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IMMIGRATION, DIVERSITY, AND THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

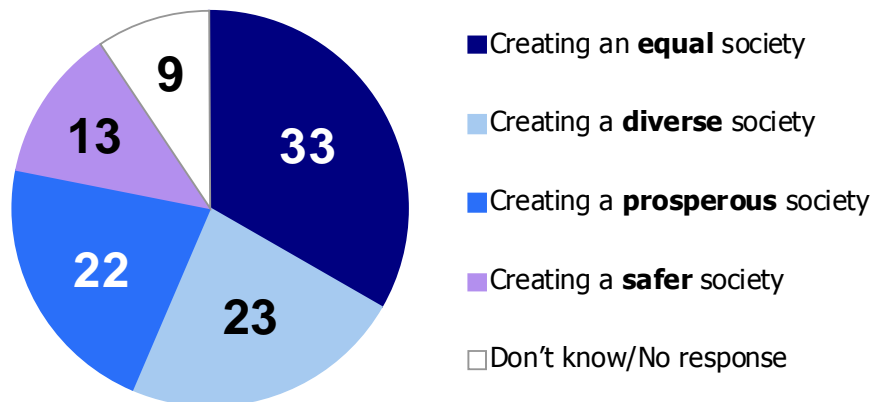
IS THE FOREIGN-BORN VOTE SWINGING BACK TO THE LIBERALS?

[Ottawa – April 19, 2013] The two largest demographic forces in Canadian society are aging and immigration. Both of these are profoundly altering the political landscape and both of these forces have been favoured CPC fortunes in recent years. Here we will focus on how immigration is altering political fortunes of different parties and speculate as to how this augurs for the future. We will also look at attitudes to immigration itself, how this is evolving in Canada and how this links to party preference (and other factors).

Canada is a rapidly pluralizing society and for the most part it seems to be managing that transition to much greater heterogeneity very well.. The huge tensions over immigration evident in both America and Europe are much more muted in Canada. Opposition to relatively much lower levels of opposition in America is more than twice as high as it is in Canada. In both America and Europe immigration and multiculturalism are hot button issues with real ballot booth consequences. Immigration is not a significant voting booth issue in Canada. Canadians also recognize diversity as a positive value (it rates high in Canada and higher than in the United States). In fact, when we asked Canadians to identify Canada’s greatest achievement over the past twenty years, diversity was tied as the second most popular choice as our greatest achievement (in fact, it was the *most* popular among some groups).

Greatest Canadian achievement

Q. Which of the following do you believe is Canada's greatest achievement over the last twenty years.

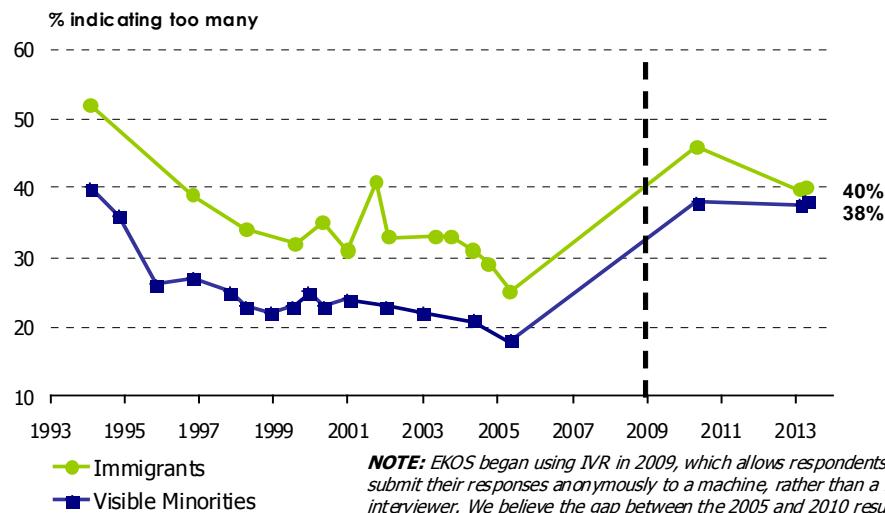


The longer term tracking of attitudes to immigration is revealing. In the mid-nineties, more than half of Canadians thought there were ‘too many’ immigrants coming to Canada. This deep anxiety and allergy to immigration was a product of both economic and cultural insecurity. The chart shows that those fear subsided substantially and that after a spike upward following the September 11th attacks, the opposition levels continued downward (though they continued to rise dramatically in the US). Using an interactive voice response (IVR) method, we resumed tracking in 2011 and those results show that opposition to immigration may be on the rise again. We do believe that a large part of this apparent rise is due to more candid responses to the robot than the more socially desirable answers provided to a live interviewer.

Tracking attitudes towards immigration and minorities

Q. In your opinion do you feel that there are too few, too many or about the right number of immigrants coming to Canada?

Q. Forgetting about the overall number of immigrants coming to Canada, **OF THOSE WHO COME** would you say there are too few, too many or the right amount who are **MEMBERS OF VISIBLE MINORITIES**?



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BASE: Canadians (half-sample each); most recent data point April 3-10, 2013 (n= 2,348/2,220)

The other tracking item is a more direct measure of racial intolerance. It asks the respondent to forget about the levels of immigration and tell us whether too many are visible minorities. While this is not a particularly harsh expression of racial intolerance (compared to things like refusals to hire, hatred and violence) it is clearly an expression of some level of racial discrimination. If one agrees that regardless of the actual number of immigrants arriving in Canada that too many of them simply aren't white, that is an expression of some level of racial intolerance.

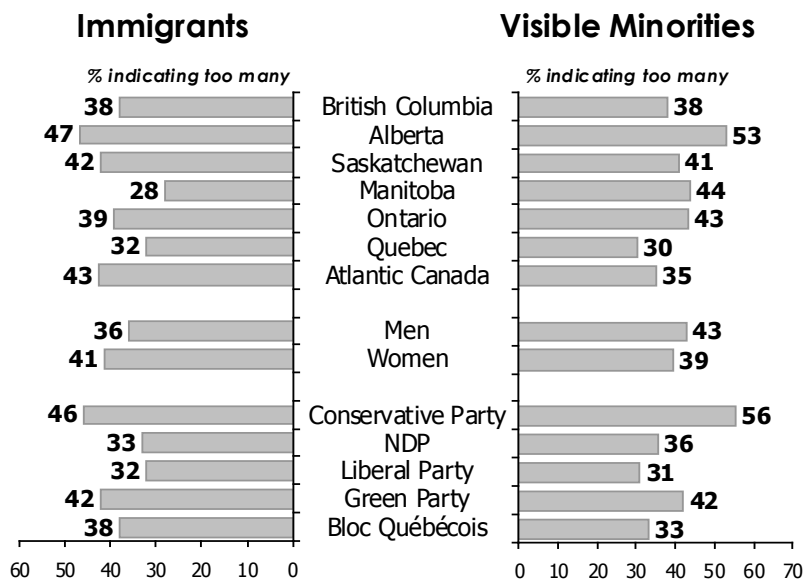
The tracking on this measure is closely linked to the overall attitudes to immigration, which suggests that part of the resistance to immigration is rooted in xenophobia or even intolerance. It has always operated at a lower level than the attitude to immigration levels question. The most recent readings show that our self-congratulatory notion of ourselves as a tolerant society which celebrates diversity may be a bit premature. The overall evidence is that hard racial intolerance

has dropped dramatically over the last fifty years in upper North America. This evidence suggests that some forms of intolerance continue to persist, albeit in more benign forms than in the past.

Our two most recent readings show another finding. The gap between general immigration and visible minority immigration has largely disappeared. This may be the reflection of the shift in composition of immigration to a much greater concentration of visible minorities than in the past, or it may signal other social changes. It bears monitoring and further investigation.

The chart below shows the patterns of who feels most strongly that there are too many immigrants in general and too many of those who are visible minorities. Two groups stand out as particularly opposed to visible minority immigration. The first group – Albertans – comes as mildly puzzling given their economic need for greater immigration for labour market shortages and the election of a gay Muslim mayor in Calgary. It may be a reflection of the same phenomenon that we saw in Toronto earlier in the nineties where rapid immigration produced short term very strong opposition which subsequently has largely disappeared. The fact that 56 per cent of Conservative supporters think there are too many visible minority immigrants shows an internal contradiction between the party outreach strategy and the leanings of most of its constituents.

Immigration and visible minorities by key demographics



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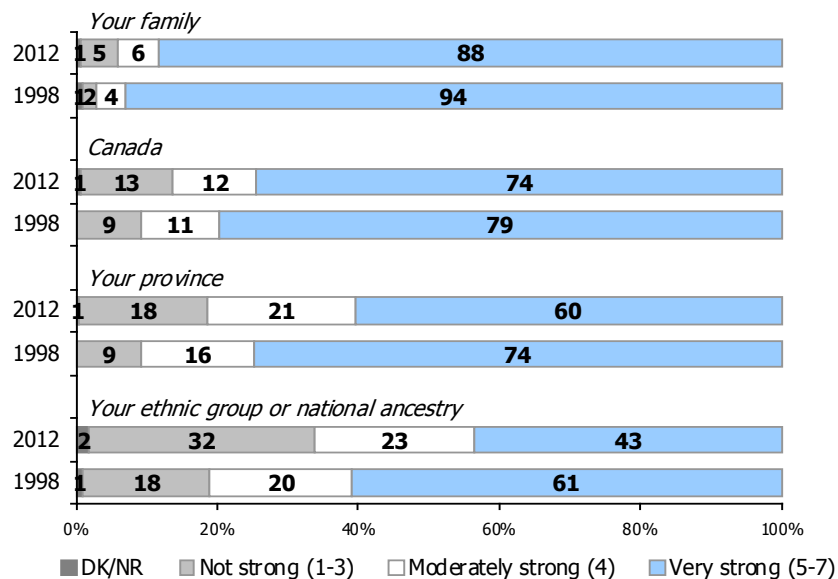
BASE: Canadians (half-sample each); April 3-10, 2013 (n=2,348/2,220)

In the nineties, one of the key concerns from critics of multicultural immigration policies was that it would produce ethnic ghettoization. A related concern would be that national unity and identity would be threatened by a fragmentation of ethnic identities and the different value systems connected those identities.

In the following chart, we can compare levels of attachment to both ethnic group/national ancestries from the late nineties to the present. Notably this period a large influx of new immigration raising Canada's overall diversity by a large margin and to its highest ever levels. It is therefore highly instructive to note the large drop in ethnic identification (from 61 per cent in 1998 to 43 per cent in 2012) and the continued strength of Canadian identity (79 per cent to 74 per cent). This suggests that far contrary to fears of critics of multiculturalism, high levels of immigration produced a broad lowering of overall ethnic and source country identification while national attachment stayed much stronger.

Personal sense of belonging

Q. How strong is your own personal sense of belonging to...



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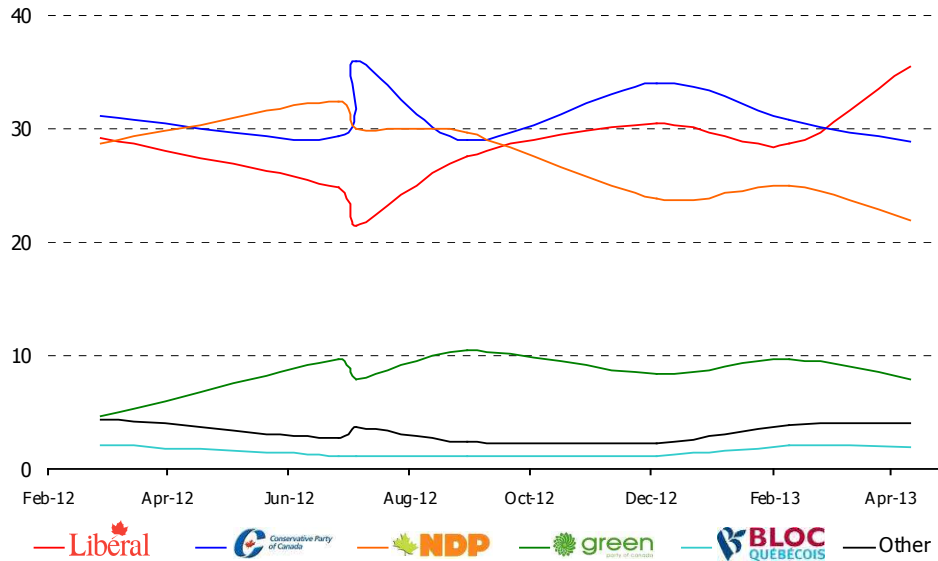
BASE: Canadians; November 20-28, 2012 (n=1,181)

The rapid rise in immigrant and visible minority populations is not just sociologically interesting; it poses very real challenges to political parties. The political arithmetic of political parties failing to do well with this burgeoning segment of Canadian electorate is obvious. The traditional Liberal advantage with these groups evaporated as the Liberal fortunes fell and the Conservative Party specifically engaged in concerted outreach to these groups. The Conservatives' success was highly evident in the last election, particularly in some of the ethnically rich suburban ridings surrounding Toronto. The exact proportions of this success aren't clear but clearly there was a marked improvement in Conservatives fortunes with non-Canadian born. This success has been seen as an ingredient of future success in recent work by Darrell Bricker and John Ibbitson¹. The argument that this shift in the immigrant vote is part of a game change which sets the stage for continued Conservative success in the 21st century is less clear.

¹ Bricker, Darrell, and John Ibbitson. "The Big Shift: The Seismic Change In Canadian Politics, Business, And Culture And What It Means For Our Future". HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 2013. Print.

Tracking federal vote intention: Foreign-born only

Q. If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?



Note: The data on federal vote intention are based on decided and leaning voters only.

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BASE: Those born outside Canada; most recent data point April 3-10, 2013 (n=533)






As we can see in the tracking above, the Liberal Party has actually been recovering very well with the non-Canadian born (same pattern with the visible minority question). The Conservative Party, meanwhile, has surrendered its lead with this group and the NDP is falling back as well. Obviously these shifts mirror the general trends in the electorate but in comparing to the same period with the Canadian born we can see some significant differences in the patterns. Most significantly, the Liberal rise has been sharper – even dramatic – in the immigrant voter population. The Conservatives still have a slight lead with the Canadian-born, but they now are significantly behind with the immigrant vote. It is not clear how this will evolve from here, but it is clear that the current patterns suggest this part of the big shift is currently going the other way.

The Conservatives have been wise to explicitly try and bring the non-Canadian born into their constituency. In the United States, this growing portion of the population has been decisively moving to the Democrats to the point where Stanley Greenberg has called the Republican Party and its focus on the white working class, a 'dying cult'. Clearly, the Conservative Party has taken this challenge seriously and it has worked to their advantage and it reinforces the Canadian advantage in the postmodern world and the attendant clash of civilizations that threatens that world. Canadians seem to have largely inoculated themselves from the extreme forms of this disease, ironically, through the very (non-official) multiculturalism which is seen with growing disdain in some elite quarters today.

As the earlier figures on the continued presence of racial discriminatory attitudes to visible minority immigration showed earlier, our success on a more tolerant and diverse society remains a work in progress. The Conservative Party should be applauded for their outreach to immigrant vote and continued open immigration policies. They may, however, want to deal with the unusually high incidence of opposition to visible minority immigrants held by their supporters.

Finally, the societal shift to an extremely diverse, open and cosmopolitan citizenry can be the singular Canadian advantage in this century. But the greatest source of this diversity is in younger Canada who are increasingly on the sidelines both politically and economically. This needs to be corrected.


Detailed Tables:

National Federal Vote Intention (decided and leaning voters only)								
<i>Q. If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? [If undecided] Even if you do not have a firm idea, are you leaning towards a party? [If yes] As it stands, towards which party are you leaning?</i>								
	 Liberal	 Conservative Party of Canada	 NDP	 green	 BLOC QUEBÉCOIS	Other	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	29.1%	28.8%	23.3%	9.0%	6.4%	3.4%	3695	1.6
REGION								
British Columbia	23.1%	28.0%	31.1%	14.2%	0.0%	3.6%	777	3.5
Alberta	19.5%	48.9%	14.9%	8.3%	0.0%	8.4%	568	4.1
Saskatchewan	20.4%	40.9%	28.6%	6.4%	0.0%	3.6%	219	6.6
Manitoba	26.5%	36.6%	26.9%	6.5%	0.0%	3.4%	162	7.7
Ontario	31.9%	33.3%	22.4%	9.7%	0.0%	2.6%	903	3.3
Quebec	30.5%	11.8%	22.4%	5.5%	27.5%	2.3%	898	3.3
Atlantic Canada	41.7%	21.8%	23.8%	10.1%	0.0%	2.7%	162	7.7
GENDER								
Male	28.1%	33.4%	20.6%	7.7%	6.1%	4.1%	1842	2.3
Female	30.1%	24.1%	26.1%	10.2%	6.8%	2.6%	1821	2.3
AGE								
<25	20.4%	21.0%	25.7%	21.1%	6.4%	5.4%	166	7.6
25-44	25.9%	25.8%	27.5%	8.2%	8.2%	4.3%	826	3.4
45-64	30.8%	30.2%	22.5%	7.7%	6.3%	2.6%	1575	2.5
65+	36.1%	35.9%	16.9%	5.4%	3.7%	2.0%	1090	3.0
EDUCATION								
High school or less	27.0%	30.2%	20.8%	9.5%	9.0%	3.7%	1133	2.9
College or CEGEP	25.1%	32.5%	25.0%	8.2%	5.9%	3.3%	1150	2.9
University or higher	33.9%	24.7%	24.1%	9.1%	5.0%	3.2%	1378	2.6
COUNTRY OF BIRTH								
Canada	27.8%	28.8%	23.6%	9.1%	7.4%	3.3%	3075	1.8
Other	35.5%	28.9%	21.9%	7.9%	1.9%	3.9%	604	4.0



Greatest Canadian Achievement

Q. Which of the following do you believe is Canada's greatest achievement over the last twenty years?

	Creating an equal society	Creating a diverse society	Creating a prosperous society	Creating a safer society	Other	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONAL	33%	23%	22%	13%	9%	4568	1.5
REGION							
British Columbia	34%	26%	19%	12%	9%	917	3.2
Alberta	26%	20%	28%	10%	15%	724	3.6
Saskatchewan	27%	20%	26%	12%	15%	285	5.8
Manitoba	31%	26%	16%	10%	17%	217	6.7
Ontario	33%	26%	21%	13%	7%	1084	3.0
Quebec	37%	18%	22%	14%	9%	1124	2.9
Atlantic Canada	36%	22%	19%	15%	8%	207	6.8
GENDER							
Male	33%	22%	27%	12%	6%	2158	2.1
Female	35%	25%	17%	14%	8%	2275	2.1
AGE							
<25	23%	34%	18%	19%	6%	211	6.8
25-44	34%	25%	22%	13%	6%	1036	3.0
45-64	36%	22%	23%	11%	8%	1881	2.3
65+	38%	18%	24%	12%	8%	1295	2.7
EDUCATION							
High school or less	37%	18%	20%	16%	8%	1437	2.6
College or CEGEP	33%	23%	22%	14%	7%	1382	2.6
University or higher	32%	29%	24%	9%	7%	1610	2.4
COUNTRY OF BIRTH							
Canada	34%	22%	22%	13%	8%	3722	1.6
Other	32%	28%	21%	14%	5%	747	3.6
FEDERAL VOTE INTENTION							
Liberal Party	36%	28%	19%	12%	6%	1063	3.0
Conservative Party	30%	14%	40%	12%	4%	1142	2.9
NDP	35%	31%	14%	13%	7%	835	3.4
Green Party	30%	34%	12%	16%	8%	298	5.7
Bloc Quebecois	42%	21%	16%	13%	7%	238	6.4
Other	23%	30%	25%	17%	6%	119	9.0

Attitudes towards Immigration

Q. In your opinion do you feel that there are too few, too many or about the right number of immigrants coming to Canada?

	Too few	Too many	About right	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	13%	38%	43%	7%	2348	2.0
REGION						
British Columbia	14%	38%	41%	7%	473	4.5
Alberta	9%	47%	33%	11%	348	5.3
Saskatchewan	13%	42%	35%	10%	138	8.3
Manitoba	19%	28%	41%	12%	106	9.5
Ontario	15%	39%	41%	5%	565	4.1
Quebec	9%	32%	52%	6%	606	4.0
Atlantic Canada	13%	43%	41%	3%	107	9.5
GENDER						
Male	16%	36%	43%	5%	1119	2.9
Female	10%	41%	44%	4%	1155	2.9
AGE						
<25	16%	32%	48%	5%	117	9.1
25-44	16%	34%	45%	4%	530	4.3
45-64	12%	45%	40%	3%	964	3.2
65+	9%	40%	44%	8%	650	3.8
EDUCATION						
High school or less	10%	47%	36%	6%	733	3.6
College or CEGEP	8%	45%	44%	2%	711	3.7
University or higher	19%	26%	50%	5%	820	3.4
COUNTRY OF BIRTH						
Canada	11%	42%	43%	4%	1918	2.2
Other	20%	26%	46%	8%	372	5.1
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Liberal Party	16%	32%	48%	4%	555	4.2
Conservative Party	10%	46%	41%	3%	588	4.0
NDP	18%	33%	46%	2%	410	4.8
Green Party	21%	42%	31%	6%	154	7.9
Bloc Quebecois	9%	38%	49%	5%	117	9.1
Other	10%	42%	38%	11%	61	12.6



Attitudes towards Visible Minorities

Q. Forgetting about the overall number of immigrants coming to Canada, of those who come would you say there are too few, too many or the right amount who are members of visible minorities?

	Too few	Too many	About right	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	9%	40%	41%	9%	2220	2.1
REGION						
British Columbia	15%	38%	38%	10%	444	4.7
Alberta	9%	53%	27%	11%	376	5.1
Saskatchewan	9%	41%	36%	15%	147	8.1
Manitoba	13%	44%	34%	10%	111	9.3
Ontario	9%	43%	41%	7%	519	4.3
Quebec	7%	30%	52%	11%	518	4.3
Atlantic Canada	12%	35%	45%	8%	100	9.8
GENDER						
Male	10%	43%	41%	6%	1039	3.0
Female	8%	39%	42%	10%	1120	2.9
AGE						
<25	8%	37%	44%	11%	94	10.1
25-44	10%	40%	43%	7%	506	4.4
45-64	10%	44%	40%	7%	917	3.2
65+	9%	39%	43%	10%	645	3.9
EDUCATION						
High school or less	7%	52%	31%	10%	704	3.7
College or CEGEP	10%	43%	41%	7%	671	3.8
University or higher	12%	30%	51%	7%	790	3.5
COUNTRY OF BIRTH						
Canada	8%	43%	41%	7%	1804	2.3
Other	17%	28%	43%	11%	375	5.1
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Liberal Party	12%	31%	49%	8%	508	4.4
Conservative Party	6%	56%	33%	6%	554	4.2
NDP	14%	36%	44%	6%	425	4.8
Green Party	12%	42%	38%	9%	144	8.2
Bloc Quebecois	7%	33%	48%	13%	121	8.9
Other	7%	43%	45%	5%	58	12.9

Personal Sense of Belonging: Family
Q. How strong is your own personal sense of belonging to...?
Your family

	Not strong (1-3)	Moderately strong (4)	Extremely strong (5-7)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	5%	6%	88%	1%	1181	2.9
REGION						
British Columbia	5%	5%	90%	0%	141	8.3
Alberta	1%	7%	91%	1%	125	8.8
Saskatchewan	2%	10%	88%	0%	35	16.6
Manitoba	10%	8%	82%	0%	41	15.3
Ontario	6%	5%	88%	1%	509	4.3
Quebec	5%	7%	86%	1%	218	6.6
Atlantic Canada	5%	2%	94%	0%	106	9.5
GENDER						
Male	5%	8%	86%	1%	688	3.7
Female	5%	4%	91%	0%	493	4.4
AGE						
<25	7%	7%	87%	0%	73	11.5
25-44	5%	6%	89%	1%	387	5.0
45-64	5%	6%	88%	0%	501	4.4
65+	5%	4%	90%	1%	179	7.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	5%	5%	88%	2%	309	5.6
College or CEGEP	5%	6%	89%	0%	429	4.7
University or higher	5%	7%	88%	0%	443	4.7
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Conservative Party	4%	4%	92%	0%	334	5.4
NDP	6%	6%	88%	0%	313	5.5
Liberal Party	5%	6%	88%	1%	250	6.2
Green Party	6%	9%	85%	0%	70	11.7
Bloc Quebecois	8%	4%	88%	0%	49	14.0
Other	6%	0%	89%	5%	16	24.5

Personal Sense of Belonging: Canada

Q. How strong is your own personal sense of belonging to...?

Canada

	Not strong (1-3)	Moderately strong (4)	Extremely strong (5-7)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	13%	12%	74%	1%	1181	2.9
REGION						
British Columbia	9%	10%	81%	0%	141	8.3
Alberta	5%	6%	88%	2%	125	8.8
Saskatchewan	3%	6%	91%	0%	35	16.6
Manitoba	8%	7%	85%	0%	41	15.3
Ontario	6%	9%	85%	0%	509	4.3
Quebec	37%	23%	38%	1%	218	6.6
Atlantic Canada	6%	8%	86%	0%	106	9.5
GENDER						
Male	15%	9%	75%	1%	688	3.7
Female	11%	15%	73%	1%	493	4.4
AGE						
<25	15%	14%	72%	0%	73	11.5
25-44	20%	13%	67%	1%	387	5.0
45-64	8%	11%	80%	1%	501	4.4
65+	7%	8%	86%	0%	179	7.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	11%	9%	78%	2%	309	5.6
College or CEGEP	15%	14%	71%	0%	429	4.7
University or higher	13%	12%	75%	0%	443	4.7
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Conservative Party	6%	7%	87%	0%	334	5.4
NDP	17%	11%	72%	0%	313	5.5
Liberal Party	6%	12%	82%	1%	250	6.2
Green Party	4%	16%	80%	0%	70	11.7
Bloc Quebecois	64%	29%	7%	0%	49	14.0
Other	23%	5%	68%	5%	16	24.5


Personal Sense of Belonging: Province
Q. How strong is your own personal sense of belonging to...?
Province

	Not strong (1-3)	Moderately strong (4)	Extremely strong (5-7)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	18%	21%	60%	1%	1181	2.9
REGION						
British Columbia	18%	22%	59%	1%	141	8.3
Alberta	16%	18%	65%	1%	125	8.8
Saskatchewan	9%	6%	85%	0%	35	16.6
Manitoba	14%	23%	64%	0%	41	15.3
Ontario	25%	26%	48%	0%	509	4.3
Quebec	12%	17%	70%	1%	218	6.6
Atlantic Canada	8%	13%	79%	0%	106	9.5
GENDER						
Male	20%	20%	60%	1%	688	3.7
Female	17%	22%	61%	0%	493	4.4
AGE						
<25	21%	25%	54%	0%	73	11.5
25-44	23%	19%	58%	1%	387	5.0
45-64	15%	21%	64%	1%	501	4.4
65+	11%	23%	66%	0%	179	7.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	15%	17%	67%	1%	309	5.6
College or CEGEP	18%	22%	59%	1%	429	4.7
University or higher	21%	22%	57%	0%	443	4.7
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Conservative Party	15%	22%	63%	0%	334	5.4
NDP	19%	19%	62%	0%	313	5.5
Liberal Party	21%	22%	57%	0%	250	6.2
Green Party	22%	29%	49%	0%	70	11.7
Bloc Quebecois	8%	11%	81%	0%	49	14.0
Other	22%	24%	49%	5%	16	24.5

Personal Sense of Belonging: Ethnic Group or National Ancestry

Q. How strong is your own personal sense of belonging to...?

Ethnic group or national ancestry

	Not strong (1-3)	Moderately strong (4)	Extremely strong (5-7)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	32%	23%	43%	2%	1181	2.9
REGION						
British Columbia	47%	19%	33%	1%	141	8.3
Alberta	42%	19%	36%	2%	125	8.8
Saskatchewan	44%	18%	39%	0%	35	16.6
Manitoba	37%	31%	32%	0%	41	15.3
Ontario	33%	25%	40%	2%	509	4.3
Quebec	16%	22%	59%	2%	218	6.6
Atlantic Canada	32%	17%	49%	3%	106	9.5
GENDER						
Male	35%	22%	40%	2%	688	3.7
Female	29%	23%	47%	1%	493	4.4
AGE						
<25	33%	20%	43%	4%	73	11.5
25-44	33%	22%	44%	2%	387	5.0
45-64	31%	25%	44%	1%	501	4.4
65+	32%	23%	43%	2%	179	7.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	31%	21%	44%	4%	309	5.6
College or CEGEP	27%	28%	44%	1%	429	4.7
University or higher	37%	19%	42%	1%	443	4.7
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Conservative Party	29%	26%	44%	1%	334	5.4
NDP	38%	22%	39%	2%	313	5.5
Liberal Party	30%	22%	46%	2%	250	6.2
Green Party	46%	22%	32%	0%	70	11.7
Bloc Quebecois	18%	16%	66%	0%	49	14.0
Other	53%	19%	23%	5%	16	24.5

Methodology:

This article pulls data from **two separate surveys**. The first survey was conducted exclusively online using EKOS' unique, hybrid online/telephone research panel, *Probit*. Our panel offers exhaustive coverage of the Canadian population (i.e., Internet, phone, cell phone), random recruitment (in other words, participants are recruited randomly, they do not opt themselves into our panel), and equal probability sampling. All respondents to our panel are recruited by telephone using random digit dialling and are confirmed by live interviewers. Unlike opt-in online panels, *Probit* supports margin of error estimates. We believe this to be the only probability-based online panel in Canada.

The field dates for the **first survey** are November 20-29, 2012. In total, 1,181 Canadians aged 18 and over responded to the survey. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/- 2.9 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

The second survey was conducted using Interactive Voice Response (IVR) technology, which allows respondents to enter their preferences by punching the keypad on their phone, rather than telling them to an operator. In an effort to reduce the coverage bias of landline only RDD, we created a dual landline/cell phone RDD sampling frame for this research. As a result, we are able to reach those with a landline and cell phone, as well as cell phone only households and landline only households. This methodology is not to be confused with the increasing proliferation of non-probability opt-in online panels which have recently been incorrectly reported in major national media with inappropriate margin of error estimates.

The field dates for the **second survey** are April 3-10, 2013. In total, a random sample of 4,568 Canadian adults aged 18 and over responded to the survey. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/-1.5 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

Please note that the margin of error increases when the results are sub-divided (i.e., error margins for sub-groups such as region, sex, age, education). All the data have been statistically weighted to ensure the sample's composition reflects that of the actual population of Canada according to Census data.