

### **Exit Poll:** Climate Change in the 2019 Canadian Federal Election





For Release: November 7, 2019

### Methodology <sup>1</sup> Sampling and Reliability

- Methodology/Sample: Online survey of randomly-selected sample of N=5,002 adult (18+) Canadians who reported voting in the 2019 Federal Election.
- Field Window: October 23-25, 2019
- Reliability: A margin of error cannot be applied to online samples. A probability sample of this size would carry a margin of error of ±1.4%, 19 times out of 20. Quotas and statistical weighting were applied to ensure the sample accurately represents the actual voting electorate in the 2019 Federal Election, based upon Elections Canada statistics, in terms of the provincial distribution of voters and the provincial and national distribution of political party support.

Province	Number of interviews (Unweighted)	Number of interviews (Weighted)	Margin of error			
British Columbia	817	668	± 3.4%			
Alberta	785	571	± 3.5%			
Manitoba	358	162	± 5.2%			
Saskatchewan	378	160	± 5.0%			
Ontario	1123	1898	± 2.9%			
Quebec	1000	1183	± 3.1%			
New Brunswick	161	148	± 7.7%			
Nova Scotia	194	122	± 7.0%			
Newfoundland & Labrador	139	67	± 8.3%			
Prince Edward Island	47*	23	± 14.3%			
Canada	5,002	5,002	± 1.4%			

<sup>\*</sup>Caution: PEI results are based on a small sample. Therefore, they should be viewed as directional, rather than statistically significant.



### Methodology <sup>2</sup> Ballot by Province

B . V . IF		Province									
Party Voted For	Total	ВС	AB	MN	SK	ON	PQ	NB	NS	NFLD	PEI
BASE: UNWEIGHTED	5002	817	785	358	378	1123	1000	161	194	139	47
BASE: WEIGHTED	5002	668	571	162	160	1898	1183	148	122	67	23
Liberal Party, led by Justin Trudeau	33%	26%	14%	26%	12%	41%	34%	41%	38%	45%	44%
Conservative Party, led by Andrew Scheer	34%	34%	69%	45%	64%	33%	16%	26%	33%	28%	27%
NDP, led by Jagmeet Singh	16%	24%	12%	21%	20%	17%	11%	19%	9%	24%	8%
Green Party, led by Elizabeth May	6%	12%	3%	5%	3%	6%	4%	11%	17%	3%	21%
Bloc Quebecois (BQ), led by Yves-Francois Blanchet	8%	-	-	-	-	-	33%	-	-	-	-
People's Party of Canada, led by Maxime Bernier	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	2%	-	-
Some Other Party	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	2%	1%	0%	0%



#### **Key Findings <sup>1</sup>**

- The 2019 federal election was decided more by party/leader orientations and the values associated with these brands – than by issues.
  - Four-in-ten (41%) of voters primarily based their ballot choice on a desire to see a party form majority government (30%) or a leader become Prime Minister. Moreover, another 21% based their vote on wanting to avoid another party or leader from forming government.
  - Another quarter (24%) based their vote on a desire to see their party of choice form/lead a minority government (18%) or have influence in a minority government or parliament (6%).
  - Just 12% based their vote on a specific policy or issue.
- As part of the ballot decision and casting process, six-in-ten (63%) voters felt that a Liberal Minority Government was an acceptable outcome – the highest level of acceptability recorded for all of the possible outcomes tested. Moreover, three-quarters (73%) approve of a Liberal Minority Government that negotiates/appeals for support on a vote-by-vote (bill-by-bill) basis from any of the other parties in the House of Commons.
- Although parties/leaders and the values associated with their brands were the primary influence upon vote choice, policies and issues shape political brands. Thus, we asked voters to rate a range of issues in terms of each issue's influence on their ballot decision. The primary issues were rooted in affordability, fiscal, and economic issues. Health care, ethics, pipelines, and immigration also occupied the primary tier of issue influence, but many of these issues also have fiscal and economic underpinnings.



#### **Key Findings <sup>2</sup>**

- Climate change and the carbon tax rank among the top secondary issues influencing voters' ballot decision.
  - However, climate change is among the top 5 most influential issues for Liberal, NDP, Green and Bloc voters. Conversely, it
    was among one of the least influential issues for Conservatives and PPC voters although, on a related note, the carbon tax
    was more influential among these cohorts.
  - Ethics and accountability also emerges as a common issue among many party cohorts in this case, among majorities of all voter segments except Liberals.
- When considering all of the election promises as well as the different issues and challenges facing the Liberal Government, half (50%) of voters feel enacting policies to fight climate change should be the top (14%) or a major (36%) priority for the re-elected Government.
  - Liberal (68%), NDP (68%), and Green (77%) voters significantly more likely to prioritize climate change, especially compared
    to Conservative voters (18%).
- Specifically, two-thirds (67%) of voters want the Liberal Government to enact climate policies that are same (37%) or stronger (30%) than they campaigned on.
  - Throughout the findings, Liberal, NDP, Green, and BQ voters consistently provide higher support for action on climate change. Also, Conservative voters, as well as residents of Alberta and Saskatchewan, consistently oppose such policies and action.



#### **Key Findings 3**

- A number of climate-related policy proposals were tested, in order to measure support and opposition for possible policies and initiatives that the Liberal Government may adopt in order to pass legislation and maintain the confidence of the House.
  - There is widespread support across party lines and all provinces for undertaking a large-scale jobs program that invests in clean energy and green infrastructure.
  - Six-in-ten voters support setting stronger climate change targets, which reduce Canada's overall greenhouse gas emissions to zero by the year 2050 (63%) and enacting legislation and accountability measures that ensure Canada never misses another climate target (61%). Three-in-ten voters are opposed to these policy proposals (29% and 30%, respectively).
    - Eight-in-ten Liberal (82%), NDP (82%), BQ (86%), and Green (88%) Voters support setting stronger climate change targets, whereas this is true of just 29% of Conservative Voters (63% are opposed).
    - Similarly, eight-in-ten Liberal (78%), NDP (81%), BQ (86%), and Green (87%) Voters support climate change target accountability measures, whereas this is true of just 27% of Conservative Voters (63% are opposed).
    - Across the provinces, majorities of voters in Manitoba (54%), British Columbia (61%), Ontario (65%), Atlantic Canada (65%), and Quebec (80%) support stronger climate change targets, whereas majorities in Saskatchewan (56%) and Alberta (59%) the provinces that would be most affected by these policies are opposed.
    - Majorities of voters in Manitoba (51%), British Columbia (61%), Ontario (63%), Atlantic Canada (64%), and Quebec (78%) support climate change target accountability measures, whereas majorities in the most relevant provinces of Saskatchewan (54%) and Alberta (59%) are opposed.



#### Key Findings 4

- Half of voters support gradually decreasing the production of oil and gas in Canada, while transitioning workers to other industries (55%) and ending all public subsidies\* for the oil and gas industry (51%). A third of voters are opposed to these policy proposals (37% and 34%, respectively).
  - At least seven-in-ten Liberal (69%), NDP (73%), Green (81%), and BQ (81%) Voters support decreasing oil production while transitioning workers, whereas this is true of just 23% of Conservative Voters (70% are opposed).
  - Majorities of Liberal (56%), NDP (67%), Green (75%), and BQ (84%) Voters support ending oil and gas industry subsidies, whereas this is true of just 27% of Conservative Voters (60% are opposed).
  - Across the provinces, voters in Ontario (54%), British Columbia (56%), and Quebec (73%) tend to support decreasing oil production while transitioning workers, with residents of Atlantic Canada (48%; 42% opposed) and Manitoba (47%; 43% opposed) largely split. Majorities of voters in Alberta (65%) and Saskatchewan (61%) as noted, the provinces that would be most impacted by such a policy are opposed.
  - Across the provinces, majorities of voters in British Columbia (55%) and Quebec (69%) support ending oil and gas industry subsidies, with pluralities in Manitoba (46%; 36% opposed), Atlantic Canada (46%; 35% opposed), and Ontario (50%; 33% opposed) also supportive. Majorities of voters in Alberta (65%) and Saskatchewan (57%) the most relevant provinces regarding this policy are opposed.

<sup>\*</sup> Although the reference to "public subsidies" in this question did not mention specific subsidies, it is based on the itemization and calculation of fossil fuel industry subsidies in the 2019 International Monetary Fund "Global Fossil Fuel Subsidies Remain Large: An Update Based on Country-Level Estimates" report.





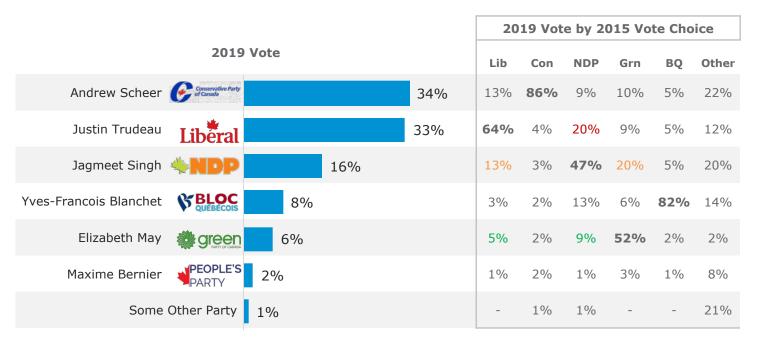
### Political dynamics behind the 2019 ballot decision



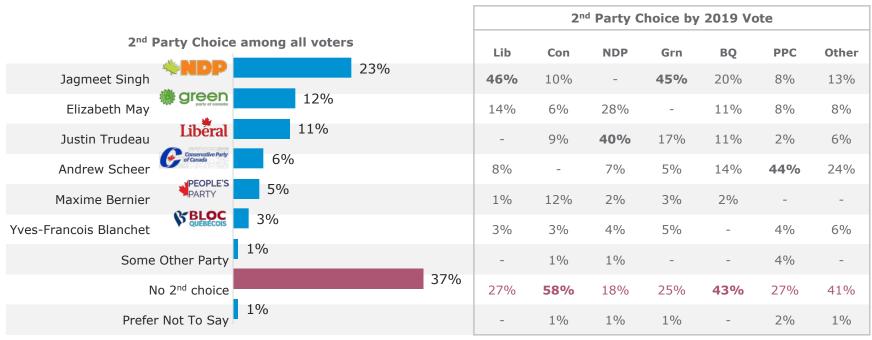


### Conservatives and BQ posted the highest voter retention rates, holding more than eight-in-ten 2015 supporters. Liberals held two-thirds. NDP and Greens held about half.

- As this survey was only conducted among 2019 voters, these results do not take into consideration 2015 voters who did not vote in 2019. Also, these results do not take into consideration voters who did not vote in 2015, do not recall their 2015, or prefer not to reveal their 2015 vote.
- About half of previous NDP and Green party voters voted for the same party this year. 20% from NDP moving to Liberals, and a similar proportion of
  previous Green voters moving to the NDP this year. While one-in-ten from both parties voted Conservatives.

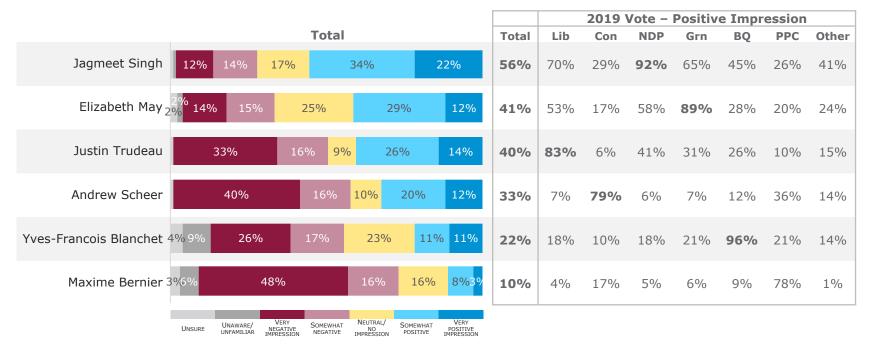


# Based upon voters' 2<sup>nd</sup> choices, Liberals and NDP were competing for similar pool of voters. Conservative and BQ voters most firm – most likely to not have a 2<sup>nd</sup> choice.



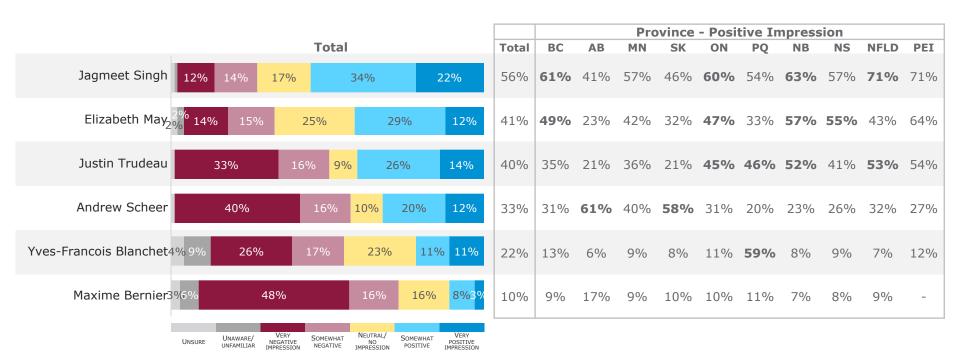
# In terms of impression ratings, Singh was most popular leader among voters. May and Trudeau occupy secondary sub-50 tier. Bernier and Scheer post strongest negatives.

Just over half of the voters have a positive impression of Jagmeet Singh (56%) with only 25% having a negative impression. Except for May, for whom voters have a moderately positive impression, the other leaders make a more negative than positive impression on the electorate.



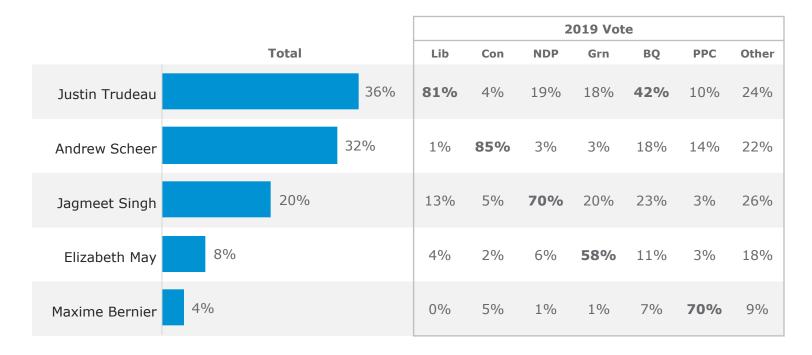


# Regionally, Singh and May saw highest impression ratings in BC, ON, and Atlantic Canada. Trudeau's highest ratings in ON, PQ, and Atlantic. Scheer's highest in AB and SK.



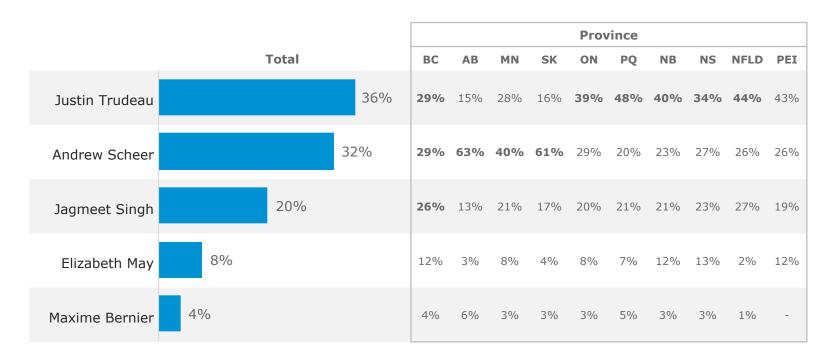


# Despite Singh's higher impression ratings, Trudeau seen as best PM, followed closely by Scheer – and Singh trailing





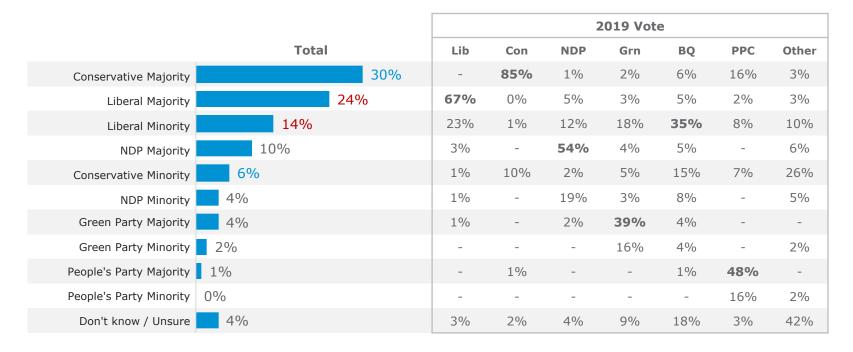
### Trudeau is preferred PM in Central and Atlantic Canada, Scheer preferred in AB and Prairies, and 3-way tie in BC





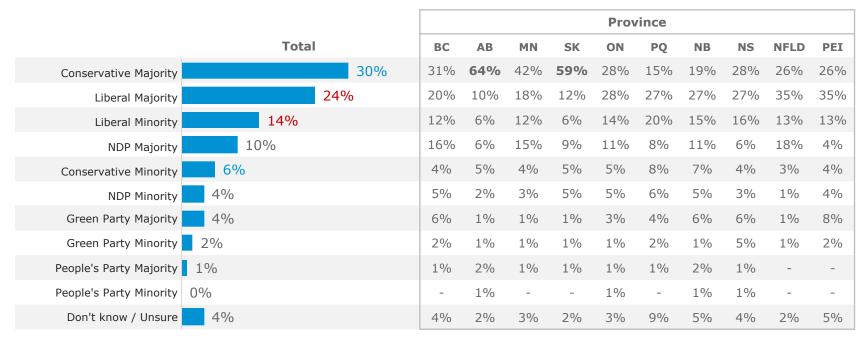
## Similar proportions preferred Liberal (38%) or Conservative (36%) Government, but Conservative voters more likely to prefer majority government

However, no one party gets a majority of votes, as vote preferences are spread thin, with only 30% choosing a Conservative Majority and 24% choosing a Liberal Majority.





### Regionally, clear majority support for a Majority Government outcome only found in AB and SK – in favour of Conservatives





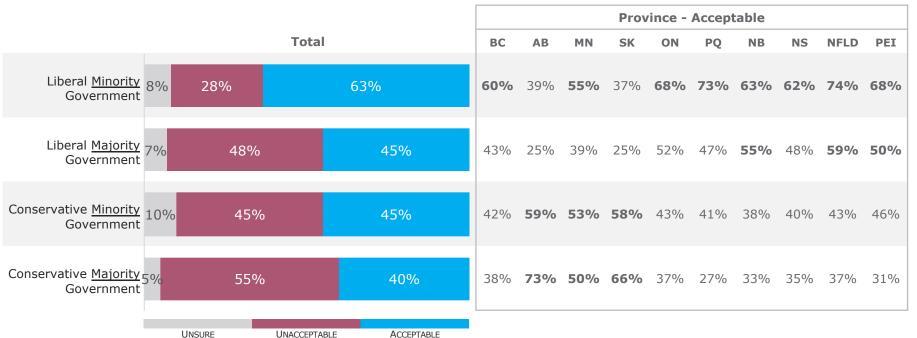
### When making ballot decision, six-in-ten voters felt Liberal Minority Government was an acceptable result

• The public was split over the acceptability of a Liberal Majority Government and a Conservative Minority Government, with a slight majority feeling that a Conservative Majority Government was unacceptable.



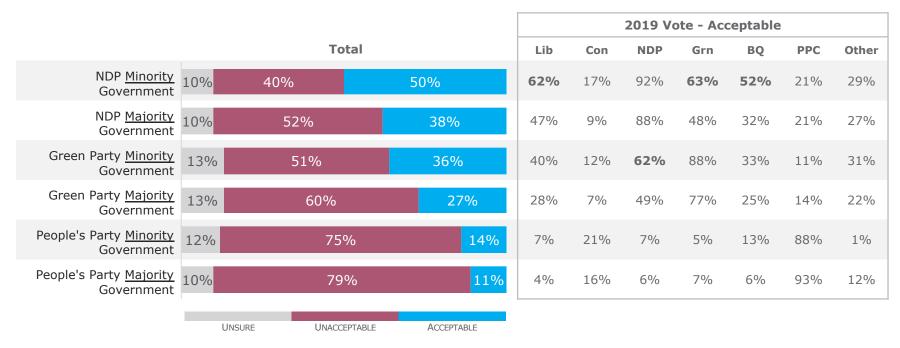


### A Liberal Minority Government was acceptable to majorities of residents in all provinces except AB and SK



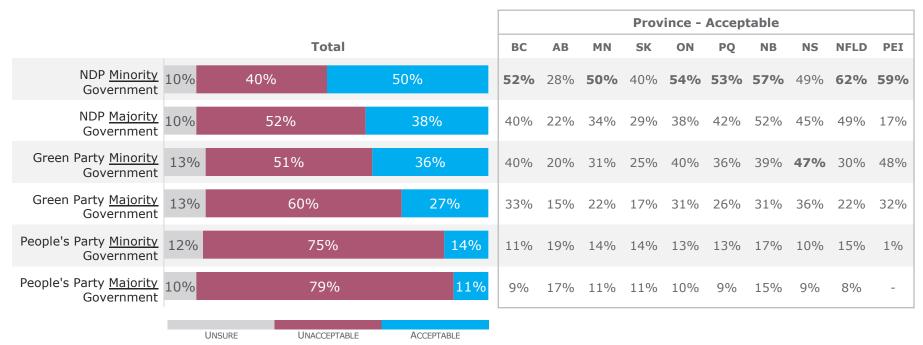


# Half felt that a NDP Minority Government was acceptable, but majorities felt other possible outcomes were unacceptable





### A NDP Minority Government was acceptable to a slim majority of voters in most provinces – not including AB and SK







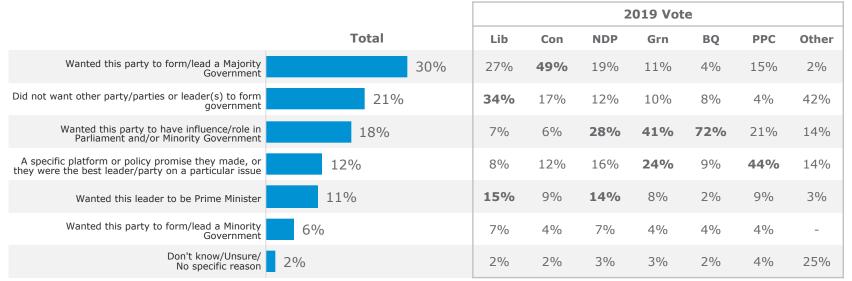
### Key influences upon the 2019 ballot decision



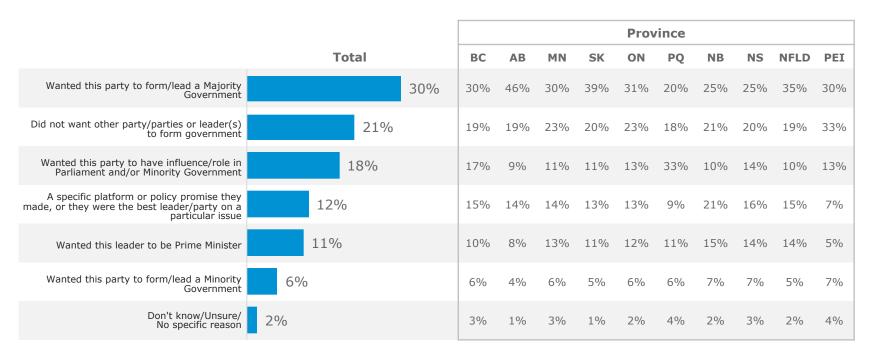


# For 41% of voters, the main reason behind their ballot choice was to see a party form a majority government (30%) or to see a party leader become the PM (11%)

- This was an election decided more by party/leader preference and the values associated with these brands than by issues. In addition to the above, 21% based their vote on avoiding another party or leader from forming government. Another quarter (24%) based their vote on a desire to see their party of choice form/lead a minority government (18%) or have influence in a minority government or parliament (6%). Just 12% based their vote on a specific policy or issue.
- For Liberal voters, the main reason was to not have any other party/leader form the government (34%), whereas Conservatives voters were mainly aiming for a majority government (49%). Bloc (72%), Green (41%) and NDP (28%) party voters mainly voted to have their party play an influential role in the Parliament or Minority government. Liberal (15%) and NDP (14%) voters were the most likely to base their vote on a desire to see their party leader become PM. People's Party of Canada (44%) and Green party (24%) voters were, by far, the most likely to base their vote on a specific issue or policy.



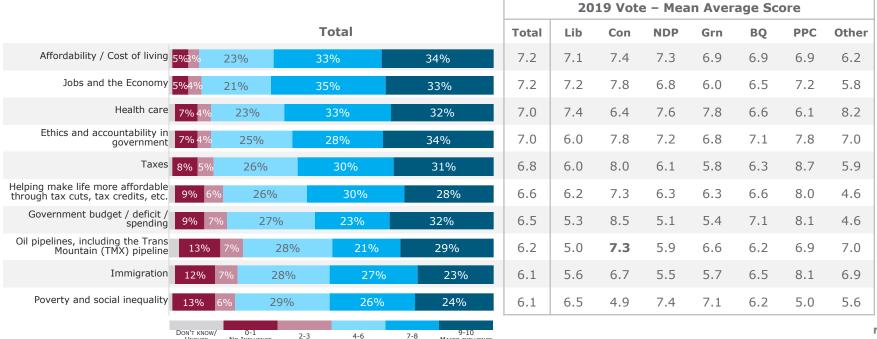
### Across the provinces, pluralities voted to see their party/leader of choice achieve majority/PM.





#### Ranking issues by influence on ballot decision<sup>1</sup>: Affordability, fiscal, and economic issues are the primary issues – but also health care, ethics, pipelines, and immigration

• Although parties/leaders – and the values associated with their brands – were the primary influence upon vote choice, policies and issues shape political brands. Thus, we asked voters to rate a range of issues in terms of each issue's influence on their ballot decision.



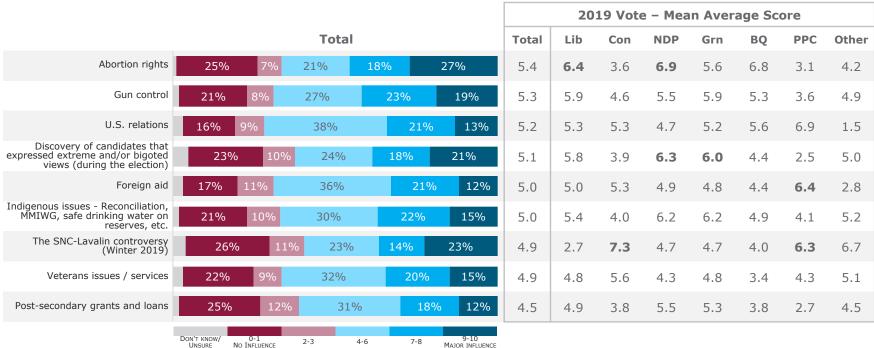


### Ranking issues by influence on ballot decision<sup>2</sup>: Climate change and carbon tax rank among top secondary issues – with climate driving left voters and carbon tax driving right voters

					2019 Vote - Mean Average Score					ore		
	Total					Lib	Con	NDP	Grn	BQ	PPC	Other
The Liberal Government's carbon pricing and rebate system, also known as the carbon tax	15% 6%	26%	21%	28%	6.0	5.4	7.3	5.2	5.4	5.3	7.1	6.4
Climate change	17% 6%	23%	24%	28%	6.0	7.1	4.0	7.2	8.2	6.7	4.2	5.8
Foreign policy / relations	12% 7%	31%	27%	21%	6.0	6.3	6.3	5.1	5.4	5.4	7.1	4.0
Housing (affordability and availability)	13% 7%	31%	27%	20%	5.8	6.0	5.4	6.5	6.5	5.7	5.0	3.7
Seniors' issues / Aging population	12% 8%	32%	25%	19%	5.8	5.6	6.1	5.8	6.0	5.6	4.4	5.4
Asylum seekers and irregular border crossers	14% 10%	31%	20%	23%	5.7	5.1	6.4	4.9	5.6	6.3	7.9	5.6
Crime / public safety	12% 10%	33%	26%	17%	5.7	5.5	6.3	5.1	4.8	5.1	5.7	5.6
Trade agreements, including NAFTA / USMCA	13% 7%	34%	27%	15%	5.7	5.9	5.9	5.0	4.8	5.3	5.5	3.9
Refugees	15% 9%	29%	24%	20%	5.6	5.5	5.8	5.4	6.0	5.6	6.7	5.7
Environmental issues other than climate change	16% 8%	31%	25%	18%	5.6	6.2	4.0	6.4	7.7	6.3	3.7	5.4
Pharmacare	18% 7%	28%	25%	19%	5.5	5.9	4.6	6.7	6.2	5.1	5.1	5.5
	Don't know/ 0-1	2-3	4-6 7-8	9-10								

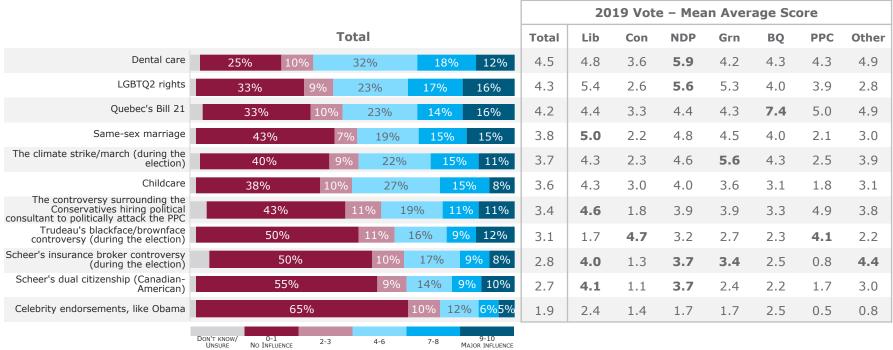


### Ranking issues by influence on ballot decision<sup>3</sup>: Middling issues include abortion rights, gun control, and controversies





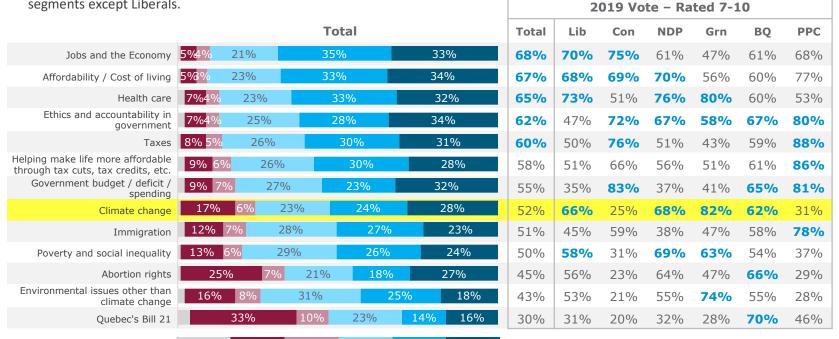
### Ranking issues by influence on ballot decision<sup>4</sup>: Lesser, tertiary issues include LGBTQ2 issues, controversies, Bill 21 – which was a far more influential issue for BQ voters than others





### Ranking issues by influence on ballot decision<sup>5</sup>: The top 5 issues, overall and among party voters

It is notable that climate change is one of the top 5 most influential issues among Liberal, NDP, Green and Bloc voters. Conversely, it was among one of the least influential issues for the Conservatives and PPC voters – although, on a related note, the carbon tax was more influential among this cohort. Ethics and accountability also emerges as a common issue among many party cohorts – in this case, among majorities of all voter segments except Liberals.





7-8

4-6

2-3

DON'T KNOW/

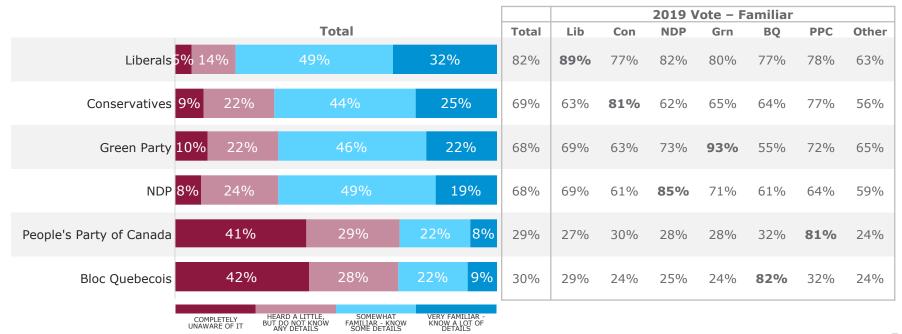


#### **Assessments of climate plans**



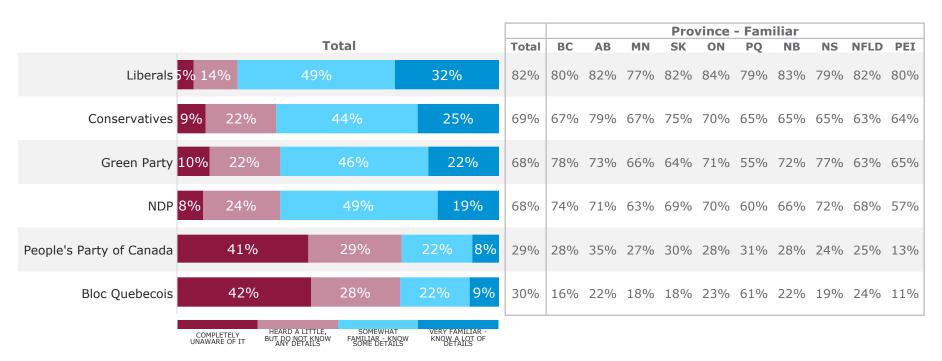


### At least two-thirds of voters express largely moderate levels of familiarity with 4 main parties' climate plans

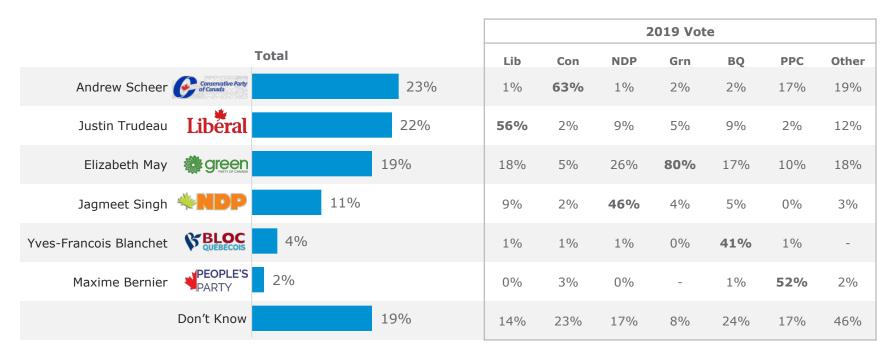




### Across the provinces, voters are most familiar with the Liberal climate plan

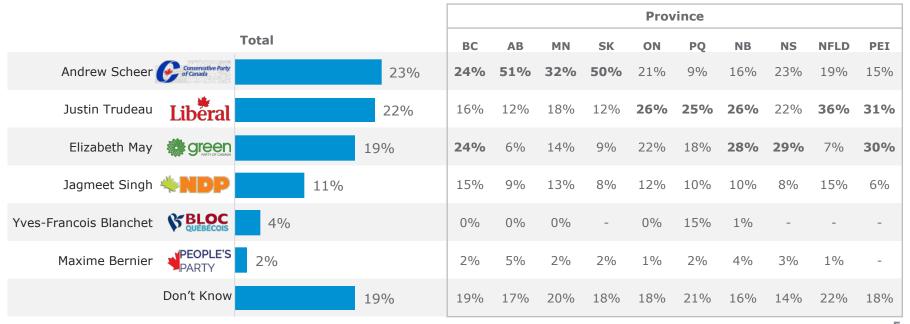


## Among those expressing awareness of one or more party climate plans, there is no consensus preference – voters tend to prefer the plan offered by their party of choice



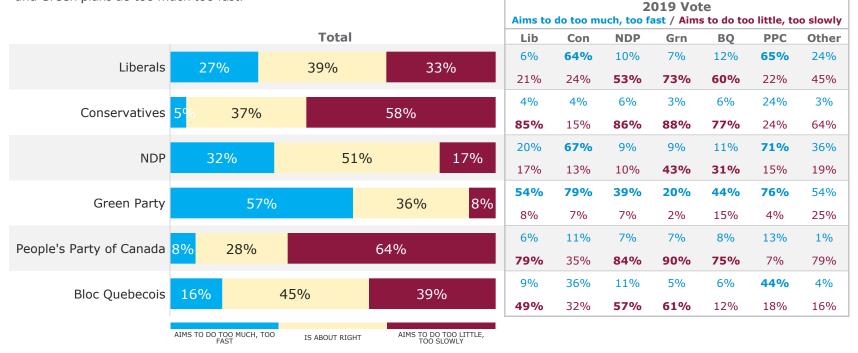


## AB, MN, SK tend to prefer the Conservative climate plan. BC is split over Conservative and Green Plans. Remaining provinces largely split over Liberal and Green plans.



# Among voters who are aware of party climate plans, NDP gets best assessment, followed by Liberals. Majorities feel Greens overly ambitious and Conservatives not enough.

• All voters provide the best assessment to the plan offered by their party of choice. Notably, three-quarters or more of Liberal, NDP, Green, and BQ voters feel the Conservative plan does too little too slowly, whereas two-thirds or more Conservative voters feel that the Liberal, NDP, and Green plans do too much too fast.

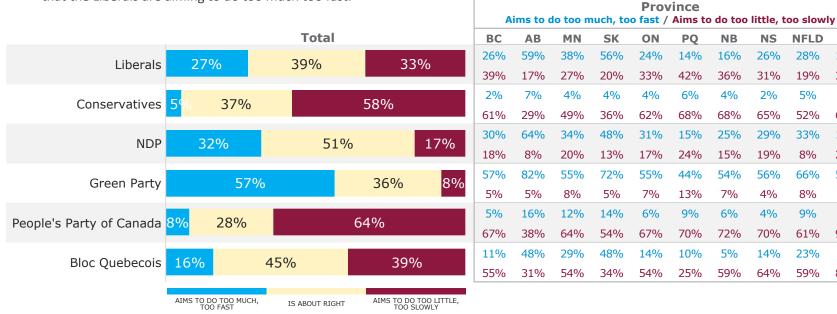


## Across the provinces, NDP and Liberal plans receive most positive assessments in BC and Central/Atlantic Canada, perform worst where Conservatives excel – AB and SK.

• BC, Ontario and Quebec voters are more likely to feel that the Conservatives aim to do too little too slowly when it comes to climate change (61%, 62%, 68% respectively), whereas fewer feel that the Liberal's aim to do too little too slowly (39%, 33%, 42% respectively).

• Notably, even voters from Alberta, SK and MN are more likely to feel that the Conservatives (29%, 49%, 36% resp.) are aiming to do too little too slowly than compared to the Liberals (17%, 27%, 20% resp.) – they are more likely to think the Conservatives policy is just about right and

that the Liberals are aiming to do too much too fast.



PEI

10%

38%

67%

16%

23%

51%

3%

90%

2%

86%



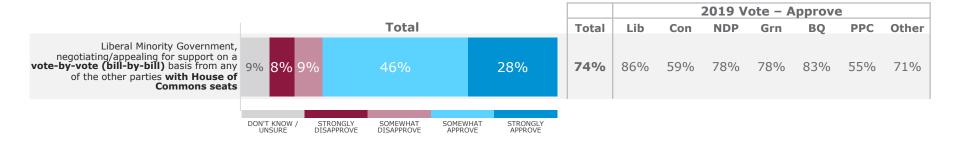
#### Preferences for Approaches and Policies of Liberal Minority Government





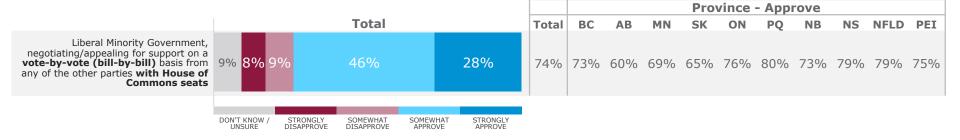
## Three-quarters of voters approve of a Liberal Minority Government that appeals/negotiates for support on a vote-by-vote (bill-by-bill) basis from the other parties

- When considering the results of the election, three-quarters (74%) of voters approve of the Liberal Minority government "negotiating/appealing for support on a vote-by-vote (bill-by-bill) basis from any of the other parties with seats in the House of Commons".
- Two-thirds approve of the Liberal Minority government negotiating with the NDP and/or Greens for support on a vote-by-vote basis. Half approve of getting support for a certain amount of time or forming a coalition government with the NDP.





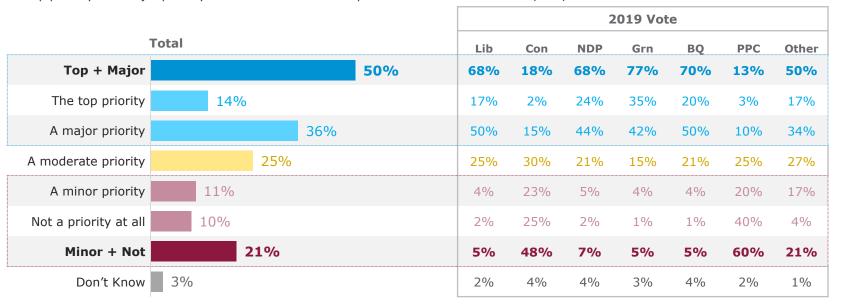
### This approach to the Minority Parliament is supported by at least six-in-ten residents in each province





## Half of voters feel enacting policies to fight climate change should be the top (14%) or a major (36%) priority for the Liberal Government

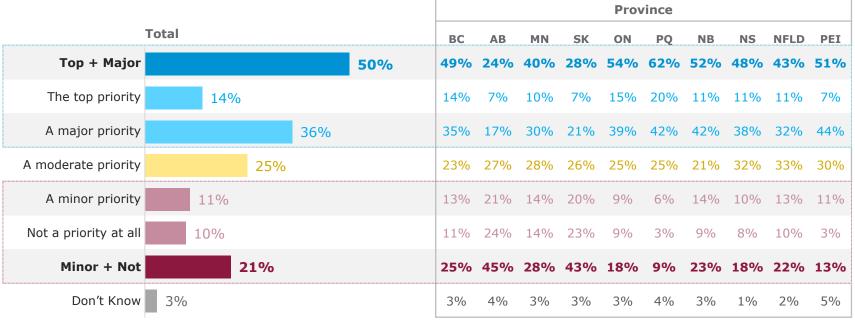
- Three-quarters (75%) of voters feel that enacting policies and initiatives to fight climate change should be a priority top (14%), major (36%) or a moderate (25%) for the re-elected Liberal Government, even when considering all of the election promises that were made as well as the different issues and challenges facing the government.
- Liberal (68%), NDP (68%), Bloc (70%) and Green (77%) voters are significantly more likely to feel that that fighting climate change should be the top priority or a major priority for the Government compared to Conservative voters (18%).





### Voters in QC, ON, BC, and Atlantic Canada are more likely to prioritize climate change – AB and SK least likely

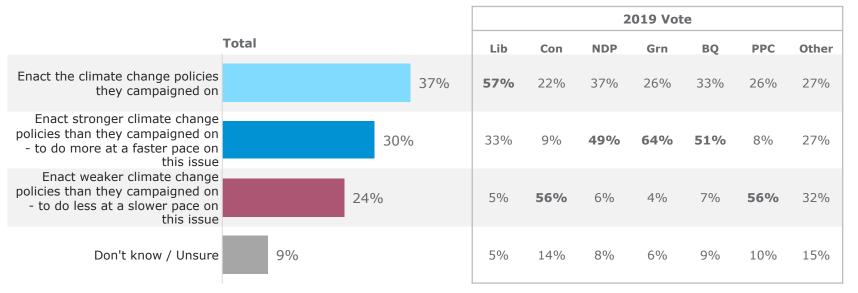
• Across the provinces, half or more voters in Quebec (62%), Ontario (54%), British Columbia (49%), and Atlantic Canada (49%) feel that fighting climate change should be the top priority or a major priority for the Government. Voters in Manitoba (40%), Saskatchewan (28%), and Alberta (24%) are less likely to prioritize this policy.





## Two-thirds (67%) want Liberal Government to enact climate policies that are same (37%) or stronger (30%) than they campaigned on

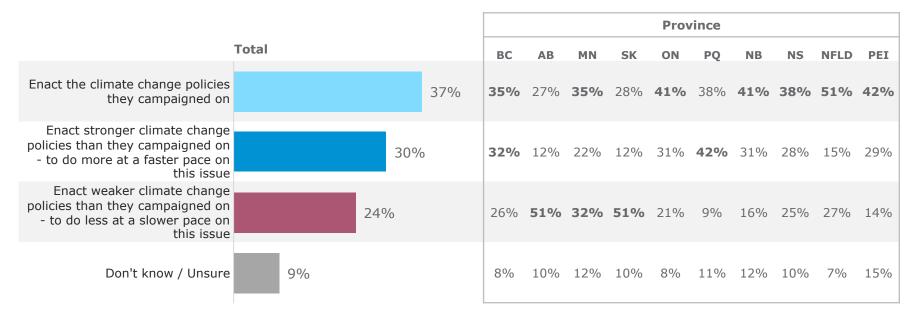
- Liberal voters are more likely to want the government to enact the policies they campaigned (57%), whereas a third would like to see stronger policies adopted (33%). Conservative and PPC voters on the other hand want weaker climate change policies (56%).
- Majorities of Green (64%), Bloc (51%) and NDP (49%) voters want the government to enact stronger policies in order to do more at a faster pace.





## Across the provinces, majorities want Liberal Government to adopt climate policies that are same or stronger than they campaigned – except in AB, SK, and MN

- Majorities prefer the Liberal government adopt the policies as campaigned or stronger policies. That said, ON and Atlantic Canada voters are more likely to
  prefer enacting the climate policies as campaigned on, whereas those in Quebec prefer to have stronger policies adopted.
- Manitobans are divided between adopted the policies campaigned on or adopted weaker policies, whereas those in Alberta and SK want the government to adopt weaker climate change policies.





#### Introduction to policy test

As mentioned, the election resulted in a Liberal Minority Government. In order to pass legislation, another party or parties will have to support and vote with the Liberals or abstain from voting. In the case of budget bills and bills deemed to be matters of confidence, another party or parties will have to support and vote with the Liberals, or abstain from voting, in order to maintain the confidence of the House of Commons and avoid triggering an election.

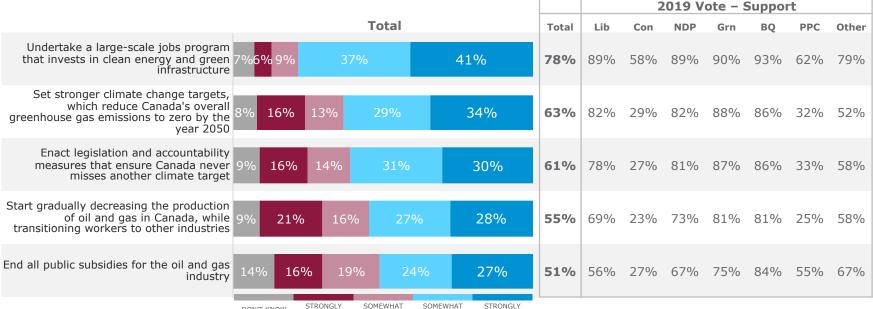
Now, in order for the other parties – like, for example, the NDP, or the Green Party, or the Bloc Québécois (BQ) – to support and vote with the Liberals on certain legislation or budget bills, they may ask that the Liberal Government adopt certain policies.

Thinking about this, do you support or oppose the Liberal Government adopting each of the following policies in return for another party or parties agreeing to support and vote with them on certain legislation or budget bills? How about...?



### Majorities support Liberal Government adopting policies that establish large-scale jobs/green infrastructure plan, stronger net zero 2050 targets, and climate change target accountability

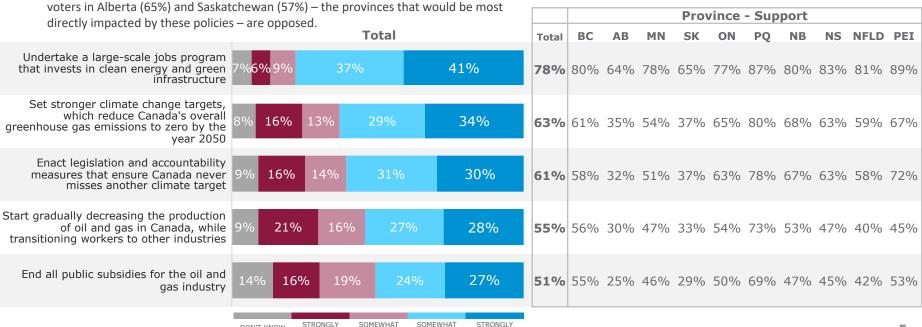
• The jobs/infrastructure plan receives support across all parties and provinces. The net zero 2050 and accountability policy proposals receive support from greater majorities of Liberal, NDP, BQ, and Green voters (a pattern that exists for all policies tested) as well as majorities of residents of most provinces, but Conservative voters and residents of AB and SK – the provinces most impacted by such policies – are opposed. About half support gradually decreasing oil/gas production and transitioning workers (55%) and ending all oil/gas industry subsidies (51%). However, as is demonstrated in the next slide, the transitioning proposal leaves residents of MN and Atlantic Canada largely split while AB and SK residents – who would be most impacted – are opposed.





# Widespread support for jobs/ infrastructure plan. However, AB and SK opposed to other proposals, and MN and Atlantic Canada split on reduction/transitioning proposal.

• Across the provinces, majorities of voters in Ontario (54%), British Columbia (56%), and Quebec (73%) support decreasing oil production while transitioning workers, with residents of Atlantic Canada (48%; 42% opposed) and Manitoba (47%; 43% opposed) largely split. Majorities of voters in Alberta (65%) and Saskatchewan (61%) are opposed. Majorities of voters in British Columbia (55%) and Quebec (69%) support ending oil and gas industry subsidies, with pluralities in Manitoba (46%; 36% opposed), Atlantic Canada (46%; 35% opposed), and Ontario (50%; 33% opposed) also supportive. Again, majorities of







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