

Western Canada – Issues, Opinions and Options
A Special National Study from the Angus Reid Institute
– Final Questionnaire – December 14, 2018 –

Introduction/Warm-up

Today's survey looks at some different issues in Canada and [Province] today. Remember that there are no right or wrong answers; as always, we're really just interested in everyone's opinions. The survey will only take 10 or 15 minutes. Remember, if you need to, you can leave the survey and come back to complete it.

Q1a. What would you say are the most important issues facing the province of [Province] today? (Select your top two from the list below or choose Other if your big issue isn't there.)

[Randomize presentation of issue blocks and issues within blocks]

Economy

Taxes

Cost of living

Health Care

Education

Social services (elderly/daycare/etc.)

Poverty/Homelessness

Drugs/Addiction

Housing

Environment/Pollution

Crime/Public Safety

Energy/Resources/Pipelines

Leadership/Politics

Infrastructure -- Roads/Bridges

Transportation/Traffic/Transit

Other

Q1b. What is the other important issue?

Q2a) Overall, how satisfied are you with the way things are going in [Province] today?

b) And, how satisfied are you with the way things are going in Canada today?

Very satisfied
 Satisfied
 Dissatisfied
 Very Dissatisfied

The Economy

Q3. Here are some of the different economic sectors in Canada.

a) If you had to choose, what 2 or 3 of these would you say are most critical to Canada?

Auto manufacturing
 Oil and gas
 Agriculture
 Tourism
 Technology/IT
 Banking and Finance
 Forestry and Mining

b) Are there any of these economic sectors that you think should be getting more attention and support from the federal government? (Select up to 2 or 3)

Auto manufacturing
 Oil and gas
 Agriculture
 Tourism
 Technology/IT
 Banking and Finance
 Forestry and Mining

Should be getting more attention and support from the federal government
 [Anchor, Exclusive] None should get more attention

Identity/Affinity/Who is the "us"?

Q4. Thinking of the values and lifestyles of the people of your province, which of the following geographic areas would you say [Province] has most in common with? (One only)

[Randomize List]

British Columbia	Alberta	Saskatchewan	Manitoba
--	British Columbia	British Columbia	British Columbia
Alberta	--	Alberta	Alberta
Saskatchewan	Saskatchewan	--	Saskatchewan
Manitoba	Manitoba	Manitoba	--
Ontario	Ontario	Ontario	Ontario
Washington State	Montana	Montana	Minnesota
California	Colorado	North Dakota	North Dakota

Q5. When you think of yourself and your own personal identity, would you say you yourself identify MOST as:

Province: British Columbian/Albertan/Saskatchewanian/Manitoban
 Western Canadian
 Canadian

b) And second most? [Hide or do not allow first choice]

Province: British Columbian/Albertan/Saskatchewanian/Manitoban
 Western Canadian
 Canadian

Q6. We're interested in how people feel about other parts of Canada – generally speaking.

a) The following is a list of provinces moving from west to east across the country (excluding your own province). Are there any of these other provinces that you feel are especially close or friendly towards your own province? (Select as many or as few as you wish from the list below.)

[Show those not chosen, same order]

b) And of those remaining, are there any provinces that you feel are less close or unfriendly towards your province? (Select as many or as few as you wish from the list below.)

[List this order. Hide respondent's own province.]

British Columbia

Alberta

Saskatchewan

Manitoba

Ontario

Quebec

New Brunswick

Nova Scotia

Prince Edward Island

Newfoundland and Labrador

None [Anchor, Exclusive]

Q7. When you see or hear a reference to: “Western Canada”, which provinces would you say that typically includes? Please select one from the list below.

[This order]

The four western-most provinces (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba)

The three western-most provinces (BC, Alberta and Saskatchewan – Not Manitoba)

The three prairie provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba – Not BC)

BC and Alberta Only

Something else (Specify: _____)

No idea/Can't say

[Display screen:]

Let's use that first definition and consider Western Canada or “the West” to be:

The four western provinces: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.

[Insert map of Canada highlighting the West]

Q8. Some people think that, in some important respects, the West should be thought of as a unique region in Canada. Other people do not think the West is a unique region. What do you think?

Unique

Not unique

Q9. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

[This order]

The four western provinces share a lot of common interests and priorities

The four western provinces share a lot of common ground when there are disagreements with the federal government

My own province closely shares common interests and priorities with the other western provinces

Western Canada isn't really one single unified region – these are very individual and unique provinces

Western Canada is like a different country

compared to the rest of Canada

from where I live

Strongly agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Q10. What percentage of Canada's total population do you think lives in Western Canada (again, defined as the four western-most provinces)? Please try to give your best "guesstimate" if you're not really sure.

Under 10% of Canada's total population lives in the West

10-15%

16-20%

21-25%

26-30%

31-35%

36-40%

41-45%

46-50%

Over half of Canada's total population lives in the West

No idea/Can't say

Q11. In fact, roughly 32% of Canada's population lives in western Canada today, almost 12 million people. For reference, that's roughly 3 million more people than Quebec and just over 2 million fewer than Ontario.

Given this and your own perspective on its current recognition and influence in the country as a whole, would you say western Canada today has too much, too little or about the right amount of:

Economic influence in Canada

Political power in Canada

West has too much

West has too little

About right

Canada/Confederation/the state of the nation

Let's turn our attention to the country as a whole now.

[Rotate A and B] [For second question, show those not chosen, same order]

Q12a. Are there any provinces (or regions) in Canada (perhaps including your own) that you think get an extra advantage -- that is, they get more than they give being part of Canada? (Select as many or as few as you wish from the list below.)

b) Are there any provinces or regions (perhaps including your own) that you think get a particularly raw deal -- that is, they give more than they get being part of Canada?

(Select as many or as few as you wish from the list below.)

[This order]

Western Canada

British Columbia

Alberta

Saskatchewan

Manitoba

Ontario

Quebec

Central Canada

Atlantic Canada

No, none [Exclusive]

Don't know/Can't say [Also Exclusive]

Q13. Over the past couple of years, do you think the policies of the federal government have helped your province's economy, hurt your province's economy, or have not made much difference to the overall health of your province's economy?

Helped

Hurt

No difference

Q14. In your opinion, what should western Canada be more concerned about:

[Rotate]

The West's treatment by the federal government in Ottawa

The West's treatment by the banks and big corporations in Toronto

Q15. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

[Randomize]

My province is respected by the rest of the country

My province is treated fairly by the national government

Ottawa always favours Ontario and Quebec

Ontario and Quebec have no idea about western Canada and its priorities

Canada's political system puts western Canada at a disadvantage

Western Canada complains too much

Strongly agree

Agree

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Q16a. Some people feel that, overall, the West has basically been treated fairly by the rest of Canada, while others feel that, overall, the West has been treated unfairly by the rest of Canada. How do you feel?

West has been treated fairly
West has been treated unfairly

[Those in West who said unfairly at Q16a, ask b and c: (East skips)]

Q16b. Even though you feel the West has been treated unfairly, would you say that over the past few years the treatment of the West by the rest of the country, including Ottawa, has been better, worse or has not changed?

A lot better
A little better
A little worse
A lot worse
Has not changed

Q16c. For some people, the unfair treatment of the West by the rest of Canada is only a minor nuisance which really doesn't affect their life. Others see this as a major issue which really does affect their life. Which of these two feelings is closest to your own?

Minor nuisance
Major issue

The relationship and representation

Q17. How good a job do each of the following do of promoting and defending your province's interests in Canada?

[Randomize]

The Premier of [Province]: [Name Premier]
[Programmer: See names at end of questionnaire]
Your federal Member of Parliament

Excellent job
Good
Fair
Poor job
Not sure/Can't say

Q18. How much would you say each of the major federal party leaders cares about the interests and priorities of your province?

[Randomize]

Justin Trudeau, Liberal party leader
Andrew Scheer, Conservative party leader
Jagmeet Singh, NDP leader

Cares a great deal about this province
A fair amount
A bit
Does not care at all

Q19. Thinking about your province's relationship and dealings with the federal government, which of these three overall approaches would you say your own provincial government should take:

A "soft" approach – focus on keeping a good relationship and avoiding conflict
A "firmer" approach – speak up for the province's interests even if that means disagreement
A "tough" approach – stand firm and do what it takes to defend our interests (such as refusing to participate in federal initiatives to make a point)

Q20. And how well would you say each of the following reflects and represents your province?

[Randomize]

The CBC's national programming
National programming of private networks (CTV, Global)
The Canadian Armed Forces
The federal government in Ottawa
The Supreme Court of Canada
Parliament of Canada
The RCMP

Reflects very well
Fairly well
Not very well
Reflects poorly
Not sure/Can't say

Focus on Energy/Pipelines/Carbon

Now, a few questions on the subject of oil pipelines, and specifically about recent debate regarding building new pipeline capacity for moving more Canadian oil, at a higher price, to export markets. Canada's oil pipeline capacity has not been substantially expanded for several years now and, as you may know, some recent pipeline projects have been cancelled or put on hold.

Q21a. Some people are calling the lack of new pipeline capacity a crisis. They say Canada not having better access to buyers in overseas markets is severely damaging the country's economy.

Other people say the situation is not a crisis -- this is simply a matter of some regions and the oil industry wanting their own way and blowing things out of proportion.

Do you think the lack of new oil pipeline capacity is a crisis, or not?

Yes, it's a crisis

No, not a crisis

Q22. Suppose pipeline expansions continue to be delayed and there are no new pipeline projects underway in Canada for at least a few years. What kind of impact, if any, would no new oil pipeline capacity have on:

You own province's economy

You and your household, personally

The Canadian economy as a whole

Major impact

Considerable impact

Only a little

No impact at all

Q23a. Let's focus for a moment on two different pipeline projects.

[Rotate]

The TransMountain pipeline would twin an existing pipeline running from northern Alberta to Metro Vancouver for export by oil tanker from there. The federal government bought this western pipeline earlier this year from the company who started it, and it is currently on hold pending court-ordered further review and consultation.

The Energy East pipeline would use an existing natural gas pipeline right of way to take oil from Alberta through Ontario and Quebec to a port and refinery in Saint John, New Brunswick. This eastern pipeline was actually cancelled a couple of years ago by the original company, but there has been talk about re-considering it.

What is your overall view on these two pipelines? Do you:

[Present middle two options same order as descriptions above]

Support both of these pipelines

Support TransMountain only, and oppose Energy East

Support Energy East only, and oppose TransMountain

Oppose both of these pipelines

Really don't know/Can't say

Q23b. Suppose one of these pipelines -- and only one -- goes ahead in the end. Which would be your choice? (Whether you support both pipelines or oppose both, please choose the ONE you would prefer to go ahead if you had to choose one.)

TransMountain to the BC coast

Energy East to New Brunswick

Q24. Thinking about the actions and approach to the pipeline issue taken by the federal government under Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, would you say it has been:

[This order]

Doing too little to build new pipeline capacity

Pushing too hard to build more pipeline capacity

Or, has their approach been about right overall

Q25. As you may know, there has been some vocal regional opposition to both these pipelines -- particularly from the Vancouver area in the case of TransMountain and from Quebec in the case of Energy East, with politicians and people protesting new pipeline capacity coming through their area. As far as you're concerned, should this kind of local opposition carry:

No weight at all -- local opposition should not be able to block

A little weight

A lot of weight

All the weight -- local areas should be able to veto

Q26. A related issue concerns climate change and reducing greenhouse gas emissions. As far as you're concerned, should your own province be taking active measures -- including carbon pricing and/or other measures such as incentives for fuel efficient cars or transit -- to reduce the province's greenhouse gas emissions, or not?

Yes, should take real action

No, leave this alone

Other Key Issues

Let's turn our attention to some other issues that are sometimes talked about here in Canada.

Bilingualism

Q27. In 1969 Canada became an officially bilingual country, giving all citizens the right to communicate in English or French when dealing with the federal government and its various agencies.

Overall do you feel that official bilingualism has had a positive impact on your province, a negative impact or no impact one way or another?

Positive

Negative

No impact

Q28. There's sometimes discussion about how far we should go in promoting official bilingualism. Do you support or oppose each of the following?

The established practice of having all candidates for Prime Minister be fluently bilingual

Requiring that all members of the Supreme Court of Canada be fluently bilingual

Requiring that the leaders of major federal departments and agencies be bilingual

Strongly support

Support

Oppose

Strongly oppose

Q29. Some people feel that the policy of official bilingualism has placed Western Canada at a disadvantage in terms of access to senior jobs and political positions at the federal level since it is more difficult to learn and maintain French in regions where relatively few people speak French. From your point of view, how much of an issue is this?

A major issue

A minor issue

Not an issue at all

National Institutions

Q30. Another issue that people sometimes talk about is the location of national agencies and institutions (federal departments, Crown corporations, national museums etc). In Canada, almost all of these are located in the national capital region of Ottawa, Ontario and Gatineau, Quebec.

Which of the following is closer to your own view on this:

[Rotate]

These should not all be in the capital; national institutions and agencies should be placed across the country to more closely reflect the distribution of Canada's population.

It is fine to keep the main federal institutions all centrally located in the national capital.

Politics/Options for the West

Q31. Based on what you've seen, heard or read, do you feel that the number of western Canadians who are angry about Ottawa's treatment of the West is:

Increasing
Decreasing
Or remaining the same?

Q32. In Alberta, some people have raised the idea of the province separating from Canada and becoming its own independent country. A few questions about this:

a) To what extent do you consider Alberta separatism to be a real possibility? Is this something you think:

Would never happen
Is very unlikely
Could happen
May very well happen

b) And when you think about the idea of separatist feelings and ideas growing in Alberta, what is your own personal overall reaction to this? Would you say you are generally:

Sympathetic and understand where this is coming from
Hostile and reject there would be any good grounds for this
Indifferent/Don't care one way or the other
Can't say/Don't know enough

c) Suppose separatist feelings keep gaining ground and become a full-fledged movement of western Canadian separatism.
Would you be in favour or opposed to your own province joining such a western separatist movement?

Strongly in favour
Moderately in favour
Moderately opposed
Strongly opposed

d) Suppose Western Canada as a whole ended up separating from Canada and becoming an independent country. In terms of the economy and standard of living, do you think the following would be better off or worse off if the West left Canada?

Western Canada
Your own province

Would be better off if West left Canada
Would be worse off if West left Canada
The same/Mixed
Not sure/Can't say

Q33. Suppose a separatist movement started to gain a lot of strength in Alberta and elsewhere in western Canada, and there was growing support there for that region to leave Canada and become its own country. What kind of approach do you think the federal government and the rest of Canada should take to respond to that?

A "soft" approach – focus on keeping a good relationship and avoiding conflict
A "firmer" approach – speak up for the rest of Canada's interests even if that means disagreement
A "tough" approach – stand firm and do what it takes to defend our interests (such as, insisting on top dollar re-imbursement for national infrastructure, and continued royalty payments for industries Canada has supported, etc)

Q34. Some people say the only way for a province to really get their issues heard in Canada is to do what Quebec did and threaten to separate.

Others say that Canadian federalism is adaptable enough that other provinces don't need to threaten the unity of the country to get their issues heard.

Which of those views is closer to your own? (Even if neither is exactly how you feel.)

Only way to be heard is to threaten separation
Don't need to threaten that to be heard

Values/Attitudes

We are almost at the end of the survey now.

Q35. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

[Randomize]

[Rows]

(T) It seems like the values and ideals I care about most are losing ground
 (T) I generally trust the government to act in the best interests of the people
 (T) Religion is very important in my day-to-day life
 Canada should welcome new immigrants from around the world
 (T-m) Canada should expand policies aimed at improving the situation for Indigenous Canadians
 We should be placing more emphasis on a system that rewards hard work and initiative rather than social support programs
 There's too much government regulation of the economy – we need more free enterprise
 (T-m) Overall, Canada's policies should emphasize environmental protection over economic growth
 (T-m) The federal government should be more involved in areas such as health and higher education
 (T-m) Canada's oil industry is more of an environmental liability than an economic asset

[Columns]

Strongly agree
 Agree
 Disagree
 Strongly disagree

Some profile info

A few final questions as we wrap up the survey.

QD1. We've been talking lots about Canada today. Please indicate which Canadian provinces:

- a) You yourself have lived in
 - b) You have family or close friends living there
- (Select as many or as few as apply in each case.)

BC
 Alberta
 Saskatchewan
 Manitoba
 Ontario
 Quebec
 New Brunswick
 Nova Scotia
 PEI
 Newfoundland and Labrador

Have lived there yourself
 Have family/close friends there

QD2. Where were you born?

Current province

[Elsewhere in] Western Canada (any of the four western-most provinces)

[Elsewhere in] Central/Eastern Canada (Ontario, Quebec, any of the Atlantic provinces)

Outside of Canada

QD3a. How long have you lived in western Canada?

All your life

Since childhood/youth

All your adult life

Moved here as an adult

[If moved west as an adult:]

QD3b. And how many years have you lived in western Canada?

Less than 5

5 to 10

11 to 20

20 to 30

30 or more years

Politics

QD4a) If a provincial election were held tomorrow here in [Province], which party's candidate would you yourself be most likely to support?

[Party List – tailored to province. Alphabetical order so no randomizing needed. Followed by:]

Other Party

Undecided/Don't know

Rather Not Say

None/Would not vote

[If Undecided/Don't know at QD4a:]

QD4b) A lot of people aren't sure at this point which party they would support, but is there nevertheless a provincial party here that you are *leaning* towards?

Same list as QD4a

QD5. Thinking back to the last provincial election held here in [Province] in [Month of Year], which party's candidate did you support in that election?

[Same tailored alpha party list -- except Alberta, ending with:]

Other Party

I did not vote
 Not sure/Can't say
 Rather Not Say

QD6a). Turning to federal politics for a moment.....If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party's candidate would you yourself be most likely to support?

[Randomize first 3 parties – others fixed]

Conservative Party
 Liberal Party
 New Democratic Party (NDP)
 Bloc Québécois [Quebec Only]
 Green Party
 Other party
 Undecided/Don't know
 Rather not say
 Would not vote

[If Undecided/Don't know]

QD6b) We've noticed you did not select a party. Is there a federal party you are currently *leaning* towards?

[Same list, same order]

QD6c) Suppose a Western Canada Party was formed with the overall objective of promoting and defending the interests of western Canada. If there was such a party running candidates in the next federal election, which party's candidate would you then be most likely to support?

[Same list, same order as Q6a/b– but with this as the first choice:]

Western Canada Party