**Appendix I: Survey questions**

Note: SUM = summer survey, PRE = pre-election survey, POST = post-election survey

Turnout   
[POST] *In each election we find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they were not registered, they were sick, or they did not have time. Others do not want to vote.*

*Did you vote in the recent municipal election? Please select the statement that best describes you.*

* I did not vote in the election
* I thought about voting but didn’t
* I usually vote but didn’t in that election
* I am sure I voted in the election s
* Don’t know/Prefer not to say

[POST] *When multiple elections are held at the same time, many people vote for some positions, but not for others.*

*Which races did you vote in? Please check all that apply.*

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Mayoral |  |
| Council |  |
| School board |  |
| Fluoride plebiscite |  |
| Equalization plebiscite |  |
| Daylight savings time plebiscite |  |
| Senate nomination election |  |

* Don’t know/Prefer not to say

Importance of each vote

[PRE] *How much do you care about the OUTCOME of each of the following?*

|  | I care a lot | I care a little | I don’t care much | I don’t care at all | Don’t know |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| The mayoral election |  |  |  |  |  |
| The city council election in your ward |  |  |  |  |  |
| The school board election in your ward |  |  |  |  |  |
| The fluoridation plebiscite |  |  |  |  |  |
| The equalization plebiscite |  |  |  |  |  |
| The daylight saving time plebiscite |  |  |  |  |  |
| The Senate nomination election |  |  |  |  |  |

[PRE] *Imagine that you were only allowed to vote in JUST ONE of the following elections or plebiscites. Which would you have chosen?*

* The Mayoral election
* The city council election in your ward
* The school board election in your war
* The fluoride plebiscite
* The equalization plebiscite
* The daylight saving time plebiscite
* The senatorial nomination election
* Don’t know/prefer not to say

Partisanship

[SUM and PRE] *In PROVINCIAL politics, do you usually think of yourself as a:*

* United Conservative (UCP)
* New Democrat (NDP)
* Alberta Party
* Liberal
* Other
* None of the above
* Don’t know

[SUM and PRE][If selected a party above] *How strongly do you identify with that party?*

* Very strongly
* Fairly strongly
* Not very strongly
* Don’t know

Geographic identity

[SUM and POST] *How close do you feel to:*

|  | Extremely Close | Somewhat close | Not very close | Not close at all | Don’t know |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| The city of Calgary |  |  |  |  |  |
| The province of Alberta |  |  |  |  |  |
| Canada |  |  |  |  |  |

Control variables

[SUM and PRE]Interest: *How interested are you...*

|  | Not at all interested  (0) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Very interested  (10) | Don’t know |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| in Municipal politics? |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| in Provincial politics? |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| in Federal politics? |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Knowledge of municipal politics

[PRE] *Do you happen to remember the name of the Mayor of Calgary prior to Naheed Nenshi?*

* Dave Bronconnier
* Al Duerr
* Rachel Notley
* Don Iveson
* Don’t know

[PRE] *When was Naheed Nenshi first elected as mayor?*

* 2007
* 2010
* 2013
* 2017
* Don’t know

[PRE] *Do you happen to know how many City Councillors Calgary has?*

* 10
* 12
* 14
* 16
* Don’t know

[PRE] *What was the result of the 2018 Calgary Olympic Plebiscite?*

* 66% of voters OPPOSED hosting the Olympics
* 56% of voters OPPOSED hosting the Olympics
* 56% of voters SUPPORTED hosting the Olympics
* 66% of voters SUPPORTED hosting the Olympics
* Don’t know

Sociodemographic factors

[SUM and PRE]Age: *In what year were you born?*

*Please enter your year of birth in the box below.*

* Open ended box provided
* Prefer not to say

[SUM and PRE]Gender: *Are you:*

* Male
* Female
* My gender identity is \_\_\_\_\_\_
* Prefer not to say

[SUM and PRE]Education: *What is the highest level of education that you have completed?*

* No schooling
* Some elementary school
* Completed elementary school
* Some secondary/high school
* Completed secondary/high school
* Some technical, community college
* Completed technical, community college
* Some university
* Bachelor’s degree
* Master’s degree
* Professional degree or doctorate
* Prefer not to say/Don’t know

[SUM and PRE]Income: *The confidentiality of your responses to this survey is guaranteed, and knowing the approximate income of respondents helps researchers to identify important patterns and trends.*

*Which of the following best indicates your annual household income before taxes?*

* Less than $25,000
* $25,000-$49,999
* $50,000-$74,999
* $75,000-$99,999
* $100,000-$124,999
* $125,000-$149,999
* $150,000-$174,999
* $175,000-$199,999
* $200,000 or more
* Prefer not to say/Don’t know

[SUM and PRE]Immigrant: *Were you born in Canada?*

* Yes
* No
* Prefer not to say/Don’t know

[SUM and PRE]Race: *Thinking about your background, do you consider yourself to be:*

* White
* South Asian (e.g. East Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, etc.)
* Chinese
* Black
* Filipino
* Latin American
* Arab
* Southeast Asian (e.g. Vietnamese, Cambodian, Malaysian, Laotian, etc.)
* West Asian (e.g. Iranian, Afghan, etc.)
* Korean
* Japanese
* Indigenous (Inuit, Métis, First Nations)
* Other (Open ended box)

[POST]Voting in mayoral election is a duty/choice (for Heckman selection models): *People have different views about voting. For some, voting is a DUTY. They feel that they should vote in every election. For others, voting is a CHOICE. They only vote when they feel strongly about that election.*

*For you personally, is voting FIRST AND FOREMOST a DUTY or a CHOICE in the mayoral election?*

* Duty
* Choice
* Don’t know

**Appendix II: Full model results for Figure 2 – Marginal effects**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **City council** | **Fluoride** | **Daylight saving** | **Equalization** | **Senate** |
| NDP Partisan | -0.02 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.0 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.09 (0.04)\* |
| Other Partisan | -0.01 (0.02) | 0.03 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.05 (0.03) | 0.16 (0.05)\*\* |
| Non-Partisan | -0.01 (0.02) | 0.03 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.03 (0.02) | 0.10 (0.04)\* |
| Identify with Canada | 0.02 (0.03) | 0.04 (0.03) | 0.00 (0.02) | 0.03 (0.03) | 0.12 (0.06)\* |
| Identify with Alberta | -0.03 (0.03) | -0.01 (0.03) | -0.01 (0.03) | -0.01 (0.04) | -0.09 (0.07) |
| Identify with Calgary | 0.01 (0.04) | -0.01 (0.04) | 0.01 (0.03) | 0.01 (0.05) | 0.03 (0.08) |
| Interest in Canadian politics | -0.06 (0.05) | -0.05 (0.06) | -0.08 (0.04) | -0.10 (0.06) | 0.15 (0.14) |
| Interest in Alberta politics | 0.08 (0.07) | 0.10 (0.07) | 0.12 (0.06)\* | 0.08 (0.08) | -0.23 (0.16) |
| Interest in Calgary politics | -0.10 (0.06) | -0.01 (0.04) | -0.06 (0.04) | -0.06 (0.05) | -0.21 (0.11) |
| Knowledge | -0.04 (0.03) | -0.02 (0.02) | -0.04 (0.02) | -0.08 (0.03)\*\* | -0.08 (0.05) |
| Over 50 | -0.03 (0.02) | -0.01 (0.02) | -0.01 (0.01) | 0.00 (0.03) | -0.02 (0.03) |
| Woman | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.02 (0.01) | 0.02 (0.01) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.04 (0.04) |
| University education | -0.01 (0.01) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.01 (0.01) | 0.00 (0.02) | 0.00 (0.03) |
| High income | -0.01 (0.01) | 0.01 (0.02) | 0.00 (0.01) | -0.01 (0.02) | 0.02 (0.03) |
| Immigrant | 0.03 (0.02)\* | 0.02 (0.02) | 0.02 (0.02) | 0.05 (0.02) | 0.10 (0.04)\* |
| Non-white | 0.04 (0.02)\* | 0.04 (0.02)\* | 0.03 (0.02) | 0.04 (0.02) | 0.08 (0.05) |
| N | 842 | | | | |
| Pseudo R2 | 0.1997 | 0.0948 | 0.1634 | 0.1476 | 0.0865 |

Entries report marginal effects and standard errors (in parentheses).

\*: *p*<0.05, \*\*: *p*<0.01

**Appendix III: Heckman Selection Models**

Note that stage 1 DV is mayoral turnout (1=voter, 0 = abstainer), and stage 2 DV is down ballot turnout (1=voter, 0=abstainer). The variables in the two stages are identical, with the exception of one additional variable in stage 1 (a dummy that indicates whether respondents believe that turnout in the mayoral election is a duty or choice).

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **City Council** | **Fluoride** | **Daylight Saving** | **Equalization** | **Senate** |
| **Stage 1 – Mayoral turnout** |  |  |  |  |  |
| NDP partisan | 0.28 (0.18) | 0.23 (0.18) | 0.28 (0.18) | 0.32 (0.18) | 0.32 (0.19) |
| Other partisan | -0.13 (0.18) | -0.14 (0.19) | -0.12 (0.19) | -0.10 (0.19) | -0.10 (0.19) |
| Non-partisan | -0.18 (0.15) | -0.18 (0.15) | -0.15 (0.15) | -0.15 (0.15) | -0.15 (0.15) |
| Identify with Canada | 0.15 (0.22) | 0.10 (0.22) | 0.10 (0.22) | 0.08 (0.22) | 0.10 (0.22) |
| Identify with Alberta | 0.69 (0.28)\* | 0.69 (0.29)\* | 0.69 (0.29)\* | 0.73 (0.28)\* | 0.72 (0.29)\* |
| Identify with Calgary | -0.31 (0.34) | -0.37 (0.40) | -0.31 (0.34) | -0.38 (0.34) | -0.34 (0.34) |
| Interest in Canadian politics | 0.20 (0.48) | 0.08 (0.49) | 0.10 (0.49) | 0.07 (0.50) | 0.11 (0.49) |
| Interest in Alberta politics | -0.86 (0.55) | -0.64 (0.56) | -0.69 (0.56) | -0.78 (0.57) | -0.78 (0.57) |
| Interest in Calgary politics | 1.31 (0.34)\*\* | 1.29 (0.34) | 1.35 (0.34)\*\* | 1.32 (0.34)\*\* | 1.34 (0.34)\*\* |
| Knowledge | 1.07 (0.21)\*\* | 1.06 (0.21)\*\* | 1.02 (0.21)\*\* | 1.07 (0.21)\*\* | 1.04 (0.22)\*\* |
| Over 50 | 0.11 (0.13) | 0.07 (0.14) | 0.07 (0.14) | 0.13 (0.14) | 0.10 (0.14) |
| Woman | -0.44 (0.13)\*\* | -0.44 (0.13)\*\* | -0.46 (0.13)\*\* | -0.44 (0.13)\*\* | -0.46 (0.13)\*\* |
| University education | 0.04 (0.12) | 0.01 (0.12) | 0.01 (0.12) | 0.02 (0.12) | 0.02 (0.12) |
| High income | 0.16 (0.12) | 0.12 (0.12) | 0.13 (0.12) | 0.14 (0.12) | 0.13 (0.12) |
| Immigrant | -0.18 (0.17) | -0.14 (0.17) | -0.17 (0.17) | -0.14 (0.17) | -0.16 (0.17) |
| Non-white | -0.01 (0.17) | -0.02 (0.17) | -0.01 (0.17) | -0.04 (0.17) | -0.03 (0.17) |
| Voting in mayoral election is duty | 0.92 (0.12)\*\* | 0.94 (0.13)\*\* | 0.94 (0.13)\*\* | 0.95 (0.13)\*\* | 0.94 (0.13)\*\* |
| Constant | -0.58 (0.29)\* | -0.51 (0.29) | -0.55 (0.29) | -0.50 (0.30) | -0.53 (0.30) |
| **Stage 2 – Down ballot turnout** |  |  |  |  |  |
| NDP partisan | 0.23 (0.24) | 0.05 (0.20) | 0.09 (0.24) | -0.12 (0.22) | -0.30 (0.14)\* |
| Other partisan | -.08 (0.25) | -0.32 (0.22) | -0.22 (0.26) | -0.39 (0.24) | -0.50 (0.17)\*\* |
| Non-partisan | 0.14 (0.22) | -0.18 (0.18) | -0.23 (0.21) | -0.20 (0.20) | -0.30 (0.13)\* |
| Identify with Canada | -0.33 (0.33) | -0.21 (0.28) | 0.08 (0.32) | -0.36 (0.31) | -0.39 (0.19)\* |
| Identify with Alberta | 0.23 (0.39) | 0.41 (0.34) | 0.47 (0.39) | -0.03 (0.38) | 0.34 (0.24) |
| Identify with Calgary | -0.23 (0.49) | 0.07 (0.40) | -0.19 (0.46) | -0.04 (0.45) | -0.24 (0.28) |
| Interest in Canadian politics | 1.57 (0.64) | 0.30 (0.63) | 0.86 (0.74) | 1.00 (0.62) | -0.40 (0.45) |
| Interest in Alberta politics | -1.26 (0.81) | -0.94 (0.70) | -1.40 (0.82) | -0.51 (0.78) | 0.73 (0.54) |
| Interest in Calgary politics | 0.40 (0.53) | 1.29 (0.43)\*\* | 1.30 (0.50)\*\* | 0.22 (0.53) | 0.62 (0.37) |
| Knowledge | 0.28 (0.30) | 0.62 (0.25)\* | 0.82 (0.30)\*\* | 0.64 (0.29)\* | 0.23 (0.20) |
| Over 50 | 0.33 (0.19) | -0.01 (0.16) | 0.19 (0.18) | -0.13 (0.18) | -0.16 (0.12) |
| Woman | -0.13 (0.18) | -0.40 (0.15)\*\* | -0.44 (0.17)\* | 0.03 (0.17) | -0.04 (0.11) |
| University education | 0.15 (0.18) | -0.08 (0.14) | -0.19 (0.17) | -0.01 (0.16) | 0.01 (0.10) |
| High income | 0.10 (0.17) | -0.07 (0.15) | 0.07 (0.17) | 0.06 (0.15) | -0.06 (0.10) |
| Immigrant | -0.21 (0.22) | -0.24 (0.19) | -0.32 (0.22) | -0.24 (0.22) | -0.28 (0.15) |
| Non-white | -0.67 (0.22) | -0.38 (0.20) | -0.33 (0.24) | 0.42 (0.22) | -0.29 (0.16) |
| Constant | 1.37 (0.40) | 0.95 (0.47)\* | 0.81 (0.54) | 1.54 (0.45)\*\* | 0.53 (0.35) |

Heckman selection models, dual probit, N=838 selected, 150 non-selected (stage 1).

Entries report coefficients and robust standard errors (in parentheses).

\*: *p*<0.05, \*\*: *p*<0.01