

Appendix

Description of 2015 Abacus Survey Variables

Impressions of Party Leaders: Respondents were asked “Do you have a positive or a negative impression of the following people?” The people were: “Prime Minister Stephen Harper,” “Liberal Leader Justin Trudeau,” “NDP Leader Thomas Mulcair,” “Green Leader Elizabeth May,” “BQ Leader Gilles Duceppe.” For purposes of the multivariate analysis, the response categories were coded: “very positive” = 5, “mostly positive” = 4, “neutral/don’t know” = 3, “mostly negative” = 2, “very negative” = 1.

Prime Minister Harper’s Handling the Economy: Respondents were asked: “Has the Federal Government led by Stephen Harper done a very good job, a good job, a poor job, or a very poor job managing the economy?”

Most Important Issue: Respondents were asked an open-ended question: “As far as you’re concerned, what is the SINGLE MOST important issue facing the country at the present time?” Answers were coded by the survey firm (Abacus).

Party Best Able to Handle Most Important Issue: The question was: “Which party is best able to handle this issue? For purposes of the multivariate analysis responses were coded into 0-1 dummy variables, e.g., CPC = 1, other party = 0, with “no party” and “don’t know” as the reference category.

Party Identification: “The question was: Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Conservative, Liberal, NDP, or what? For the multivariate analysis responses were coded into 0-1 dummy variables, e.g., CPC = 1, other party = 0, with “no party” and “don’t know” as the reference category.

State of the Economy: Respondents were asked: “How would you rate the current state of the economy in Canada?” For the multivariate analysis response categories were scored: “very good=4,” “good=3,” “bad=2,” “very bad=1.”

Cultural Issues: Niqab: Some people believe that anyone taking the oath of Canadian citizenship should be required to have their face uncovered during the ceremony. Others believe that if some women, for religious reasons, choose to wear a face covering such as a niqab, they should be allowed to wear it during the ceremony. Which point of view is closer to yours? (1) “Anyone taking the oath of Canadian citizenship should be required to have their face uncovered during the ceremony;” (2) “If some women, for religious reasons, choose to wear a face covering such as a niqab, they should be allowed to wear it during the ceremony.” Which would be your personal preference in terms of how this is handled? (1) “Women should be allowed to wear a face covering during the public ceremony and prove their identity to a citizenship officer before the ceremony begins,” (2) “Women should be allowed to wear a face covering during the ceremony and should not be required to remove it to prove their identity before the ceremony,” (3) “Women should not be allowed to wear a face covering during the ceremony regardless of whether

their identity has already been established.” The latter 3 response categories are scored 2, 1 and 3 respectively for purposes of the multivariate analysis.

Minority Cultures: The question was: “Some people say that we should do more to help minorities keep their culture. Others say that the priority should be on Canadian culture and tradition. Should the federal government: (1) “do more to help minorities keep their culture,” (2) “priority should be on Canadian culture and tradition,” (3) “Keep the balance as it is now.” For the multivariate analyses, these three categories were scored: 1, 3 and 2, respectively. *Refugees:* The question was: How many refugees do you think Canada should take in? Response categories are: (1) “a lot more than now,” (2) “about the same as now,” (3) “a lot less than now.” For the multivariate analysis, these three categories are scores 1, 2, and 3, respectively.

An overall cultural issues index is created by added the scores for the three variables.

Ideological Orientation: Respondents were asked: Do you consider yourself to be on the right, the centre right, the centre, the centre left, or the left of the political spectrum? For the multivariate analysis response categories are scored: “left” = 1, “centre left” = 2, “center” = 3, “center right” = 4, “right” = 5.

Socio-Demographics: *Age:* age in years, with missing data recoded to the mean value; *Education:* a five-category ordinal scale variable ranging from less than high school = 1 to graduate school or higher =5, with missing data recoded to the median; *Gender:* a 0-1 dummy variable, with men scored 1 and women, 0; *Income:* a five-category ordinal variable ranging from \$35,000 or less per year (scored 1) to \$100,000 or more (scored 5), with missing data are recoded to the median; *Region-Ethnicity:* a series of 0-1 dummy variables: Atlantic (Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick), Quebec-Francophone, Quebec-non-Francophone, Prairies (Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta), British Columbia. Ontario is the reference category.

Voting Behavior: Respondents were asked if they would vote/had voted in the 2015 federal election and, if so, which party they chose. For the multivariate analysis, those supporting the Liberals are scored 1 and those supporting another party are scored 0. Non-voters are not included in the analysis.