

**Campaign '19: Battle on the Left**  
**October 8 – 10, 2019**

This survey is about some issues concerning Canada and [ROC: your province/QC: Quebec] today. As always, there are no right or wrong answers, we just want to get everyone's different views.

Q1. As you may have heard, a general election will be held in Canada this month. We'd like to know which issues you care about the most during this campaign so far. From this list below, please select up to 2 that are most important to you personally.

[RANDOMIZE]

Job opportunities in my community  
Management of the federal deficit  
Improving health care access  
The amount of taxes I pay  
Immigration policy  
Access to affordable housing  
Upholding the rights of religious groups in Canada  
Natural resource and energy policy  
Protecting the rights of LGBTQ2 Canadians  
Canada's role on the international stage  
Improving living conditions for Canada's First Nations  
Climate change  
Transparency and honesty in the federal government  
Other [specify]: FIXED

QL2. What is your overall impression of each of the following party leaders?

[ROWS] [RANDOMIZE first 3 only/4 in QC, Rest are fixed]

Conservative Party leader Andrew Scheer  
Liberal leader Justin Trudeau  
New Democratic Party/NDP leader Jagmeet Singh  
Bloc Québécois leader Yves-François Blanchet [QC only]  
Green Party leader Elizabeth May FIXED  
People's Party of Canada leader Maxime Bernier FIXED

[COLUMNS]

Very favourable  
Favourable  
Unfavourable  
Very unfavourable  
Not sure/can't say

Q2. Based on how you feel right now, how certain are you about which party's candidate you will support in this upcoming federal election? Would you say you are...?

Absolutely certain of who you will support – no way you could change your mind

Fairly certain – You feel like you've made up your mind

Less certain – You could change your mind

Not certain at all – You have no idea who you'll support

Q3. In this upcoming federal election, which party's candidate will you be most likely to support?

[SINGLE CHOICE] [RANDOMIZE first 3 only/4 in QC, Rest are fixed]

Conservative Party of Canada

Liberal Party of Canada

New Democratic Party (NDP) of Canada

Bloc Quebecois (BQ) [QC Only]

Green Party

People's Party of Canada

Other Party/Independent

Undecided /Don't know

Rather not say

Will not vote

[Ask all Undecided/Rather not say:]

Q4. We've noticed you did not select a party. Is there a party you are currently *leaning* towards?

[SINGLE CHOICE] [SAME ORDER AS Q3]

Conservative Party

Liberal Party

New Democratic Party (NDP)

Bloc Quebecois (BQ) [QC Only]

Green Party

People's Party of Canada

Other Party/Independent

Undecided /Don't know

Rather not say

Will not vote

[If party named at Q3/4, ask:]

Q5a. Suppose for some reason you could not support the [PIPE IN PARTY SELECTED]. In that case, which party would be your second choice?

[SINGLE CHOICE] [SAME ORDER AS Q3/Q4, MINUS PARTY SELECTED]

Conservative Party

Liberal Party

New Democratic Party (NDP)

Bloc Quebecois (BQ) [QC Only]

Green Party

People's Party of Canada

Other Party/Independent

No second choice party

[If no second choice party named at Q5a:]

Q5b. Suppose you had to pick a party that would be your second choice in this election. Which party would that be?

[SINGLE CHOICE] [SAME ORDER AS Q3/Q4, MINUS PARTY SELECTED]

Conservative Party

Liberal Party

New Democratic Party (NDP)

Bloc Quebecois (BQ) [QC Only]

Green Party

People's Party of Canada

Other Party/Independent

Really can't say/No second choice

[Ask everyone:]

Q5c. Is there any party you feel you absolutely could NOT support in this election? (Select up to two).

[Same order] [HIDE PARTY OR PARTIES SELECTED AT Q3-Q5b]

Conservative Party

Liberal Party

New Democratic Party (NDP)

Bloc Quebecois (BQ) [QC Only]

Green Party

People's Party of Canada

No, could support any party

Q6. Do you approve or disapprove of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau?

- Strongly approve
- Approve
- Disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Not sure/Can't say

Q8. And, which of these leaders would make the best Prime Minister of Canada?

ROTATE

- Andrew Scheer
- Justin Trudeau

Q9a. Since the election campaign started a few weeks ago, would you say your opinion of each of the following has improved, worsened or stayed the same?

[ROWS] [RANDOMIZE first 3 only/4 in QC, Rest are fixed]

- The Liberal Party of Canada led by Justin Trudeau
- The Conservative Party of Canada led by Andrew Scheer
- The New Democratic Party (NDP) led by Jagmeet Singh
- The Bloc Québécois led by Yves-Francois Blanchet [QC only]
- The Green Party led by Elizabeth May
- The People's Party of Canada led by Maxime Bernier

[COLUMNS]

- Improved
- Stayed the same
- Worsened

Q9b. The federal election is this month. Do you know what the actual election date is?

- October 15<sup>th</sup>
- October 21<sup>st</sup>
- October 28<sup>th</sup>
- Some other date (Specify: \_\_\_\_\_)
- No, don't know the exact date

[Separate Screen]

Just to confirm, the official election date is Monday, the 21<sup>st</sup> of October.

Q9c. How closely have you been following this federal election campaign so far?

Following it in the news, and discussing it with friends and family

Seeing some media coverage, and having the odd conversation about it

Just scanning the headlines

Haven't seen or heard anything about it

[Ask all who chose a named party at Q3or Q4]

QB1. You indicated you plan to support (or are leaning towards) the [PIPE IN PARTY SELECTED at Q3/4].

Would you say you support that party mostly because:

[This Order]

You really like that party and what it stands for

You dislike another party even more and want to stop them from winning

[Ask all who chose a named party at Q3or Q4]

QB2. Suppose in your own riding, it looks like a candidate or party you really don't like is going to win that seat. In that case, how likely is it that you would consider shifting your own support towards another candidate who may not be your first choice but has a better chance of beating that candidate you don't like? Is this something you yourself:

Would not do, you'd stick with your first choice no matter what

Would probably not do

Would consider doing

Would definitely do – it's worth it to try to block the one you don't like

[ASK SOFT NON-LIB VOTERS OPEN TO LIBS: Those who are NOT "absolutely certain" at Q2, AND who named the Liberals as their second choice party at Q5a/b]

QB3. A lot of people wait until just before the election to finally make up their mind who they will actually support in the voting booth. Based on how you feel right now, what do you think is the likelihood that you will ultimately end up voting for the Liberal Party's candidate in this election? Is it:

[Columns]

Very likely you could end up voting for the Liberals

Somewhat likely

Not very likely

No way you will end up voting Liberal in this election

QB4 Section: UNDECIDED/RATHER NOT SAY AT Q4

QB4a. You indicated you are undecided and can't say which party you would support at this point in this election. Would you say you feel this way because you are:

Torn deciding between two parties  
Truly undecided/Can't make up your mind

[If torn between two parties at B4a:]

QB4b. Which two parties are you torn between? (Select two from the list below)

[Same order as Q3]

Conservative Party  
Liberal Party  
New Democratic Party (NDP)  
Bloc Quebecois (BQ) [QC Only]  
Green Party  
People's Party of Canada  
Other Party/Independent  
Don't know/Can't say

QB4c. Based on how you feel right now, what do you think is the likelihood that you will ultimately end up voting for the Liberal Party's candidate in this election? Is it:

Very likely you could end up voting for the Liberals  
Somewhat likely  
Not very likely  
No way you will end up voting Liberal in this election

Ask everyone:

QB5. Looking at the possible outcomes of this federal election, there are four scenarios which are most likely -- each of the two main parties has a chance of winning a majority or a minority of seats in the next Parliament.

Which of these four possible outcomes would you yourself most prefer? (even if you'd prefer a less likely scenario of one of the other parties winning, please choose from these four.)

[This order]

Liberal – majority  
Liberal – minority  
Conservative – majority  
Conservative – minority

[TEXT] Now, just a few more questions about politics and the political scene.

[ASK ALL]

QF1. How likely is it that you will actually go out and vote in this federal election? Are you:

Absolutely certain you will go out and vote

Quite sure you will vote

Will vote if you remember

Will probably not end up voting

QF2. Thinking about past elections, which of the following best describes your own personal voting habits?

[SINGLE RESPONSE] [THIS ORDER]

I vote in every election (federal, provincial, and municipal)

I vote in most elections (three of the last four elections)

I vote in some elections (two of the last four elections)

I rarely vote (one of the last four elections)

I never vote

Q10. How about in the last Canadian federal election which was held back in October 2015 -- that's when Justin Trudeau and the Liberals first got elected, defeating Stephen Harper's Conservative government and the opposition NDP led by Thomas Mulcair. [QC Only: and Gilles Duceppe had come back to lead the Bloc.]

To the best of your recollection, did you actually go out and vote in that 2015 federal election?

Yes, definitely voted

Probably voted

Maybe not/Can't recall

No, did not vote in that election

[ASK ONLY Voters: (Top 3 boxes at previous Q10)]

Q11. And which party's candidate did you support in that 2015 Canadian federal election?

[Present first 3 parties/4 in QC in same order as earlier politics questions]

Conservative

Liberal

NDP/New Democrat

Bloc Quebecois [QC Only]

Green Party

Some other party  
Can't recall/not sure  
Prefer not to say

[TEXT]

Finally, let's turn our attention for a moment now to the provincial political scene here in [Province].

QZ6. If a provincial election were held tomorrow here in [Province], which party's candidate would you yourself be most likely to support?

[Party List below – 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 previous QZ6:]

QZ7. 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 previous Q



QZ8. 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?

[Tailored alpha party list with leader names]

Other Party

I did not vote

Not sure/Can't say

Rather Not Say

List of Provincial Parties for QZ6/Z7. Add party leader names for QZ8-- see below.

BC:

BC Liberal Party

BC New Democratic Party (NDP)

BC Green Party

AB:

Alberta New Democratic Party (NDP)

United Conservative Party

Alberta Liberal Party

Alberta Party

SK:

Saskatchewan Party

Saskatchewan New Democratic Party

Saskatchewan Liberal Party

Saskatchewan Green Party

Progressive Conservative Party of Saskatchewan

MB:

Progressive Conservative Party of Manitoba

New Democratic Party of Manitoba (NDP)

Manitoba Liberal Party

Green Party of Manitoba

ON:

Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario

Ontario New Democratic Party

Ontario Liberal Party

Green Party of Ontario

QC:

Coalition Avenir Québec  
Quebec Liberal Party  
Parti Québécois  
Coalition Avenir Québec  
Québec Solidaire

NB:

Liberal Party of New Brunswick  
Progressive Conservative Party of New Brunswick  
Green Party of New Brunswick  
People's Alliance of New Brunswick  
New Democratic Party of New Brunswick

NS:

Nova Scotia Liberal Party  
Progressive Conservative Association of Nova Scotia  
Nova Scotia New Democratic Party (NDP)  
Green Party of Nova Scotia

PEI:

Liberal Party of Prince Edward Island  
Progressive Conservative Party of Prince Edward Island  
Green Party of Prince Edward Island  
New Democratic Party of Prince Edward Island

NFLD:

Liberal Party of Newfoundland and Labrador  
Progressive Conservative Party of Newfoundland and Labrador  
Newfoundland and Labrador New Democratic Party (NDP)

Last Provincial Elections for QD10:

BC: May 2017  
AB: April 2019  
SK: April 2016  
MB: September 2019  
ON: June 2018  
QC: October 2018  
PEI: April 2019  
NFLD: May 2019  
NS: May 2017

NB: September 2018

List of Provincial Parties w/ party leader names for QD3.

BC:

BC Liberal Party led by Christy Clark  
BC New Democratic Party (NDP) led by John Horgan  
BC Green Party led by Andrew Weaver

AB:

Alberta New Democratic Party (NDP) led by Rachel Notley  
United Conservative Party led by Jason Kenney  
Alberta Liberal Party led by David Khan  
Alberta Party led by Stephen Mandel

SK:

Saskatchewan Party led by Brad Wall  
Saskatchewan New Democratic Party led by Cam Broten  
Saskatchewan Liberal Party led by Darrin Lamoureux  
Saskatchewan Green Party led by Victor Lau  
Progressive Conservative Party of Saskatchewan led by Rick Swenson

MB:

Progressive Conservative Party of Manitoba led by Brian Pallister  
New Democratic Party of Manitoba (NDP) led by Wab Kinew  
Manitoba Liberal Party led by Dougald Lamont  
Green Party of Manitoba led by James Beddome

ON:

Progressive Conservative Party of Ontario led by Doug Ford  
Ontario New Democratic Party led by Andrea Horwath  
Ontario Liberal Party led by Kathleen Wynne  
Green Party of Ontario led by Mike Schreiner

QC:

Coalition Avenir Québec led by François Legault  
Quebec Liberal Party led by Philippe Couillard  
Parti Québécois led by Jean-François Lisée  
Québec Solidaire led by Manon Massé and Gabriel Nadeau-Dubois

NB:

Liberal Party of New Brunswick led by Brian Gallant  
Progressive Conservative Party of New Brunswick led by Brian Higgs  
Green Party of New Brunswick led by David Coon  
People's Alliance of New Brunswick led by Kris Austin  
New Democratic Party of New Brunswick led by Jennifer McKenzie

NS:

Nova Scotia Liberal Party led by Stephen McNeil  
Progressive Conservative Association of Nova Scotia led by Jamie Baillie  
Nova Scotia New Democratic Party (NDP) led by Gary Burrill  
Green Party of Nova Scotia led by Thomas Trappenberg

PEI:

Liberal Party of Prince Edward Island led by Wade MacLauchlan  
Progressive Conservative Party of Prince Edward Island led by Dennis King  
Green Party of Prince Edward Island led by Peter Bevan-Baker  
New Democratic Party of Prince Edward Island led by Joe Byrne

NFLD:

Liberal Party of Newfoundland and Labrador led by Dwight Ball  
Progressive Conservative Party of Newfoundland and Labrador led by Ches Crosbie  
Newfoundland and Labrador New Democratic Party (NDP) led by Alison Coffin