THE 2004 CANADIAN ELECTION STUDY

This is the final component of the 2004 Canadian Election Study. We appreciate the assistance you have provided us in the study and hope you will complete this questionnaire as soon as possible.

All responses to this questionnaire will be kept strictly confidential. Please return the questionnaire in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. No postage is required.

This questionnaire should only be completed by the same person who was interviewed over the telephone.
For each statement below, please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. Please write the number that best reflects your opinion in the space at the right of each statement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country ...........................................
2. The government should pay the most attention to those citizens who are well informed ..................
3. If a company has to lay off some of its employees, the first workers to be laid off should be women whose husbands have jobs ...........................................
4. The welfare state makes people less willing to look after themselves ..................................
5. Discrimination makes it extremely difficult for women to get jobs equal to their abilities ..................
6. Protecting the environment is more important than creating jobs ........................................
7. Newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society ........................................
8. The world is always changing and we should adapt our view of moral behaviour to these changes ..........
9. This country would have many fewer problems if there was more emphasis on traditional family values ........
10. It is more difficult for non-whites to be successful in Canadian society than it is for whites ...........
11. If people really want work, they can find a job ..............................................................
12. We should look after Canadians born in this country first and others second ................................
13. We have gone too far in pushing bilingualism in Canada ........................................................
14. Minority groups need special rights ..................................................................................
15. The best way to protect women's interests is to have more women in Parliament .........................

Please circle the number that best reflects your opinion.

1. The government should:
   See to it that everyone has a decent standard of living 1
   Leave people to get ahead on their own 2
   Not sure 8

2. The feminist movement:
   Just tries to get equal treatment for women 1
   Puts men down 2
   Not sure 8

3. Which is more important in a democratic society:
   Letting the majority decide 1
   Protecting the needs and rights of minorities 2
   Not sure 8

4. Which comes closest to your own view:
   If Aboriginal peoples tried harder, they could be as well off as other Canadians 1
   Social and economic conditions make it almost impossible for most Aboriginal peoples to overcome poverty 2
   Not sure 8

5. Which statement comes closest to your view:
   All political parties should receive an equal amount of free broadcast time during a federal election 1
   Parties that get more votes should get more free broadcast time 2
   Not sure 8

6. The feminist movement encourages women:
   To be independent and speak up for themselves 1
   To be selfish and think only of themselves 2
   Not sure 8

7. Do you think that:
   Quite a few of the people running the government are a little crooked 1
   Not very many are crooked 2
   Hardly any of them are crooked 3
   Not sure 8

8. Do you think that people in the government:
   Waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes 1
   Waste some of it 2
   Don't waste very much of it 3
   Not sure 8
SECTION C

1. Thinking about people who are NOT family members or relatives, how many close friends do you have? ____________

2. How often are you in touch with close friends?
   - Every day .................. 1
   - A few times a week .......... 2
   - A few times a month .......... 3
   - Less often .................. 4

3. How many of these friends...
   Most Some None
   - Are the same sex as you? ...... 1 2 3
   - Are about the same age as you? .... 1 2 3
   - Have a similar level of education as you? .. 1 2 3
   - Have a similar level of income as you? .. 1 2 3
   - Are the same race as you? ...... 1 2 3

4. Which of the following do you identify with most?
   - Your neighbourhood, town or city ........ 1
   - Your region ........................ 2
   - Your province ................... 3
   - Canada ............................ 4
   - North America .................. 5
   - The world as a whole ........... 6

SECTION D

Please indicate how much confidence you have in the following institutions. Circle the number that best reflects your opinion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>A great deal</th>
<th>Quite a lot</th>
<th>Not very much</th>
<th>None at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organized religion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The armed forces</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The civil service</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The police</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The federal government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your provincial or territorial government</td>
<td>1 2 3 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big business</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The media</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION E

For each statement below, please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. Please write the number that best reflects your opinion in the space at the right of each statement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The problem with democracy is that most people don't really know what's best for them</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Most people have enough sense to tell whether the government is doing a good job</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. People who don't vote have no right to criticize the government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. There are too many polls during election campaigns</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Those elected to Parliament soon lose touch with the people</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Political parties spend too much time catering to minorities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. People who are trying to become candidates for political parties should be able to issue tax receipts for political contributions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. A party that gets 10% of the vote should get 10% of the seats</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Our democracy works better when there are more political parties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Immigrants make an important contribution to this country</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. People like me don't have any say about what the government does</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Poll results are usually correct</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. We could probably solve most of our big national problems if decisions could be brought back to the people at the grass roots</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION F

1. How satisfied are you with the way the electoral system works in Canada?

   Very satisfied ........................................ 1
   Fairly satisfied ...................................... 2
   Not very satisfied ................................... 3
   Not at all satisfied .................................. 4

2. Which of the following is most responsible for how Canada's economy has been doing?

   Business .............................................. 1
   Unions ................................................ 2
   Federal government ................................ 3
   Provincial governments ......................... 4
   The United States .................................. 5
   Not sure ............................................... 8

3. Which government has more impact on your life?

   The federal government ......................... 1
   The provincial government ..................... 2
   The local government ............................ 3
   Not sure ............................................. 8

4. During the most recent election how often did you talk to other people to persuade them to vote for a particular party or candidate?

   Frequently ........................................ 1
   Occasionally ....................................... 2
   Rarely .............................................. 3
   Never ............................................... 4

5. During the most recent election did you show your support for a particular party or candidate by, for example, attending a meeting, putting up a poster, or in some other way?

   Frequently ........................................ 1
   Occasionally ....................................... 2
   Rarely .............................................. 3
   Never ............................................... 4

6. During the last election campaign did a candidate or anyone from a political party contact you to persuade you to vote for them?

   Yes .................................................. 1
   No .................................................... 5

7. What do you think has been the most important issue facing Canada over the last FOUR years?

   ___________________________________________

8. And thinking about that issue, how good or bad a job has the government in Ottawa done over the past 4 years?

   Very good job ...................................... 1
   Good job .......................................... 2
   Bad job ............................................ 3
   Very bad job ...................................... 4

9. Now thinking about the performance of the government in Ottawa in general, what kind of job has it done over the past 4 years?

   Very good job ...................................... 1
   Good job .......................................... 2
   Bad job ............................................ 3
   Very bad job ...................................... 4

10. Some people say it makes a big difference who is in power. Others say that it doesn't make any difference who is in power. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best reflects your opinion.

   It makes a big difference who is in power
   1  2  3  4  5
   It doesn't make any difference who is in power

11. Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who people vote for can make a big difference to what happens. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best reflects your opinion.

   Who people vote for won't make any difference
   1  2  3  4  5
   Who people vote for can make a big difference

12. If a law conflicts with the Charter of Rights, who should have the final say?

   Courts .............................................. 1
   Government ......................................... 2
   Not sure ............................................. 8

SECTION G

For each statement below, please indicate if you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. Please write the number that best reflects your opinion in the space at the right of each statement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1  2  3  4  5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Canada should participate in peacekeeping operations abroad even if it means putting the lives of Canadian soldiers at risk.

2. International trade creates more jobs in Canada than it destroys.

3. Too many recent immigrants just don't want to fit into Canadian society.
4. Only people who are legally married should be having children.

5. We must crack down on crime, even if that means that criminals lose their rights.

6. Anglophones in Quebec are better treated than francophones in the rest of Canada.

7. Federal government services should be provided in only one language, French in Quebec and English in the rest of Canada.

8. We would have better laws if Members of Parliament were allowed to vote for what they thought was best rather than having to vote the same way as their party.

9. Democracy may have problems but it’s better than any other form of government.

10. Small political parties are treated unfairly in Canada.

11. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can’t really understand what’s going on.

SECTION H

1. Would you say that any of the Federal political parties in Canada represents your views reasonably well?

   Yes ................................................. 1
   No (Go to Question 3) .......................... 5

2. IF YES, which Federal party represents your views best?

   Liberal ........................................... 1
   Conservative ................................... 2
   N.D.P. ............................................ 3
   Bloc Québécois ................................. 4
   Other (specify) __________________________ 5

3. Regardless of how you feel about the Federal parties, would you say that any of the individual party leaders represents your views reasonably well?

   Yes ................................................. 1
   No (Go to Question 5) .......................... 5

4. IF YES, which party leader represents your views best?

   Paul Martin .................................... 1
   Stephen Harper ................................ 2
   Jack Layton ................................... 3
   Gilles Duceppe ................................. 4
   Other (specify) __________________________ 5

5. Thinking about how elections in Canada work in practice, how well do you think they ensure that the views of MPs accurately reflect the views of voters?

   Very well ...................................... 1
   Quite well ..................................... 2
   Not very well .................................. 3
   Not well at all ................................ 4

6a. Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular Federal party?

   Yes (Go to Question 7) ......................... 1
   No .................................................. 5

6b. Do you feel a little closer to one of the Federal political parties than the others?

   Yes .................................................. 1
   No (Go to Question 9) .......................... 5

7. Which party do you feel closest to?

   Federal Liberal ................................ 1
   Federal Conservative ......................... 2
   Federal N.D.P. .................................. 3
   Bloc Québécois ................................ 4
   Other (specify) __________________________ 5

8. How close do you feel to this party?

   Very close ..................................... 1
   Somewhat close ................................ 2
   Not very close .................................. 3

9. Using the scale below, please rate each party. Just write in the number that best reflects your opinion of each party.

   Strongly dislike ............................... 1
   Strongly like .................................. 10

   Federal Liberal Party .........................
   Federal Conservative Party ...............  
   Federal N.D.P. ................................  
   Bloc Québécois ...............................  
   Other (specify) __________________________

10. In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

    Left ............................................. 1
    Right ......................................... 10

    Your own position ............................

11. Using the same scale, where would you place the...
12. Over the past five years have you expressed your views about something the government should or should not be doing by:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights nowadays in Canada?

- A lot ................. 1
- Some .................. 2
- Not much ............. 3
- None at all .......... 4

14. How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is among politicians in Canada?

- Very widespread ........ 1
- Quite widespread ....... 2
- Not very widespread ... 3
- It hardly happens at all 4

SECTION I

1. Of the political parties listed below, which one do you think would be BEST at...

1 Federal Liberal
2 Federal Conservative
3 Federal N.D.P.
4 Bloc Québécois

Protecting the environment? ........................................
Managing Canada's role in the world? .........................
Fighting crime? ..................................................
Improving health care? ...........................................
Promoting traditional family values? .........................
Improving social welfare programs? ..........................
Cutting taxes? ...................................................
Preserving national unity? ....................................
Creating jobs? ...................................................
Getting along with provincial governments? ................
Defending the interests of your region? ......................
Dealing with same sex marriage? ............................
Dealing with corruption in government? ....................

SECTION J

1. Please circle any voluntary association(s) in which you have been active during the past five years:

- Community service group .................................. 1
- Business association ........................................ 1
- Professional association .................................... 1
- Environmental group ....................................... 1
- Women's group .............................................. 1
- Labour union ................................................ 1
- Ethnic association .......................................... 1
- Sports association .......................................... 1
- Religious organization ..................................... 1
- Parent's group ............................................... 1
- Other (specify) ............................................... 1

2. Here is a list of political actions that people can take. For each action, please put a circle in the appropriate column to indicate if you have actually done it, if you might do it, or if you would never do it under any circumstances.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Have done</th>
<th>Might do</th>
<th>Would never</th>
<th>Not sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sign a petition</td>
<td>1 2 3 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join in a boycott</td>
<td>1 2 3 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attend a lawful demonstration</td>
<td>1 2 3 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Join an illegal strike</td>
<td>1 2 3 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupy a building or factory</td>
<td>1 2 3 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Did you take part in a demonstration against the war in Iraq?

- Yes .............................................. 1
- No .............................................. 5

4. Do you think that demonstrations against the war had an influence on the Chrétien government?

- Yes .............................................. 1
- No .............................................. 5

5. When you were growing up, was any member of your family involved in ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Other Family</th>
<th>Member (Specify)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other political activities</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and volunteer activities</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. When you were growing up, was there a daily newspaper in your home?

Yes ........................................... 1
No ............................................... 5

7. When you were in high school did you take a civics course?

Yes ........................................... 1
No ............................................... 5
Not sure ........................................ 8

SECTION K

1. Federal political parties in Canada are required to report their expenses and revenues within 6 months of the end of each year. Is this deadline:

Too long ..................................... 1
About right .................................... 2
Too short ....................................... 3
Not sure ....................................... 8

2. Who should organize candidate selection contests in the local ridings?

Political parties ................................ 1
Elections Canada ................................ 2
Not sure ....................................... 8

3. Do you think it should be possible for someone to buy large numbers of party memberships for other people?

Yes ........................................... 1
No ............................................... 5
Not sure ....................................... 8

4. Which statement comes closest to your own view? To be a voting member of a political party of Canada, a person should be:

At least 14 years old ................................ 1
At least 18 years old and a Canadian citizen .... 2

5. How much responsibility do you think the following should have for encouraging teenagers to learn about elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>None</th>
<th>A lot</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a) Schools and teachers  1 2 3 4 5 8
b) Parents/family .......... 1 2 3 4 5 8
c) Elections Canada ........ 1 2 3 4 5 8
d) Political parties and candidates 1 2 3 4 5 8
e) Youth organizations .... 1 2 3 4 5 8

6. Do you think that there should be a fixed date for federal elections?

Yes ........................................... 1
No ............................................... 5

7. Under our present system, a party can win a majority of seats without winning a majority of votes. Do you find this...

Acceptable .................................. 1
Unacceptable ................................. 2
Not sure ....................................... 8

SECTION L

1. In what year were you born? 19 ___ ___

2. What is your gender?

Male .......................................... 1
Female ......................................... 5

3. Here is a list of occupations. Please put a circle in the appropriate column if you know any men (column1) or women (column 2) in each of these occupations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lawyer .......... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social worker .... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenter ........ 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tailor, dressmaker or furrier .... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer programmer .... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security guard .......... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashier ............. 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales or marketing manager .... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing machine operator .... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delivery driver .......... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human resources manager .... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janitor or caretaker .... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacist ............ 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Server (waiter or waitress) .... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer ............... 1 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We are very interested in any further comments you may wish to make about these or related issues.

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Thank you very much for taking the time to fill out this questionnaire. Your contribution to this project is very important. Please return the questionnaire in the envelope provided. No postage is required.

Institute for Social Research
York University

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