# 2019 Election Breaking Issues





### Methodology



This is the second release on the results of an online survey conducted between September 20<sup>th</sup> and September 25<sup>th</sup>, 2019.

This online survey of 2,303 adult Canadians was conducted using INNOVATIVE's Canada 20/20 national research panel with additional respondents from Lucid, a leading provider of online sample. The results are weighted to n=2,000 based on Census data from Statistics Canada.

Respondents from the Canada 20/20 Panel and the Lucid constituent panels are recruited from a wide variety of sources to reflect the age, gender, region, and language characteristics of the country as a whole. Each survey is administered to a series of randomly selected samples from the panel and weighted to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual Canadian population according to Census data to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample.

INNOVATIVE provides each panellist with a unique URL via an email invitation so that only invited panel members are able to complete the survey, and panel members can only complete a particular survey once. Sub-regional quotas are set within regions to ensure there is a representative sample of respondents from across the entire region.

A total of 242 panelists started but did not finish the survey and another 1 panelists were screened out for exceeding age/gender/region quotas.

**Confidence:** This is a representative sample. However, since the online survey was not a random probability based sample, a margin of error cannot be calculated. Statements about margins of sampling error or population estimates do not apply to most online panels.

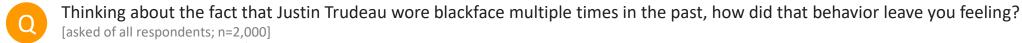
**Weighting:** Results for Canada are weighted by age, gender, and region to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual population according to Census data; in order to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample. Weighted and unweighted frequencies are reported in the table.

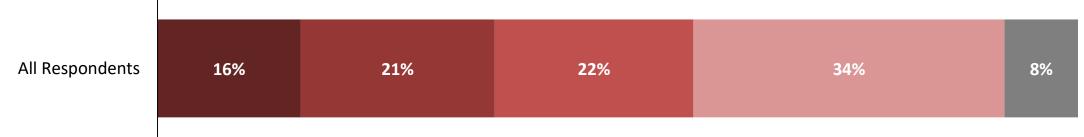
	Unweighted (n)	Unweighted (%)	Weighted (n)	Weighted (%)
Males 18-34	187	8.1%	275	13.8%
Males 35-54	312	13.6%	334	16.7%
Males 55+	702	30.5%	362	18.1%
Females 18-34	250	10.9%	272	13.6%
Females 35-54	360	15.6%	347	17.4%
Females 55+	491	21.3%	409	20.4%
ВС	429	18.6%	272	13.6%
Alberta	314	13.6%	227	11.4%
Prairies	150	6.5%	133	6.7%
Ontario	907	39.4%	764	38.2%
Quebec	370	16.1%	467	23.4%
Atlantic	132	5.7%	136	6.8%

### Key Findings

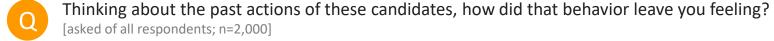
### **Anger:** 43% of respondents are at least somewhat angry about the past actions of Conservative candidates

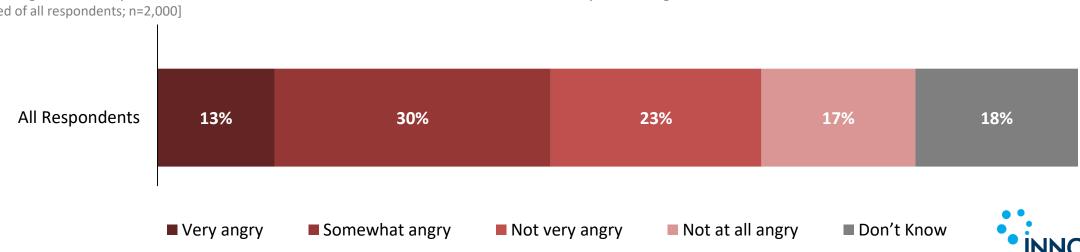
#### **Black and Brownface**





#### **Conservative Candidates**

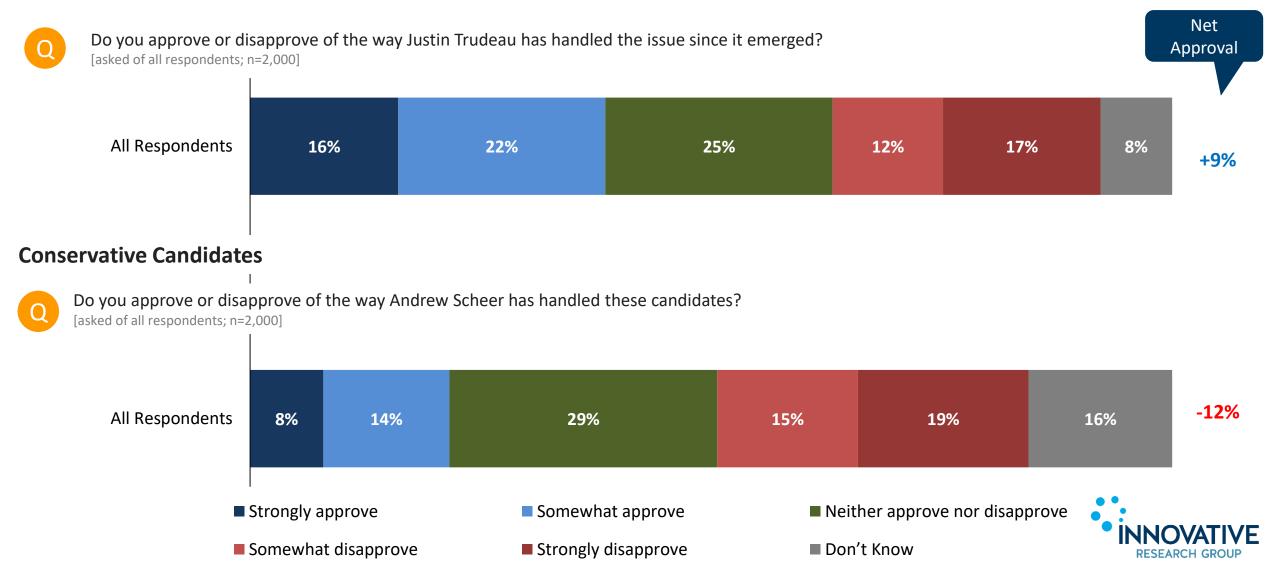






## **Leader's Reaction:** Nearly 40% approve of the way Trudeau handled the controversy, compared to only 22% who approved of Scheer's reaction

#### **Black and Brownface**



### **Framing:** A majority (52%) say that Trudeau's past behavior does not reflect who he is today

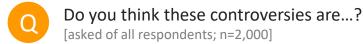
#### **Black and Brownface**





- This behavior happened in the past and does not reflect who Trudeau is today
- This behavior and the way he has handled the issue are signs of deeper problems with Trudeau and the Liberal government
- Don't Know

#### **Conservative Candidates**





- Unique problems that are unlikely to be repeated
- A symptom of deeper problems in the Conservative party
- Don't Know



### **Beliefs:** Impact of SNC-Lavalin on Trudeau's brand drops back down, but still more agree than disagree

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? The way Jody Wilson-Raybould was treated by the Prime Minister proves he isn't really committed to progressive change for women and indigenous Canadians. Net [asked of all respondents; n=2,000] **Agreement** Sep '19 W2 23% 18% 21% 11% 13% 14% +16% Sep '19 W1 23% 20% 23% 9% 10% 16% +24% Apr '19 24% 17% 19% 11% 16% 13% +14% Feb '19 22% 17% 22% 11% 12% 15% +17% ■ Strongly agree Somewhat agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Don't know Somewhat disagree ■ Strongly disagree

## **Trudeau's Favourability among Liberals Partisans:** Trudeau's favourability is down most among those experiencing discrimination

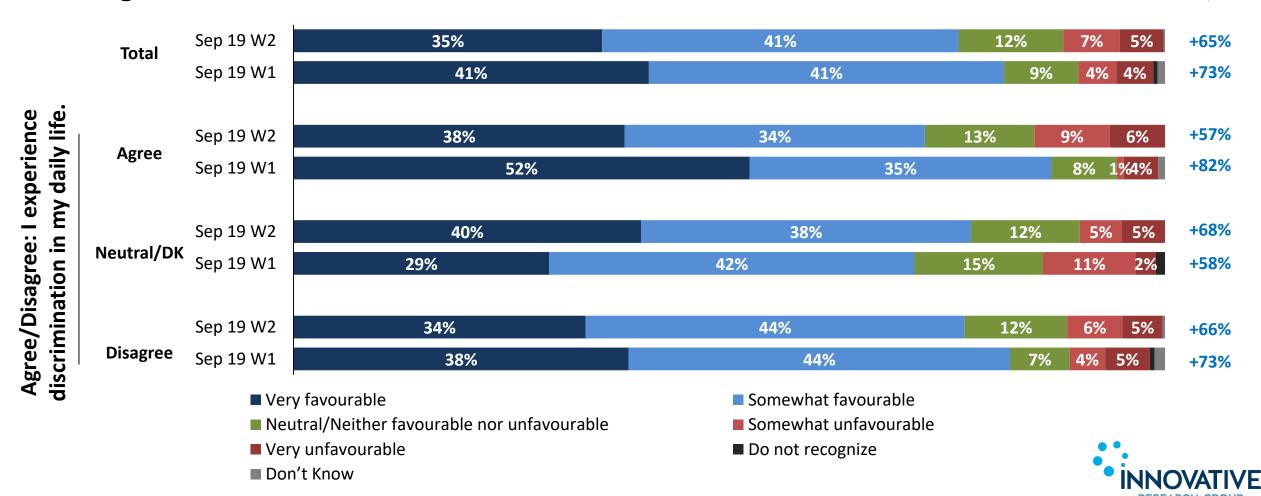


Trudeau's Favourability by: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I experience discrimination in my daily life.

[showing only Liberal partisans; n=558]

**Net Favourability** 

#### **Among Liberal Partisans:**

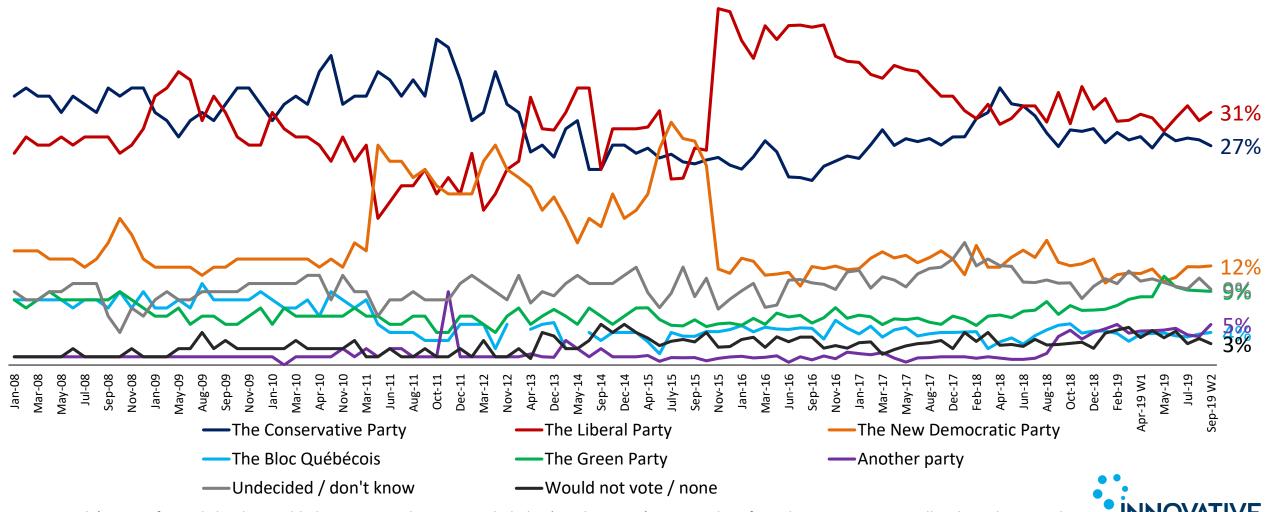


### Federal Vote

## **Combined Federal Vote:** Liberals (31%) and Conservatives (27%) steady since early September

Q

If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly? [VOTE + LEAN] [asked of all respondents; n=2,000]

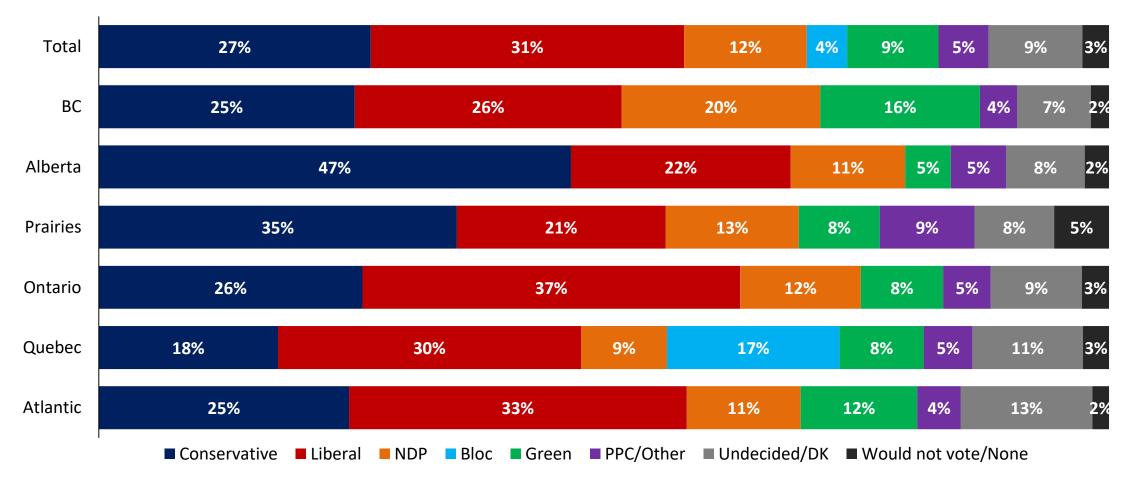


**Note:** People's Party of Canada has been added since September 2018, included in 'Another party'. Vote numbers from this survey were initially released separately on September 25<sup>th</sup>.

## Combined Federal Vote by Region: Liberals hold a large lead in Ontario and Quebec, while the CPC leads in Alberta and the Prairies



If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly? [VOTE + LEAN] [asked of all respondents; n=2,000]

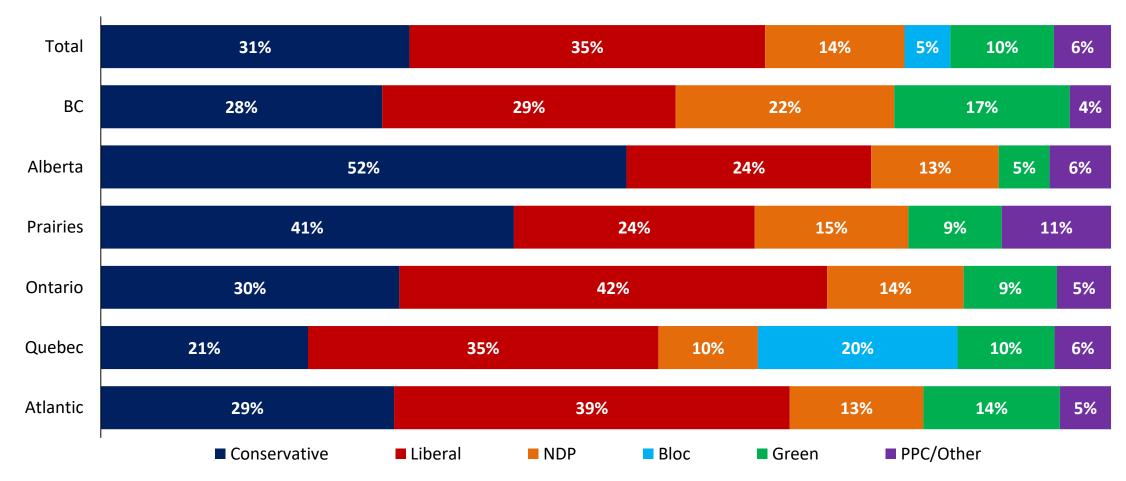




### **Decided Federal Vote by Region:** The Liberals hold substantial leads in 12 Ontario and Quebec, while the CPC leads in Alberta and the Prairies



If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly? [DECIDED] [showing only decided voters; n=1,761]

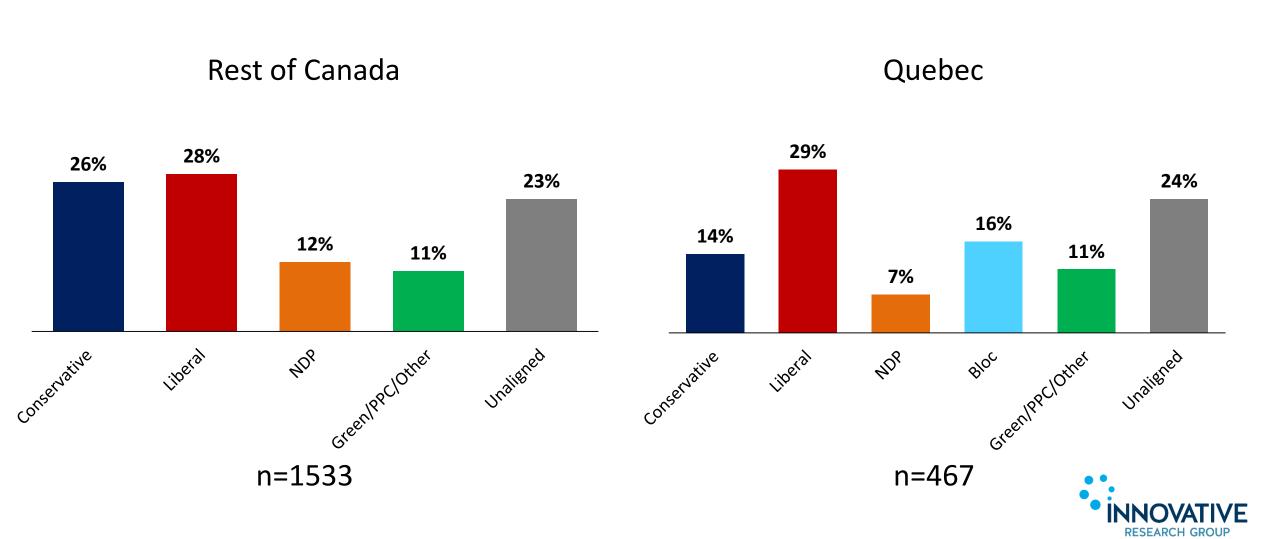




### Party ID

### of Quebec, but in Quebec the Liberals have a wide lead

Thinking about politics in Canada, generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a... [asked of all respondents; n=2,000]

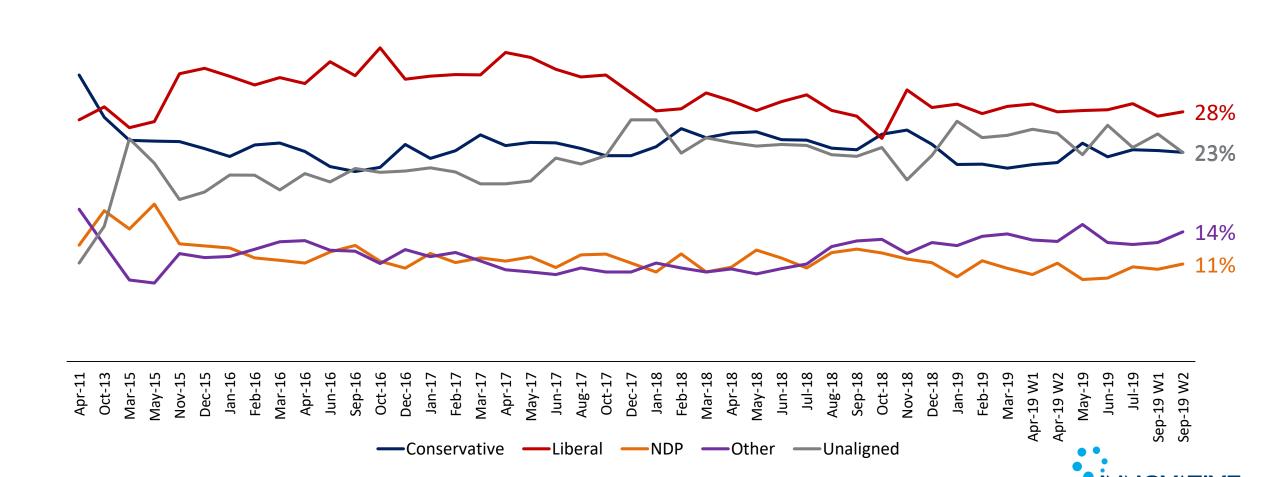


### **Federal Party ID:** The Liberals (28%) lead on ID over the Conservatives (23%); 23% are unaligned



Thinking about politics in Canada, generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...

[asked of all respondents; n=2,000]



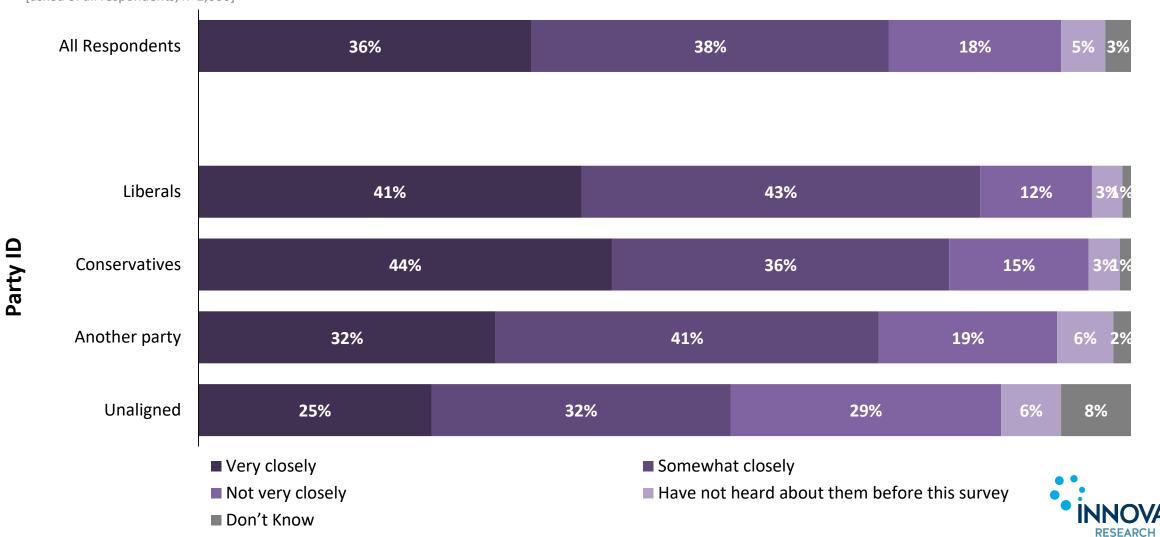
### The Blackface Photos

### **Awareness:** Strong majority have been following the issue closely; Liberal and CPC identifiers are most aware of the issue



How closely have you been following news about the photos of Justin Trudeau in blackface and brownface makeup that have emerged, and Trudeau's apology for his actions?

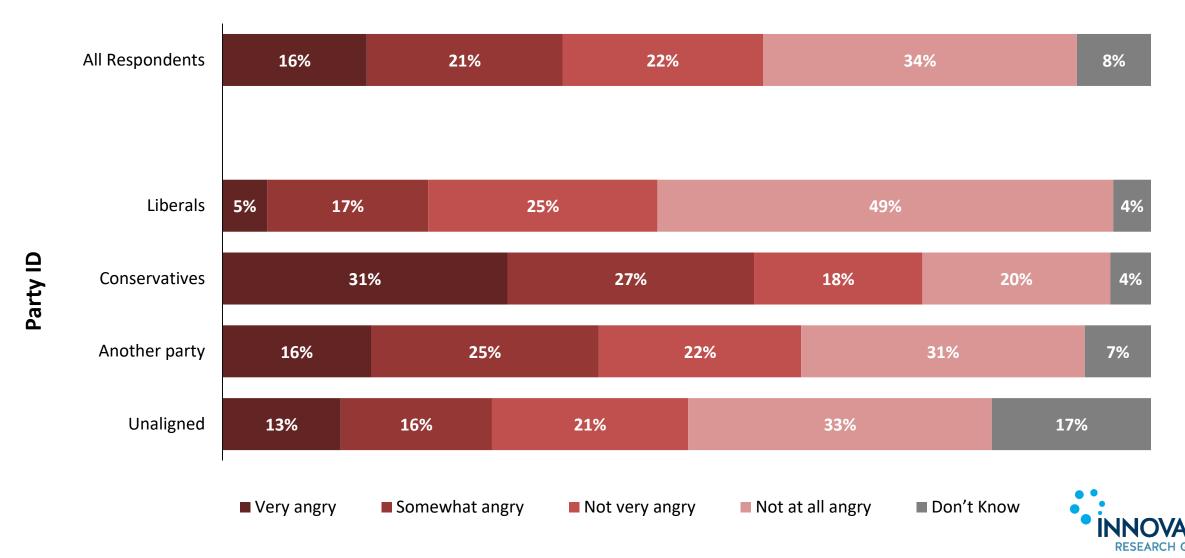




### **Reaction:** Nearly 4-in-10 (37%) angry about the blackface controversy; <sup>18</sup> majority of unaligned are not angry about Trudeau's behavior



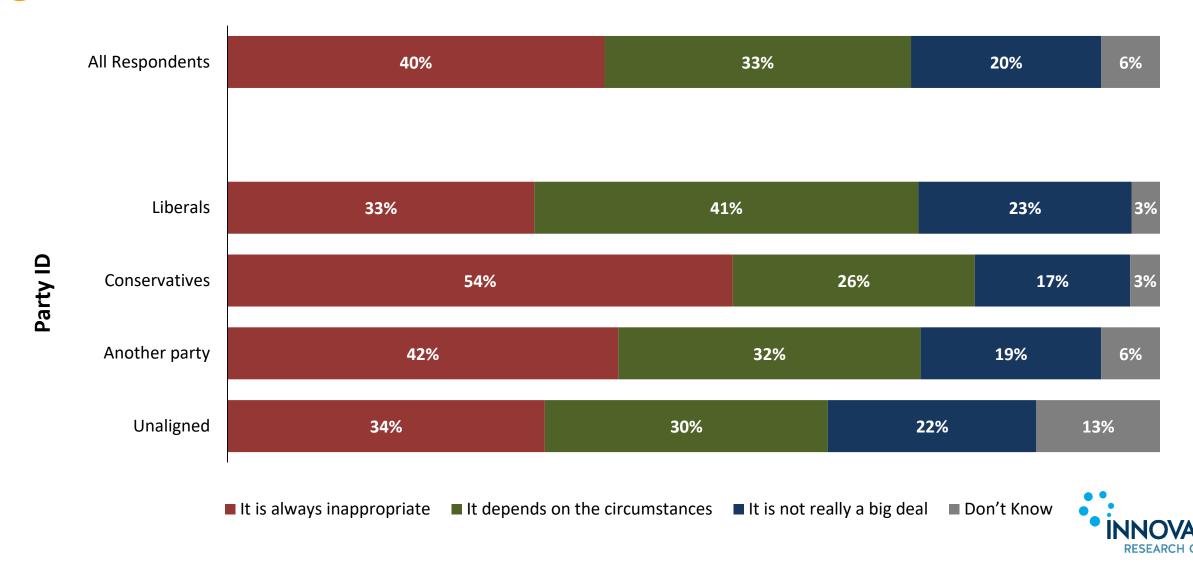
Thinking about the fact that Justin Trudeau wore blackface multiple times in the past, how did that behavior leave you feeling? [asked of all respondents; n=2,000]



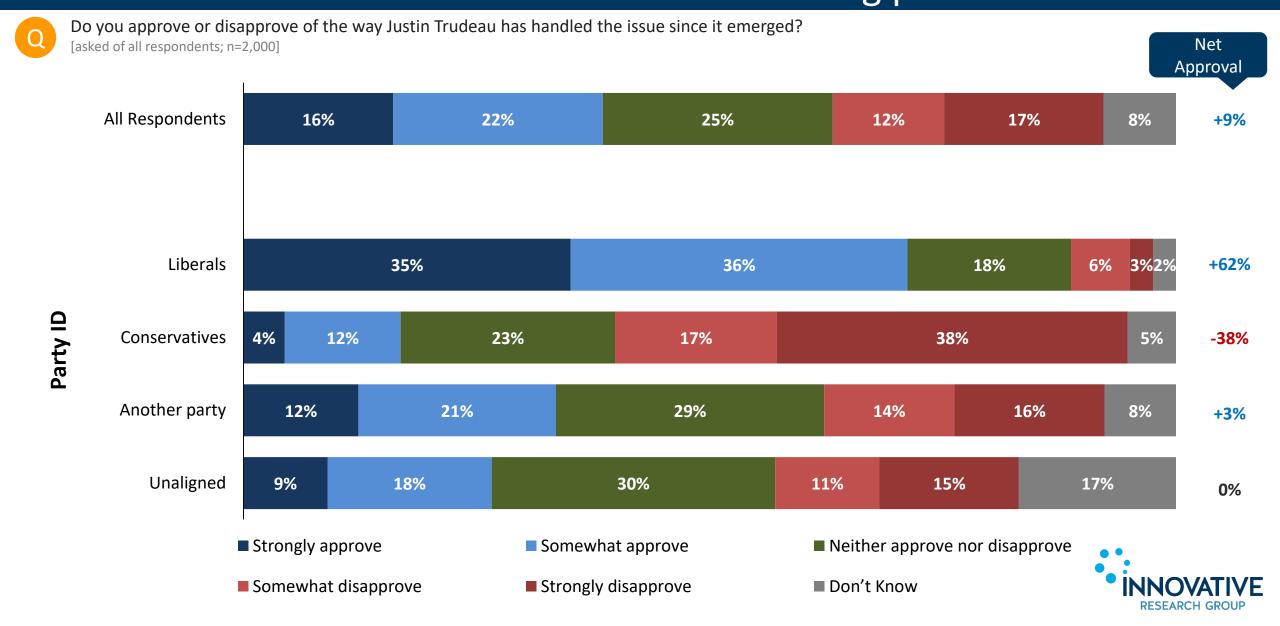
## Blackface: 4-in-10 (40%) say blackface "is always inappropriate", Liberals least likely to say the same

Q

Thinking about blackface generally, which of the following comes closest to your point of view? [asked of all respondents; n=2,000]



### **Trudeau's Reaction:** Overall, respondents narrowly approve of how Trudeau has handled the issue with division along partisan lines

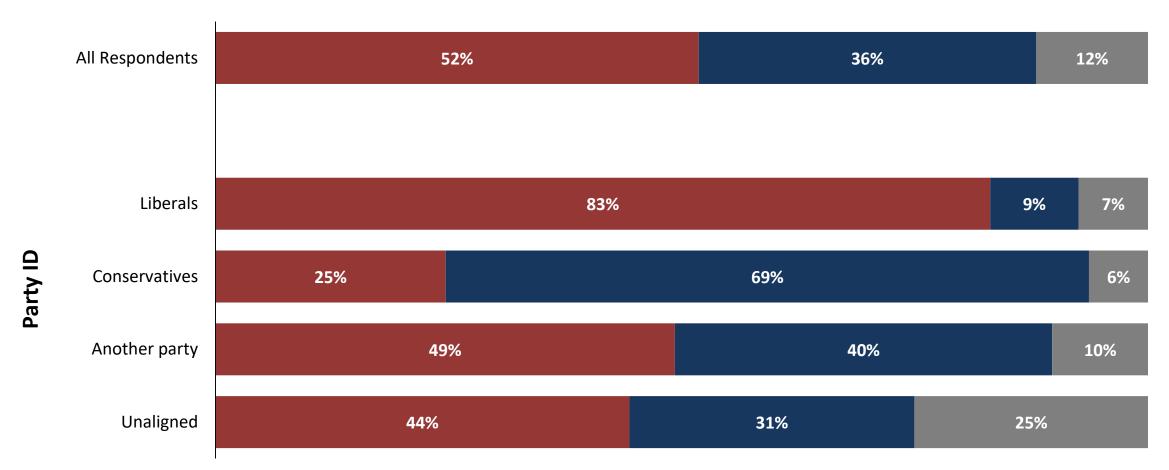


### **Framing:** Majority (and 83% of LPC) agree 'this behavior happened in the past and does not reflect who Trudeau is today'

Q

Which of the following comes closest to your point of view?

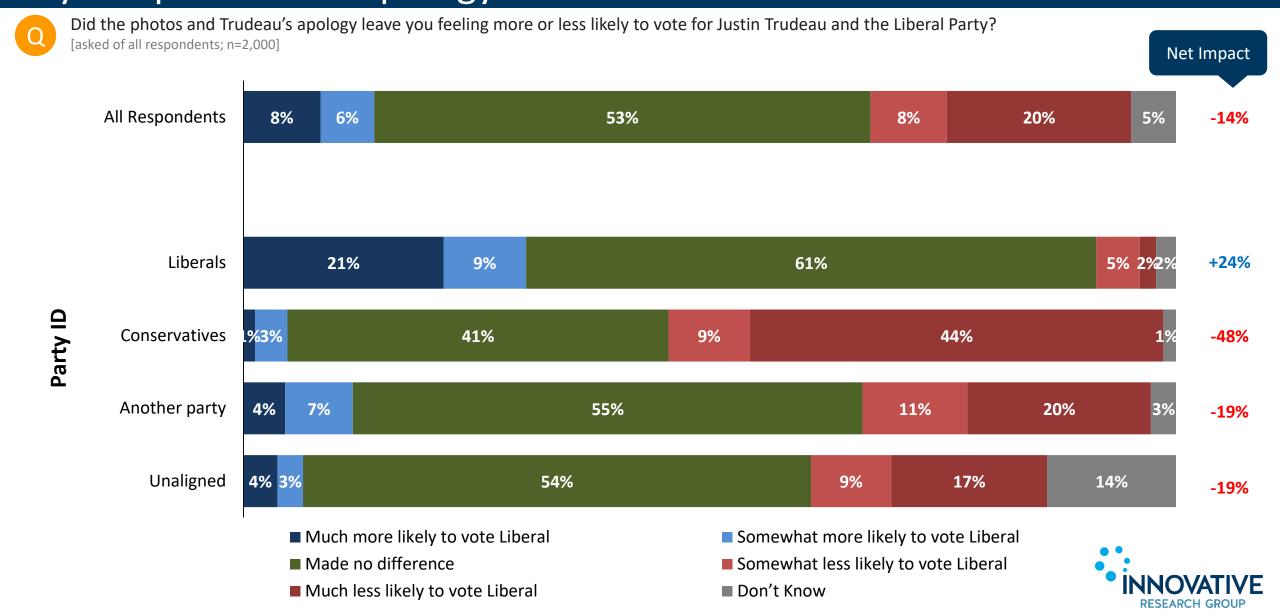
[asked of all respondents; n=2,000]



- This behavior happened in the past and does not reflect who Trudeau is today
- This behavior and the way he has handled the issue are signs of deeper problems with Trudeau and the Liberal government
- Don't Know



## **Reported Vote Impact:** Over half of respondents (and 61% of LPC) say the photos and apology will make no difference to their vote



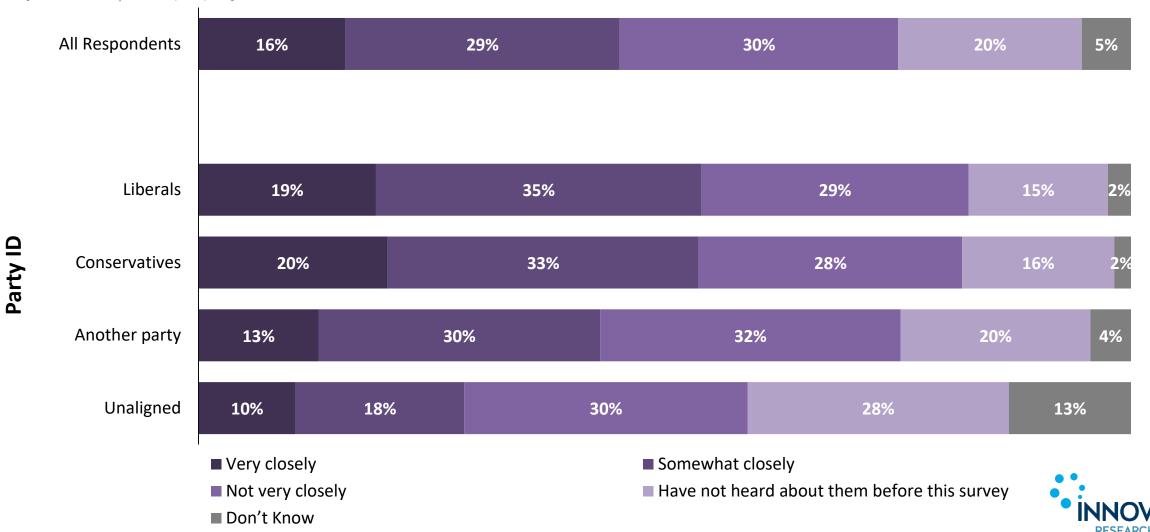
# Conservative Candidates

## **Awareness:** Nearly half (45%) have been following the issue closely, greatest awareness among LPC- and CPC-identifiers



How closely have you followed the news about Andrew Scheer's decision to support candidates who have been accused of making racist or homophobic comments in the past, so long as they apologize?

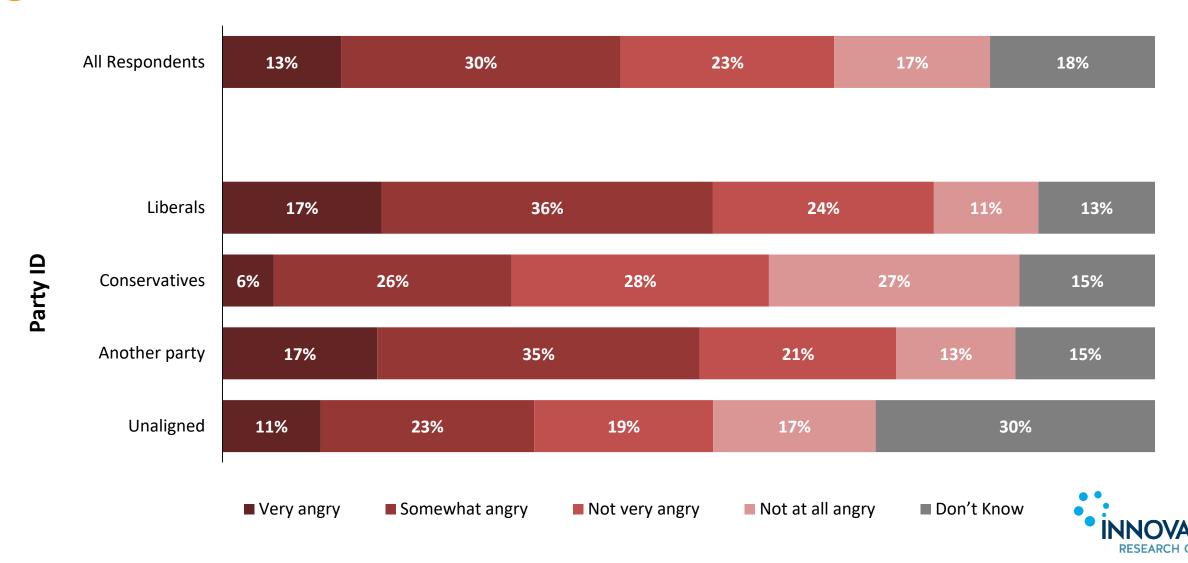
[asked of all respondents; n=2,000]



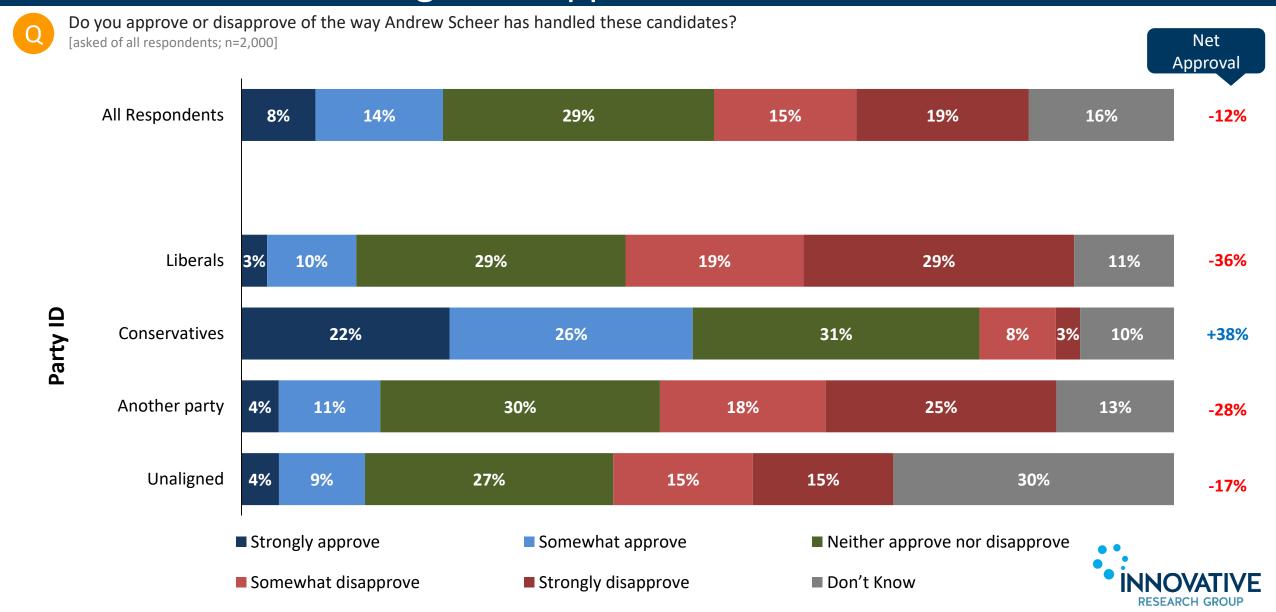
## **Reaction:** More than 4-in-10 (43%) feel angry about Scheer's decision including 31% of CPC-identifiers

Q

Thinking about the past actions of these candidates, how did that behavior leave you feeling? [asked of all respondents; n=2,000]



## **Scheer's Reaction:** Overall, respondents disapprove of Scheer's reaction with the strongest disapproval from LPC-identifiers

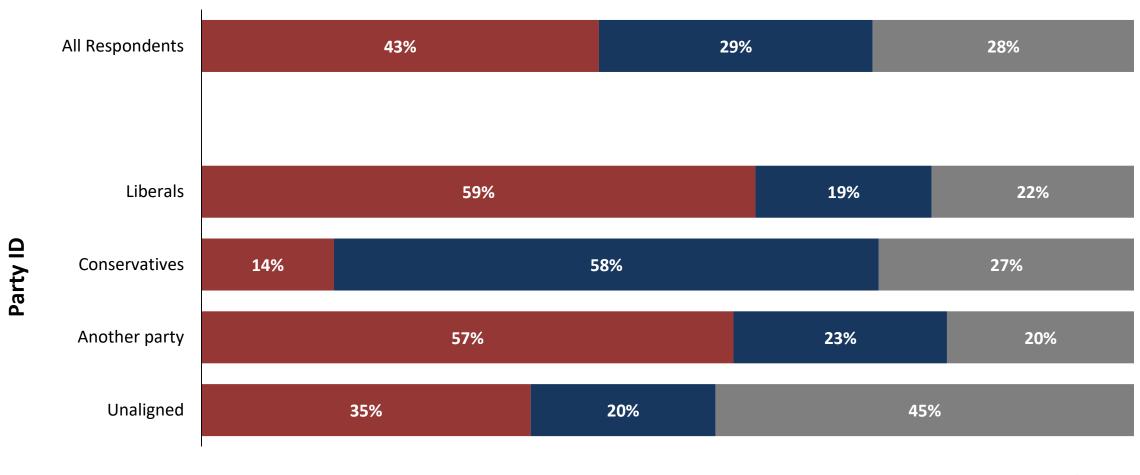


## **Framing:** 43% think the controversy is a "symptom of deeper problems <sup>27</sup> in the CPC', only 14% of CPC-identifiers feel the same

Q

Do you think these controversies are...?

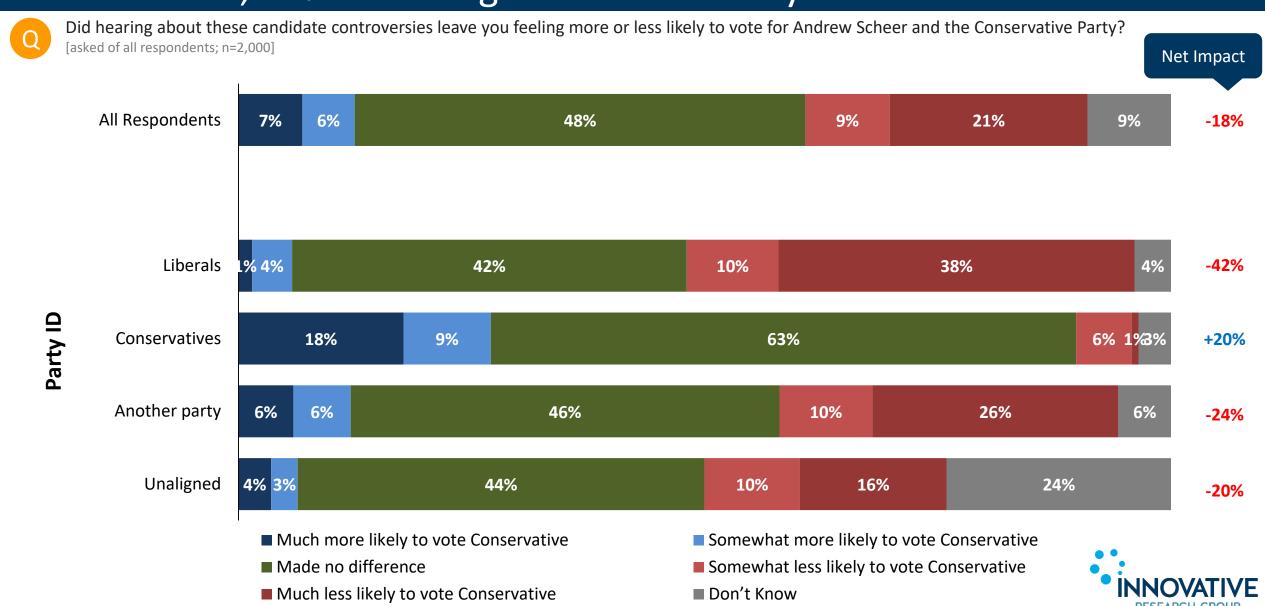
[asked of all respondents; n=2,000]



■ A symptom of deeper problems in the Conservative party ■ Unique problems that are unlikely to be repeated ■ Don't Know ●



### **Reported Vote Impact:** A plurality say the controversy had no impact on their vote; 26% of Unaligned are less likely to vote for the CPC



Views of the Liberals vs. Views of the Tories

#### **Key Liberals and Tory Groups**

To provide a deeper analysis of the issues surrounding the Blackface photos and the Conservative candidates, we have created a segmentation to analyze each of those issues.

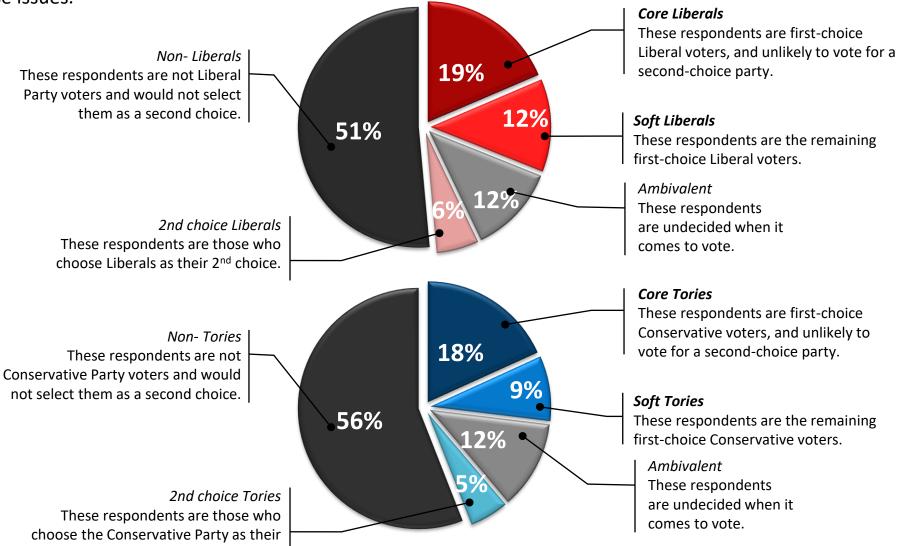
2<sup>nd</sup> choice.

We created a segmentation that groups individuals based on their level of the **Liberal Party** support to analyze the issues surrounding the Blackface photos.

The analysis focuses on understanding how the **Core Liberals** and **Soft Liberals** view the Blackface photos.

We created a segmentation that groups individuals based on their level of the **Conservative Party** support to analyze the issues surrounding the Conservative candidates.

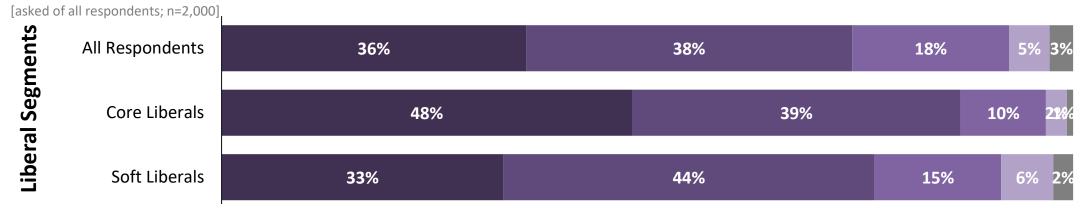
The analysis focuses on understanding how the **Core Tories** and **Soft Tories** view the Conservative candidates.



## **Awareness:** Core and Soft LPC are much more aware of blackface controversy than Core/Soft CPC are aware of Scheer's decision

Q

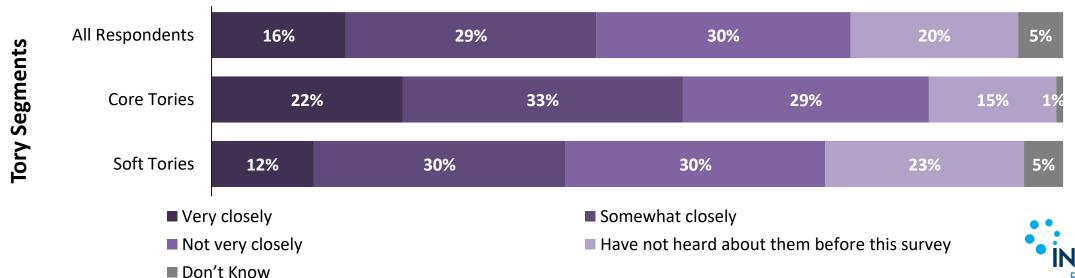
[The Blackface Photos] How closely have you been following news about the photos of Justin Trudeau in blackface and brownface makeup that have emerged, and Trudeau's apology for his actions? BY Liberal Segments



Q

[Conservative Candidates] How closely have you followed the news about Andrew Scheer's decision to support candidates who have been accused of making racist or homophobic comments in the past, so long as they apologize? BY Tory Segments

[asked of all respondents; n=2,000]

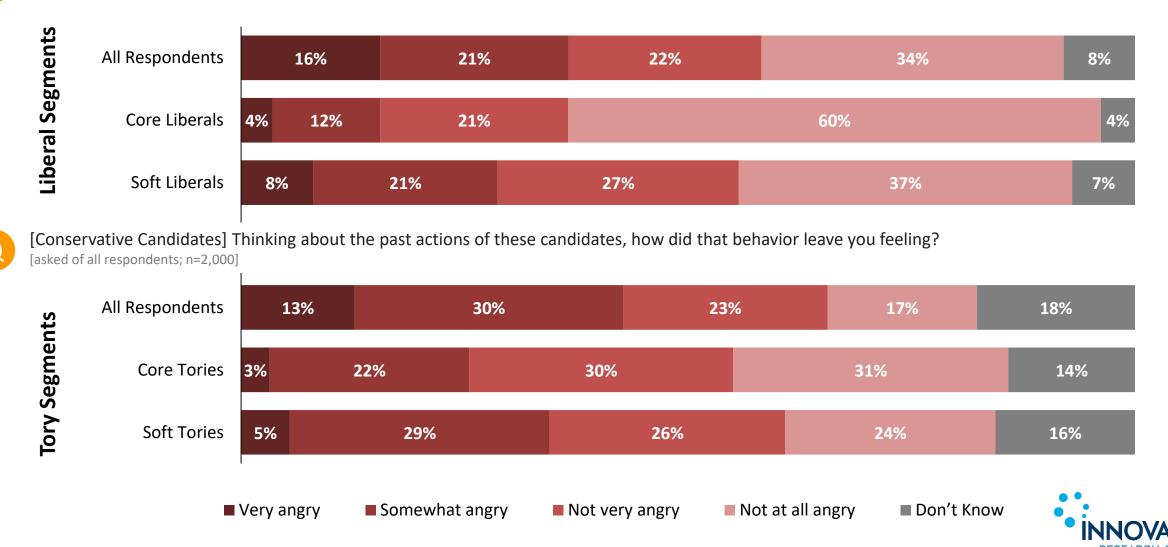


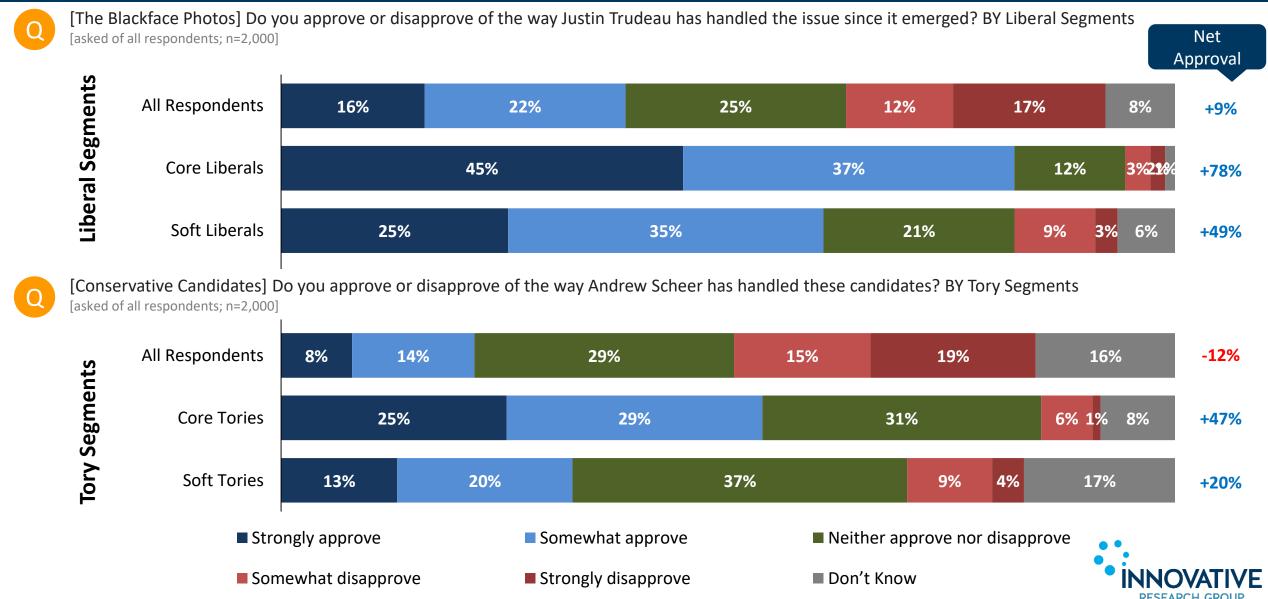


### **Reaction:** 29% of soft LPC feel at least somewhat angry about the blackface controversy vs. 35% of soft CPC on the Scheer decision

Q

[The Blackface Photos] Thinking about the fact that Justin Trudeau wore blackface multiple times in the past, how did that behavior leave you feeling? [asked of all respondents; n=2,000]

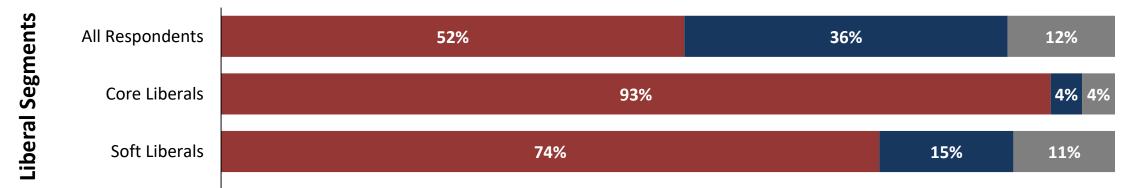




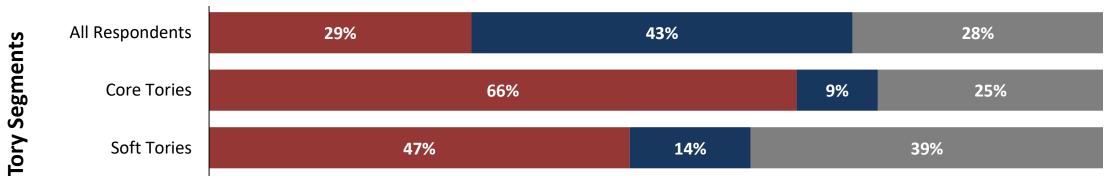
### **Framing:** Nearly all Core (93%) and 3-in-4 (74%) Soft Liberals give Trudeau the benefit of the doubt



[The Blackface Photos] Which of the following comes closest to your point of view? BY Liberal Segments [asked of all respondents; n=2,000]



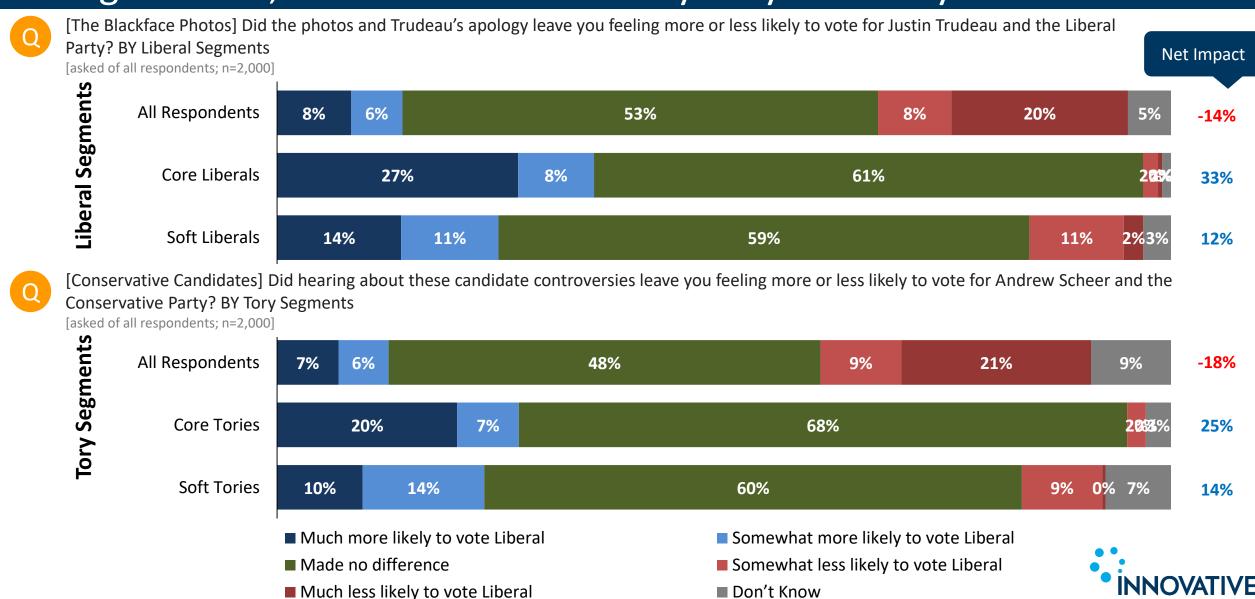
[Conservative Candidates] Do you think these controversies are...? BY Tory Segments [asked of all respondents; n=2,000]



- This behavior happened in the past and does not reflect who Trudeau is today/ Unique problems that are unlikely to be repeated
- This behavior and the way he has handled the issue are signs of deeper problems with Trudeau and the Liberal government/ A symptom of deeper problems in the Conservative party
- Don't Know

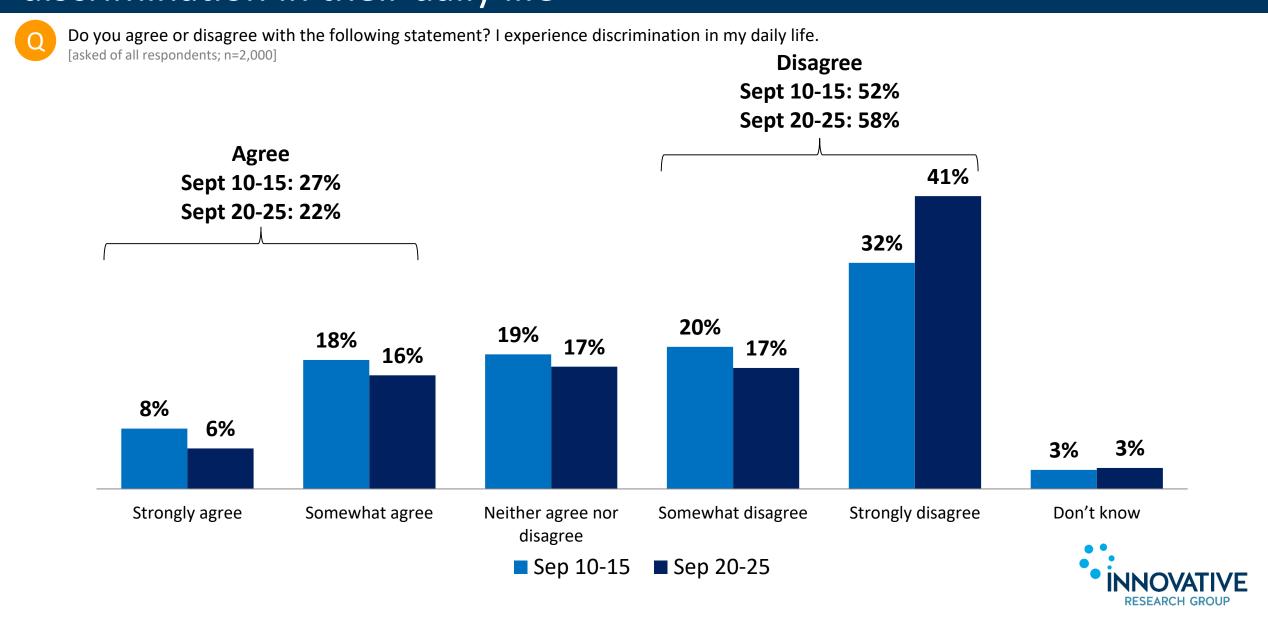


## Reported Vote Impact: A majority of key LPC and CPC groups report no<sup>35</sup> change in vote; 13% of Soft Liberals say they less likely to vote Liberal



### Discrimination

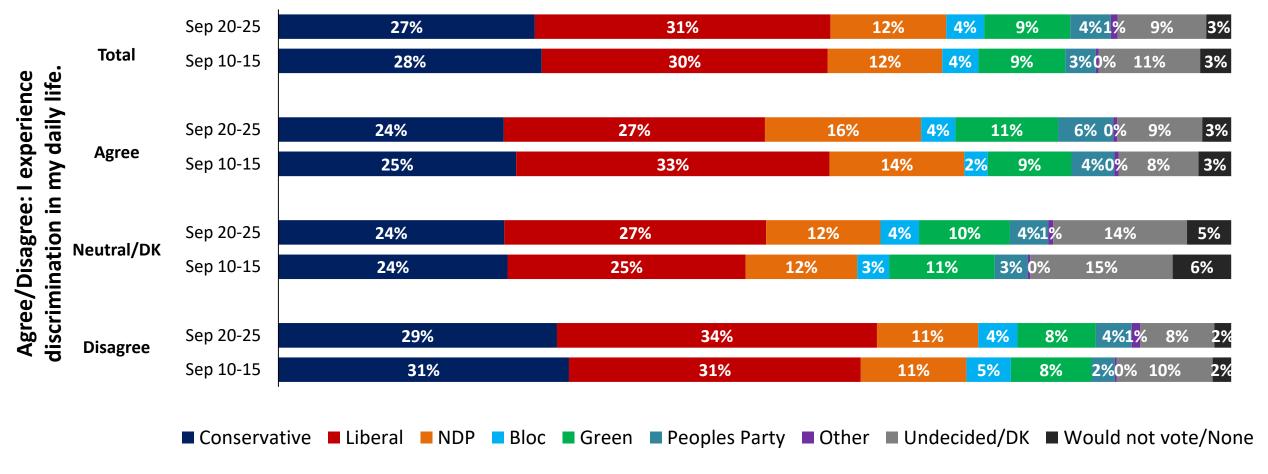
# **Experienced Discrimination:** About 1-in-4 (22%) say they experience discrimination in their daily life



# Combined Vote by Experienced Discrimination: The Liberals are down 6 points among those who experience discrimination

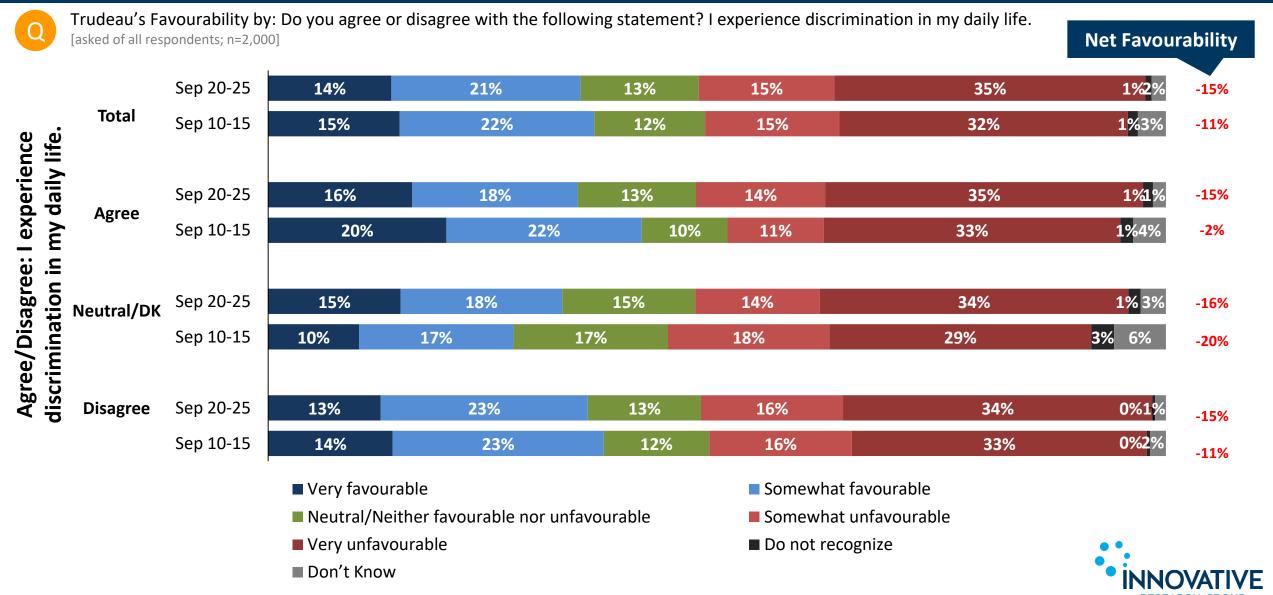
Q

Combined vote by: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I experience discrimination in my daily life.





# Trudeau's Favourability by Experienced Discrimination: Trudeau's favourability is down among those who experience discrimination

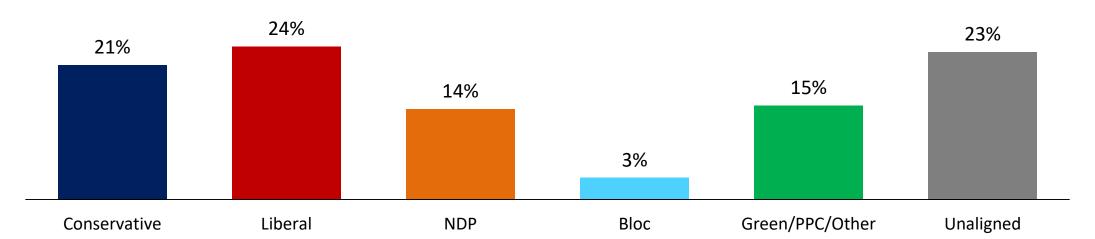


# Reactions to the Blackface Photos

## Among those who experience discrimination, 24% identify as Liberals

To provide a deeper analysis of the issues surrounding the Blackface photos, we look at the reactions among those who experience discrimination. We further segment those who experience discrimination by their party-identification.

The chart below shows the distribution of party ID among the 22% (n=434) of those who experience discrimination.



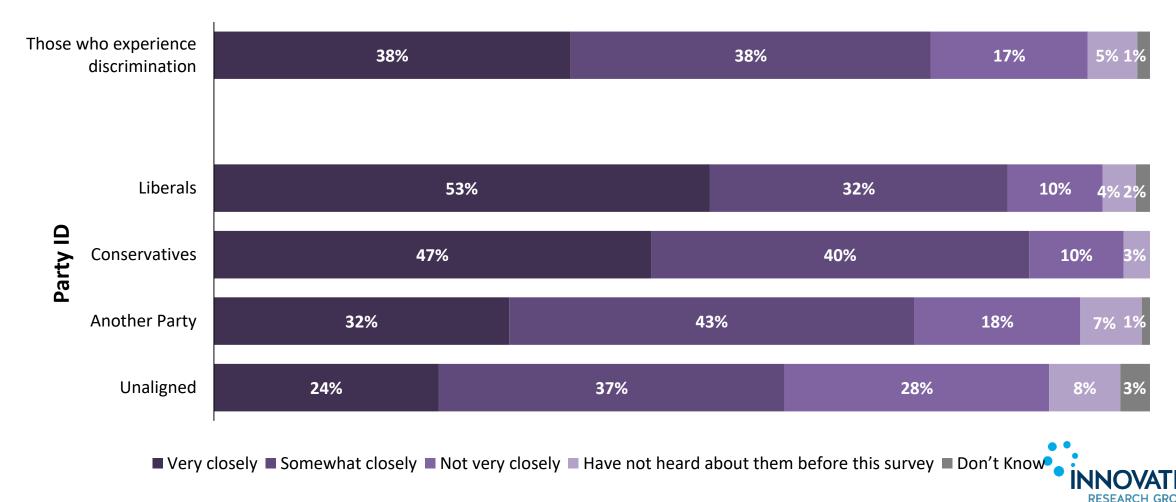


# Among those who experience discrimination – Awareness by Partisans: Liberals are following the issue most closely



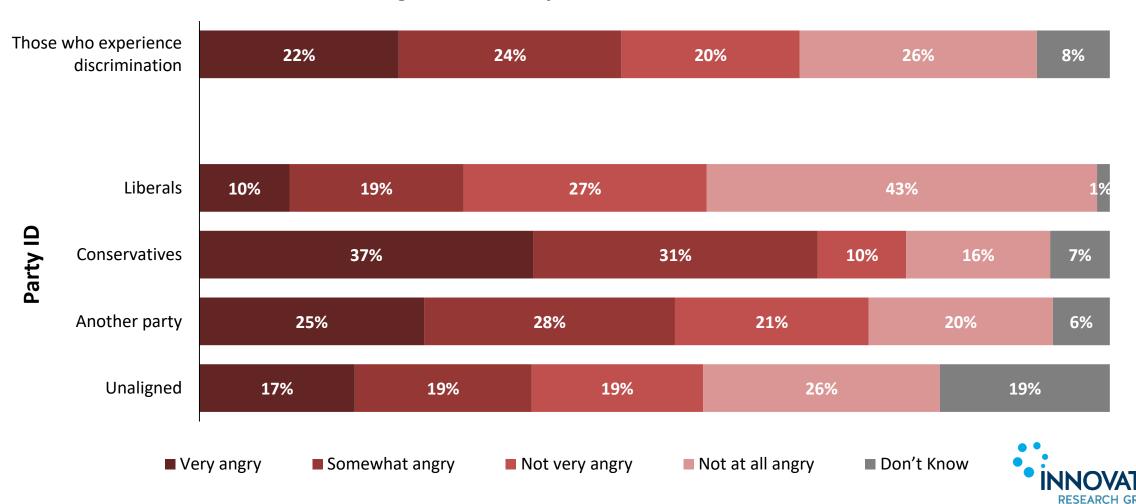
How closely have you been following news about the photos of Justin Trudeau in blackface and brownface makeup that have emerged, and Trudeau's apology for his actions? BY Partisans

[asked of all respondents; n=434]





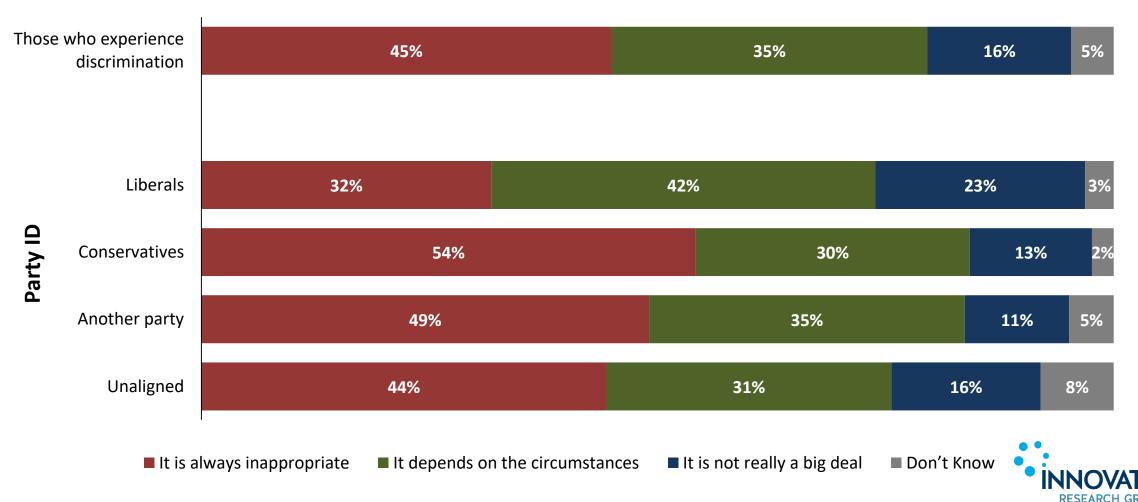
Thinking about the fact that Justin Trudeau wore blackface multiple times in the past, how did that behavior leave you feeling? BY Partisans [asked of all respondents; n=434]



# Among those who experience discrimination – Blackface By Partisans: Liberals less likely to say it is inappropriate



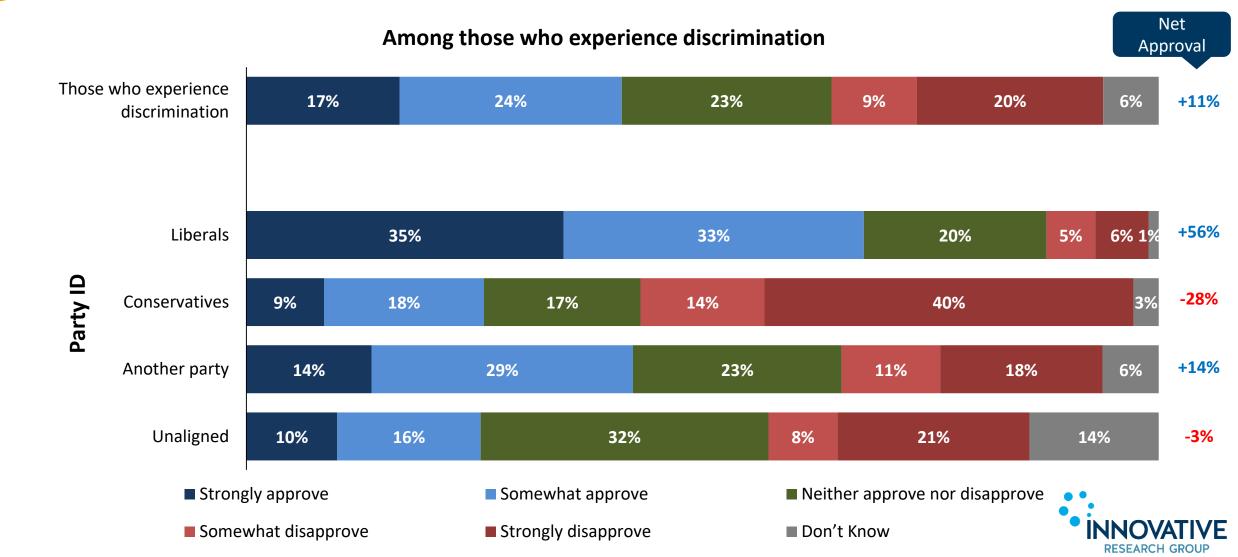
Thinking about blackface generally, which of the following comes closest to your point of view? BY Partisans [asked of all respondents; n=434]



# Among those who experience discrimination – Trudeau's Reaction by Partisans: Net approval of Trudeau's reaction is slightly positive

Q

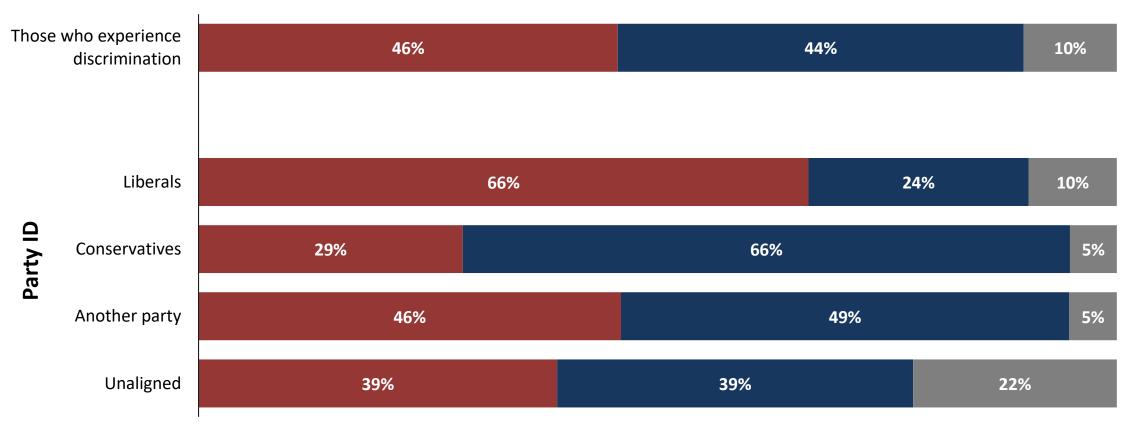
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Justin Trudeau has handled the issue since it emerged? BY Partisans [asked of all respondents; n=434]



# Among those who experience discrimination – Trudeau's Character by Partisans: A quarter of Liberals say it is a sign of a deeper problem



Which of the following comes closest to your point of view? BY Partisans [asked of all respondents; n=434]



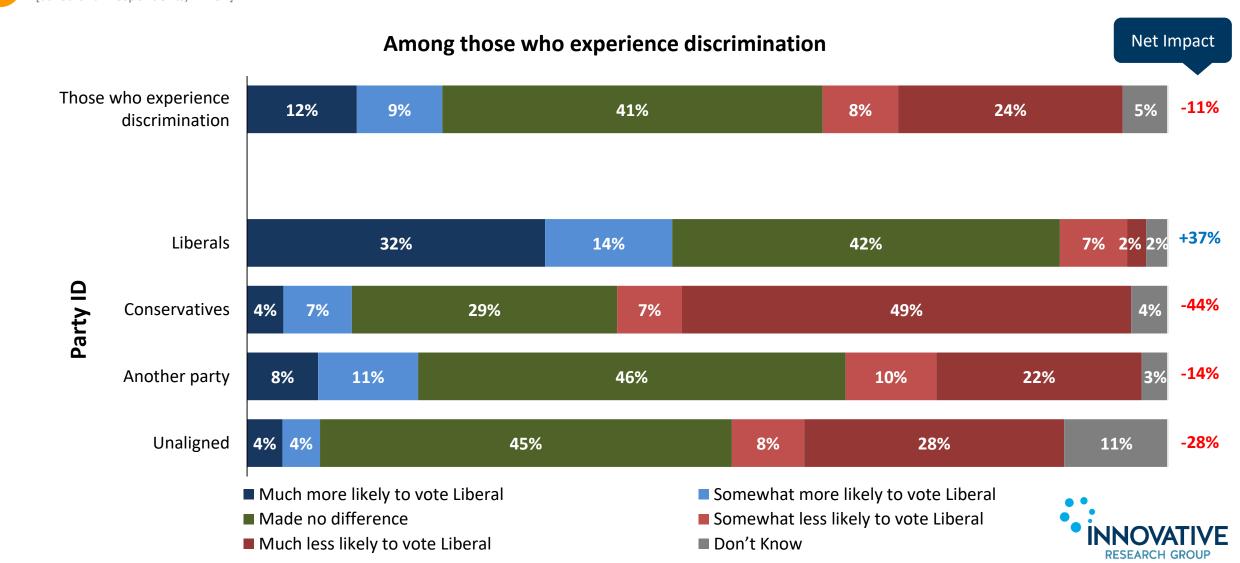
- This behavior happened in the past and does not reflect who Trudeau is today
- This behavior and the way he has handled the issue are signs of deeper problems with Trudeau and the Liberal government
- Don't Know



# Among those who experience discrimination – Vote Impact by Partisans: Impact among Liberal partisans is strongly positive



Did the photos and Trudeau's apology leave you feeling more or less likely to vote for Justin Trudeau and the Liberal Party? BY Partisans [asked of all respondents; n=434]

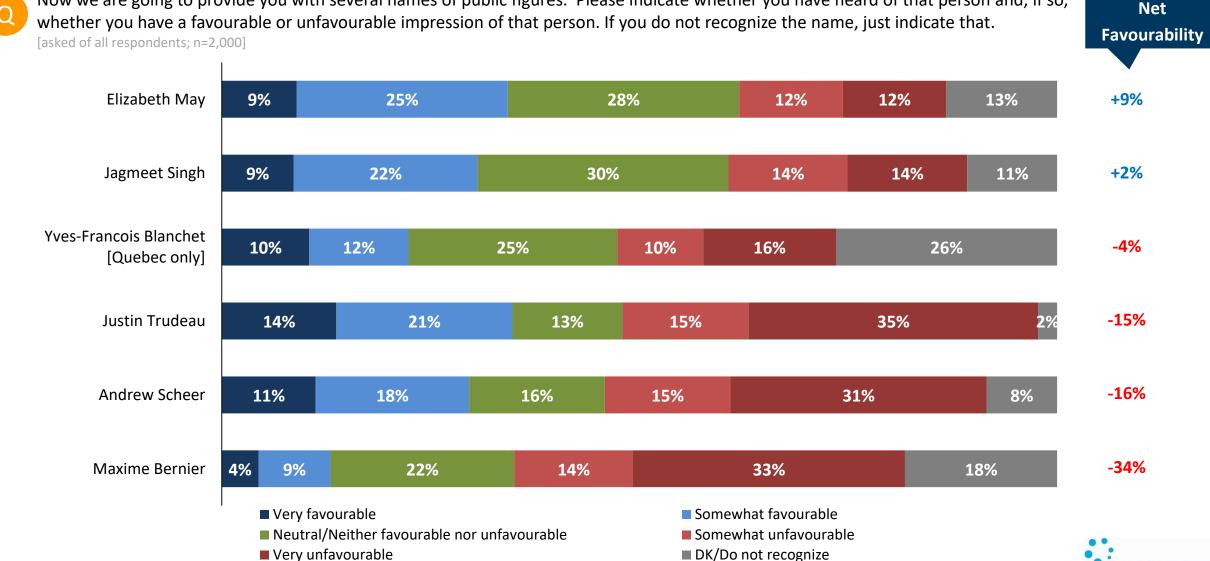


### Leadership

#### Leader Impressions: Trudeau and Scheer are equally unpopular; both May and Singh have net positive favourables



Now we are going to provide you with several names of public figures. Please indicate whether you have heard of that person and, if so,

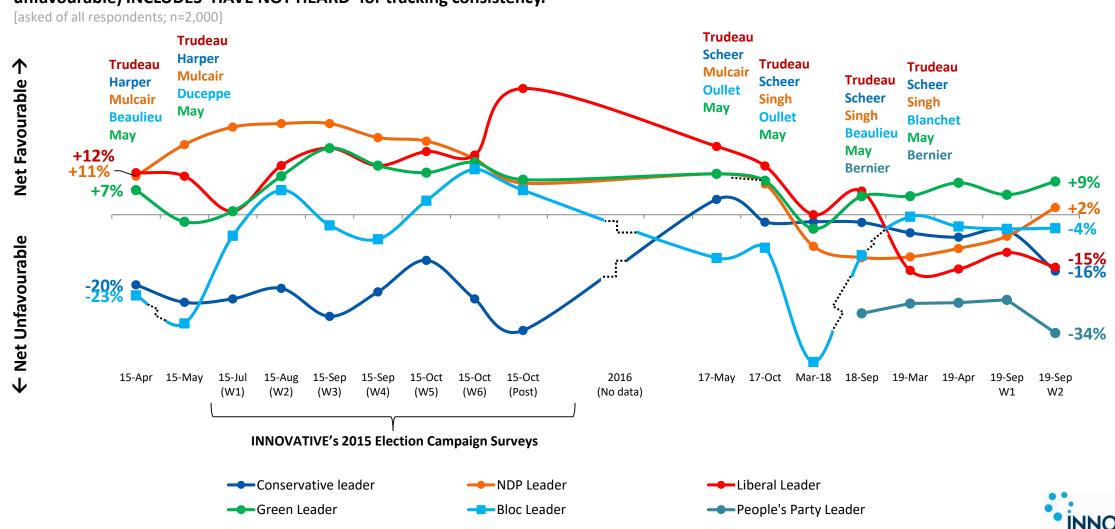


#### **Net leader favourables:** Jagmeet Singh now has a net positive impression, for the first time since October 2017



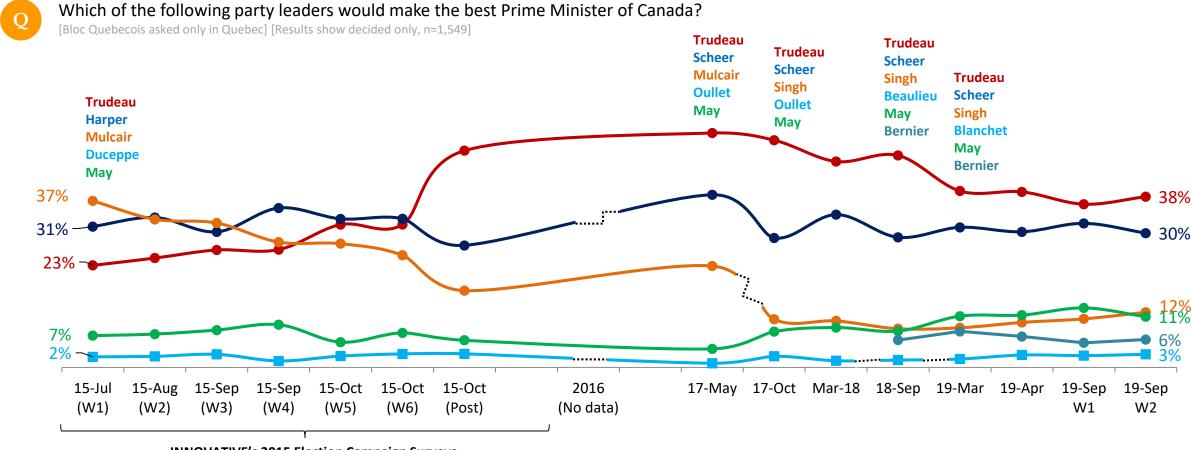
Note: BQ leaders asked in Quebec only.

Now we are going to provide you with several names of public figures. Please indicate whether you have heard of that person and, if so, whether you have a favourable or unfavourable impression of that person. If you do not recognize the name, just indicate that. **Net favourables (% favourable-unfavourable) INCLUDES 'HAVE NOT HEARD' for tracking consistency.** 



: indicates a change in party leader during tracking

#### **Best Prime Minister - Decided:** Trudeau maintains best Prime Minister lead over Andrew Scheer



**INNOVATIVE's 2015 Election Campaign Surveys** 

- → Justin Trudeau of the Liberals
- Andrew Scheer / Stephen Harper of the Conservatives
- → Jagmeet Singh / Thomas Mulcair of the NDP
- Yves-Francois Blanchet / Mario Beaulieu / Martine Oullet / Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois
- Elizabeth May of the Green Party
- → Maxime Bernier of the People's Party
- : indicates a change in party leader during tracking

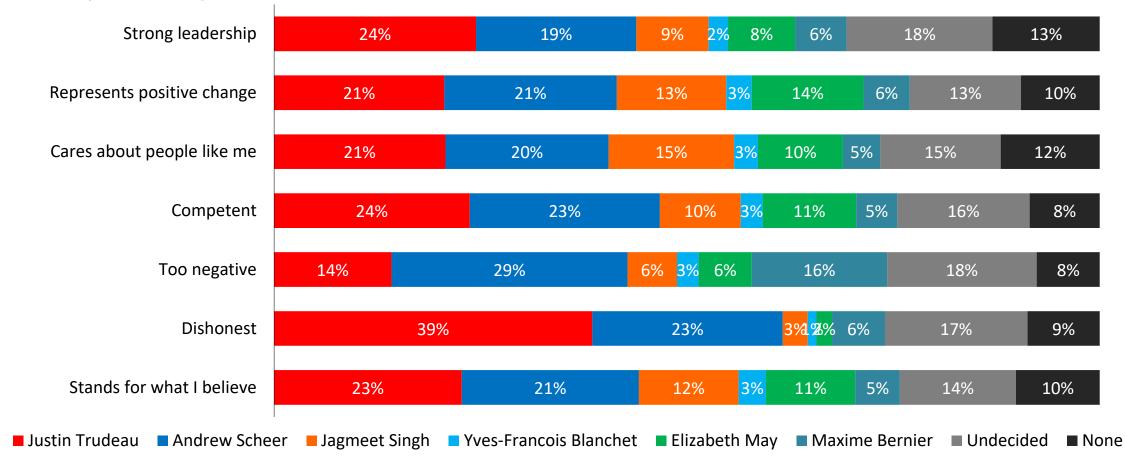


**Note:** 'None', 'Don't know', 'Refused' not included in calculations. BQ Leader asked in QC only.

### **Leader Qualities:** Trudeau leads on 'Strong Leadership' and 'Dishonest', while Scheer leads on 'Too negative'



Now we would like to read you a list of different words or phrases that describe the some political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate who it BEST describes... [ALL CANADA]

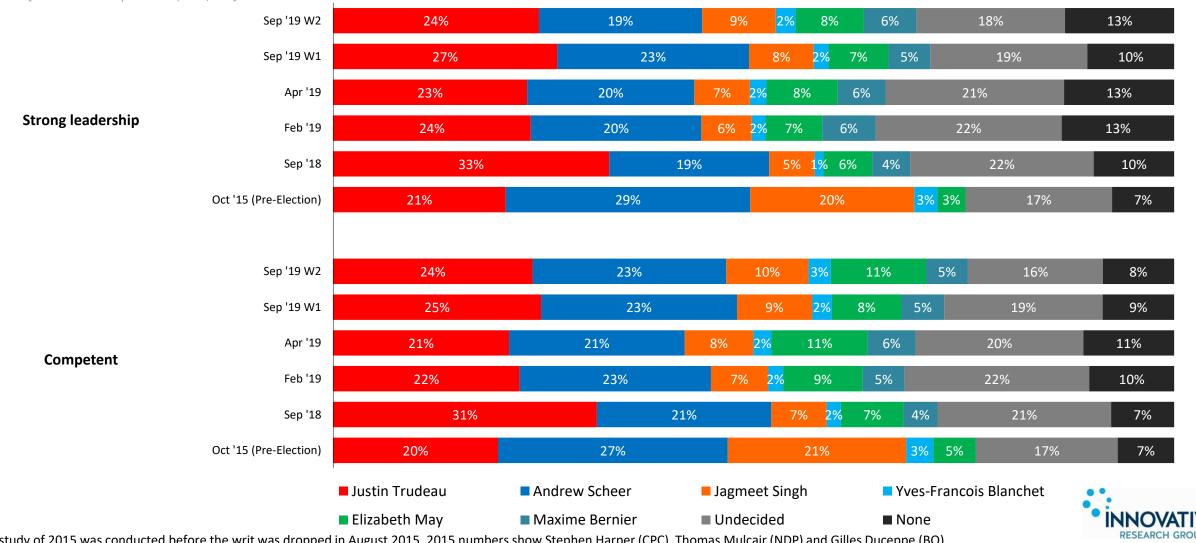




#### Leader Qualities: Both Andrew Scheer and Justin Trudeau are down on 'Strong leadership'; Elizabeth May improves on 'Competent'

Now we would like to read you a list of different words or phrases that describe the some political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate who it BEST describes... [ALL CANADA]

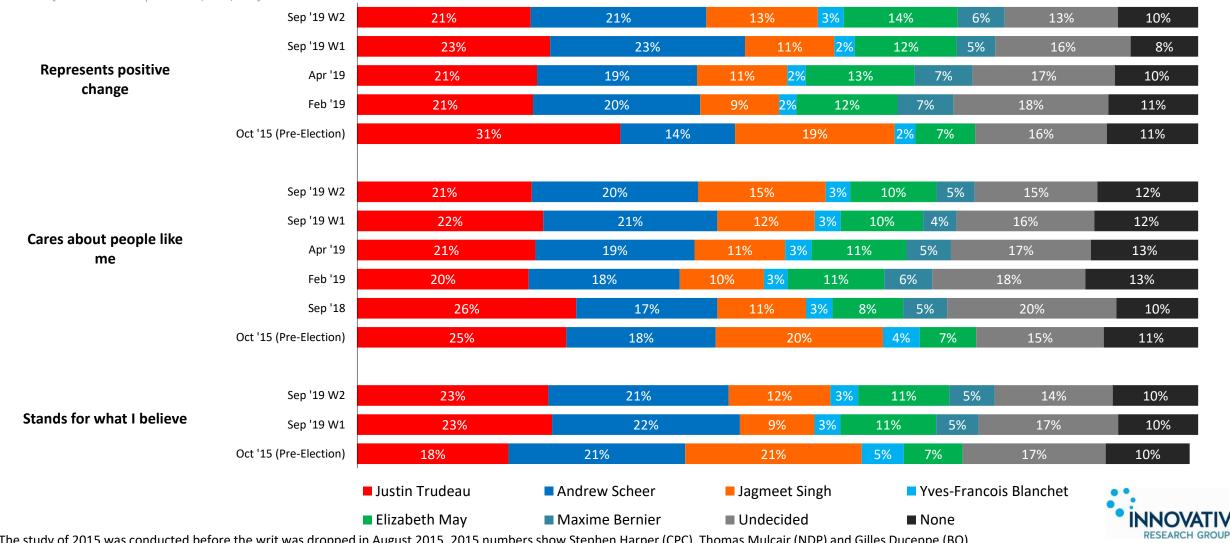




<sup>\*</sup> The study of 2015 was conducted before the writ was dropped in August 2015. 2015 numbers show Stephen Harper (CPC), Thomas Mulcair (NDP) and Gilles Duceppe (BQ).

#### Leader Qualities: Jagmeet Singh is up across 'Represents positive change', 'Cares about people like me', and 'Stands for what I believe in'

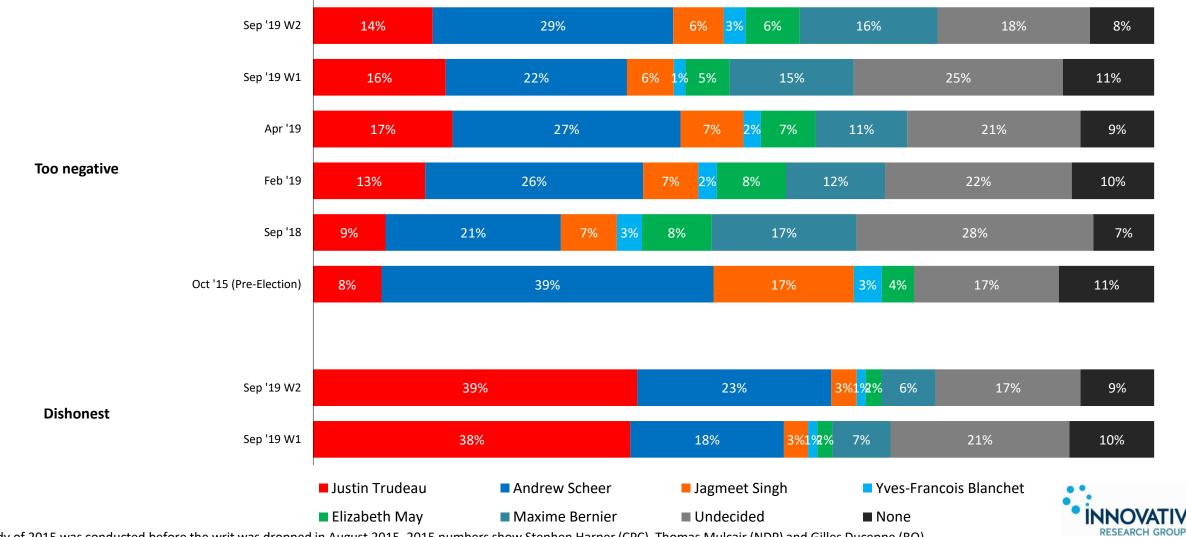
Now we would like to read you a list of different words or phrases that describe the some political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate who it BEST describes... [ALL CANADA]



<sup>\*</sup> The study of 2015 was conducted before the writ was dropped in August 2015. 2015 numbers show Stephen Harper (CPC), Thomas Mulcair (NDP) and Gilles Duceppe (BQ).

#### Leader Qualities: Andrew Scheer is up on both 'Too negative' and 'Dishonest' while Trudeau remains steady on both

Now we would like to read you a list of different words or phrases that describe the some political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate who it BEST describes... [ALL CANADA]



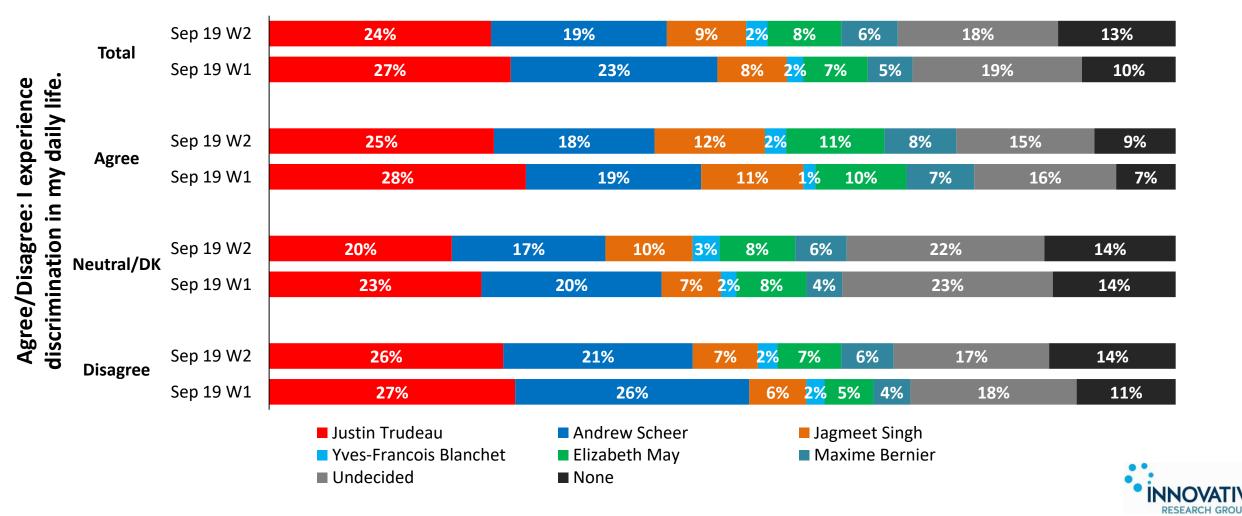
<sup>\*</sup> The study of 2015 was conducted before the writ was dropped in August 2015. 2015 numbers show Stephen Harper (CPC), Thomas Mulcair (NDP) and Gilles Duceppe (BQ).

# Leadership by Discrimination

### **Strong Leadership:** Trudeau's declines are concentrated among those who experience discrimination or are neutral



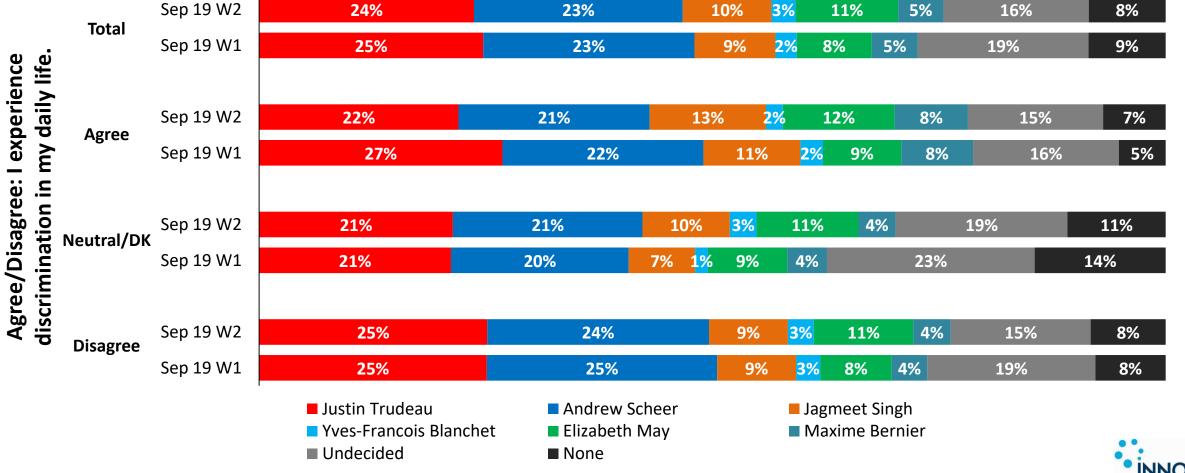
Now we would like to read you a list of different words or phrases that describe the some political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate who it BEST describes... **Strong leadership** by: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? *I experience discrimination in my daily life*. [asked of all respondents; n=2,000]



#### **Competent:** Trudeau is down among those who experience discrimination, but steady in other groups



Now we would like to read you a list of different words or phrases that describe the some political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate who it BEST describes... **Competent** by: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? *I experience discrimination in my daily life.* 

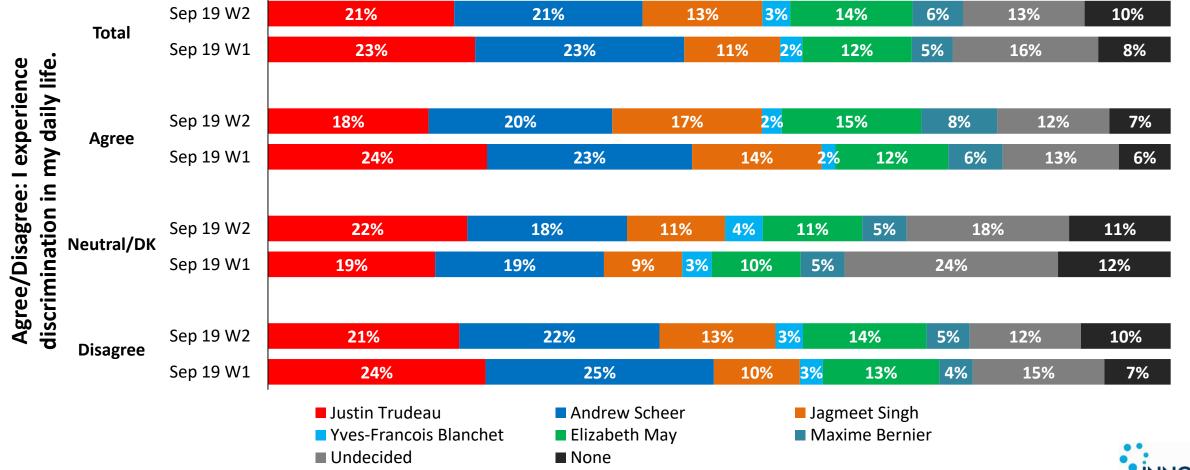




### **Represents Positive Change:** Trudeau is down six points on 'Represents positive change' among those who experience discrimination



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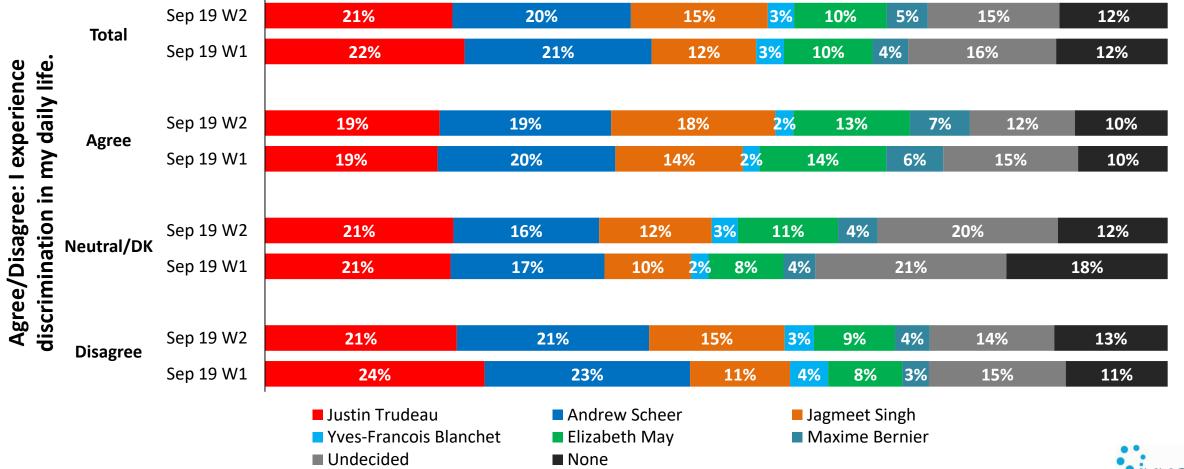




### Cares About People Like Me: Singh is up from 14% to 18% among those who say they experience discrimination



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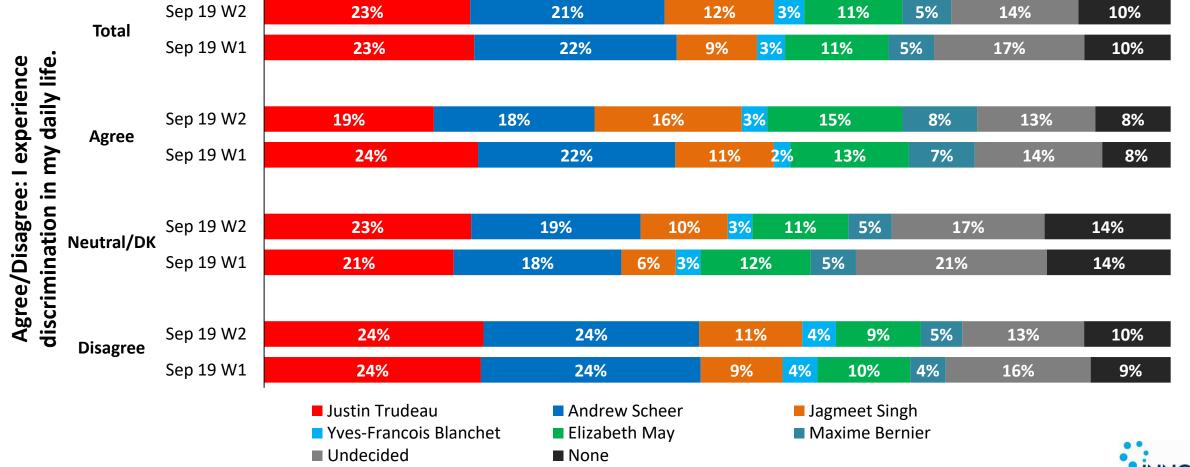




### **Stands For What I Believe In:** Both Trudeau and Scheer are down among those who experience discrimination, while Singh is up



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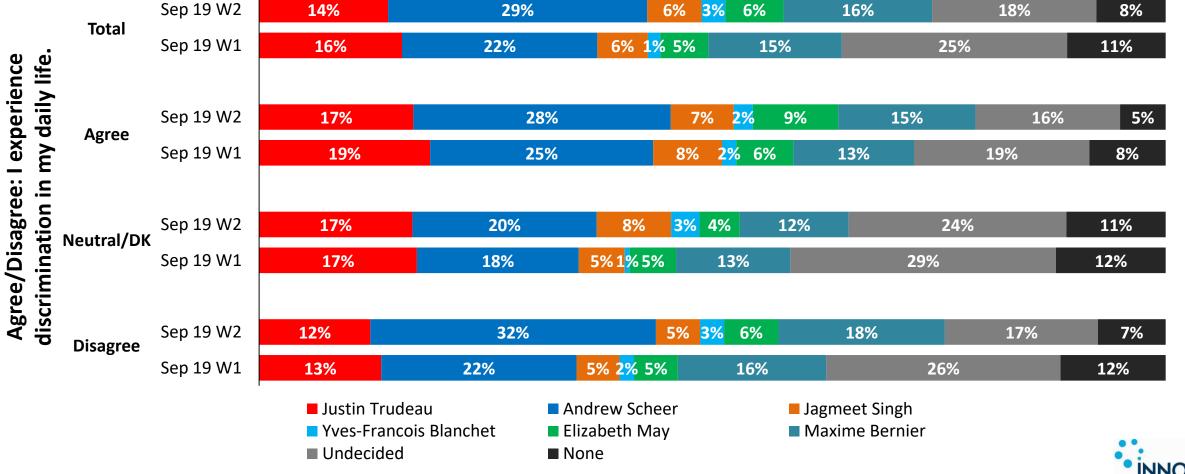


### **Too Negative:** Scheer is up 10 points on 'too negative' among those who say they do not experience discrimination



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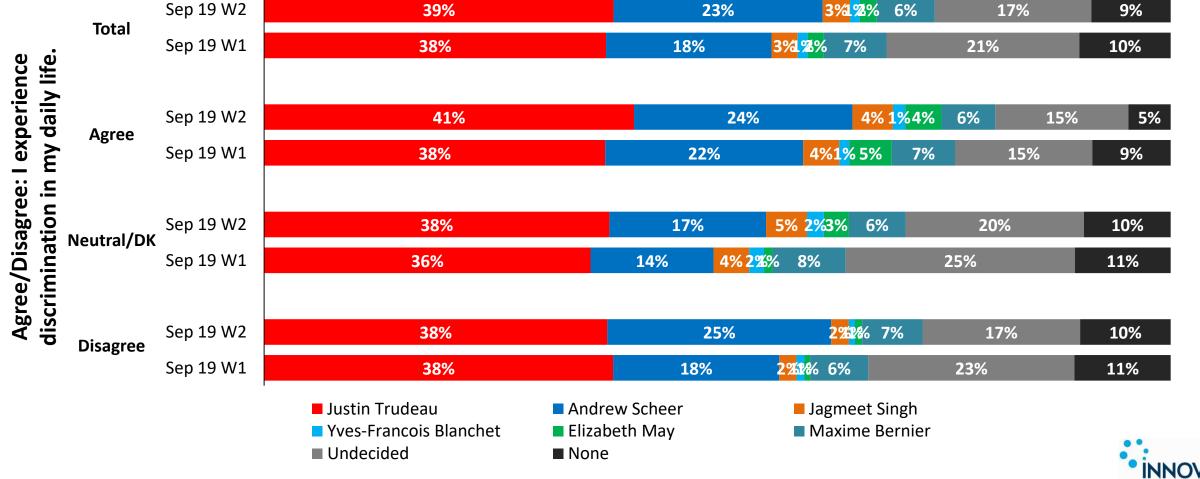




### **Dishonest:** Scheer is up on 'dishonest' among all groups; Trudeau is up directionally among those who have experienced discrimination



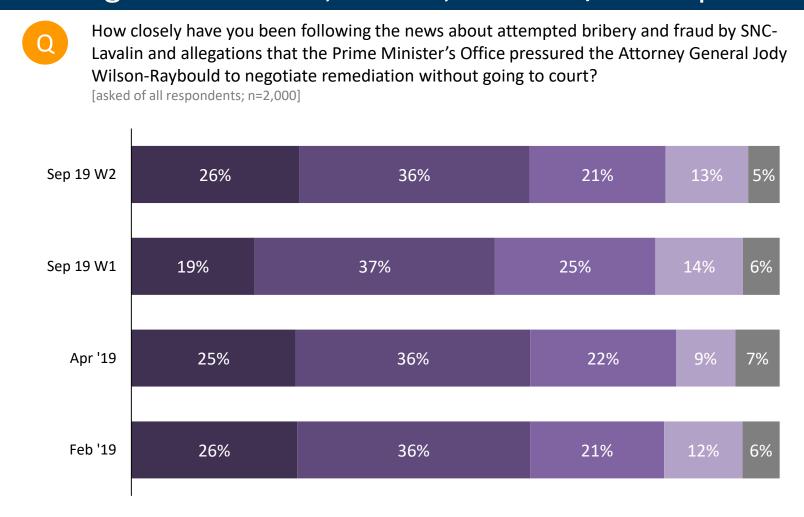
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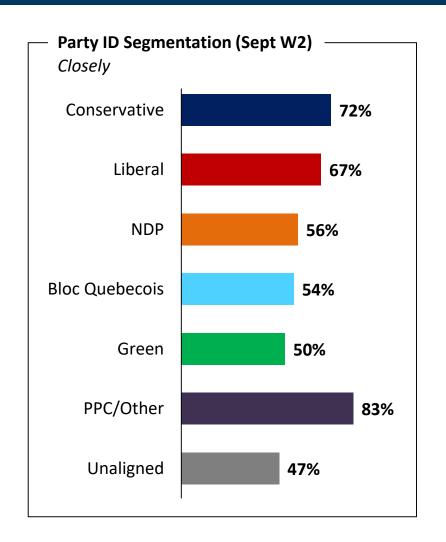


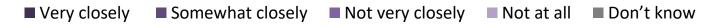


#### **SNC-Lavalin**

### **Attention:** Attention to SNC-Lavalin controversy remains high over time; highest among Conservative, Liberal, and PPC/Other partisans

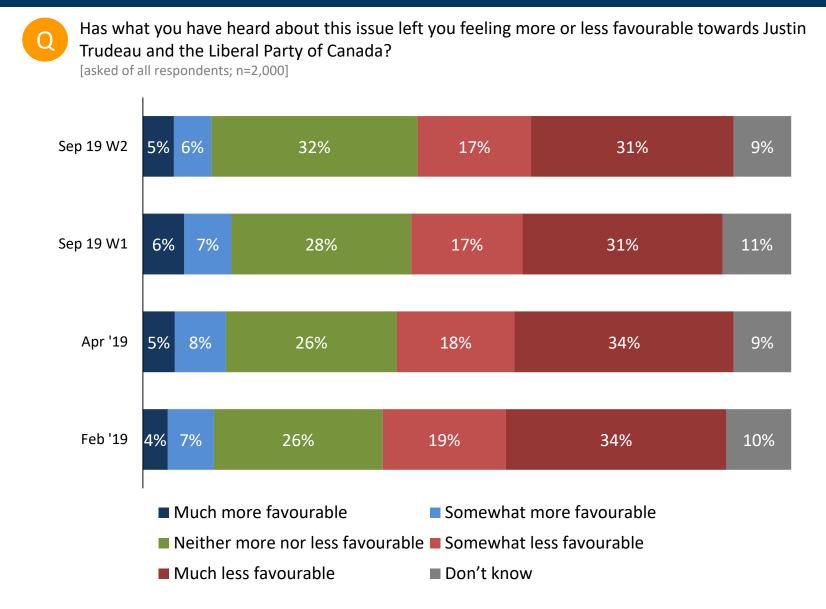


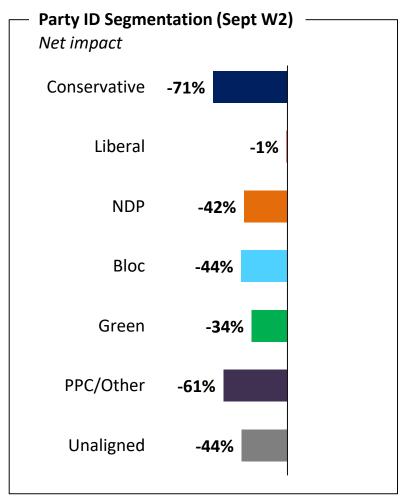






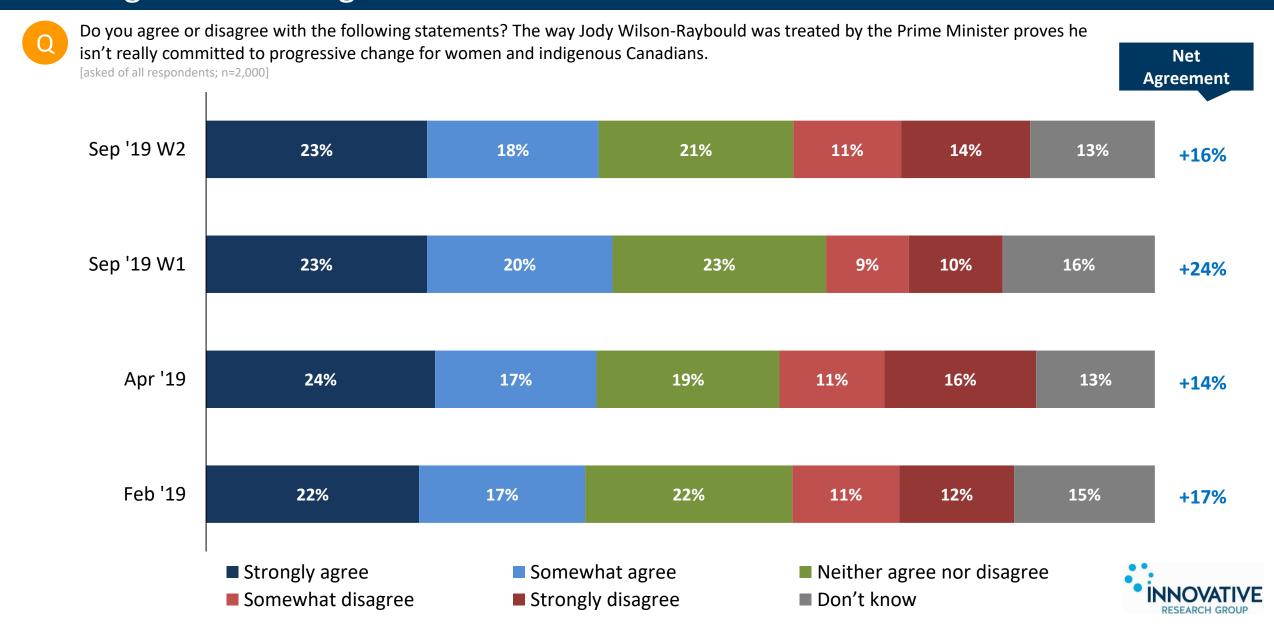
### Impact on Liberal Party: Impact on the Liberal Party remains strongly negative across all partisan groups except Liberals, who are split







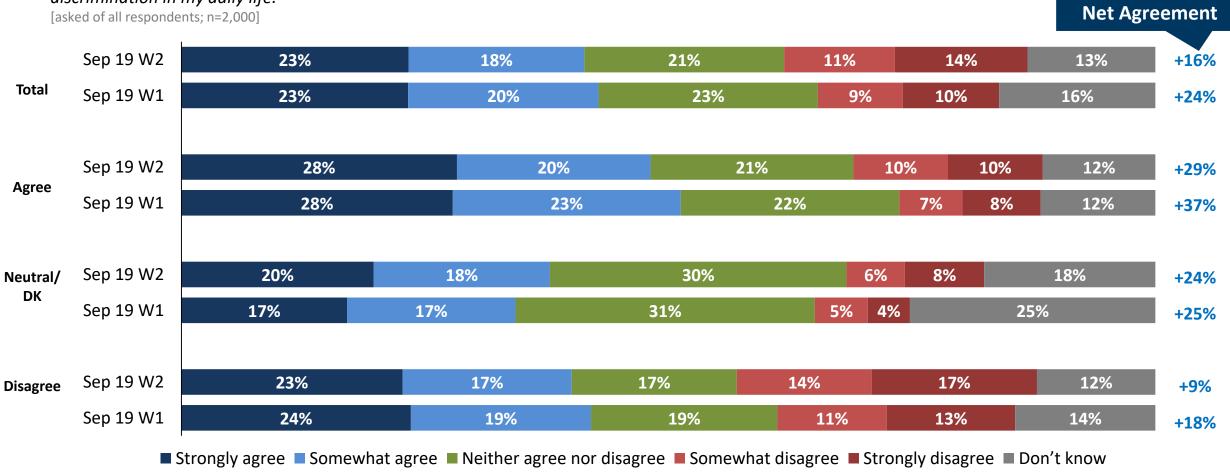
### **Beliefs:** Impact of SNC-Lavalin on Trudeau's brand drops back down, but still more agree than disagree



# Commitment to Progressive Change by Discrimination: Agreement is down since early September



Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? The way Jody Wilson-Raybould was treated by the Prime Minister proves he isn't really committed to progressive change for women and indigenous Canadians by: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I experience discrimination in my daily life.

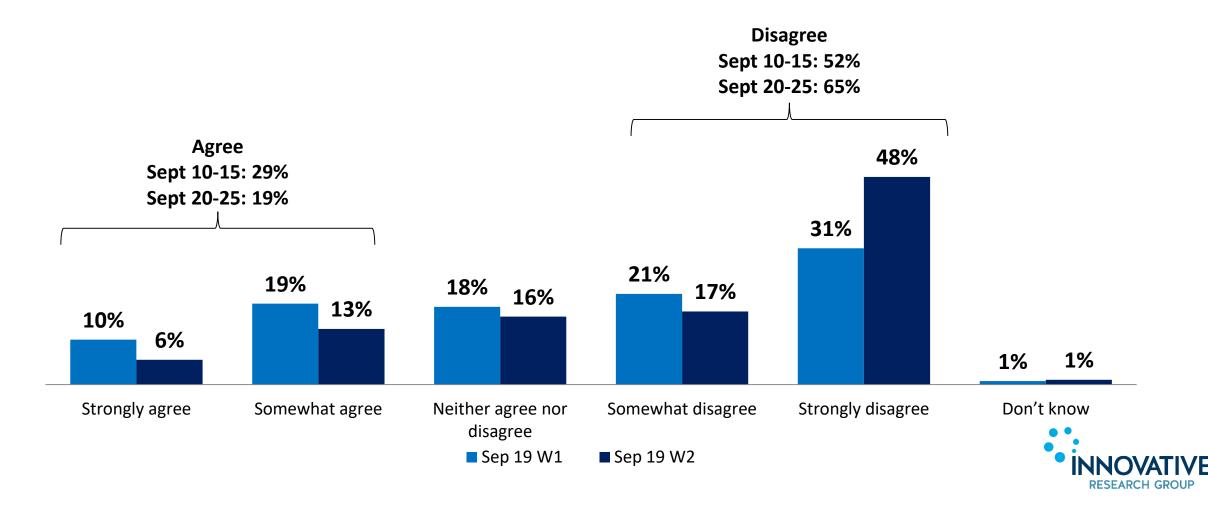


#### Liberal ID

# Among Liberal partisans, 19% say they experience discrimination on a daily basis

To provide a deeper analysis of the issues surrounding the Blackface photos, we looked at the reactions among Liberal partisans, and then segmented them based on whether or not they face discrimination on a daily basis.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I experience discrimination in my daily life.

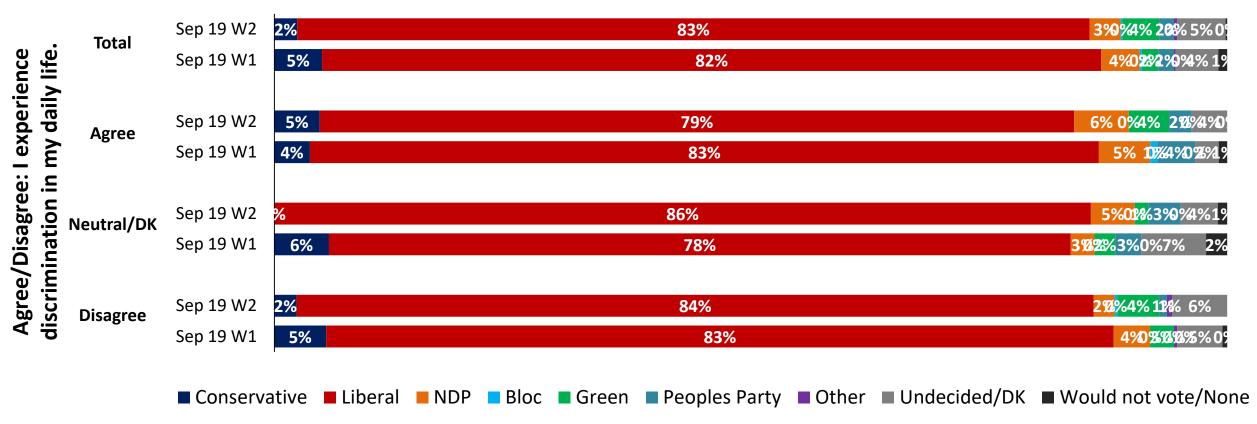


# **Vote among Liberals Partisans:** Liberals maintain high loyalty among all groups



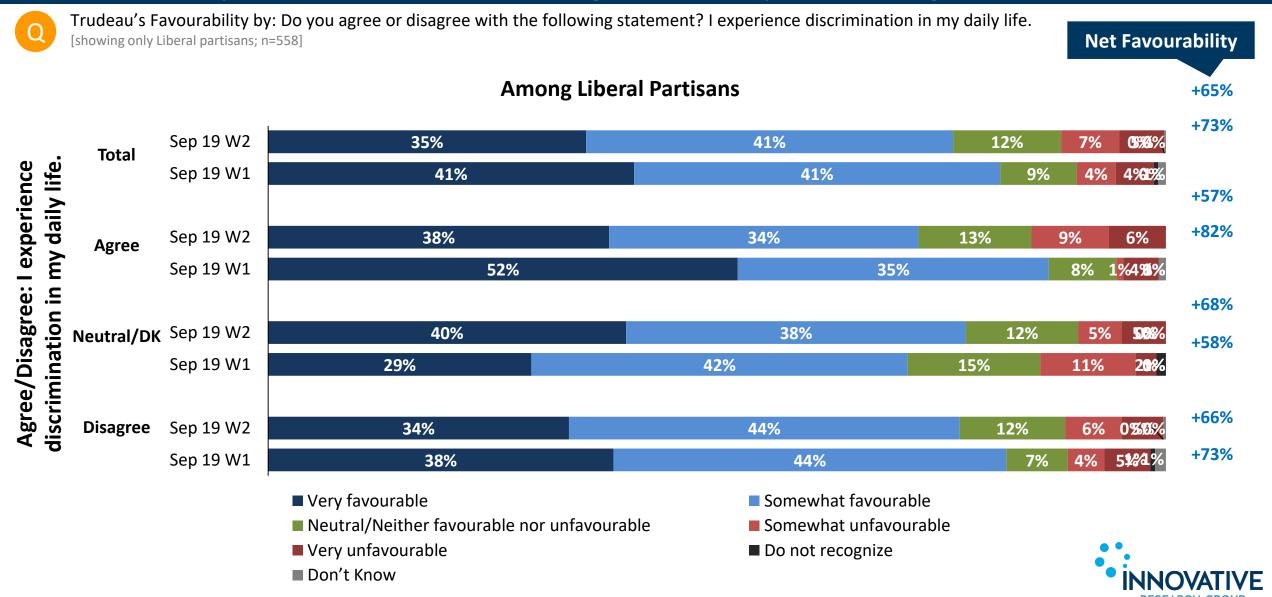
Combined vote by: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? I experience discrimination in my daily life.

[showing only Liberal partisans; n=558]





# Trudeau's Favourability among Liberals Partisans: Trudeau's favourability is down most among those experiencing discrimination

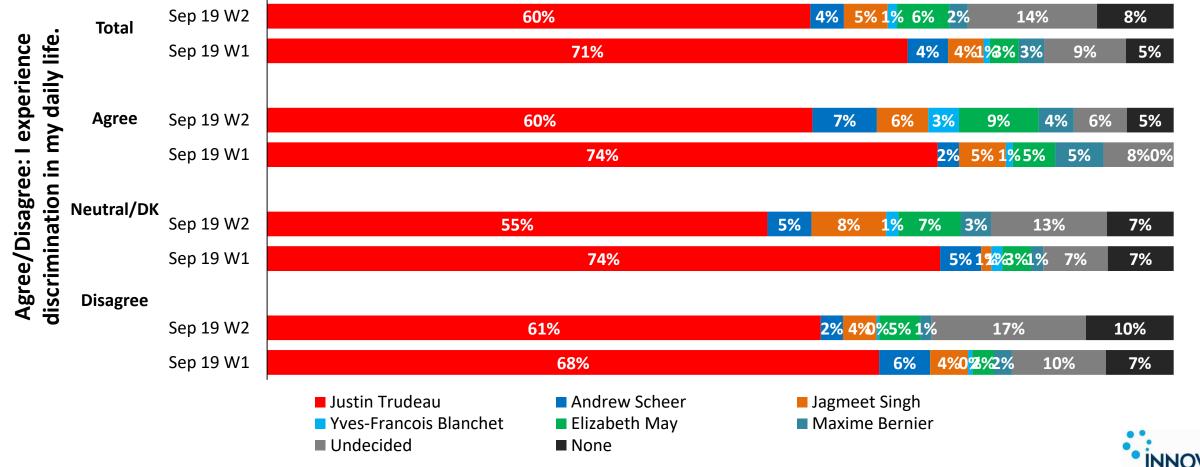


### **Strong Leadership among Liberals Partisans:** Trudeau is down by more than 10 points on leadership among Liberal partisans



Now we would like to read you a list of different words or phrases that describe some political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate who it BEST describes... **Strong leadership** by: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? *I experience discrimination in my daily life.* 

[showing only Liberal partisans; n=558]



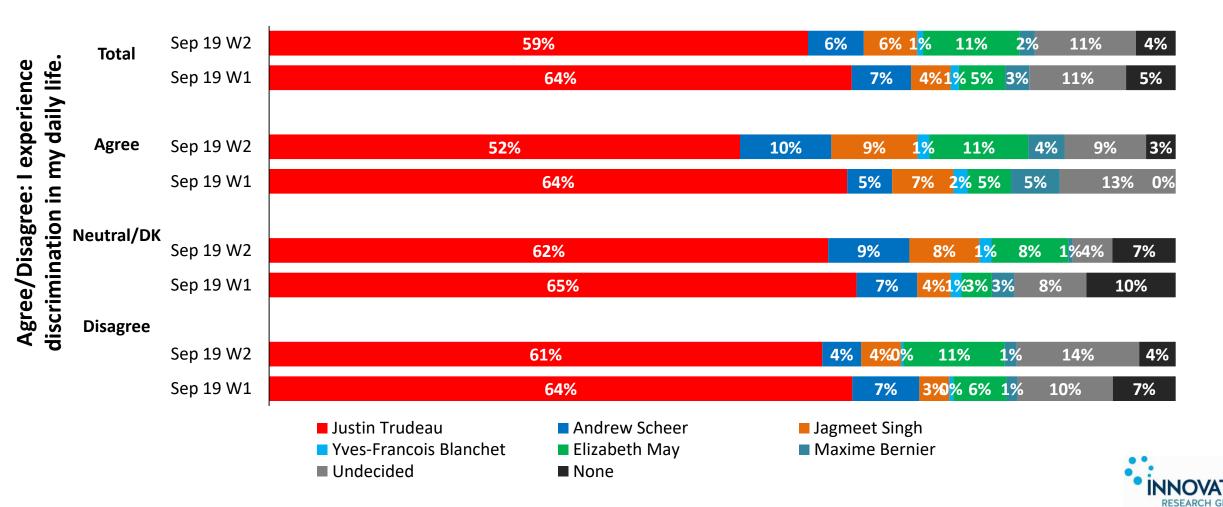


### **Competent among Liberals Partisans:** Trudeau is down most among Liberal partisans who experience discrimination



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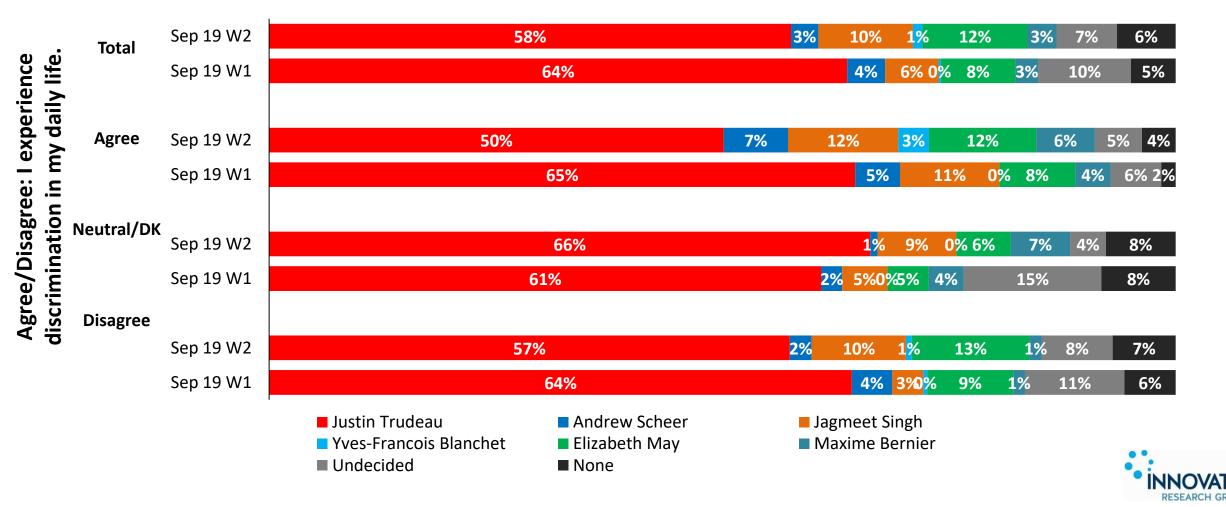
[showing only Liberal partisans; n=558]



### Represents Positive Change among Liberals Partisans: Trudeau is down 15 points among those who say they experience discrimination



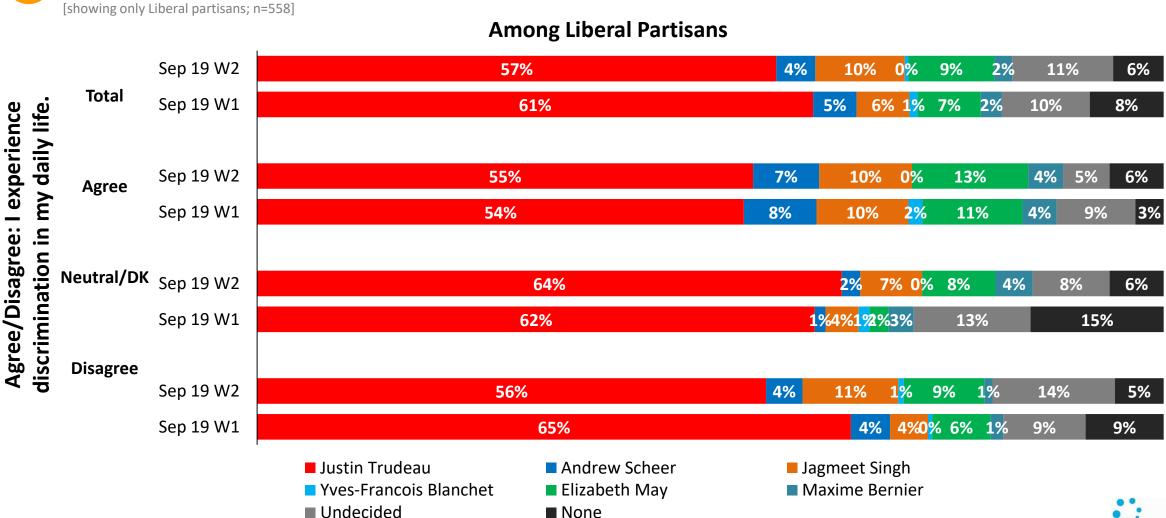
Now we would like to read you a list of different words or phrases that describe some political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate who it BEST describes... **Represents Positive Change** by: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? *I experience discrimination in my daily life*. [showing only Liberal partisans: n=558]



### Cares About People Like Me among Liberals Partisans: Trudeau is down slightly overall, mostly from those who don't experience discrimination



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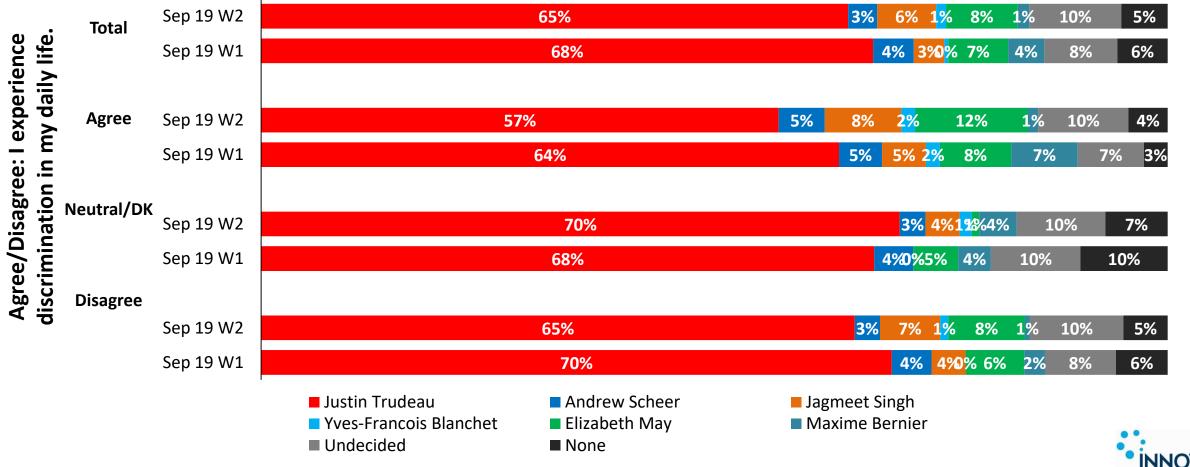




### **Stands For What I Believe In among Liberals Partisans:** Trudeau is down among those who experience discrimination



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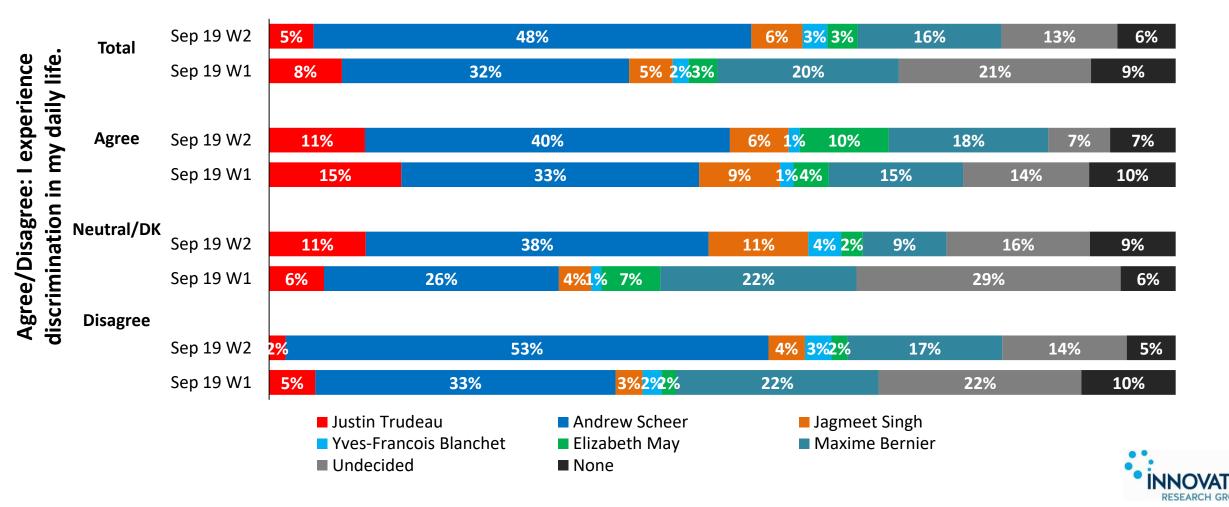


### **Too Negative among Liberals Partisans:** Scheer is up across all groups, up most among those who do not experience discrimination



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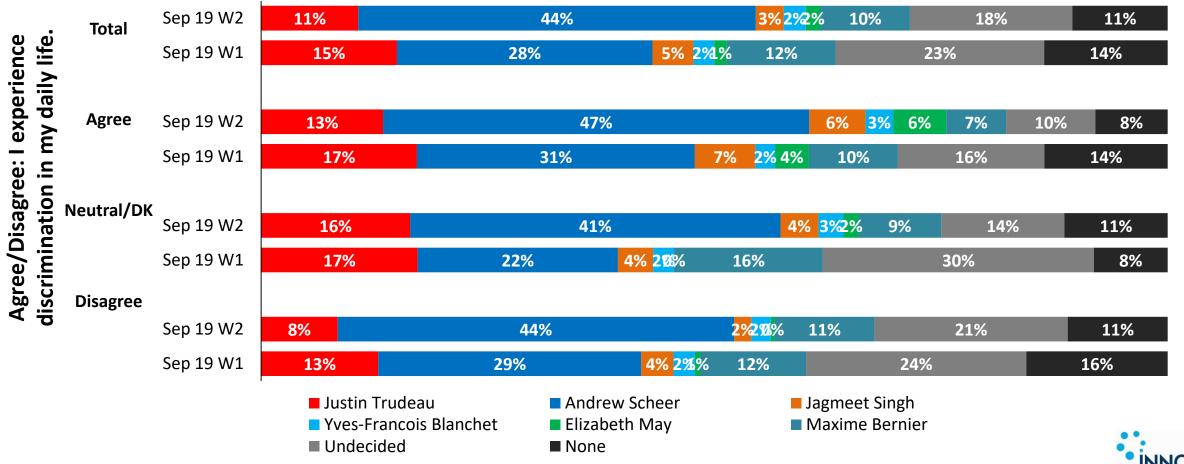
[showing only Liberal partisans; n=558]



### **Dishonest among Liberals Partisans:** Andrew Scheer is up by more than 10 points among all groups as the number of W1 undecided Liberals drops



Now we would like to read you a list of different words or phrases that describe some political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate who it BEST describes... **Dishonest** by: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? *I experience discrimination in my daily life*. [showing only Liberal partisans; n=558]

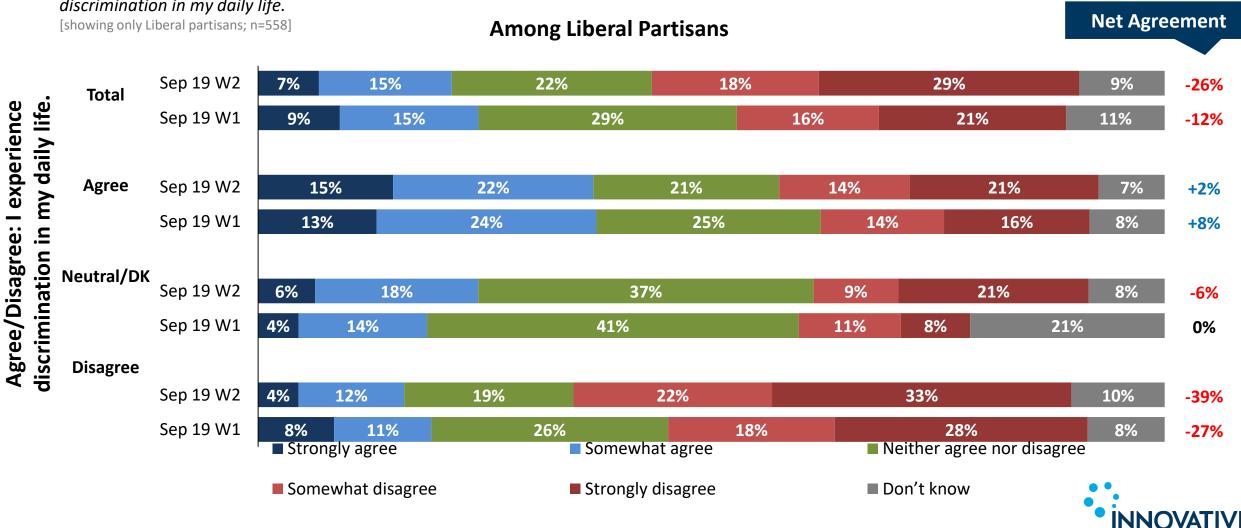




# Commitment to Progressive Change among Liberals Partisans: Agreement is down since early September



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