us that they did not have time to vote because they were either too busy, had to work (24%) or simply forgot (7%). Others were out of town (8%) or ill (3%) on Election Day.
- **Disassociated.** Many other respondents provided reasons that suggest that they did not want to bother voting. Some said they did not trust the candidates or did not like any of the choices (13%). Others said they did not care about the outcome (12%). Similarly, some said it did not matter who won the election (8%) because there is no real difference among the political parties or because politicians do not keep their promises anyway.
- **Displaced.** Only a few respondents mentioned reasons that might be considered administrative or technical. Some said they did not vote because the polls were too far away (5% - which may be more an issue of time than location), the polls closed too early (3%), or they did not know where to vote (2%). Respondents outside Winnipeg (7%) were slightly more likely than Winnipeg residents (3%) to identify polls being too far away as a reason for not voting.

⁴

See PRA, Examination of Low Voter Turnout in the 2003 Election: Literature Review and Election Data Analysis, December 17, 2003. Prepared for Elections Manitoba.

Some other reasons include that they felt they did not know enough about the parties or issues (10%) and, similarly, that they did not know who to vote for (5%). Interestingly, only 5% independently mentioned that there was no point in voting since the outcome was determined before Election Day. It has been speculated that this was a common reason for the surge in non-voting in the 2003 election. However, as we will see below, it was on the mind of many non-voters and may have been a factor that tipped the balance toward not voting.

See Table 7 for respondents' reasons for not voting.

Table 7: Reasons for NOT voting in last provincial election	
<i>Q3. As mentioned, people have different reasons for not voting. Why didn't you vote in the June provincial election?</i>	
Reasons	(n=402)
Distractions	
Didn't have time/Busy/Bad time of year/Had to work	24%
Not at home/Away from home/Out of town	8%
Forgot	7%
Ill/Sick	3%
Too lazy to bother	1%
Disassociated	
Lack trust of candidates/Didn't like any of the choices	13%
Not interested/Couldn't be bothered/Indifferent	12%
Doesn't matter who wins/No difference among parties	8%
Religious objections	3%
Dissatisfaction with government/Lack of leadership	1%
Issues are irrelevant, not a major concern	<1%
Displaced	
Polls too far away/Far from work/No ride	5%
Polls closed too early/Wasn't time to vote	3%
Didn't know where or when to vote	2%
Wasn't on voters list/Not enumerated can't vote	1%
Other	
Not well informed/No info on parties	10%
Outcome of election already determined	5%
Didn't know who to vote for/Didn't know candidates	5%
Other	2%
Don't know	4%
Note: Respondents could provide more than one answer. Therefore, column may not sum to 100%.	

3.2.2 Reason for not voting in past elections

Shortly after the 1999 election, PRA conducted a survey of eligible voters.⁵ That survey primarily focused on respondents' knowledge of the electoral process and their experience voting. In this survey, we asked those who had not voted in 1999 why they made that decision.

Table 7a compares the reasons provided by respondents for not voting in 1999 with those given by non-voters in 2003. It should be noted that the two questions are slightly different, and the categorization used in 1999 is less detailed than in 2003. Further, in 1999, we recorded the one main reason for not voting, while in 2004, we recorded all reasons.⁶

That said, this comparison shows remarkable consistency in some areas and large increases in others.

	1999 (n=143)	2003 (n=400)
Too busy/No time/Forgot	34%	33%
Away from home	17%	8%
Disillusioned/No faith in politics/Lack of trust	15%	22%
Uninterested/Didn't know enough	13%	32%
Process related	13%	11%
Illness/Impairment	3%	3%
Religious reasons	2%	3%
Other	1%	4%

As Table 7a shows, many of the reasons given in 1999 remain the same in 2003. About one-third of non-voters after each election mentioned being too busy, having no time, or forgetting to vote as reasons for not voting.

⁵ See PRA, Post-election Survey of the Voting Population, October 15, 1999. Prepared for Elections Manitoba.

⁶ We grouped the more detailed reasons itemized in 2003 into the fewer broad reasons created in 1999 as follows. The 1999 category "Too busy/no time/forgot" includes the 2003 categories of "didn't have time/busy/bad time of year/had to work"; "Forgot"; and "Too lazy to bother." The 1999 category "Disillusioned/no faith in politics/Lack of trust" includes the 2003 categories of "Lack trust of candidates/didn't like any of the choices"; "Doesn't matter who wins/no difference among parties"; "Dissatisfied with government/lack of leadership"; and "Issues are irrelevant, not of major concern." The 1999 category "Uninterested/didn't know enough" includes the 2003 categories: "Not interested/couldn't be bothered/indifferent"; "Not well informed/No information on parties"; "Outcome of election already determined"; and "didn't know who to vote for/didn't know candidates." The 1999 category "Process related" includes the 2003 categories of: "Polls too far away/far from work/no ride"; "Polls closed too early/wasn't time to vote"; "Didn't know where/when to vote"; and "Wasn't on voters list/Not enumerated can't vote."

Several reasons were more common in 2003 than in 1999. In 2003, about one-third of respondents gave reasons that suggest they were not interested in the election or felt they did not know enough to bother vote. This compares with only 13% in 1999. Similarly, it appears that more non-voters in 2003 mentioned reasons that suggest they were disillusioned, had no faith in politics, or did not trust any of the political parties. In 2003, about one-fifth mentioned these types of reasons compared with just 15% in 1999.

3.2.3 Importance of factors in decision not to vote in 2003

We asked non-voters to rate the importance of nine potential reasons why they did not vote. The importance of these reasons varies, and none is very important to a majority of non-voters, suggesting that there are many influences in the decision not to vote. Indeed, almost 1 respondent in 4 found none of these nine reasons to be very important in their decision not to vote, suggesting there are other reasons that we did not test.

Only one reason was at least somewhat important to a majority of respondents:

- *Did not know enough about the parties, policies, or candidates to vote.* About 6 in 10 said that not knowing enough about the parties was at least somewhat important, including 30% who said it was very important in their decision not to vote.

All other reasons were not even somewhat important to a majority of non-voters.

- *Too busy.* About half said that being too busy was at least somewhat important in their decision not to vote, including 28% who said it was very important.
- *Couldn't relate to any of the election issues.* Less than half said that being unable to relate to the issues was at least somewhat important in their decision not to vote, including 15% who said it was very important.
- *My vote didn't matter since it was clear which party was going to win the provincial election.* About 4 in 10 said the fact that it was clear who was going to win the election was at least somewhat important in their decision not to vote, including 16% who said it was very important.

- *My vote didn't matter in my riding since it was clear who would win.* About 1 in 3 said that the fact that the outcome in their riding was clear was important, including 19% who said it was very important in their decision.
- *Out of town.* Almost 1 in 5 said that being out of town was at least somewhat important, including 15% who said it was very important.
- *Didn't know where or when to vote.* About 1 in 5 also said that not knowing where or when to vote was at least somewhat important, including 12% who said it was very important.
- *Illness.* Almost 1 in 5 said that illness was at least somewhat important in their decision, including 10% who said illness was very important.
- *Not on the voters list.* Just over 1 in 10 said that not being on the voters list was at least somewhat important in their decision not to vote, including 7% who said it was very important.

Figure 4 shows those who rated these reasons as somewhat or very important.

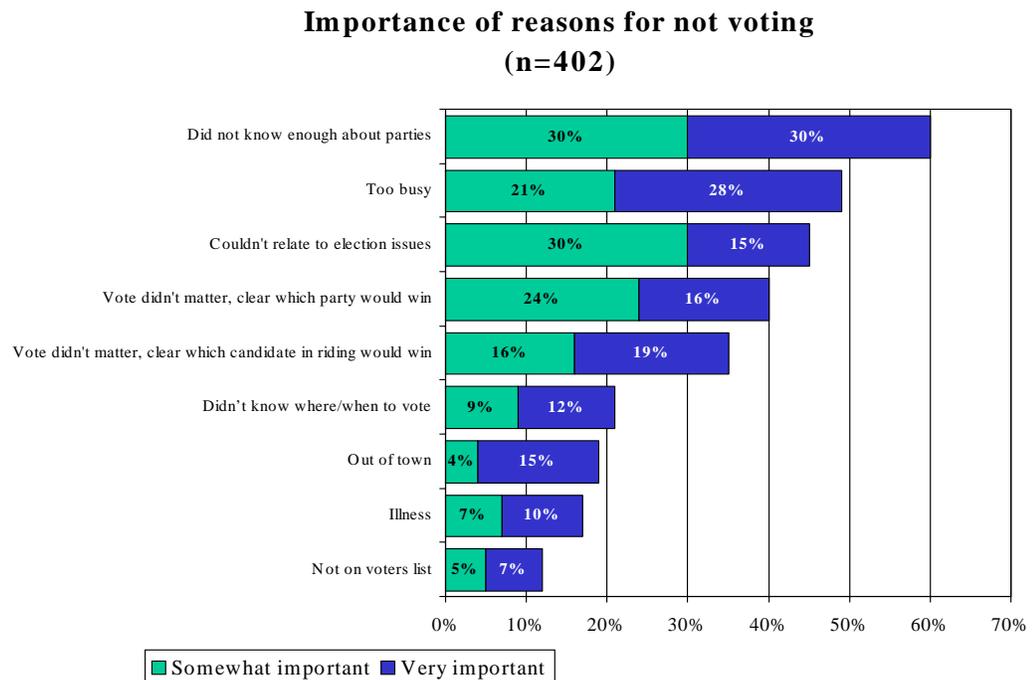


Figure 4

Almost half of those who said that being “too busy” was very important in their decision not to vote, also said that the fact that it was clear who was going to win the provincial election was at least somewhat important in their decision. In other words, knowing the outcome of the election may have allowed some non-voters to prioritize other activities, which made them “too busy” to visit a polling station.

3.3 Reasons for decline in voter turnout

We explained to respondents that voter turnout has been declining in recent Manitoba elections. We asked respondents – both non-voters and voters – why they think this is the case. Most of the reasons are similar to what we have seen above.

Most respondents tend to believe that voters are disassociated from the voting process.

- Some 3 respondents in 10 – whether voters or non-voters – said that the decline in voter turnout is the result of a general disenchantment with the political system. They said that people feel that it does not matter which party wins an election, that there is no real difference among parties, or that politicians do not keep their promises.
- Similarly, about 1 in 5 (17% of non-voters, 24 % of voters) said simply that fewer people are interested in politics, people do not care about the outcome, or voting is not important enough to be bothered with.
- Over 1 in 10 mentioned that there is a lack of trust of candidates or that they do not care for any particular party.

A few think that distractions account for the decline.

- A few – less than 1 in 10 – believe that people are not voting because people have less time.
- A few suggested that people are not well informed or that they simply do not know who to vote for.

Very few see the decline as a result of displaced voters, that is, polls being too far away, people not knowing when or where to vote, or people misunderstanding the process.

Several thought that the fact that it was clear which party was going to win the 2003 election stopped many from turning out to vote. Both non-voters and voters commonly mentioned that results of the most recent provincial election were a forgone conclusion and therefore people did not bother voting (13% non-voters, 15% voters).

See Table 8.

Table 8: Impressions of why voter turnout is declining		
<i>Q7. Voter turnout has been declining in recent Manitoba elections. In your opinion, why are fewer people voting?</i>		
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
Disassociated		
Doesn't matter who wins/No difference between parties	30%	29%
Not interested/Don't care/Couldn't be bothered	17%	24%
Lack trust of candidate/Didn't like any of the choices	11%	14%
Dissatisfaction with government/Lack of leadership	5%	2%
Youth: Not educated re: importance, relevance, responsibility	3%	5%
Issues: Irrelevant, not major concerns	3%	3%
Distracted		
Don't have time/Too busy	6%	8%
Not well informed/No information on parties	4%	4%
Don't know who to vote for/Don't know candidates	3%	2%
People are lazy/stupid	2%	3%
People take democracy for granted	2%	3%
Not at home/Away from home/Out of town	<1%	<1%
Displaced		
Polls too far away	2%	1%
Didn't know where/when to vote	1%	1%
Polls closed too early/Wasn't time to vote	<1%	-
Not on voters list/Not enumerated	-	<1%
Other		
Outcome of election already determined/Vote doesn't matter	13%	15%
Other	5%	2%
Don't know	13%	12%
Note: Respondents could provide more than one answer. Therefore, columns may not sum to 100%.		

3.4 Timing of decision to vote/not vote

We asked both groups when they decided to vote or not vote in the 2003 provincial election. Most voters have every intention to vote from the outset of an election, while non-voters make their decision during the election period.⁷

- One-quarter of non-voters knew they would not vote as soon as the election was called, suggesting that they never had any intention of voting. Conversely, three-quarters of voters knew they would vote as soon as the election was called.
- About 4 non-voters in 10 decided not to vote sometime between the election call and Election Day, suggesting that they were waiting for something to help them make up their minds, engage them, or encourage them to vote. Only 1 voter in 5 made the decision during this period.
- About 1 non-voter in 3 made the decision not to vote on Election Day. This suggests that they were too busy to vote or some circumstance prevented them from voting. Only 1 voter in 20 made the decision to vote on Election Day.

See Figure 5.

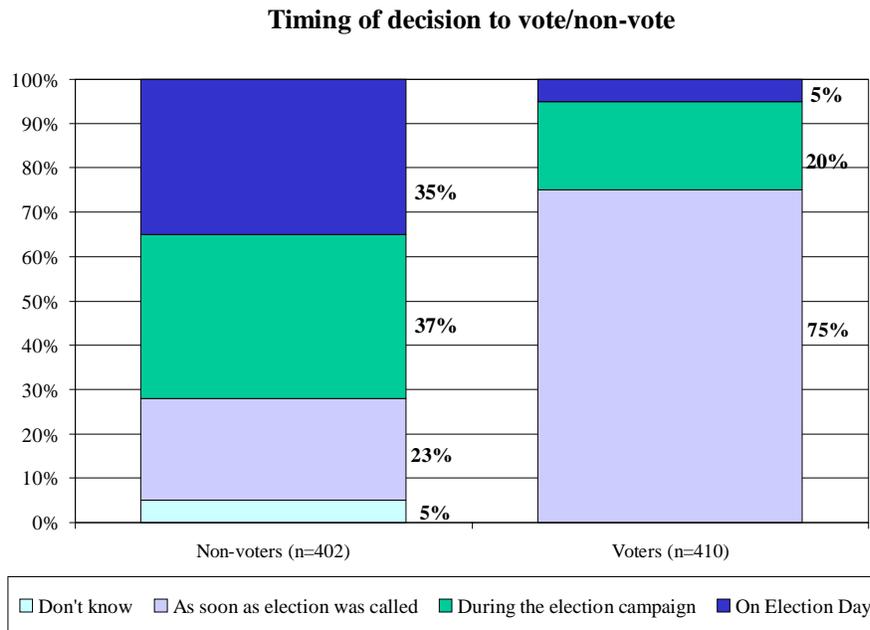


Figure 5

⁷ The question read: *Thinking back to the June provincial election, which of the following best describes when you decided that you would or would not vote...* Differences between voters and non-voters are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).

3.5 Knowledge of 2003 election

As would be expected, voters tend to follow the election more closely and assess themselves as being more knowledgeable than non-voters.

- Just over 4 non-voters in 10 reported following the election somewhat or very closely. This compares with almost 9 voters in 10.
- In spite of not following the election closely, over half of non-voters felt they were somewhat or very knowledgeable about the various political parties that participated in the election. This compares with almost 8 voters in 10.

See Table 9.

Table 9: Knowledge of 2003 election		
<i>Q18. Thinking about the last provincial election in Manitoba, held in June 2003, would you say that you followed the election very closely, somewhat closely, not very closely or not at all closely?</i>		
<i>Q19. Thinking about the various political parties that participated in the election, would you say that you were very knowledgeable, somewhat knowledgeable, not very knowledgeable, or not at all knowledgeable about their policies and election platforms?</i>		
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
Follow election		
Very closely	6%	22%
Somewhat closely	37%	65%
Not very closely	30%	10%
Not at all closely	27%	3%
Knowledge of the policies and platforms		
Very knowledgeable	10%	19%
Somewhat knowledgeable	45%	69%
Not very knowledgeable	27%	11%
Not at all knowledgeable	17%	2%
Note: Columns may not sum to 100% due to rounding. Differences between voters and non-voters are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).		

Different people have different reasons for not voting. Indeed, most make the decision not to vote during the election period, which suggests that most people are predisposed to vote. Most commonly, they end up not voting because: the election (the candidates, the issues, the parties) does not engage them; they feel they do not know enough to make a decision; or other things become more important than voting.

4.0 Motivators to vote or not vote

In the previous section, it appears that voters are more engaged by the electoral process than non-voters. In this section, we attempt to identify changes that may motivate non-voters to vote and reinforce current voters' participation.

- Regardless of whether they voted in the 2003 provincial election, most respondents believe that it is important that people vote. While 9 voters in 10 said it is very important or essential to vote, 2 non-voters in 3 said the same. Less than 1 non-voter in 10 thought it not important that people vote.
- The reasons why it is important to vote are similar to the reasons provided by voters as to why they cast a ballot in the 2003 election: voting affects outcomes and the act of voting is important. Whether voter or non-voter, about one-quarter of respondents said that voting gives an individual a voice or a say in how things are done. Again, whether voter or non-voter, about one-tenth mentioned each of the following as reasons to vote: supporting a candidate or party, only way to change things, and letting the majority's voice be heard. Both voters and non-voters also commonly mentioned that voting is a right or privilege that must be exercised to maintain democracy.
- While the majority of voters and non-voters recognize that voting is important, non-voters are less likely to vote simply for the sake of voting. While non-voters are less likely to agree that voting is every Manitoban's duty as a good citizen, still almost half of non-voters strongly agree with this statement.
- Conversely, non-voters are more likely to agree that when people do not vote, it tells us that the system is not working. About half of non-voters strongly agree compared with over a third of voters.
- Partly, this reflects the fact that almost 3 non-voters in 10 strongly agree that none of the political parties in the last election had a plan to address the issues that are important to them, and another 1 in 4 said that there is no political party in Manitoba that they really agree with.

- About one-quarter of voters and non-voters agree strongly that they are more likely to vote if the election race is close.
- Most respondents feel that voting is something that needs to be taught in schools. Voters are more likely than non-voters to agree that schools should do more to educate children on the benefits of voting and political participation. Still, 7 non-voters in 10 agree with this statement.
- Similarly, most respondents, whether voters or non-voters, would support Elections Manitoba's encouraging Manitobans to vote by telling them why their vote matters, why it is important, and what the consequences are if people do not vote. About 8 respondents in 10 would support such an initiative, including strong support from 4 non-voters in 10 and half the voters.
- As noted above, most non-voters recognize that voting is important. However, non-voters offered few suggestions as to what might have encouraged them to vote in the 2003 provincial election. The most common suggestion is not a simple fix; it would involve changing the way they view candidates and parties. Almost 1 in 5 said that they would have been encouraged to vote if they had had greater trust or confidence in the candidates. Others suggested that they would have been encouraged to vote if they had had more information on the candidates and issues (9%), if the election had been held on a more convenient day (7%), if the polls had been more easily accessible (6%), or if they had had more information on where and when to vote (5%). Almost 4 non-voters in 10 could not think of anything that would have encouraged them to vote, including 1 in 5 who explicitly said that nothing would have encouraged them to vote.
- While non-voters said that many changes to the electoral process would make them more likely to vote in the future, few of these changes would make many of them *much more* likely to vote. The most important administrative changes in terms of motivating non-voters to vote are: allowing people to vote in any polling station regardless of where they live (about one-quarter say they would be much more likely) and providing alternative methods of casting their ballot.

If three alternative methods of voting were offered (on-line, by telephone, and through the mail), about 3 non-voters in 10 said they would be *much more* likely to vote in the next provincial election. However, many participants (55% of voters) had concerns about these methods, especially voting on-line, and would in fact be less likely to vote if such methods were offered.

- Most respondents, regardless of their recent voting behaviour, are at least somewhat satisfied with the current electoral system. However, only 1 non-voter in 5 is very satisfied. Indeed, about 1 non-voter in 10 said that the current system discourages them from voting.
- By adopting a proportional representation electoral system, almost 6 non-voters in 10 report that they would be more likely to vote, although only about 1 in 8 would be much more likely. While proportional representation appears to promise more voters, in fact, about 1 respondent in 5 – whether non-voter or voter – says that he/she would be less likely to vote under such a system.
- Few respondents support a law that would require people to vote. Even among voters, only one-quarter think it is a good idea.

4.1 Importance of voting

Whether they voted in the recent provincial election or not, most respondents believe that it is very important that people vote in elections.⁸

- Perhaps surprising is that over 9 non-voters in 10 think it is at least somewhat important, including two-thirds who think it is very important or essential to vote in elections. Fewer than 1 in 10 think it is not important.
- Conversely, it is not surprising that almost all voters think it is at least somewhat important to vote in elections, including 9 in 10 who think it is very important or essential.

See Figure 6 on the next page.

⁸ Question 20 read: *In your view, how critical is it that people vote in elections? Is it essential, very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?* Differences between voters and non-voters are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).

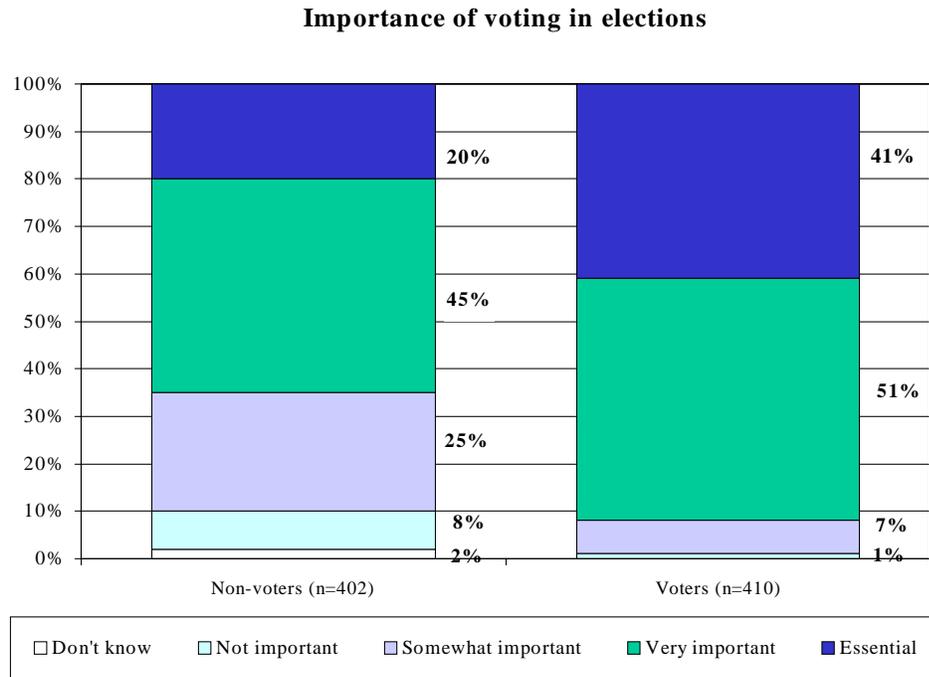


Figure 6

The reasons that voting is important are similar whether the respondent voted or did not vote in the 2003 provincial election. The reasons tend to fall into one of two broad categories: voting is important because it influences the outcome, and voting is important for its own sake.

For many, the importance of voting is in the results or outcomes.

- About 1 respondent in 4 said it is important to vote in order to have a voice or a say in how things are done.
- About 1 respondent in 10 provided each of these reasons: it is the only way to change things and to give a voice to the majority; it allows an individual to support a party or candidate he/she believes in; or it gives people the right to complain. (More than twice as many voters as non-voters gave this last reason for why voting is important.)

For others, it is less about outcomes and more about the act of voting itself. Voters are more likely than non-voters to mention most of these reasons.

- About 1 non-voter in 7 said that voting is a right or privilege that if not used will be lost (this compares with about 1 in 5 voters).
- About 1 respondent in 10 (whether voter or non-voter) said that voting is important and the system does not work if people do not vote.
- About 1 non-voter in 20 (slightly more voters) said that voting is one’s duty or responsibility.

See Table 10.

Table 10: Reason why it is important to vote		
<i>Q21. Why is it important that people vote?</i>		
Reasons	Non-voters (n=363)	Voters (n=405)
Affect outcome		
To have a voice/A say in how things are done	27%	24%
Only way to change things/Only way to make a difference	10%	12%
To let the majority's voice be heard	10%	13%
To support a candidate/party	9%	10%
No right to complain if we don't vote	9%	21%
Government/Government decisions affect everyone	6%	4%
Importance of the act of voting		
Exercise right/privilege/To protect democracy	15%	22%
System doesn't work if people don't vote	9%	9%
Duty or responsibility to vote	4%	7%
Voting is important/People should vote	2%	1%
Other reasons		
Don't know	7%	1%
Note: Respondents could provide more than one answer. Therefore, columns may not sum to 100%.		

4.2 Attitudes toward voting and public issues

We asked both voters and non-voters to rate their level of agreement or disagreement with a series of 12 statements. We present the results below grouped by broad themes. There is no uniform opinion held by voters or non-voters. That said, there are significant differences between voters and non-voters in some areas.

4.2.1 Attitudes toward voting process

Voters and non-voters have different impressions as to why people do not vote, but both groups believe in a citizen's obligation to vote.

A majority of non-voters agree at least somewhat (a rating 6 or more out of 10) with the following statements:

- *When people don't vote, it tells us that the system is not working.* Non-voters are much more likely than voters to agree with this statement. About two-thirds of non-voters agree at least somewhat (a rating of 6 or higher out of 10), including about half who agree strongly (a rating of 8 or higher out of 10) with this statement. Voters are less likely to see non-voting as an indication of a problem with the system. About half of voters agree somewhat, including just over 2 voters in 3 who agree strongly.
- *Voting is every Manitoban's duty as a good citizen.* Perhaps surprisingly, about 6 non-voters in 10 agree at least somewhat that voting is the duty of good citizens, including almost half who agree strongly. This suggests that most non-voters wanted to vote in the 2003 provincial election but were distracted or displaced. Almost all voters agree at least somewhat with this statement, including over 8 in 10 voters who agree strongly.

Table 11 shows those who strongly agree (a rating of 8 or higher out of 10).

Table 11: Attitudes toward voting process		
<i>Q32-33. Now I'd like to get your opinion on other statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.</i>		
Statement	Strongly agree (8 to 10)	
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
When people don't vote, it tells us that the system is not working.	51%	36%
Voting is every Manitoban's duty as a good citizen.*	46%	82%
*Note: Difference between voters and non-voters is statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).		

4.2.2 Attitudes toward political parties and issues

Non-voters are more likely to find the existing political parties wanting, that is, they do not feel there is a choice that meets their needs. As well, they are more likely to feel that the issues are too complicated for voters to understand, which makes the choice even more difficult.

We asked respondents to rate their level of agreement (or disagreement) with a series of statements about political parties and issues.

- *None of the political parties in the last provincial election had a plan to address the issues that are important to me.* Some 44% of non-voters agree at least somewhat with this statement; about 3 in 10 agree strongly. Voters are more likely to disagree; in fact, only 26% agree even somewhat with this statement, and 1 in 7 agrees strongly.
- *There is no political party in Manitoba that I really agree with.* Similarly, some 41% of non-voters agree at least somewhat, including 3 in 10 who agree strongly. About 1 voter in 4 agrees at least somewhat; only 1 in 10 agrees strongly.
- *Most of the issues that governments have to deal with are too complicated for voters to understand.* About 1 non-voter in 3 agreed at least somewhat with this statement, including almost 1 in 5 who agreed strongly. This compares with about half as many voters (9%) who agree strongly.

Table 12 provides the percentage of respondents who agree strongly (a rating of 8 or higher).

Statement	Strongly agree (8 to 10)	
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
None of the political parties in the last provincial election had a plan to address the issues that are important to me.*	29%	14%
There is no political party in Manitoba that I really agree with.*	27%	11%
Most of the issues that governments have to deal with are too complicated for voters to understand.	18%	9%

*Note: Difference between voters and non-voters is statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).

4.2.3 Attitudes toward voting

The closeness of the election race is a feature in both voters' and non-voters' decisions to participate. That said, non-voters are more likely to feel that their vote does not really matter to the outcome. Partly, this reflects not the race itself but the belief that the outcome has no impact on them.

We asked respondents to agree or disagree with a series of statements on voting.

- *I'm more likely to vote if the race is close.* As we have seen already, many non-voters said that the perception that the outcome of the 2003 election was clear persuaded many to not vote. This attitude is shared as many voters and non-voters admitted that they are more likely to vote if the election is close. Indeed, some 39% of non-voters agree at least somewhat including over 1 in 4 who agree strongly. Interestingly, voters hold a similar view. Some 34% of voters agree at least somewhat that they are more likely to vote if the race is close, including over 1 in 4 who agree strongly.
- *Generally, the outcome of provincial elections has no direct effect on me.* Some 33% of non-voters at least somewhat agree with this statement, including 1 in 5 who agrees strongly. This compares with only 19% of voters who agree at least somewhat, including less than 1 in 10 who agrees strongly.
- *My vote doesn't really matter in my electoral division.* Similarly, 30% of non-voters agree at least somewhat with this statement, including almost 1 in 5 who agree strongly. Again, voters are less likely to agree (15%) even somewhat, including less than 1 in 10 who agrees strongly.
- *My vote doesn't really matter in a provincial election.* One-quarter of non-voters agree at least somewhat with this statement, including 14% who agree strongly. This compares with 14% of voters who agree at least somewhat, including 8% who agree strongly.

Table 13 provides the percentage of respondents who agree strongly (a rating of 8 or higher).

Table 13: Attitudes toward voting Q23, 24, 29, 35. Now I'd like to get your opinion on other statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.		
Statement	Strongly agree (8 to 10)	
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
I'm more likely to vote if the election race is close.	27%	27%
Generally, the outcome of provincial elections has no direct effect on me.*	21%	9%
My vote doesn't really matter in my electoral division (riding).*	19%	9%
My vote doesn't really matter in a provincial election.*	14%	8%

*Note: Difference between voters and non-voters is statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).

4.2.4 Encouraging voting

We also asked respondents to rate their agreement with a number of statements about actions that might encourage voting. A majority of non-voters (and voters) agree that:

- *Schools should do more to educate children on the benefits of voting and political participation.* Some 7 non-voters in 10 agree at least somewhat with this statement, including half who agree strongly. Slightly more – 8 in 10 – voters agree at least somewhat, including two-thirds who strongly agree.
- *Parents should instill in their children the importance of voting.* Almost as many non-voters – 7 in 10 – agree at least somewhat with this statement, including half who agree strongly. Voters are significantly more likely to agree with this statement. Indeed, over 9 voters in 10 agree at least somewhat.

See Table 14.

Table 14: Attitudes toward encouraging voting Q31, 34. Now I'd like to get your opinion on other statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.		
Statement	Strongly agree (8 to 10)	
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
Schools should do more to educate children on the benefits of voting and political participation.**	52%	66%
Parents should instill in their children the importance of voting.*	50%	85%

*Note: Difference between voters and non-voters is statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000 **prob=.003).

4.2.5 Role of Elections Manitoba

We explained that Elections Manitoba is an independent agency responsible for running provincial elections. We asked respondents whether they would support or oppose Elections Manitoba’s encouraging Manitobans to vote by telling them why their vote matters, why it is important, and what the consequences are if people do not vote.

Overwhelmingly, both voters and non-voters would support Elections Manitoba undertaking such a campaign.

- Some 8 non-voters in 10 would support such an initiative, including 4 in 10 who would strongly support it.
- Some 9 voters in 10 would support such an initiative, including over half who would strongly support it.

See Table 15.

Table 15: Encouraging Manitobans to vote		
<i>Q43. Elections Manitoba is an independent, non-political agency responsible for running provincial elections. Would you support or oppose Elections Manitoba specifically encouraging Manitobans to vote by telling them why their vote matters, why it is important, and what the consequences are if people do not vote?</i>		
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
Strongly support	38%	53%
Somewhat support	43%	37%
Somewhat oppose	10%	4%
Strongly oppose	7%	4%
Don't know	4%	2%
Total	101%	100%
Note: Differences between voters and non-voters are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).		

4.3 Encourage respondents to vote

We also asked non-voters what would have encouraged them to vote in the recent election. We again grouped their responses into broad categories that seem to suggest that they are disassociated, distracted, or displaced.

- **Disassociated.** About 1 in 5 said “nothing” would have encouraged them to vote (19%), and almost as many (18%) said that they would have to have more trust or confidence in candidates or the government if they were to bother. Others said that they would more likely vote if the issues were of greater interest or if politicians addressed issues that interested them (7%).

- **Distracted or displaced.** Voters who might be considered distracted or displaced offered similar solutions that would encourage them to vote. Some said that if technical or process issues had been addressed, they would have been more likely to vote. Some respondents said that if the polls had been more accessible or convenient (6%), they would have been more likely to vote. A few explicitly stated that they would have been more likely to vote if they had had the option to do so on-line, by phone, or by mail (2%). Some said that they would have voted if they had had more information on when and where to vote (5%); still others mentioned longer poll hours (3%) or easier access to advance polls (1%). Others suggested that they if they had been more informed about candidates or the issues (9%), or if the election had been on a more convenient day (7%), they would have voted. This suggests that many were too busy to seek or consume such information.
- A few mentioned that they would have voted if the outcome was not already known (3%).

See Table 16 for non-voters' unaided suggestions.

Table 16: Encourage respondents to vote	
<i>Q4. What, if anything, would have encouraged you to vote in the recent election?</i>	
	(n=402)
Disassociated	
Nothing	19%
Having greater trust/confidence in candidates	18%
If there were important issues/Addressing issues of interest	7%
Distracted/displaced	
More informed about candidates/issues	9%
On a more convenient day/On a different day	7%
Polls more easily accessible	6%
More informed about when/where election was	5%
Polls open earlier/later/longer	3%
Alternate ways to vote (Internet, phone, mail)	2%
Advanced polls easier to access	1%
Other	
If outcome wasn't already determined	3%
Other	6%
Don't know	20%
Note: Respondents could provide more than one answer. Therefore, column may not sum to 100%.	

4.4 Changes to the process

We asked respondents whether changes in the voting process would encourage them to vote in the future. Many non-voters reported that they would be more likely to vote if these changes were introduced.

- Almost two-thirds of non-voters (and over 4 voters in 10) said that they would be more likely to vote *if they could vote in any polling station regardless of where they live*. This includes one-quarter of non-voters who said they would be **much more** likely to vote.

Over half of non-voters reported that they would be more likely to vote if:

- *There were more opportunities to vote in advance of Election Day*, but only 11% said that this would make them **much more** likely. A significant number of voters (43%) also thought such opportunities would make them more likely to vote.

About 4 non-voters in 10 reported that they would be more likely to vote if:

- *A polling station was closer to their home*, but only 12% said such a change would make them **much more** likely. Almost as many voters (37%) said that closer polling stations would also make them more likely to vote.
- *The polls were open longer*, but only 11% of non-voters said that such an extension of hours would make them **much more** likely to vote in the future. About one-quarter of voters also reported that longer hours would make them more likely to vote.
- *A longer election period so they could better familiarize themselves with the candidates, parties, and issues*. Only about 10% of non-voters said that this would make them **much more** likely to vote. Only about 1 voter in 5 said that a lengthening of the election period would make him/her more likely to vote.
- *Increased advertising about where to vote and the date of the election would make them more likely to vote*. Only 9% of non-voters said they would be **much more** likely to

vote. Among voters, one-third said that such advertising would make them more likely to vote.

One-quarter of non-voters reported that they would be more likely to vote under the following condition:

- *More spending by political parties to raise awareness of candidates, parties, and issues would make them more likely to vote*, although only 4% said that such spending would make them **much more** likely. However, 29% of non-voters said that such spending would actually make them less likely to vote. About 1 voter in 5 said that increasing such spending would make him/her more likely, but 1 in 4 said that he/she would be less likely to vote as a result.

See Table 17.

Change	Much more or more likely	
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
You are able to vote at any polling station regardless of where you live*	63%	43%
There are more opportunities to vote in advance of Election Day*	52%	43%
A polling station is located closer to your home	45%	37%
Polling stations, which are currently open 12 hours on Election Day, stay open longer*	43%	23%
There is a longer election period so you can better familiarize yourself with the candidates, parties, and issues*	42%	22%
There is increased advertising about where to vote and the date of election	38%	32%
There is more spending by political parties to raise awareness of candidates, parties, and issues*	26%	17%

*Note: Differences between voters and non-voters are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).

These changes would not encourage all non-voters to vote. Indeed, while these changes make voting more attractive to some, those non-voters predisposed to voting find them the most attractive.

As Table 18 shows, those non-voters who reported that they are very likely to vote in the next provincial election are also those who said that they will be much more likely to vote if these changes are implemented.

For example, 35% of non-voters who report being very likely to vote in the next provincial election will be much more likely to do so if they can vote at any polling station. Conversely, these changes have little impact on those who are not likely to vote. Only 9% of those who are unlikely to vote in the next provincial election will be much more likely as a result of allowing people to vote at any polling station.

Table 18: Changes that would encourage voting by likelihood of voting in next provincial election			
Much more likely	Non-voters (n=402)		
	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not likely
Vote at any polling station regardless of where you live*	35%	23%	8%
A polling station is located closer to home	16%	13%	6%
Polling stations stay open longer*	16%	13%	2%
There are more opportunities to vote in advance of election day*	19%	11%	1%
There is a longer election period	13%	13%	2%
There is increased advertising about where to vote/the date of election*	15%	6%	1%
There is more spending by political parties	4%	6%	1%

*Note: Differences between voters and non-voters are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).

4.4.1 Satisfaction with current system

We explained that for Manitoba provincial elections, people vote in an electoral division and the candidate with the most votes wins. We asked respondents how satisfied or dissatisfied they are with the present electoral system. Most voters and non-voters are at least somewhat satisfied with it.

- Almost 3 non-voters in 4 are satisfied, although only 17% are very satisfied.
- Voters are more satisfied, with almost 9 in 10 being at least somewhat satisfied. Only 3 in 10 are very satisfied.

We also asked those who said that they were dissatisfied with the current system if their dissatisfaction discourages them from voting. Few said it did. Overall:

- About 1 non-voter in 10 reported that the current system discourages them, including 4% who said that it did so very much.

See Table 19.

Table 19: Satisfaction with current electoral system		
<i>Q44. As you know, for Manitoba provincial elections, people vote in an electoral division, and the candidate with the most votes wins. In general, how satisfied are you with the present electoral system? Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?</i>		
<i>Q45. Does the current method of deciding who wins discourage you from voting?</i>		
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
Satisfaction*		
Very satisfied	17%	30%
Somewhat satisfied	57%	57%
Somewhat dissatisfied	13%	8%
Very dissatisfied	8%	3%
Not sure	6%	2%
Discourage you from voting		
Yes, very much	4%	<1%
Yes, somewhat	5%	2%
Note: Columns may not sum to 100% due to rounding. Difference between voters and non-voters is statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).		

4.4.2 Proportional representation

While the idea of changing the electoral system in some fundamental way appears to make voting more appealing for many respondents, others said that they would be less likely to vote as a result of such changes.

We briefly explained proportional representation to respondents and asked them if they would be more or less likely to vote if Manitoba adopted such a system.

- Some 6 non-voters in 10 said that they would be more or much more likely to vote under a proportional representation model. However, only 13% said that such a change would make them **much more** likely, and in fact, 1 non-voter in 5 said that he/she would be less likely to vote under such a system.
- Some 4 voters in 10 said that they would be more or much more likely to vote under such a model, but again, 1 in 5 would be less likely.

See Table 20.

Table 20: Impact of proportional representation		
<i>Q46. What if we had a different system in which the seats would be divided among the political parties according to the total percentage of votes they get? If this system, known as "proportional representation," was implemented in Manitoba, would you be much more likely, more likely, less likely, or much less likely to vote?</i>		
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
Much more likely	13%	11%
More likely	44%	28%
Makes no difference	15%	34%
Less likely	17%	16%
Much less likely	4%	4%
Don't know	7%	7%
Total	100%	100%
Note: Difference between voters and non-voters are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).		

4.4.3 Requiring people to vote by law

We explained that other countries have laws that require people to vote. We asked respondents if they thought it would be a good or poor idea for Manitoba to adopt such a law.

Both voters and non-voters share the opinion that such a law would be a poor idea. Indeed, a significant majority of voters (70%) and non-voters (76%) think that a law requiring people to vote would be a poor or very poor idea.

See Table 21.

Table 21: Law requiring people to vote		
<i>Q47. In a number of countries, people are required by law to vote. Do you think it is a very good, good, poor or very poor idea for Manitoba to adopt a law requiring people to vote?</i>		
	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
Very good	8%	6%
Good	13%	20%
Poor	41%	45%
Very poor	35%	25%
Don't know	3%	3%
Total	100%	99%

Note: Columns may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

4.5 Alternative methods of voting

We asked non-voters if they would be more likely to vote in the next provincial election if they could use alternative methods of voting.

As Table 22 shows, among non-voters:

- Over half reported that they would be more likely to vote if they could vote on-line, including 21% who would be much more likely. About 1 non-voter in 5 would be less likely to vote if this method was offered.
- Similarly, over half said that they would be more likely to vote if they could vote by telephone, including 16% who would be much more likely. Again, 1 non-voter in 5 would be less likely to vote if voting by telephone was offered.
- About 4 non-voters in 10 said that they would be more likely to vote if they could vote by mail, including 8% who would be much more likely. About 1 non-voter in 4 would be less likely to vote if voting could be done by mail.

Some 29% said they would be **much more** likely to vote if these three alternatives were available during the next provincial election.

Table 22: Non-voters likelihood of voting if alternative methods available				
<i>Q54-56. Now I'd like you to consider some different methods of voting. Think ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election and imagine the technology allows it and the system was provided by Elections Manitoba. Again thinking ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election, would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if you could do so?</i>				
	Likelihood of voting in next provincial election (n=402)			
	Much more likely	More likely	No more likely	Less likely
On-line	21%	35%	22%	20%
By telephone	16%	38%	25%	20%
By mail	8%	31%	36%	25%

Similarly, we asked voters how likely they would be to use these methods to vote if they were available during the next provincial election. As Table 23 shows, among voters:

- About half of voters said that they would be likely to vote on-line in the next election if available, including 29% who said that they would be very likely.
- Slightly fewer voters would be likely to vote by phone (43%), including 23% who would be very likely.
- About 4 voters in 10 would be likely to vote by mail if available, including 14% who would be very likely.

Some 40% of voters said they would be **very likely** to use one of these alternative methods if all three were available at election time.

Table 23: Interest among voters in other methods of voting			
<i>Q54a-56a. Now I'd like you to consider some different methods of voting. Think ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election and imagine the technology allows it and the system was provided by Elections Manitoba.</i>			
<i>Again thinking ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election, instead of going to the polling station, how likely would you be to vote _____ if available? Would you say you would be very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?</i>			
	Likelihood of using these methods (n=410)		
	Very likely	Likely	Not likely
On-line	29%	20%	48%
By telephone	23%	21%	53%
By mail	14%	23%	60%

4.5.1 Use of alternatives by likelihood of voting

As might be expected, intentions of voting in the next provincial election affect the uptake of these alternative voting methods. In fact, the biggest gains are among those non-voters who are predisposed to vote anyway.

- Only 16% of those who reported that they would be very or somewhat unlikely to vote in the next provincial election said they would be **much more likely** to do so if all three alternative methods were available: on-line, by telephone, or by mail. However, it should be noted that under each alternative, some respondents indicated that they would be less likely to vote if that alternative was offered. For example, almost one-third of those unlikely to vote in the next provincial election said that they would be less likely to do so if on-line voting was allowed. It is unclear whether

this represents a concern about the voting process in general or just their personal likelihood of using this method.

- Interest in these alternative methods of voting is much higher among non-voters who say they intend to vote in the next election. About one-third of those who are somewhat or very likely to vote in the next provincial election said that they would be **much more likely** to do so if they could use one of the three methods tested.

See Table 24.

Table 24: Likelihood of voting in next provincial election by much more likely if alternatives available	
Vote in next provincial election	Non-voters much more likely (n=402)
Very likely	33%
Somewhat likely	35%
Not likely	16%

4.5.2 Concerns with alternative methods of voting

A majority of non-voters have no concerns about voting on-line; this compares with almost 6 voters in 10 who have concerns.

The most common concerns are the same among voters and non-voters:

- **Security or fraud.** Many voters (30%) and non-voters (25%) think that on-line voting might be rigged.
- **General distrust of Internet/computer.** Some non-voters (9%) and almost twice as many voters (17%) have general concerns about computers and the Internet, such as not liking them, not trusting them (unspecified), or not knowing how to use or access them.
- **Privacy.** Some feel that others may find out how they voted.

See Table 25 on the next page.

Table 25: Concerns with voting on-line <i>Q52. What concerns, if any, would you have about voting on-line?</i>		
Concerns	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
No concerns	55%	37%
Security/Fraud (people might rig the vote)/Identification issues)/Hackers	25%	30%
Computer issues: Don't like/Don't trust/Don't have one (not everyone has or knows how to use a computer)	9%	17%
Privacy (people might know how others voted)	8%	10%
Legitimacy/Mistakes (no method to check accuracy)	4%	7%
Not personal/Not proper/Opposed	2%	3%
Accountability (not knowing if votes counted)	1%	2%
Other	1%	2%
Don't know	2%	4%

Similar concerns were raised about telephone voting.

- Again, a majority of non-voters expressed no concerns, while a majority of voters had concerns.
- The most common concern, regardless, was security or fraud: concern that people could rig the election or concern over how it would be determined that the right person voted.
- Many were concerned about the privacy of their vote and that people may find out who they voted for.

See Table 26.

Table 26: Concerns with voting by telephone <i>Q51. What concerns, if any, would you have about voting by telephone?</i>		
Concerns	Non voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
No concerns	58%	35%
Security/Fraud/Multiple voting	26%	36%
Privacy (people might know how others voted)	7%	15%
Legitimacy/Mistakes (no method to check accuracy)	4%	4%
Accountability (not knowing if votes counted)	2%	5%
Not personal/Not proper/Opposed	2%	6%
Phone: technical issues	2%	1%
Other	2%	3%
Don't know	1%	3%

A majority of non-voters and voters had no concerns about voting by mail.

- The most common concern is accountability, that is, votes being lost in the mail or the voter not knowing if his/her vote was delivered and counted.
- Security/fraud remains a concern, including people tampering with or stealing ballots.
- Mail concerns include such things as: the mail being too slow, the inconvenience of mailing a ballot (having to buy a stamp), and the expense since someone would have to pay for handling all that mail.

See Table 27.

Table 27: Concerns with voting by mail		
<i>Q53. What concerns, if any, would you have about voting using the existing mailing system?</i>		
Concerns	Non-voters (n=402)	Voters (n=410)
No concerns	62%	51%
Accountability (votes get lost/knowning if votes counted)	17%	23%
Security/Fraud/Tampering/Stealing votes	11%	17%
Mail issues: too slow/have to buy stamps/expensive	10%	10%
Privacy (people might know how others voted)	2%	2%
Not personal/Not proper/Opposed	2%	3%
Legitimacy/Mistakes (no method to check accuracy)	1%	2%
Other	1%	1%
Don't know	2%	2%

4.5.3 Concerns discourage use

As expected, those who would be much more likely to vote if they had access to these alternative methods are also much more likely to have no concerns about using them.

For example, almost 90% of those who had no concerns also said that they would be much more likely to vote in the next provincial election if they could do so on-line. Conversely, those who said that they would be less likely to vote using these methods are also more likely to have concerns. In fact, only 17% of those less likely to vote explicitly said that they had no concerns.

See Table 28 on the next page.

Table 28: Likelihood of voting by no concerns among non-voters			
Likelihood of voting	No concerns (n=402)		
	On-line	Telephone	Mail
Much more	87%	92%	93%
More	71%	75%	85%
No more	33%	39%	55%
Less	17%	18%	35%

Note: Difference between non-voters who have concerns and those who do not are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).

Thus, no single administrative change will encourage large numbers of non-voters to vote. Administrative or technical changes that make voting more convenient are welcome; however, these changes alone will not result in a dramatic increase in voter turnout.

5.0 Types of non-voters

In this section, we examine in more depth some of the key characteristics of non-voters.

- Younger non-voters (18 to 29 years of age) differ from older non-voters in significant ways. Younger non-voters are more likely to be persistent non-voters, that is, while eligible, they are less likely than older non-voters to have voted in any recent election.
- While younger respondents share with older non-voters reasons for not voting in the most recent provincial election, two reasons are more likely to account for their behaviour. Younger voters are more likely to report that not knowing enough about the parties, policies, or candidates was a very important reason for their not voting. Indeed, almost half said that this was a very important reason (compared with one-quarter or fewer of older respondents). Younger voters are also more likely to report that being too busy was very important in their decision. Almost 4 in 10 rated this as a very important reason, compared with 3 in 10 or fewer older respondents.
- It is not that young non-voters value the idea of voting less. They are as likely as older non-voters to believe that voting is every Manitoban's duty and that it is important for people to vote. They also would like to have had the opportunity to learn more about the process. Almost three-quarters of young non-voters agree at least somewhat that schools should do more to educate children on the benefits of voting and political participation.
- These young non-voters have not given up on voting. Some 7 in 10 are somewhat or very likely to vote in the next provincial elections, which is statistically no different from older non-voters.
- While young non-voters see voting as important, they wish it was more convenient. Almost 1 in 3 would be much more likely to vote if they could vote at any polling station. Younger voters would also be more likely to vote if alternative methods of voting were provided. About 1 in 4 would be much more likely to vote if he/she could do so on-line, by telephone, or by mail.

Among non-voters, there are those who have been consistent or persistent in not voting and those who have been irregular. Persistent non-voters differ from irregular voters.

- Persistent non-voters appear to be much less engaged by the electoral system. Few followed the 2003 election closely, and most self-report not knowing about the parties and platforms.
- Such non-voters commonly give lack of knowledge as the reason for not voting. Some 4 in 10 say that not knowing enough about the parties, policies, and platforms was a very important reason in their decision not to vote.
- They are more likely than irregular non-voters to disagree (34%) that voting is the duty of every good citizen.
- They are more likely than irregular non-voters to have decided not to vote as soon as the election was called (37%).
- Persistent non-voters are less likely than others to believe that voting is very important or essential (although over half think it is).
- They are less likely than irregular non-voters to plan to vote in the next provincial election. Indeed, 4 in 10 are not planning to vote (compared with only 10% of irregular voters).

5.1 Age of non-voters

We noted above that non-voters tend to be younger than voters, but even among non-voters, age plays an important role in their reasons for not voting and in their support for various alternatives.

5.1.1 Age and past voting

Among eligible non-voters who were 29 years or younger, just fewer than 6 in 10 reported voting in none of the previous elections. Older respondents are more likely to have voted, but even in the oldest age cohort, only about 3 in 10 voted in all three. See Table 29.

	Eligible non-voters (n=342)		
	18 to 29	30 to 54	55 or older
All three	18%	30%	30%
Two of three	11%	16%	26%
One of three	15%	24%	22%
None	56%	30%	22%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Note: Results are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).

5.1.2 Age and reasons for not voting

Much of the literature is concerned with the growth of non-voting among younger adults. Historically, young people have always been less likely to vote than older adults. Participation is often seen as a “life cycle” issue, with many young non-voters becoming voters as they age and political issues affect them more directly. The concern is not so much that young people do not vote. Rather, it is with the growth in non-participation among young adults. The primary concern is that the youngest electors may be less likely to increase their voting turnout as they age. While this hypothesis cannot be addressed directly through these survey results, we can look for hints of the future behaviour of young non-voters.

In our survey, young adults (18 to 29) are most likely to report that lack of knowledge and lack of interest are the barriers that prevented them from voting in the last provincial election. Of the nine reasons for not voting tested with respondents, age was a significant factor in the perceived importance of three.

- Young adults (18 to 29) are more likely to say that not knowing enough about the parties, policies, or candidates was a very important reason for not voting. Indeed, almost half in this age cohort said that this reason was very important. As respondents get older, they are less likely to report this as very important in their decision.

- Younger respondents are also more likely to say that being too busy was very important in their decision not to vote. Almost 4 in 10 of those 18 to 29 years of age said that this reason was very important, compared with just 8% of those 55 and older. Being “too busy” to vote is another way of saying that voting is not a priority and that other activities in their lives are more important.
- Younger non-voters are also more likely to say that not knowing where or when to vote was very important in their decision. About 1 in 5 in the youngest age cohort said that this reason was very important, compared to about 1 in 10 of those who are older.

See Table 30.

Table 30: Age and reasons for not voting			
	Very important (n=402)		
	18 to 29	30 to 54	55+
Did not know enough about the parties, policies, or candidates	48%	23%	16%
Too busy	38%	28%	8%
Didn't know where or when to vote	19%	9%	11%
Note: Differences in results by age group are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).			

Thus, it is not surprising that only some young voters felt that they were knowledgeable about the policies and platforms of the various parties (36%) or followed the 2003 election closely (25%).

See Table 31.

Table 31: Knowledge of issue/follow campaign			
During 2003 provincial election...	(n=402)		
	18 to 29	30 to 54	55+
Somewhat/very knowledgeable about the policies and election platforms	36%	62%	69%
Followed the election somewhat or very closely	25%	49%	63%
Note: Differences in results by age group are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).			

Partly, it appears that younger non-voters are less likely to have grown up in households where politics and current events were discussed. About 45% of those in the youngest age cohort reported that this type of discussion occurred sometimes or often, while 6 in 10 of those 30 years of age or older said the same.

5.1.3 Age and attitudes toward voting

Most young non-voters have positive attitudes toward the act of voting. Most of these non-voters feel that it is very important or essential that people vote. As well, most young non-voters agree at least somewhat that voting is every Manitoban’s duty as a good citizen. Both of these findings suggest that non-voting among youth is part of the “life cycle” issue and that while they are not yet participating, they recognize the importance of voting and will do so in the future.

That said, like other non-voters, about half of young non-voters agree at least somewhat that none of the political parties in the last provincial election addressed the issues of concern to them and that there is no political party in Manitoba that they really agree with. See Table 32.

	Age of non-voter (n=402)		
	18 to 29	30 to 54	55+
Very important/essential that people vote	62%	64%	77%
Agree voting is every Manitoban’s civic duty	55%	61%	71%
Agree that none of the political parties had a plan to address the issues of importance to them	50%	43%	48%
Agree that no political party that they really agree with	49%	39%	40%

As Table 33 shows, those in the youngest age cohort are not significantly different from older respondents in terms of their likelihood to vote in the next provincial election. While this is not definitive, it does suggest that young non-voters have not dismissed the system (at least, no more so than older non-voters).

Vote in the next provincial election	Age of non-voter (n=402)		
	18 to 29	30 to 54	55+
Very likely	30%	39%	39%
Somewhat likely	41%	35%	29%
Unlikely	25%	20%	23%
Don’t know	4%	5%	10%
Total	100%	99%	101%

Note: Columns may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

5.1.4 Encouraging young adults to vote

Possibly because they feel that they lack knowledge, most young non-voters support the idea of schools doing more to educate children on the benefits of voting and political participation. Indeed, younger non-voters appear more likely than older non-voters (55+) to agree that schools should be doing more. In fact, almost three-quarters of those 18 to 29 at least somewhat agree.

Possibly because they do not necessarily agree with their parents' political positions, young non-voters are slightly less likely than older non-voters to agree that parents should instill in their children the importance of voting. See Table 34.

Agree that...	Age of non-voter (n=402)		
	18 to 29	30 to 54	55+
Schools should be doing more	73%	76%	56%
Parents should instill the importance of voting	60%	71%	82%

Since most young non-voters see voting as less of a priority yet continue to believe it is important, they are more open to methods that make voting more convenient. Since they often feel that they know little about the issues, they are also interested in changes that might afford them the opportunity to learn more, such as a longer election period to familiarize themselves with the issues.

However, it is important to note that only a subset feel that any of these changes would make them much more likely to vote, as shown in Table 35.

Much more likely to vote if...	Age of non-voters (n=402)		
	18 to 29	30 to 54	55+
Could vote at any polling station regardless of where you live	27%	22%	24%
Could vote on-line	25%	22%	11%
Could vote by telephone	23%	15%	8%
Polling stations staying open longer	12%	12%	5%
A longer election period to better familiarize with issues	11%	10%	8%

*Note: Difference in results by age group are statistically significant (ranging from chi sq. prob=.000 to prob=.002).

Much of this information suggests that young non-voters are distracted and possibly displaced from voting rather than disassociated from the political process. It is not that they feel that voting is not important; rather, they are preoccupied with other activities and do not feel that they know enough to make the

important decision of who to vote for. While they would prefer to vote, at this point in their lives, the issues do not interest them enough to gather the information necessary to make a choice. In fact, it appears that many young non-voters would like to vote but hesitate because they do not want to waste their vote on the wrong candidate. Like non-voters in general, making voting more convenient is only a small part of the problem. Engaging young people in the issues is the true challenge in getting them to vote.

5.2 Past voting behaviour

As mentioned, about one-third of non-voters had not voted in any of the three previous elections (although they were eligible). These persistent non-voters have different attitudes than irregular non-voters (that is, those who voted in at least one of the last three elections). That said, these two groups share similar attitudes and characteristics on some issues.

5.2.1 Characteristics of types of non-voters

As mentioned, young adults are more likely to be persistent non-voters. Half of the persistent non-voters come from those between 18 and 29 years of age, while they account for only one-quarter of irregular voters. Persistent non-voters also tend to have lower levels of education. Almost 3 in 10 have not completed high school.

See Table 36.

Table 36: Reasons for not voting		
	Persistent non-voters (n=154)	Irregular non-voters (n=248)
Age*		
18 to 29	49%	23%
30 to 54	40%	59%
55 and older	11%	19%
Education**		
Less than high school	29%	15%
High school grad	33%	30%
Some post secondary	10%	15%
College/University grad	29%	39%
Note: Differences in results by age group are statistically significant (chi sq. *prob=.000 ** prob.=.005). Includes only those who provided responses.		

5.2.2 Reasons for not voting

Persistent non-voters are more likely than irregular voters to report:

- Not being interested in the 2003 provincial election. They are more likely to report that they did not follow the 2003 provincial election closely (78%). Irregular non-voters are more involved in the process. Unlike persistent non-voters, a majority of irregular non-voters followed the 2003 provincial election somewhat or very closely (only 44% did not).
- Not being knowledgeable about the policies and platforms of the various political parties (64%). Irregular non-voters tend to think of themselves as somewhat or very knowledgeable of the policies and platforms of parties in the 2003 provincial election (only 33% did not).
- Lack of knowledge as a reason for not voting. Some 40% said that not knowing enough about the parties, policies, or candidates was a very important reason in their decision not to vote. Irregular voters are less likely to report that not knowing enough about the parties was very important in their decision not to vote (23%).

Many persistent non-voters never had any intention of voting in the last provincial election. Almost 4 in 10 decided not to vote as soon as the election was called (37%). The irregular non-voters are the opposite; some 4 in 10 decided not to vote on Election Day, which suggests that time constraints prevented their casting a ballot. See Table 37.

When decided not to vote...	Persistent non-voters (n=154)	Irregular non-voters (n=248)
As soon as the election was called	36%	15%
Sometime during the election	35%	39%
On Election Day	21%	43%
Don't remember	8%	4%
Note: Difference in results by age group are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000)		

5.2.3 Attitudes toward voting

Many persistent non-voters do not see the value of voting.

- Persistent non-voters are less likely to see voting as the duty of a good citizen. Indeed, only 4 in 10 agree even somewhat with this statement. This compares with 7 in 10 irregular non-voters who agree at least somewhat (72%) that voting is part of what makes a good citizen.
- Interestingly, even though they regularly do not vote, only one-third of persistent non-voters (32%) reported that their vote does not really matter in a provincial election. This is significantly higher than irregular non-voters, of whom only one-fifth (21%) feel this way.

See Table 38.

Table 38: Attitudes toward voting process		
<i>Now I'd like to get your opinion on other statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.</i>		
Statement	Agree (6 to 10)	
	Persistent non-voters (n=154)	Irregular non-voters (n=248)
Voting is every Manitoban's duty as a good citizen*	43%	72%
My vote doesn't really matter in a provincial election	32%	21%
*Note: Difference between persistent and irregular non-voters is statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).		

Persistent non-voters are less likely to report that voting is very important or essential. What is surprising is that over half think it is (54%). Irregular non-voters are more likely to rate voting as very important or essential (72%). See Table 39.

Table 39: Importance that people vote		
	Persistent non-voters (n=154)	Irregular non-voters (n=248)
Essential	17%	22%
Very important	37%	50%
Somewhat important	29%	23%
Not important	16%	3%
Not sure	2%	2%
Total	101%	100%
Note: Columns may not sum to 100% due to rounding. Differences in results by age group are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).		

Persistent non-voters are more likely to state that they are unlikely to vote in the next provincial election (41%), and only 16% said that they are very likely. Only 10% of irregular non-voters are unlikely to vote in the next election, and half are very likely. See Table 40.

Table 40: Vote in next provincial election		
Vote in next provincial election	Persistent non-voters (n=154)	Irregular non-voters (n=248)
Very likely	16%	49%
Somewhat likely	38%	34%
Unlikely	41%	10%
Don't know	5%	6%
Total	100%	99%
Note: Columns may not sum to 100% due to rounding. Differences in results by age group are statistically significant (chi sq. prob=.000).		

In the last election, about 17% of eligible voters might be classified as persistent non-voters. About 29% might be considered irregular non-voters, who, like many voters, do not always vote in every election. Membership in the persistent non-voters is not static. Young people make up about half of this group. However, as they age, many will become irregular non-voters or even regular voters. The question is whether this group of persistent non-voters is growing. This research cannot answer that question, but it does suggest that most non-voters (young and old) plan to vote in future elections and, as such, have not given up on the electoral system.

6.0 Conclusion

Voter turnout in Manitoba has been falling slowly but steadily since 1988. This is similar to what has been happening in other jurisdictions including most provinces and at the federal level. While voter turnout has been falling, typically, the trend has meant a drop of a few percentage points at each election. In 2003, the voting rate dropped 14 percentage points from 68% in 1999 to 54% in 2003. This represents a 20% decline⁹ in voter participation.

The factors in decisions not to vote are many, and non-voters often have more than one reason for not participating. This research suggests that the reasons for non-voting generally fall into two broad categories: those who did not want to for whatever reason and those who intended to vote, but were distracted by lack of time, illness, or travel. Since we have limited comparable information from previous elections in Manitoba, it is difficult to categorically state what reasons account for this substantial decline in 2003.

While some of the reasons for not voting in 1999 and 2003 remain unchanged, the number of those who reported that they were “uninterested in the election” or “did not feel they knew enough to vote” grew dramatically in 2003. As well in 2003, a common primary or secondary reason for not voting was the perception that whether they voted or not, the outcome had already been determined well before Election Day. The number of non-voters who cited this reason for not voting as important is significant. In fact, about 4 non-voters in 10 said that this was at least somewhat important in their decision not to vote. If we extrapolate this finding to all eligible voters, this factor influenced the decision of 18% of potential voters (almost identical to the 20% change in voter turnout). While it may not be their only reason (for example, half of those who reported being too busy also said that the fact that it was clear who would win was also somewhat important), it might be seen as a unique circumstance that contributed to their decision not to vote.

The importance of this factor is further illustrated in that when the election process began, most non-voters intended to vote. Most decided not to vote part-way through, soon before, or on the day of election. In other words, many made the decision after they thought the outcome was clear.

⁹ That is, the percentage change between the two elections: $(68\% - 54\%) / 68\%$.

Thus, it appears that the dramatic decrease in the voting rate was circumstantial. Indeed, if we accept voters and non-voters at their word and consider only those who claimed they are very likely to vote in the next provincial election, it suggests that some 67% of eligible Manitobans will vote, which is down only slightly from 1999. This suggests that there has not been a permanent decline in the public's willingness to participate.

While the reasons for the drop in voting rate during the recent provincial election appear to be relatively straightforward, the longer-term decline in voter turnout is more difficult to assess. Issues of displacement, that is, the way the election is administered, are relatively insignificant in the decision not to vote. In some ways, this is unfortunate since such problems would be the easiest to address. Making it more convenient to vote may encourage non-voters to cast their ballot, but the impacts appears to be marginal. The administrative change with the biggest impact on voting rate appears to be allowing people to vote at any polling station regardless of where they live (some 24% of non-voters claimed that they would be much more likely under this circumstance). On-line voting also has a similar impact, although in this case, almost as many respondents said that their concerns would make them less likely to vote if such an option was offered. Substantive changes to the electoral system (e.g., proportional representation) would encourage some non-voters to participate but would discourage others.

As mentioned, most non-voters appear to be distracted or disassociated from the election process, and this is particularly the case of the persistent non-voter. That is, most give reasons that suggest that either they: wanted to vote but other things distracted them from casting a ballot or did not want to vote for whatever reason. In the former case, the reason tends to be that they are too busy (which is another way of saying that voting was not a priority), and in the latter, the reason is that they did not know enough or did not think the choices addressed their own issues.

Of greater concern still are two subsets of non-voters: persistent non-voters and young non-voters. In some ways, these are one and the same. About half the persistent non-voters (that is, individuals who were eligible but did not vote in any of the four most recent elections) are individuals 29 years of age or younger. We do not know whether this group is growing. This research suggests that most non-voting young adults do not see voting as a priority, primarily because they do not know who to vote for. Again, making voting more convenient would increase voting marginally among this group, but to significantly increase participation, the

issues of the election would have to engage young people. There is some suggestion that this is part of the cycle of life, that is, as non-voters age, these same issues will engage them and encourage them to vote. That said, these young adults (as other non-voters and voters) strongly support changes that will educate them (or other young people) on the importance of voting, including more school-based programming and a general campaign that addresses issues such as the importance of voting.

Most non-voters continue to recognize that it is very important or essential that people vote. This, along with other evidence from the survey, suggests that most Manitobans have not given up on the electoral process. Thus, while voting rates may continue to decline overall, the sudden drop in voters in 2003 is an anomaly, resulting from the particular circumstances of that election. This research would suggest that – all else being equal – voter turnout will rebound closer to, if slightly lower than that in 1999. The greater challenge is how to engage eligible Manitobans so they make voting a priority.

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

1: INTRO

START OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello, is this \$N

(1/ 42)

YES, Continue with survey 1 D => /INTR1
Terminate Call 2 => /INT01

2: INTR1

START OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Good evening, this is _____ and I'm calling from Prairie Research Associates, an independent research firm based in Winnipeg. Tonight we are calling on behalf of Elections Manitoba, the independent organization charged with running provincial elections, to get your impression of the process of voting in the province. ----> NEXT SCREEN TO CONTINUE

(1/ 43)

Continue with survey 1 D => /INTR2
Terminate Call/Callback 7 => /INT01

3: INTR2

We are very interested in getting opinions of both people who voted and those who did not in the last provincial election. I need to speak to someone over 18 years of age. Would that be you? IF YES, ASK: Would you have time now to do this short survey with me?

SURVEY LENGTH: APPROXIMATELY 15 MINUTES

(1/ 44)

Yes, willing to do survey -- CONTINUE 1 D => /S1
NO - Not 18 years of age or older 0 => /INTR3
Terminate Call/Callback 7 => /INT01

4: INTR3

IF PERSON ON THE PHONE IS UNDER 18

May I please speak to someone who is 18 years of age or older?

(1/ 45)

Yes, person 18+ coming to phone -- RE-READ INTRO 1 D => /INTR1
No one 18+ available right now -- CALLBACK 2 => /INT01
Person 18+ refuses -- TERMINATE 3 => /INT01
Terminate Call/Callback 7 => /INT01

9: S1

SCREENER QUESTIONS

S1. Before we begin, I just have a few things to confirm with you. Were you eligible to vote in the last Manitoba provincial election, held in June 2003?

(1/ 65)

Yes -- CONTINUE 1
No -- TERMINATE 0 => /TERM
Don't Know -- TERMINATE 8 => /TERM
No Response -- TERMINATE 9 => /TERM

10: **S2**

SCREENER QUESTIONS

S2. And just to confirm, you are at least 18 years of age or older?

(1/ 66)

Yes -- CONTINUE.....	1	
No -- TERMINATE.....	0	=> /TERM
Don't Know -- TERMINATE.....	8	=> /TERM
No Response -- TERMINATE.....	9	=> /TERM

11: **S3**

SCREENER QUESTIONS

S3. Have you been living in Manitoba for the past 12 months? (PROMPT: In the 6 months prior to the June provincial election?)

(1/ 67)

Yes -- CONTINUE.....	1	
No -- TERMINATE.....	0	=> /TERM
Don't Know -- TERMINATE.....	8	=> /TERM
No Response -- TERMINATE.....	9	=> /TERM

12: **S4**

SCREENER QUESTIONS

S4. Are you a Canadian citizen?

(1/ 68)

Yes -- CONTINUE.....	1	=> /Q1
No -- TERMINATE.....	0	=> /TERM
Don't Know -- TERMINATE.....	8	=> /TERM
No Response -- TERMINATE.....	9	=> /TERM

13: **TERM**

I am sorry but you do not qualify for any of the following questions. Thank you for your time, those are all the questions I have.

(1/ 69)

GO TO STATUS SCREEN AND CODE AS NON-QUALIFIED 1 => /INT01

14: **Q1**

SECTION 1: VOTING BEHAVIOUR

Q1. People have many different reasons for deciding whether to vote or not to vote. During the last provincial election in June 2003, approximately half of eligible voters turned out to vote. In this case, both voting and not voting was common in the last election. Did you choose to vote in the June 2003 provincial election?

(1/ 70)

Yes - TERMINATE CODE AS QUOTA FILLED (22).....	1	=> /TERM
No.....	0	
Don't Know - TERMINATE.....	8	=> /TERM
No Response - TERMINATE.....	9	=> /TERM

15:

Q2

=> +1 if NOT Q1=1

IF Q1 = YES

Q2. As mentioned, people have different reasons for choosing to vote. Why did you vote in the June 2003 provincial election?

(1/ 71 - 73 - 75 - 77 - 79)

Reasons for voting (SPECIFY) 66 O

Don't Know..... 88 X

No Response..... 99 X

16:

Q3

=> +2 if NOT Q1=0

IF Q1 = NO

Q3. As mentioned, people have different reasons for not voting. Why didn't you vote in the June provincial election?

(1/ 81 - 83 - 85 - 87 - 89)

Reasons for not voting (SPECIFY) 66 O

Don't Know..... 88 X

No Response..... 99 X

17:

Q4

=> +1 if NOT Q1=0

IF Q1 = NO

Q4. What, if anything, would have encouraged you to vote in the recent election?

(1/ 91 - 93 - 95 - 97 - 99)

Incentives (SPECIFY) 66 O

Don't Know..... 88 X

No Response..... 99 X

18:

Q5

Q5. Are there other people in your household who were eligible to vote in the June 2003 provincial election?

(1/ 101)

Yes.....	1	=> Q6
No.....	0	=> Q7
Don't Know.....	8	=> Q7
No Response.....	9	=> Q7

19:

Q6

=> +1 if	NOT Q5=1
----------	----------

IF Q5 = YES

Q6. As far as you know, (other than yourself) did all those eligible in your household vote in the June 2003 election?

(1/ 102)

Yes.....	1
No.....	0
Don't Know.....	8
No Response.....	9

20:

Q7

Q7. Voter turnout has been declining in recent Manitoba elections. In your opinion, why are fewer people voting?

(1/ 103 - 105 - 107 - 109 - 111)

Reasons (SPECIFY) 66 O

Don't Know.....	88	X
No Response.....	99	X

21:

Q8X

=> Q17 if	Q1=1
-----------	------

SECTION 2: REASONS FOR NOT VOTING

Q8X. I'm going to read a list of reasons people sometimes give for not voting. As I read each, please tell me whether the reason was very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important in your decision not to vote in the June 2003 provincial election. -----> NEXT SCREEN TO CONTINUE

(1/ 113)

22:

Q8

Rotation => Q16

QUESTIONS Q8-Q16 ROTATED -- IF Q1 = NO

Q8. Didn't know where or when to vote. (PROMPT: How important was this factor in your decision not to vote in the election - very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important factor in the June 2003 provincial election?)

(1/ 114)

Very important..... 4
Somewhat important..... 3
Not very important..... 2
Not at all important..... 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

23:

Q9

QUESTIONS Q8-Q16 ROTATED -- IF Q1 = NO

Q9. Not on the voters list. (PROMPT: How important was this factor in your decision not to vote in the election - very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important factor in the June 2003 provincial election?)

(1/ 115)

Very important..... 4
Somewhat important..... 3
Not very important..... 2
Not at all important..... 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

24:

Q14

QUESTIONS Q8-Q16 ROTATED -- IF Q1 = NO -- MOVED FOLLOWING PRETEST

Q14. My vote didn't matter in my riding since it was clear who would win. (PROMPT: How important was this factor in your decision not to vote in the election- very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important factor in the June 2003 provincial election?)

(1/ 116)

Very important..... 4
Somewhat important..... 3
Not very important..... 2
Not at all important..... 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

25:

Q10

QUESTIONS Q8-Q16 ROTATED -- IF Q1 = NO

Q10. Illness. (PROMPT: How important was this factor in your decision not to vote in the election - very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important factor in the June 2003 provincial election?)

(1 / 117)

Very important..... 4
Somewhat important..... 3
Not very important..... 2
Not at all important..... 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

26:

Q11

QUESTIONS Q8-Q16 ROTATED -- IF Q1 = NO

Q11. Out of town. (PROMPT:How important was this factor in your decision not to vote in the election - very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important factor in the June 2003 provincial election?)

(1 / 118)

Very important..... 4
Somewhat important..... 3
Not very important..... 2
Not at all important..... 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

27:

Q12

QUESTIONS Q8-Q16 ROTATED -- IF Q1 = NO

Q12. Too busy. (PROMPT: How important was this factor in your decision not to vote in the election - very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important factor in the June 2003 provincial election?)

(1 / 119)

Very important..... 4
Somewhat important..... 3
Not very important..... 2
Not at all important..... 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

28:

Q13

QUESTIONS Q8-Q16 ROTATED -- IF Q1 = NO

Q13. My vote didn't matter since it was clear which party was going to win the provincial election. (PROMPT: How important was this factor in your decision not to vote in the election - very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important factor in the June 2003 provincial election?)

(1 / 120)

Very important..... 4
Somewhat important..... 3
Not very important..... 2
Not at all important..... 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

29:

Q15

QUESTIONS Q8-Q16 ROTATED -- IF Q1 = NO

Q15. Did not know enough about the parties, policies, or candidates to vote. (PROMPT:How important was this factor in your decision not to vote in the election - very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important factor in the June 2003 provincial election?)

(1/ 121)

Very important..... 4
Somewhat important..... 3
Not very important..... 2
Not at all important..... 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

30:

Q16

QUESTIONS Q8-Q16 ROTATED -- IF Q1 = NO

Q16. Couldn't relate to any of the election issues. (PROMPT:How important was this factor in your decision not to vote in the election - very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important factor in the June 2003 provincial election?)

(1/ 122)

Very important..... 4
Somewhat important..... 3
Not very important..... 2
Not at all important..... 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

31:

Q17

ALL RESPONDENTS

Q17. Thinking back to the June provincial election, which of the following best describes when you decided that you would or would not vote... (READ)

(1/ 123)

As soon as the election was called..... 1
Soon after the election was called 2
Part way through the election campaign..... 3
A few days before election day 4
On election day..... 5
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

32:

Q18

Q18. Thinking about the last provincial election in Manitoba, held in June 2003, would you say that you followed the election very closely, somewhat closely, not very closely or not at all closely?

(1/ 124)

Very closely..... 4
Somewhat closely 3
Not very closely..... 2
Not at all closely 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

33:

Q19

Q19. Thinking about the various political parties that participated in the election, would you say that you were very knowledgeable, somewhat knowledgeable, not very knowledgeable, or not at all knowledgeable about their policies and election platforms?

(1/ 125)

Very knowledgeable 4
 Somewhat knowledgeable 3
 Not very knowledgeable 2
 Not at all knowledgeable 1
 (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
 (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

34:

Q20

SECTION 3: ATTITUDES TOWARD VOTING

Q20. In your view, how critical is it that people vote in elections? Is it essential, very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not at all important?

(1/ 126)

Essential..... 5
 Very important..... 4
 Somewhat important..... 3
 Not very important..... 2 => Q22X
 Not at all important..... 1 => Q22X
 (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8 => Q22X
 (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9 => Q22X

35:

Q21

IF Q20 = 3-5

Q21. Why is it important that people vote?

(1/ 127 - 129 - 131 - 133 - 135)

Reasons (SPECIFY) 66 O

Don't Know..... 88 X
 No Response..... 99 X

36:

Q22X

Q22X. Now I'd like to get your opinion on other statements. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each, using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree. -----> NEXT SCREEN TO CONTINUE

(1/ 137)

37:

Q22

Rotation => Q35

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q22. If I don't see the news on TV or read a newspaper every day, I feel that I have missed something important. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1/ 138)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

38:

Q23

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q23. My vote doesn't really matter in a provincial election. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1/ 140)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

39:

Q24

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q24. My vote doesn't really matter in my electoral division (riding). (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1/ 142)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

40:

Q25

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q25. There is no political party in Manitoba that I really agree with. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1/ 144)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

41:

Q26

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q26. Most of the issues that governments have to deal with are too complicated for voters to understand. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1 / 146)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

42:

Q27

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q27. None of the political parties in the last provincial election had a plan to address the issues that are important to me. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1 / 148)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

44:

Q29

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q29. Generally, the outcome of provincial elections has no direct effect on me. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1/ 152)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

46:

Q31

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q31. Schools should do more to educate children on the benefits of voting and political participation. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1/ 156)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

47:

Q32

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q32. When people don't vote, it tells us that the system is not working. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1/ 158)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

48:

Q33

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q33. Voting is every Manitoban's duty as a good citizen. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1/ 160)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

49:

Q34

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q34. Parents should instill in their children the importance of voting. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.)

(1 / 162)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

50:

Q35

QUESTIONS Q22-Q35 ROTATED

Q35. I'm more likely to vote if the election race is close. (PROMPT: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this statement using a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree.) (PROMPT: By race we mean the competition between candidates/parties.)

(1 / 164)

0 - Strongly disagree.....	00
1.....	01
2.....	02
3.....	03
4.....	04
5.....	05
6.....	06
7.....	07
8.....	08
9.....	09
10 - Strongly agree	10
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

51:

Q36X

SECTION 4: OVERCOMING BARRIERS

Q36X. Now I'd like you to think about voting in the future. I'm going to read some changes that some people have suggested might encourage people to vote. As I read each, please tell me if you think you would be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote. -----> NEXT SCREEN TO CONTINUE

(1 / 166)

52:

Q36

Rotation => Q42

QUESTIONS Q36-Q42 ROTATED

Q36. Would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if...
Polling stations, which are currently open 12 hours on election day, stay open longer?

(1/ 167)

- Much more likely 4
- More likely 3
- No more likely 2
- Less likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

53:

Q37

QUESTIONS Q36-Q42 ROTATED

Q37. Would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if...
There are more opportunities to vote in advance of election day?

(1/ 168)

- Much more likely 4
- More likely 3
- No more likely 2
- Less likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

54:

Q38

QUESTIONS Q36-Q42 ROTATED

Q38. Would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if...
You are able to vote at any polling station regardless of where you live?

(1/ 169)

- Much more likely 4
- More likely 3
- No more likely 2
- Less likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

55:

Q39

QUESTIONS Q36-Q42 ROTATED

Q39. Would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if...
A polling station is located closer to your home?

(1/ 170)

- Much more likely 4
- More likely 3
- No more likely 2
- Less likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

56:

Q40

QUESTIONS Q36-Q42 ROTATED

Q40. Would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if... There is a longer election period so you can better familiarize yourself with the candidates, parties, and issues?

(1/ 171)

- Much more likely 4
- More likely 3
- No more likely 2
- Less likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

57:

Q41

QUESTIONS Q36-Q42 ROTATED

Q41. Would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if... There is more spending by political parties to raise awareness of candidates, parties, and issues?

(1/ 172)

- Much more likely 4
- More likely 3
- No more likely 2
- Less likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

58:

Q42

QUESTIONS Q36-Q42 ROTATED

Q42. Would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if... There is increased advertising about where to vote and the date of election?

(1/ 173)

- Much more likely 4
- More likely 3
- No more likely 2
- Less likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

59:

Q43

Q43. Elections Manitoba is an independent, non-political agency responsible for running provincial elections. Would you support or oppose Elections Manitoba specifically encouraging Manitobans to vote by telling them why their vote matters, why it is important, and what the consequences are if people do not vote?

(1/ 174)

- Strongly support 4
- Somewhat support 3
- Somewhat oppose 2
- Strongly oppose 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

60: **Q44**

Q44. As you know, for Manitoba provincial elections, people vote in an electoral division, and the candidate with the most votes wins. In general, how satisfied are you with the present electoral system? Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?

(1/ 175)

Very satisfied.....	4	=> Q46
Somewhat satisfied.....	3	=> Q46
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	2	
Very dissatisfied.....	1	
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know.....	8	=> Q46
(DO NOT READ) No Response.....	9	=> Q46

61: **Q45**

IF Q44 = SOMEWHAT/VERY DISSATISFIED

Q45. Does the current method of deciding who wins discourage you from voting?

(1/ 176)

Yes, very much.....	2
Yes, somewhat.....	1
No.....	0
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know.....	8
(DO NOT READ) No Response.....	9

62: **Q46**

Q46. What if we had a different system in which the seats would be divided among the political parties according to the total percentage of votes they get? If this system, known as "proportional representation," was implemented in Manitoba, would you be much more likely, more likely, less likely, or much less likely to vote?

(1/ 177)

Much more likely.....	4
More likely.....	3
Less likely.....	2
Much less likely.....	1
(DO NOT READ) Would make no difference.....	0
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know.....	8
(DO NOT READ) No Response.....	9

63: **Q47**

Q47. In a number of countries, people are required by law to vote. Do you think it is a very good, good, poor or very poor idea for Manitoba to adopt a law requiring people to vote?

(1/ 178)

Very good.....	4
Good.....	3
Poor.....	2
Very poor.....	1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know.....	8
(DO NOT READ) No Response.....	9

64:

Q48X

SECTION 5: NEW METHODS OF VOTING

Q48X. Now I'd like you to consider some different methods of voting. Think ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election and imagine the technology allows it and the system was provided by Elections Manitoba. ----> NEXT SCREEN TO CONTINUE

(1 / 179)

65:

Q48

Rotation => Q50
=> +1 else => +1 if 1==1

QUESTIONS Q48-Q50 ROTATED -- DROPPED FOLLOWING PRETEST

Q48. If the technology allows and the system was provided by Elections Manitoba, would you be very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely to... Vote by telephone?

(1 / 180)

Very likely 4
Somewhat likely 3
Not very likely 2
Not at all likely 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

66:

Q49

=> +1 else => +1 if 1==1

QUESTIONS Q48-Q50 ROTATED -- DROPPED FOLLOWING PRETEST

Q49. If the technology allows and the system was provided by Elections Manitoba, would you be very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely to... Vote on-line through a web site?

(1 / 181)

Very likely 4
Somewhat likely 3
Not very likely 2
Not at all likely 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

67:

Q50

=> +1 else => +1 if 1==1

QUESTIONS Q48-Q50 ROTATED -- DROPPED FOLLOWING PRETEST

Q50. If the technology allows and the system was provided by Elections Manitoba, would you be very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely to... Vote by mail?

(1 / 182)

Very likely 4
Somewhat likely 3
Not very likely 2
Not at all likely 1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

68:

Q51

Rotation => Q53

QUESTIONS Q51-Q53 ROTATED

Q51. What concerns, if any, would you have about voting... .. By telephone?

(1/ 183 - 185 - 187 - 189 - 191)

No concerns 00 X

Concerns (SPECIFY) 66 O

Don't Know 88 X

No Response 99 X

69:

Q52

QUESTIONS Q51-Q53 ROTATED

Q52. What concerns, if any, would you have about voting... .. On-line ? (IF RESPONDENT SAYS "SAME THING", PLEASE GET THE DETAILS. DON'T JUST ENTER "SAME THING".)

(1/ 193 - 195 - 197 - 199 - 201)

No concerns 00 X

Concerns (SPECIFY) 66 O

Don't Know 88 X

No Response 99 X

70:

Q53

QUESTIONS Q51-Q53 ROTATED

Q53. What concerns, if any, would you have about voting... .. Using the existing mail system?

(1/ 203 - 205 - 207 - 209 - 211)

No concerns 00 X

Concerns (SPECIFY) 66 O

Don't Know 88 X

No Response 99 X

71:

Q54

Rotation => Q56
 => +1 if NOT Q1=0

NON-VOTERS -- Q54-Q56 ROTATED

Q54. Again thinking ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election, would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if you could do so... On-line ?

(1/ 213)

- Much more likely 4
- More likely 3
- No more likely 2
- Less likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

72:

Q55

=> +1 if NOT Q1=0

NON-VOTERS -- Q54-Q56 ROTATED

Q55. Again thinking ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election, would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if you could do so... ... By telephone?

(1/ 214)

- Much more likely 4
- More likely 3
- No more likely 2
- Less likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

73:

Q56

=> +1 if NOT Q1=0

NON-VOTERS -- Q54-Q56 ROTATED

Q56. Again thinking ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election, would you be much more likely, more likely, no more likely, or less likely to vote if you could do so... ... By mail?

(1/ 215)

- Much more likely 4
- More likely 3
- No more likely 2
- Less likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

74:

Q54A

Rotation => Q56A
 => +1 if NOT Q1=1

VOTERS -- Q54A-Q56A ROTATED

Q54A. Again thinking ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election, instead of going to the polling station, how likely would you be to vote ON-LINE if available? Would you say you would be very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

(1/ 216)

- Very likely 4
- Somewhat likely 3
- Not very likely 2
- Not at all likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

75:

Q55A

=> +1 if NOT Q1=1

VOTERS -- Q54A-Q56A ROTATED

Q55A. Again thinking ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election, instead of going to the polling station, how likely would you be to vote BY TELEPHONE if available? Would you say you would be very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

(1/ 217)

- Very likely 4
- Somewhat likely 3
- Not very likely 2
- Not at all likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

76:

Q56A

=> +1 if NOT Q1=1

VOTERS -- Q54A-Q56A ROTATED

Q56A. Again thinking ahead three to four years from now to the next provincial election, instead of going to the polling station, how likely would you be to vote BY MAIL if available? Would you say you would be very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely?

(1/ 218)

- Very likely 4
- Somewhat likely 3
- Not very likely 2
- Not at all likely 1
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

77:

Q57

SECTION 6: PAST BEHAVIOUR

Q57. Now I'd like you to think back and tell me if you were eligible and did you vote in...
The last municipal election, that is, in October 2002? (PROMPT: Likely held in October
2002)

(1 / 219)

Yes..... 1
No -- Did not vote..... 2
No -- Not eligible..... 3
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

78:

Q58

Q58. Now I'd like you to think back and tell me if you were eligible and did you vote in...
The last federal election, that is, in November 2000?

(1 / 220)

Yes..... 1
No -- Did not vote..... 2
No -- Not eligible..... 3
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

79:

Q59

Q59. Now I'd like you to think back and tell me if you were eligible and did you vote in...
The provincial election in September 1999?

(1 / 221)

Yes..... 1
No -- Did not vote..... 2
No -- Not eligible..... 3
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
(DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

80:

Q60

Q60. How likely are you to vote in the next provincial election? Would you say you are
very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely?

(1 / 222)

Very likely..... 4
Somewhat likely 3
Somewhat unlikely 2
Very unlikely 1
Don't Know..... 8
No Response..... 9

81: **Q61**
 Q61. When you were growing up, did your family talk about politics and current events often, sometimes, seldom, or never?
(1/ 223)

Often	4
Sometimes	3
Seldom.....	2
Never	1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know	8
(DO NOT READ) No Response.....	9

82: **Q62**
 Q62. And how about now? Do you talk to your family or friends about politics and current events often, sometimes, seldom, or never?
(1/ 224)

Often	4
Sometimes	3
Seldom.....	2
Never	1
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know	8
(DO NOT READ) No Response.....	9

83: **Q63**
SECTION 7: BACKGROUND QUESTIONS
 Q63. Finally, I would like to ask you some background questions. These help us analyze the information collected. Do you have access to the Internet?
(1/ 225)

Yes.....	1
No	0
Don't Know.....	8
No Response.....	9

84: **Q64**
 Q64. How many people live in your household?
(1/ 226)

\$R 2 20

One person / Just myself.....	1
Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

85: **Q65**
 Q65. How many household members are 18 years of age or older? NUMBER MUST NOT BE GREATER THAN TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN HOUSEHOLD (<Q64 >)
(1/ 228)

\$R 1 20

Don't Know.....	88
No Response.....	99

87:	Q66
Q66. Were you born in Canada or outside Canada?	(1/ 231)
In Canada.....	1
Outside Canada.....	2
Don't Know.....	8
No Response.....	9

88:	Q67
Q67. How long have you lived in Manitoba? ENTER NUMBER OF YEARS	(1/ 232)
\$R 2 100	
Less than 6 months	000
6 to 12 months	001
All my life.....	777
Don't Know.....	888
No Response.....	999

89:	Q68
Q68. In what year were you born?	(1/ 235)
\$R 1904 1985	
Don't Know / No Response	8888 => Q69

91:	Q69
Q69. What is the highest level of education you completed?	(1/ 241)
Elementary school (0-8)	01
Some high school (9-12).....	02
High school grad.....	03
Some community / technical college.....	04
Community / technical college grad.....	05
Some university	06
University grad	07
(DO NOT READ) Don't Know	88
(DO NOT READ) No Response.....	99

92:	Q70
Q70. What are the first three characters of your postal code? (ONLY VALID MANITOBA POSTAL CODES ACCEPTED)	(1/ 243)

93:

Q71

Q71. I'm going to read some broad income categories. When I read the one that represents your total annual household income, please stop me.

(1/ 246)

- Under \$20,000 1
- \$20,000 to \$35,000 2
- \$35,000 to \$50,000 3
- \$50,000 to \$75,000 4
- Over \$75,000 5
- (DO NOT READ) Don't Know 8
- (DO NOT READ) No Response..... 9

97:

GENDR

RECORD GENDER - DO NOT ASK

Those are all the questions I have. On behalf of Prairie Research Associates we thank you for your time and assure you that all your answers will be kept confidential.

GENDER:

(1/ 257)

- Female 1 => /INT
- Male..... 2 => /INT
- Undetermined 3 => /INT