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Regional Variations in Political Ideology in Canada

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Résumé

Il est reconnu que les résultats électoraux au Canada varient grandement selon la région. Afin de trouver des explications à ce phénomène, il convient d'étudier comment les grandes régions du Canada se distinguent les unes des autres sur le plan politique. La présente recherche amorce cette étude sous l'angle de l'idéologie. Elle tente de déterminer en quoi l'idéologie politique diffère d'une région à l'autre du pays.

Elle s'appuie sur les données des études électorales canadiennes de 2008. On a recours à des questions évaluant les préférences des répondants par rapport à plusieurs enjeux politiques pour répondre à la question de recherche. On conduit en premier lieu une analyse factorielle, qui identifie six facteurs qui ont structuré l'opinion publique lors de l'élection de 2008. Ensuite, des tests T sont conduits pour vérifier si les moyennes de ces facteurs idéologiques sont statistiquement différentes d'une région à l'autre.

Les résultats montrent que les différences régionales sont souvent significatives et suivent les hypothèses. Toutefois, les résultats touchant à la privatisation de la santé ainsi qu'au Manitoba et à la Saskatchewan vont à l'encontre des attentes.

Mots-clés : Canada, régionalisme, idéologie, théorie des fragments, analyse factorielle, t-test

Abstract

It is widely known that electoral results in Canada vary greatly from one region to the next. To explain this phenomenon, it is only appropriate to study how Canadian regions differ from each other politically. The current research is especially interested in regional variations in political ideology.

The research relies on data from the 2008 Canadian Electoral Studies. It uses opinion statements to assess respondents' political preferences to answer the research question. A factor analysis is conducted from these variables to highlight six ideological dimensions. Furthermore, t-tests are used to verify if regional differences on these ideological dimensions are statistically significant.

Results show that differences across regions are very often significant and follow hypotheses. However, results regarding the privatization of healthcare and the Midwest run counter to expectations.

Keywords : Canada, regionalism, ideology, fragment theory, factor analysis, t-test

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Regional Variations in Political Ideology in Canada

Pointing out that there are important regional discrepancies in voting behaviour in Canada is pretty much the equivalent of saying that the sky is blue. Everybody knows it. Nevertheless, much like the blueness of the sky, that we all take for granted, few have actually taken the time to explain regional differences in voting behaviour. After all, to recognize that political behaviour varies from one region to the next does not mean that such variation is explained. This is why it is worthwhile to ask not if, but why, political behaviour varies regionally across Canada.

It is impossible in this study to consider every reason that might explain why such variations exist. A more promising approach is to select one potential explanation and test it extensively. The explanation selected for this study draws upon the concept of political ideology, and relies on *In Search of Canadian Political Culture,* by Nelson Wiseman, to establish hypotheses that ought to be tested with data gathered during the 2008 Canadian Election Study (CES).

The first section of this thesis opens with a theoretical reflection about the concept of political ideology itself. A definition of the concept, borrowed from the work of Malcolm B. Hamilton, is used and explained briefly. It is with this definition of the concept that the remainder of the analysis is conducted. Wiseman's approach to political ideology is also discussed. He merges together his own treatment of the concept with approaches of thinkers like Louis Hartz and Gad Horowitz. He also argues that the corollary to his approach is to study immigration patterns to Canada.

The second section starts with thoughts regarding regionalism, and how regions affect political behaviour, culture and institutions. This brief reflection is followed by an overview of each of the Canadian regions identified by Wiseman, which are the Atlantic Provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Midwest and the Far West. Particular attention will be given to the manner in which Wiseman

characterizes ideology in each of those five regions. Those characterizations will serve as benchmarks to establish hypotheses to be tested.

The quantitative analysis is conducted in the third and last section. It begins with a presentation of the method to be used, that is, factor analysis, and then proceeds to justify why factor analysis, in conjunction with t-tests, is the method of choice for the current research. The methodological parameters of the model are then presented, including the number and nature of variables that are examined, followed by a discussion of the results.

Section 1: Political Ideology

It would be ill-advised to begin a study on the political ideologies of Canada's regions without devoting some thought to the concept of political ideology itself. First of all, the definition of the concept brought forward by Hamilton will be stated and its constituent properties analyzed. Afterward, the manner in which Hartz, Horowitz and Wiseman use the concept of ideology will be discussed.

The Concept of Ideology

The best way to understand a concept is to go back to the classics. In doing so, Hamilton reviewed 85 different sources, each one offering its own definition of the concept of ideology. Hamilton then suggested the following synthetic definition:

> An ideology is a system of collectively held and reputedly factual ideas and beliefs and
> attitudes advocating a particular pattern of social relationships and arrangements, and/or
> aimed at justifying a particular pattern of conduct, which its proponents seek to promote,
> realise, pursue or maintain.[1]

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[1] Hamilton, Malcolm B. «The Elements of the Concept of Ideology». In *Political Studies* (1987), XXXV, p.21

Hamilton reached this conclusion by identifying different properties usually attributed to political ideologies and selecting those that were the most crucial to the definition of the concept. He selected 8 properties out of 27 possible ones. While it would be fastidious to discuss each property at length, it is worthwhile to briefly mention those that are particularly relevant to this research.

The most important element of any definition of ideologies is that they consist of ideas, beliefs and attitudes.[2] Hamilton mentions that this element is present in virtually all definitions of ideology in one way or another. Furthermore, those ideas are organized in the "form of a system or pattern which is more or less coherent".[3] He points out that ideology needs to create links between ideas. It is not simply an aggregate of individually held beliefs that are not related to each other. Quite the contrary, it is a network of ideas that links values and beliefs in a coherent ensemble.

Also, ideologies combine factual and normative statements. Hamilton writes: "[I]deology is [...] a system of statements which are factual in nature but which are really intended to express values or norms; to present the latter as if they were facts."[4] Proponents of ideologies thus believe that what they defend is objectively good.[5] They are not simply a matter of values, point of view or personal preference, but rather oppose right and wrong. This makes supporters of ideologies strong advocates of whatever cause they uphold and makes them unlikely to be swayed by opposing discourses.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 21

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 22
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 25
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 25

Those properties are important for the current research because they determine in large part the methodology to be used later. For now, it is enough to say that given the properties outlined above, identifying ideologies will be made possible by discovering coherent networks of ideas of a normative nature.

However, some problems arise. If political ideologies are held by individuals, how can they be used to compare polities? In other words, what bridges the gap between the individual who adheres to a given ideological discourse and the political system she lives in? The solution to this problem lies in the fact that Canada is a well-established democracy. As others have argued before,[6] political ideas do not ensure that the political system within which they exist will be appropriate to them. After all, a tyrannical regime does not have to follow the whims of its population. However, in the case of democracies, the population decides which leader is going to rule the polity. Since political legitimacy and political power directly come from the expression of citizens' political orientations through the act of voting, political ideology is reflected in the selection of leaders in democracies. Those leaders, in turn, affect policy choices, governmental orientations, and so on. Thus, in democracies like Canada, individual-level phenomena are reverberated to the collective level because of the electoral mechanism.

This last reflection brings a new conclusion: political ideologies can be used to compare polities. Of course, this is not a grand revelation; this is exactly what Almond & Verba did when they wrote *The Civic Culture* decades ago. Nevertheless, since the goal of this study is mostly comparative in nature, it is worth pointing out that the gap between the micro and macro level of analysis can be bridged by the electoral process. Consequently, observing election results and

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[6] Fuchs, Dieter. « The Political Culture Paradigm », in The Oxford Handbook of Political Behaviour. Dalton, Russel & Klingemann, Hans-Dieter, eds. July 2009. p. 163

the ensuing policy differences across regions can be informative and lead to the formulation of hypotheses regarding citizens' ideologies.

Hartz's Fragment Theory

Hartz's fragment theory is the intellectual foundation upon which the reflections of Horowitz and Wiseman expand. The theory postulates the interaction of three ideologies. Those ideologies are conservatism, liberalism and socialism. The first is characterized by traditionalism, a respect for the past and a desire to uphold and support the community. Liberalism gives predominance to the individual and rejects the past and tradition in favor of liberty and the recourse to reason. Socialism also claims to follow reason, but is ready to curb individual liberties in favour of the community and egalitarianism.

Hartz did not invent those three ideologies. His contribution was to add two twists to the way these ideologies are understood to interact. The first concerns chiefly colonies and migration patterns. Hartz said that as settlers left their homeland, they brought with them their ideologies.[7] Because of that, it is possible to find traces of the motherland's political culture in its offshoots, also called fragments. Hartz argued that the United States was strictly liberal because the immigrants who went to the US rejected religious oppression and the monarchy,[8] whereas the British who immigrated to Canada supported the monarchy and were more conservative.

Hartz's second twist regards socialism. He argued that socialism was the result of the interaction of conservatism and liberalism. Instead of being an ideology of its own, socialism had to be borne by its two parent ideologies, because it borrows from each. As Horowitz later put it: "Socialism is an ideology that combines the corporate-organic-collectivist ideas of toryism with

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[7] Wiseman, Nelson. 2007. *In Search of Canadian Political Culture.* UBC Press. Vancouver. p. 20

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 20

the rationalist-egalitarian ideas of liberalism."[9] Conservatism puts great emphasis on the community, but exalts the past and tradition. Liberalism, on the other hand, follows reason and progress, but puts greater emphasis on the individual. Only by combining those two approaches can an ideology that emphasizes community and progress, like socialism, appear.

Fragment Theory and Canada

The application of fragment theory to Canada was not made by Hartz. Hartz was mostly concerned with the United States, and only wrote about Canada in passing, to contrast this case with the American one. One of the authors who applied Hartz's fragment theory to Canada is Horowitz, in "Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada: An Interpretation". Horowitz states that people who immigrated to Canada did so for reasons different from those who immigrated to the United States. While immigrants to the United States were looking for freedom and the possibility to practice whichever religion they preferred, free of persecution, immigrants to Canada were largely Loyalists, whether Britons immigrating to the last English colony in North America or Americans who disagreed with the aims and means of the American Revolution. The influence of the French in Canada is discussed in Horowitz's analysis as well.[10] The combined influence of Loyalist Anglophones, monarchists, and Catholic Francophones created a country that was more conservative than its liberal, southern counterpart.

However, Horowitz's analysis is not quite satisfactory. Given that immigration patterns in Canada have been unequal and have varied both by country of origin and time period, an analysis that takes those patterns into account should be more promising. Luckily for researchers, immigration patterns in Canada have mostly followed regional boundaries, as

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[9] Horowitz, Gad. «Conservatism, Liberalism and Socialism in Canada» in Hugh G. Thornburn & Alan Whitehorn, eds. 2001. *Party Politics in Canada.* Prentice Hall. Toronto. p. 91

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 95

settlers came in to populate one province after the other. This is the twist that Wiseman adds to fragment theory. He points out that if socialism is supposed to follow the intertwining of liberalism and conservatism, then it should be strongest in Quebec and Ontario, where the conservative French and Loyalists gathered. However, socialists are especially strong in Canada's Midwest, the cradle of the CCF-NDP. Given those regional variations, he suggests that ideology is not uniformly spread out across the country, but should rather follow immigration patterns.

Wiseman identified five main immigration waves that populated Canada. Those waves are summarized in Appendix A, on page XVIII.[11] The first is the French one, which went on until 1760. Most of the French immigrants settled in Quebec and Acadia, and held conservative outlooks. The second wave was made up of Loyalists, who arrived in the 1780s, and were more liberal than their French counterparts, but more conservative than their American ones. The third wave came from Britain and settled in Ontario and the Atlantic Provinces, and was more liberal than the former. The fourth wave, which arrived at the turn of the nineteenth century, came from Britain, the US, and Continental Europe, and settled in Ontario and the West. Depending on the country of origin, this wave was either socialist (Continental Europe) or populist-liberal (United States). Finally, since 1945, immigration to Canada has been varied, with newcomers coming from Asia, Southern Europe, the Caribbean and Latin America. These newcomers are strongly in favor of individual rights. However, since they do not arrive as part of a massive migration pattern, and get established mostly in metropolitan areas that are already settled, they do not have as much influence on a region's political ideology and political system as those who arrived earlier. These immigration patterns closely follow the regions of interest for this study.

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[11]*Op. Cit.,* Wiseman p. 32

Hartz's fragment theory and Horowitz's interpretation of it are quite controversial. A harsh critic of the theory is Forbes, who gave a critical assessment of the theory twenty years after the publication of Horowitz's paper. [12] The biggest complaint Forbes has against Hartz's theory concerns French Canada. He points out that Hartz's use of the word "feudal" to describe French Canada is inaccurate. He rather suggests other characterizations, like "catholicism", "authoritarianism" or "absolutism". [13] Forbes argues that French Canada is the Achilles' heel of Hartz's theory. If fragments are supposed to congeal after colonization, then Quebec should have never gone through the Patriots' Rebellions, the Quiet Revolution and the development of a generous welfare state. That it did shows the weakness of fragment theory.

Regarding English Canada, Forbes points out that Horowitz's take on fragment theory does not explain the disparity in ideology between the Prairies and the Atlantic Provinces. If Horowitz was right in supposing that conservatism is a precursor to socialism, then it should be expected that the Atlantic Provinces would be more socialist than the Prairies. However, this is far from the truth. It thus seems that empirical observations do not match the theory.

Nelson Wiseman replied to Forbes' criticisms. The first thing he mentions is that Forbes dwells too much on semantics. [14] Wiseman argues that when Hartz wrote about feudalism, he used this word to designate the historical stage that happens before liberalism under Marxist interpretation. Under this light, it can certainly be argued that French Canada was such a society, at least until the English invaded and forced representative democracy upon the French.

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[12] Forbes, H.D. "Hartz-Horowitz at twenty", *CJPS*, 20 (1987) p. 287

[13] *Ibid.*,p.293

[14] Wiseman, Nelson. A Note on "Hartz-Horowitz at Twenty": The Case of French Canada. *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue canadienne de science politique* Vol. 21, No. 4 (Dec., 1988), p. 796

Since the terms Forbes suggests to replace "feudal" all describe a pre-liberal state, it can be argued that there is no real disagreement here.

Furthermore, Wiseman's take on fragment theory improves it in a way that addresses Forbes' criticisms regarding both French and English Canada. Starting with the latter, it has already been discussed above how Wiseman's take on the theory aims to shed some light on the fact that citizens from the Prairies appear more left-wing than citizens from the Atlantic Provinces. It is possible to explain this phenomenon by pointing out how European socialists arrived in the Prairies during the twentieth century, something that did not happen in the Atlantic Provinces. Taking immigration patterns into account also weakens Forbes' criticisms regarding French Canada. French Canada can be regarded as a feudal fragment, which nevertheless came in contact with liberalism after the Conquest, when immigration to New France suddenly came from England rather than France. This increased the strength of liberalism in the province and led to the dialectical process that produced the apparition of socialism in Quebec, as it did in the rest of Canada, as described by Horowitz. The modifications made to the theory by Wiseman thus offer a valid response to many of Forbes' criticisms. While they do not completely clarify when or how congelation should occur within a fragment, they nevertheless provide plausible explanations regarding the discrepancy between the Atlantic Provinces and the Prairies and how Quebec came into contact with liberalism.

The Study of Canadian Regionalism

The most cited empirical study of Canadian regionalism is probably that of Simeon and Elkins, who wanted to assess if political culture varies across provinces. [15] Their study manages to show that political culture significantly varies by province of residence. While a very good starting point for empirical research on regional differences, Simeon and Elkins are not concerned with ideology proper. The scope of their analysis concerns political culture, and as such their dependent variables relate to political trust and efficacy, not ideology, values or attitudes regarding public policy.

Mathews et al. are interested in regional discrepancies in attitudes and values among Canadians.[16] They use data from the 1977 Quality of Life Study to run their analyses. While they want to assess whether or not region of residence significantly affects policy preferences, they do not report results for individual regions. They conclude that region covariates strongly with attitudes and values, at least as much as socio-economic variables. Nevertheless, since they are not concerned with the effects of each Canadian region separately, it is impossible to conclude from their study if a given region diverges significantly from the rest regarding any issue and in what direction it does. Furthermore, they use individual questions as dependent variables instead of general attitudes or ideologies. As such, a study that examines the significance and direction of variation in ideology for every region of Canada by using ideologies or attitudes as dependent variables is still needed.

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[15] Simeon, Richard and Elkins, David J. (1980) "Provincial Political Cultures in Canada" in David J. Elkins and Richard Simeon (eds) *Small Worlds: Provinces and Parties in Canadian Political Life.* Toronto: Methuen
[16] Mathews, Ralph & Davis, J. Campbell. "The Comparative Influence of Region, Status, Class, and Ethnicity on Canadian Attitudes and Values". In Brym, Robert (ed.) 1986. *Regionalism in Canada,* Irwin Publishing Inc. Richmond Hill, p. 89

Simeon and Blake also assess the effect of regionalism on citizens' view of public policy. [17]They use the answers given to 248 questions asked in Gallup polls from 1949 to 1975, grouped within 12 categories, to run their analysis. Each variable is reduced to a dichotomy. They calculate variation across regional cleavages in the answers to each question taken individually, and then average the variation for each category. While they assess the direction of policy differences across regions, they do not test if these differences are significant.

Their conclusions generally agree with the expectations one could derive from Wiseman's take on fragment theory. The authors claim that Canadians from the Atlantic Provinces are more likely to want to maintain ties with the monarchy and to support a strong military policy, while being less morally permissive than other Canadians, which is to be expected given the homogenous provenance of immigration in the Atlantic Provinces. The authors catch a glimpse of the Quiet Revolution in their data about Quebec, which shows that Quebec moved from least to most supportive on issues like government interventionism and civil rights.[18] This fits Wiseman's description of the province, since he describes Quebecers as having gone from conservative to socialist very rapidly in this time period. Ontarians are described as not being "sharply distinctive in any policy domain". [19] However, they are more likely than other Canadians to want to maintain British ties, limit foreign influence and to discourage expanded immigration, all characteristics that fit very well the Loyalists' influence over Ontario. [20] Simeon and Blake report that citizens of the Prairies are more opposed to bilingualism and more favorable to defend the British tie than other Canadians. Interestingly, respondents from the Prairies showed

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[17] Simeon, Richard and Blake, Donald E. (1980) "Regional Preferences: Citizens' Views of Public Policy". in David J. Elkins and Richard Simeon (eds) *Small Worlds: Provinces and Parties in Canadian Political Life.* Toronto: Methuen
[18] Ibid., p. 100
[19] Ibid., p. 100
[20] Ibid., p. 100

the most support for an expanded governmental role, but were also the most opposed to workers' interests. Thus, it is rather difficult to assess to which ideology they subscribe from Simeon and Blake's paper. Finally, British Columbia is more liberal than the Canadian average regarding morality, women's rights, civil liberties, while also showing considerable support for the welfare state and state intervention. This corresponds to Wiseman's characterization of the province, which he expects to be liberal first. All in all, conclusions from this paper fit many expectations one could derive from Wiseman's characterization of Canadian regionalism.

Unfortunately, this research shows many weaknesses. First, no confirmatory factor analysis is conducted and no Cronbach alphas are reported to guarantee the validity of the 12 categories built from the 248 poll questions. There is thus no guarantee that these groups are internally consistent. Reducing all these variables to dichotomies also causes an important drop in information that may affect the results of the analysis. Finally, their analysis shows how each region leans in terms of policy preferences, but does not indicate whether these leanings significantly diverge from the Canadian average or not. As such, further study should aim to have more robust categories and test the significance of variation across regions.

Nevitte et al. considered the question of ideology in Canada in their book *Unsteady State*: *The 1997 Canadian Federal Election*.[21] Their aim is to discover which ideologies matter for Canadians. To do so, they use opinion variables from the 1997 Canadian Election Study and conduct a factor analysis to see which dimensions explain the most variance across variables. They consider these dimensions to be ideologies. However, they did not verify if these dimensions vary regionally or not, except to compare factor loadings in Quebec and in the rest of Canada.

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[21] Nevitte, Neil et al. *Unsteady State: The 1997 Canadian Federal Election.* 2000. Oxford University Press. Toronto. p. 138

By using an approach similar to that of Nevitte et al., ideological dimensions that matter for Canadians can be inductively defined. This guarantees a greater validity than simply building groups of variables based on preconceived ideas about how they "should" be grouped. Afterward, the dimensions identified can be used to assess the direction and the significance of regional variation in ideology across Canada.

Section 2: Regions

The regions examined in this research are based on provincial boundaries. It would have been possible to divide Canada according to regions defined on the basis of immigration patterns, or linguistic or religious cleavages. However, this would not take into account the importance that the federal political system plays in strengthening political culture and ideologies. To quote Wiseman: "Artificial political geographic demarcations, like provincial boundaries, contribute to and reinforce the taking hold of differing traditions. The institutions of provincehood influenced the mobilization, expression, and strength of competing political forces."[22] In other words, even though provincial borders are sometimes arbitrary and porous, the fact remains that provincial governments are crucial actors in the formation of political ideologies.

This situation has important consequences. First of all, it is possible for a political ideology that is shared only by a plurality of citizens to become dominant in a province. If such a group of citizens manages to elect representatives who promote and defend policies in accord with the political ideology of this group, then the ideology can spread more easily, since it has spokespeople and promoters who control the levers of government. By establishing laws and programs that are coherent with this political ideology, politicians create a system that congeals and reinforces this political ideology within the boundaries of the province. This effect is even

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[22] *Op. Cit*., Wiseman, p.16

more important in a federation. As the defenders of their region's interests, premiers often articulate their demands to the central government in terms of provincial grievances. This articulation fosters a sense of belonging and of shared interest among citizens of a given province and encourages ideological cohesion.

This is why adopting provinces as the basis for regions makes sense when one wants to study political ideology. The regional typology established by Wiseman to study political ideologies across Canada is rather common. Five regions will be examined. The first will be the Atlantic Provinces, encompassing Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Then, Quebec and Ontario will be studied, each as its own region. Given the importance of immigration patterns in this framework, however, Wiseman distinguishes the Midwest, encompassing Manitoba and Saskatchewan, from the Far West, made up of Alberta and British Columbia. This is because most immigrants to the Midwest were Loyalists from Ontario and Continental Europeans, whereas immigrants to Alberta and British Columbia were in large part Americans.[23]

Each region will be described separately. The objective of this exercise is to provide an idea of how Wiseman and other authors characterize ideology in each of the main regions of Canada. This will be used to formulate hypotheses to be tested later during this research. To do so, the immigration patterns that explain how the region was settled will be described, and its consequences explained. Afterward, more attention will be given specifically to political ideology.

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[23] *Op. Cit*., Wiseman, p. 32

The Atlantic Provinces

The first settlers of the Atlantic Provinces were the Englishmen who arrived to Canada. As such, it is the oldest inhabited region in English Canada. [24] Its founding immigrants came disproportionately from the United Kingdom, more specifically from Britain, Scotland and Ireland. Years later, their ranks were bolstered by some of the Loyalists who fled the United States after the American Revolution. What this amounts to is that the Atlantic Provinces are very homogenous.[25] The presence of Englishmen was strong in this region as soon as it was settled, and never faltered.

The most obvious consequence of this homogenous immigration is the composition of Atlantic Provinces' society. As Wiseman wrote: "Another aspect of the Atlantic Canadian experience is the region's social homogeneity; visible and non-French minorities are less numerous there than elsewhere."[26] He argues that this phenomenon has consequences on political ideology and behaviour.

David Stewart also believes that this might explain how little place there is for third parties in the Atlantic Provinces. For the longest time, only the Liberals and the Conservatives occupied a place on the political scene. [27] This could stem from the fact that the immigrants who came to the New World were already used to having a tory and a whig party and did not see why they would need another party to defend their interests. What is even more interesting is how close religion and party identification intertwine in the Atlantic Provinces. Stewart writes: "[In 1997, sixty-one] per cent of the Liberal voters in the region were Catholic, while 63 per cent of

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[24] *Op. Cit*., Wiseman, p. 136
[25] *Op. Cit*., Wiseman, p. 136
[26] *Op. Cit*., Wiseman, p. 136
[27] Stewart, David K. « Political Dealignment in Atlantic Canada? » in Lisa Young & Keith Archer, eds. 2002. *Regionalism and Party Politics in Canada.* Oxford University Press. New York. p. 171

Conservatives and 82 per cent of Reformers were Protestant."[28] According to Stewart, the society of the Atlantic Provinces can be seen as separated according to religion, and party identification followed that cleavage up to the end of the twentieth century. Wiseman mentions various accounts according to which politics is like religion in Atlantic Canada. Not voting for one's party is seen like casting away religion, while changing party is likened to converting to another faith.[29] If this is correct, it is unsurprising that new parties have had so many difficulties in the Atlantic Provinces.

Given the traits described above, the region's ideology, as characterized by Wiseman and Stewart, would be best described as conservative. In particular, the homogeneity of society and the traditional party system support this statement. However, an exception to this pattern has been noted by Stewart. He mentions that Nova Scotia has been receptive to socialism, at least since the turn of the twentieth century. The most important signs of this change of heart are the strong support given to the NDP when it was led by Alexa McDonough,[30] as well as the recent election of the Dexter government.

This being said, if Hartz is right, this is not enough. If socialism is born of the interaction of liberalism and conservatism, then socialism should be stronger than it actually is in the Atlantic Provinces. Wiseman offers a solution to this conundrum.[31] He suggests that the relative weakness of socialism in the Atlantic Provinces is not caused by the strength, or lack thereof, of conservatism, but rather because the Atlantic Provinces did not receive any important migratory influx since socialism became strong in Europe. As they were settled in the nineteenth century and received so little immigration since, no significant group of people who knew of socialism,

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[28] *Op. Cit.,* Stewart p. 179
[29] Op. Cit., Wiseman, p. 152
[30] *Op. Cit.,* Stewart p. 175
[31] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 158

its discourse and its policies settled in the region and brought with them its ideological influence. As such, to confirm Wiseman's thesis, conservatism should be found to be markedly higher in the Atlantic Provinces than it is in the rest of Canada.

Quebec

If the Atlantic Provinces' settlers were the first to settle in English Canada, Quebec's were the first Europeans to settle in Canada. At the beginning, the French who arrived in New France were explorers and tradesmen. They wanted to profit from the business of furs and timber, but did not want to get established in the New World. It is only with time that France decided to install long-term communities in New France. Like in the Atlantic Provinces, New France was very homogenous at first. The inhabitants of the new colony were almost exclusively French, white, and Catholic. Most worked in farms and lived in a seigniorial regime. However, war would change that.

After the battle of the Plains of Abraham and France's cession of New France to Britain, many changes happened in the colony's society. The French who had the means to do so left for France, leaving the budding society decapitated of its political and economical leaders. This opened the door for Englishmen who were looking for opportunities, arrived in the colony and took the place of the former French leaders. This also opened the door to immigration from the United Kingdom. The homogenous French society of New France became cleaved, having both Catholic French inhabitants on one side and Protestant English on the other, with the Irish bridging the gap. This was a context that was ripe for social conflict and the emergence of nationalism. Wiseman writes: "Quebecers' position is grounded in a feeling of nationhood, even

among the province's federalists. Among all the regions, that is something exclusive to Quebec alone."[32]

According to Wiseman, ideologies in Quebec suffered a drastic change at the time of the Quiet revolution. Before it, the province was very conservative. Dominated by the political thoughts of the likes of Groulx, it practiced *la survivance*, valorizing obedience to the church and a traditional, rural lifestyle. About this, Wiseman writes: "To be a French Canadian before the Quiet Revolution was to be a pre-Enlightenment, pre-liberal catholic in a collectivist, organic, hierarchical, and co-operative society."[33] This caused Quebec to be a laggard in terms of social reforms. After all, "Quebec was the last province to make schooling compulsory, the last to give women the vote (1940), and the last to establish a civil service commission."[34]

Quebec had to wait until the second half of the twentieth century for social democratic programs to be implemented. However, after this long wait, Quebec created social programs unequalled in the rest of Canada. Wiseman writes:

> [Quebec created] the most progressive income tax regime and the highest minimum wage in the country; waived fines against thousands of strikers, and established the most severe anti-strikebreaking laws of any province. [Quebec] presided over the largest stable of publicly owned Crown corporations in the country.[35]

He explains this phenomenon as the reaction of Quebec's population to the influence of its former conservatism. As stated earlier, socialism should be the result of an amalgamation of conservatism and liberalism. In Quebec, conservatism reigned without contest for a very long time. According to Wiseman, Quebec's very late contact with liberalism explains why the French province moved so rapidly toward socialism. He writes: "Because liberalism emerges as a major

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[32] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 168
[33] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 170
[34] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 170
[35] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 177

force in Quebec as late as it does – only in the 1960s – the rise of socialism is retarded, occurring much later and perhaps more vigorously than in English Canada."[36]

This is not to say that there was no liberalism in Quebec. The *92 resolutions*, for example, were strongly inspired by liberal thought. The point is rather that in Quebec the community matters a lot, and it should be expected that conservatism and socialism will be found to be stronger there than they generally are in Canada. If the upcoming analyses do not reflect this, Wiseman's assertions regarding ideologies in Quebec will be disconfirmed.

Ontario

From the perspective of immigration, Ontario is a very interesting province, because it was populated by four out of the five immigration waves identified by Wiseman. The only immigration wave that did not get established in Ontario was the French group that settled in Canada in the 17th century. Since then, Ontario has received immigrants in large numbers, from sources as diverse as Britain, Scotland, Ireland, the United States, Latin America, the Caribbean and Central Europe. What this amounts to is that a lot of different political influences compete in Ontario.

Looking at Ontario from afar, one would have the impression that its party system and political life are uneventful. The three "main" parties of Canada- the Liberals, the Conservatives and the NDP- have been the main contenders in the province for decades. Williams writes: "[A]ll three have been officially represented in the Legislature continuously over the last 57 years of the country."[37] This leaves the observer with the impression that Ontario politics is boring and routine. However, Wiseman disagrees with this assessment. This hasty judgement obfuscates the fact that Ontario politics is very competitive, with each party having zones of strength and

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[36] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 177
[37] *Op. Cit.,* Williams, p. 342

weakness in different regions of the province. This, according to the modified Hartzian model, is to be expected. If different groups settled in different regions, different political orientations should subsist in those regions and, as such, the political debates in each of those areas should be different. This is what makes some authors say that Ontario politics is not really a race between three parties, but an aggregation of two-party races.[38]

Wiseman characterizes the political orientations shared by Ontarians as conservative. The fact that Ontarians have stuck to the same three parties for decades and that they prefer serious, down-to-earth politicians to reformist and visionaries supports this characterization. He writes: "The fact that power has changed hands so infrequently at Queen's Park lends support to the idea that [Ontario is] ascriptive, elitist, hierarchical, stable, cautious, and restrained. […] Stability, moderation, and continuity seemed Ontario's natural political order."[39] This is consistent with Wiseman's model, since the first immigration waves that came to Ontario were Loyalists and subsequently British immigrants. Both of those waves held the monarchy in high regard and consciously decided to eschew the liberal hegemon to the south in favour of the British territory to the North. If the model is right, Ontarians should be found to be more conservative than their fellow Canadians in the upcoming analyses, with the possible exception of Canadians from the Atlantic Provinces.

The Midwest

Despite the fact that Wiseman's typology combines Manitoba and Saskatchewan in a single region, the Midwest, they were populated by different immigration waves and, as such, deserve province-specific attention. The case of Manitoba is rather straightforward. The most important group of settlers who came to Manitoba were Ontarians. This explains why Manitobans seemed

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[38] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 192
[39] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 191

to mimic Ontario politics for so long. However, Manitoba also received European settlers, like Ukrainians, Jews, Poles and Slavs, who, according to Wiseman, brought to the province an otherwise unknown hint of socialism.[40] Nevertheless, the Europeans did not have as much influence over Manitoba politics as did the former Ontarians. Wiseman considers that this is why Manitobans chose to have a flag bearing the Union Jack, like Ontario's, imported its county system, copied Ontario's farm organizations and sided with Ontario during the free trade elections of both 1911 and 1988.[41] As a matter of fact, Manitoba chose former Ontarians as premiers continuously from the 1880s to 1988, except for one exception.[42] The influence of its Ontarian settlers had a lasting effect on the province.

Saskatchewan's immigration, on the other hand, has been more diverse. At the time of writing his thesis, *Agrarian Socialism,* Lipset wrote that less than 42% of rural Saskatchewan was "of English, Scotch, and Irish origin."[43] As such, it is difficult to describe precisely how each immigration fragment contributed to the whole that would become Saskatchewanian political ideology. Nevertheless, according to fragment theory, the emergence of socialism in Saskatchewan, embodied at first by the CCF, is due to the arrival of English Labourists, cooperative-friendly Scandinavians as well as the support of Ukrainians. The important number of American immigrants who came to Saskatchewan was not as opposed to socialism as one would think, since "the majority of [those] Americans were non-Anglo-Saxons and fewer of them had English as a mother tongue."[44] As such, Wiseman implies, they were not strongly influenced by American liberal thought, and were quite receptive to European and socialist

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[40] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 214
[41] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 218
[42] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 218
[43] Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1968. *Agrarian Socialism: the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan: A Study in Political Sociology.* Anchor Books. New York. P. 52

[44] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 227

thought. Only the Roman Catholic French and the Mennonites proved strong ramparts against socialism in the province.

Regarding ideology, what strikes the observer is the importance of socialism in the Midwest. Wiseman states: "In a comparative light, however, it is in this region that social democracy has gained its greatest acceptance and enjoyed its most sustained success."[45] The region has been the birthplace of the CCF, Canada's first openly avowed socialist party, which would later become the NDP. Furthermore, the NDP has won 7 out of 11 provincial elections in Manitoba since 1969, and 12 out of 17 in Saskatchewan since 1944.[46] According to Wiseman, "Saskatchewan had successfully produced an "embedded state... where decades of aggressive, entrepreneurial government activity have extended the state into almost every sphere of daily life."[47] He states that this makes Saskatchewan a pioneer of social democracy in Canada, a model other provinces and the federal government would follow to establish their own programs.[48] To confirm Wiseman's affirmations regarding ideology in the Midwest, the upcoming analyses will have to show that socialism in the Midwest is stronger than in the rest of the country.

The Far West

Much like the Midwest, the Far West's component provinces were settled by different immigration waves. As such, it is once again useful to discuss these settlement processes separately. The province of Alberta was mostly settled by Americans. Americans were actually the most important group in the province. Wiseman writes: "In 1911, American-born Albertans (22%) outnumbered the British-born, Ontario-born, and European-born. Canadian-born

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[45] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 212
[46] Those numbers include socialist parties that came before the NDP, like the CCF.
[47] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 228
[48] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 233

Albertans were a minority in their own province."[49] This might explain why Alberta is seen as the most right-winged province in the country. It is extremely receptive to the United States' liberalism and to its discourse.

On the contrary, British Columbia was populated mostly by Britons, who arrived at the turn of the twentieth century, when labour-socialism was strong in Britain.[50] Most of those immigrants came to Canada because they had a low social standing at home, and wanted to find better social status in the New World. Only one out of seven immigrants was middle or upper class.[51] According to Wiseman's model, this sudden influx of immigrants of low social status, coupled with the influence of Britain's labour socialism, explains why British Columbia's politics rapidly became articulated as a class struggle opposing the left and the right. This also explains the explosive political climate of British Columbia. According to Ruff, this climate is notable for its polarization, but also for the personalization of the debate that is more intense than in other provinces.[52]

Describing ideologies in the Far West as a whole is difficult, since Alberta and British Columbia are so different. Regardless of which ideology dominates the political scene, the political climates themselves differ. Wiseman writes: "A difference within the Far West is that BC's political culture, one that pits leftists against rightists, is riven and conflicted. In Alberta, where the left is marginalized, there is more of a societal consensus about political values."[53] This situation makes discussing ideology in this region difficult, and puts in jeopardy Wiseman's

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[49] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 244
[50] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 250
[51] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 251
[52] Ruff, Norman J. Birth Pangs: "The Emergence of British Columbia's Fifth Party System 1991-2000" in Hugh G. Thornburn & Alan Whitehorn, eds. 2001. *Party Politics in Canada.* Prentice Hall. Toronto. p. 369
[53] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 239

categorization of the Far West as one region. During this discussion, it will sometimes be necessary to accentuate the relative strength of a given ideology in one or the other province.

Wiseman states that the strongest ideology in those two provinces is conservatism. He mentions that the region gave birth to the Fraser Institute, the Western Standard, the Alberta report and the BC report. Just as well, it is from this region that the National Post and Global National draw a disproportionate share of their audience.[54] This, according to the author, demonstrates that conservatism is pretty strong in both provinces. Nevertheless, Alberta is even stauncher in its conservatism than its western counterpart. Wiseman points out: "Only Alberta's government broached the possibility of invoking the Charter's ""notwithstanding" clause to override the Supreme Court ruling that prohibits hiring discrimination against gays, something Alberta's Human Rights Act ignores."[55] Another conservative trait of Alberta mentioned by Wiseman is how readily its political leaders invoke their religion publicly,[56] of which the most flagrant example of recent history is surely Stockwell Day.

Liberalism is also very strong in the Far West, according to Wiseman. Unlike the provinces of the Midwest, Alberta and British Columbia pursued a truly liberal agenda by promoting "private sector solutions to public policy challenges".[57] Furthermore, he argues that the Far West provinces were "leaders on women's issues, the first to end the disqualification of women from entering civil professions and to facilitate their admittance into incorporated companies."[58] By promoting private enterprises, whether those of corporations or those of individuals who were previously discriminated against, those provincial governments proved to be liberal. What is interesting is that, despite being supposedly fuelled by similar ideologies, their actions

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[54] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 242

[55] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 257

[56] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 248

[57] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 239

[58] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 239

sometimes differ. For example, while Alberta can be considered conservative in its reaction to gay marriage, British Columbia was the province in English Canada in which support for gay marriage was the highest.[59] On the other hand, Alberta displays a strong popular liberalism, which can be explained by its American heritage. Wiseman states that the Albertan government has been known to disagree with the otherwise consensual premises of Canadian politics, going so far as to refuse "to appear before a Royal Commission, insistent instead on addressing its brief to "the Sovereign People of Canada".[60] In similar fashion, Albertan MLAs have denounced responsible government as a dictatorship, a claim that could not have been uttered in traditional provinces like Ontario or the Atlantic Provinces.[61]

Where the two provinces that make up the Far West differ the most is probably in their relationship to socialism. Whereas one could go so far as to label Alberta's political culture as anti-socialist, British Columbia actually has a rich history of socialism that predates even the foundation of the CCF. Wiseman explains this by mentioning the economic activities immigrants were historically a part of in the province. Most immigrants worked either in Vancouver or in the mining sector. While Vancouverites adhered to a soft socialism, those who worked in the hinterland faced hard working conditions, in which accidents were frequent. Those harsh conditions led them to practice a radicalized form of socialism, bringing the vocabulary of class warfare to Canada.[62] Wiseman states that this is probably the source of the divisiveness and conflict of British Columbia's politics.

Consequently, based on Wiseman's descriptions, it is expected that these two provinces will be markedly conservative and liberal in the upcoming analyses. Alberta should exhibit a strong

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[59] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 257
[60] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 245
[61] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 245
[62] *Op. Cit.,* Wiseman, p. 243

strain of populism. Furthermore, there should be limited variation of ideology within Alberta, whereas British Columbia should appear conflicted.

Section 3: Data Analysis

To verify Wiseman's assertions, two related, but distinct, tests must be conducted. The first test regards the structure of ideologies in Canada. Before testing whether or not, for example, Quebecers are more or less socialist than inhabitants of the Atlantic Provinces, it is necessary to establish if the typology used by Wiseman is sound. In other words, it needs to be demonstrated that the patterns of ideology in Canada reflect the trinity formed by conservatism, liberalism and socialism. If this is not the case, Wiseman's approach will be disconfirmed. On the other hand, even if ideologies in Canada follow this pattern, it will remain to be seen whether the country's regions differ in the manner suggested by Wiseman.

Data from the 2008 C*anadian Electoral Study* will be used*.* Indirect questions will be preferred to direct questions in establishing if ideologies in Canada follow the pattern outlined by Wiseman. After all, by asking questions such as "Are you a conservative?", researchers may impose a framework that was alien or unknown to respondents until the question was asked. It is also highly possible that various respondents give a different meaning to words like "conservative" and "liberal" as well as notions of "left" and "right". 47 questions asking respondents to position themselves about specific issues will be used to conduct a factor analysis.[63]

A factor analysis is used to discover latent variables, or factors, that affect a collection of variables. Since, according to Hamilton's definition, ideologies structure political issues around coherent patterns, factor analyses should be able to identify ideologies from various positions adopted by respondents regarding political issues. For example, if the factor analysis yields as a

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[63] The full list of those variables, including descriptive statistics, can be found in Appendix B, on page XIX.

result that a single factor is positively correlated to opposition to abortion, same-sex marriage and gun control, the analysis will corroborate the idea that there is such a thing as a conservative ideology in Canada. If the factor analysis yields three such factors that reflect conservatism, liberalism and socialism, Wiseman's idea that ideologies in Canada are articulated on the basis of those three dimensions will be corroborated. Of course, there is a possibility that some latent ideology does not appear in the data because questions relevant to it were not asked in the CES. This being said, given the substantial number of questions included in the CES , the probability of this being the case is likely very modest.

Justification of Factor Analysis

The type of analysis chosen for this study is factor analysis. As stated by Torrens-Ibern in his book *Modèles et méthodes de l'analyse factorielle,* this analysis permits to minimize the number of common factors that can explain a group of variables. [64] In other words, factor analysis highlights the factors that jointly affect a group of variables. Gregg and Banks write: "A factor problem starts with the hope or conviction that a certain domain is not so chaotic as it looks."[65] Indeed, it is supposed that ideology underlies respondents' opinions regarding political issues. The fact that other researchers have used this method for this type of research confirms that it is appropriate to the task at hand. [66] [67]

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[64] Torrens-Ibern, J. *Modèles et méthodes de l'analyse factorielle.* 1972. Dunold. Paris. p. 48

[65] Gregg, Philip M. et al. « Dimensions of Political Systems: Factor Analyses of a Cross-Polity Survey. » In: *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 59, No. 3 (Sep., 1965), pp. 602-614

[66] Nevitte, Neil et al. *Unsteady State: The 1997 Canadian Federal Election.* 2000. Oxford University Press. Toronto.

[67] Héraux, Pierre et al. « Une étude factorielle de l'idéologie. Problèmes méthodologiques. » In : *Revue française de sociologie*. 1974. 15-2. pp. 217-235.

The article « Une étude factorielle de l'idéologie. Problèmes méthodologiques », by Héraux and Novi, illustrates how the method works by studying ideology among French mayors. As such, their research is similar enough to the current research to be used as a point of reference. They write that the study needs to be about a population that is both homogenous and dissimilar. [68] The CES database meets this requirement. Respondents are homogenous, since they are all Canadian citizens, share the same federal government and live together under the same set of criminal laws. However, they are also heterogenous, particularly in terms of region, language and political preferences. Furthermore, Héraux and Novi also point out that the variables need to be ordinal variables, which is the case for the current research.

Furthermore, the authors say that the goal of factor analysis is to mathematically reproduce a data matrix from dependent indicators, using independent and interpretable factors.[69] This is the goal of the current research, which hopes to discover factors able to explain respondents' stances on numerous political issues. However, it seems unlikely that ideological factors are independent. These factors have to be correlated, since, according to Hartz, socialism and conservatism share a preoccupation about community, whereas liberalism and socialism share a preoccupation regarding reason and progress. The best way to resolve this difficulty is to use an oblique rotation during the factor analysis. This is why the rotation method used during the upcoming factor analyses will be the oblimin rotation, which does not suppose that the factors are independent.

Héraux and Novi also point out that factor analysis rests on the assumption that the variables follow a normal curve.[70] Given the nature of the CES data, this is a problem. Opinions do not

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[68] *Op. Cit*., Héraux et al., p. 219
[69] *Op. Cit*., Héraux et al., p. 220
[70] *Op. Cit*., Héraux et al., p. 222

naturally follow a normal curve, as height or weight do. To remedy this problem, the type of extraction used over the course of the factor analysis is the unweighted least squares extraction. This makes it possible to run factor analyses even when variables do not vary according to a normal curve. It is not as sensitive to the assumption of normality as the max-likelihood extraction and aims to minimize errors between the initial data and the data reproduced by the factor analysis. [71] This method is thus the most appropriate for the current research.

Database and Variables

The database used is the 2008 CES. The CES surveys have taken place during every federal election in Canada since 1965, except for 1972. Since 1988 they are made up of three parts. The first one is pre-electoral. Respondents are then asked questions about how they perceive the ongoing election, turnout, vote choice, etc. The post-electoral survey targets people who were respondents to the pre-electoral survey and verifies, among other things, if they have changed their voting intentions since the pre-electoral survey. Finally, a questionnaire is sent by mail to those who completed the post-electoral survey.

As such, the number of respondents who participated in the 2008 CES varies across waves. Each wave has fewer respondents than the preceding one. This is why no variable from the mail survey was used in the analyses. Also, it is possible that the panel respondents (from the previous 2004 election) are not representative of the general population. As such, they are taken out of the database when conducting the analyses. After the withdrawal of those cases, the database contains 3257 respondents to the pre-electoral survey and 2451 respondents to the post-electoral one.

The method selected to explore Canadians' ideology is exploratory factor analysis. The assumption is that ideological factors can explain citizens' opinions on many political issues. For

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[71] *Op. Cit*. Torrens-Ibern, p. 194

example, supporting the war in Afghanistan and being opposed to gay marriage, abortion and gun control should be related to a factor like conservatism. The factor analysis tries to verify if such factors can be discovered by using data from the 2008 CES.

The initial exploratory factor analysis rests on 47 variables. Four variables are from the pre-electoral survey and 43 from the post-electoral survey. The four questions from the pre-electoral survey ask respondents how important they consider crime, social justice, the economy and protecting the environment as issues. The answer options for these questions are located on a Likert scale and are "Very important", "somewhat important" and "not really important." A fifth question, regarding the interests of Quebec, was asked only to respondents from Quebec.

Many questions ask respondents if they are in agreement with a given statement. In that case, the answer options are "Strongly Agree", "Agree", "Disagree" and "Strongly Disagree". The statements are « The government should leave it entirely to the private sector to create jobs", "Overall, free trade with the US has been good for the Canadian economy", "If people can't find work in the region where they live, they should move to where the jobs are", "Only the police and the military should be allowed to have guns" and "Society would be better off if more women stayed home with their children." Other statements are « When businesses make a lot of money, everyone benefits, including the poor", "Gays and lesbians should be allowed to get married", "People who are willing to pay should be allowed to get medical treatment sooner" and "People who don't get ahead should blame themselves, not the system". Finally, many statements related to populism and community life follow this pattern. They are "People should always find ways to help others less fortunate than themselves", "It is better to trust the down-to-earth thinking of ordinary people than theories of experts", "If people start trying to change things, it usually makes them worse", "People should look after themselves first before worrying

about the well-being of others", "We would probably solve most of our big problems if decisions could be brought back to the people at the grassroots" and "It is better to stick with what you have, rather than trying new things you are really not sure about."

Another series of questions simply asks if respondents are in favour or against a given policy. These questions relate to the privatization of Canadian hospitals, respondents' position regarding capital punishment for murderers and the war in Afghanistan.

Many variables have three response options, being "more", "less" or "same/like now". It is the case of a question asking respondents if the federal government treats their province better, worse or as well as other provinces. Another question asks if there should be more, less or as many immigrants as now. It is also the case of a series of questions on how much the federal government should spend in many sectors, including defence, social justice, healthcare, education, environment and arts and culture. Two other questions offer this response pattern. They ask if individual and corporate taxes should be raised, lowered or kept at their current level. These variables have been coded so that the option "same/like now" falls between the two other options.

Another series of questions ask how much must be done regarding many issues. In this case, the possible answers are "Much more", "A lot more", "Same as now", "A little less" and "A lot less". Such questions are about issues like the income gap between rich and poor, racial minorities, women and Quebec.

Many questions have unique response patterns. This is the case of one question asking if access to abortion should be very easy, easy, difficult or very difficult. It is also the case of a question asking respondents whether they prefer a strong federal government or more power for provincial governments. Respondents could answer "Strong federal government", "More power for provincial governments", "Both" and "Other". Likewise, another question asks which

government looks better after the respondent's interests. The respondent could answer "Federal government", "Provincial government" and "Not much difference". The responses "Others" have been coded as missing values, which affects 83 cases, whereas the answer "Both" has been coded as situated between the two remaining options. Another question asks respondents if the government should fund a public daycare program or give the money directly to parents. Lastly, a question asks if Canada's ties to the United States should be closer or more distant. Five answers, going from "Much closer" to "Much more distant" are offered to respondents.

Respondents are also asked if the best way to solve major economic problems is more government participation or to leave the private sector solve the problem. Another question asks respondents how worried they are about their income once they retire. They can then answer "really worried", "a little worried", "not really worried" and "not worried at all". Two questions regard children's education, and ask if it is more important that the child learn independence or to respect authority, and if the child should learn obedience or autonomy. Finally, a last question asks respondent if people in general try to profit from them or if they try to be fair.

Variables offering only two possible answers have been coded as dichotomous and are used in the analysis as ordinal variables. For all variables, the answer "Don't know" was also a possible option. They have been coded as neutral, in the middle of the scale for each variable. This is necessary because too many cases are lost if those responses are all coded as missing values. Coding those answers as neutral seems appropriate because « Don't know" denotes uncertainty, and uncertainty suggests that the respondent is between the two ends of the scale for any given variable.

Some variables have been particularly difficult to code. It's the case of a question asking the best way to deal with young offenders found guilty of a crime. The two first possible answers are to give them tougher sentences or to spend more in rehabilitation. However, respondents spontaneously offered other answers when they were asked this question. The other answers are "Focus on parents, home life, community values, morals", "Enroll them in army/boot camp", "Preventive measures, e.g. education", "Depends on the situation" and "Both 1 and 2". Given that the two first options were the answers of 89% of the sample, the other answers have been coded between those two extremes. The two last options, "Depends on the situation" and "Both 1 and 2", are clearly between those two extremes. As such, they have been coded in the middle of the scale. The answers "Focus on parents, home life, community values, morals" and "Preventive measures, e.g. education" have been coded as equivalent to spending more in rehabilitation, since they suggest rehabilitation in spirit. The last option, mandatory enrolment in the army, has been coded as a missing value. This is because this option can be associated as a heavier sentence, since the army imposes a regimented lifestyle and may appear similar to prison for those who do not want to enlist. However, it can also been seen as a rehabilitation tool where young offenders will be able to develop discipline and a sense of responsibility. Since it is impossible to know which point of view held each of the respondents who gave this answer, it has been coded as missing. This situation only affects 9 respondents out of 2451.

Other variables had response patterns that needed to be coded. This is the case of the question that asked respondents their position regarding the death penalty. 157 respondents answered "It depends", and this answer has been coded in the middle of the scale formed by "In favour" and "against", since it represents indecision about capital punishment. Regarding the question asking how easy access to abortion should be, 15 respondents said that there should be no access to abortion at all, whereas 71 answered "it depends". The former have been coded as if

they had answered that access to abortion should be very hard, whereas the latter have been coded as being in the middle of the scale. Finally, to the question asking the best way to solve major economic problems, 128 respondents said "Both", referring to both options suggested. As such, their answer has been recorded as being in the middle of the scale formed by the answers to this question. Finally, it needs to be pointed out that factor analysis proceeds by iteration and elimination, which explains why only 20 variables out of 47 are kept in the final factor analysis.

The Factor Analysis

In order to understand what the quality indexes of factor analyses mean, it is relevant to explain what they are and how they are used. The KMO measures how the ensemble of variables used for the analysis is coherent and allows adequate measures of concepts.[72] Its value can theoretically go from 0 to 1. However, it is considered mediocre at 0.5, and perfect at 1. The current analysis has a KMO of 0.771, which is very good. The KMO is reported in Table I, on page X.

Bartlett's Test of Sphericity is a simple null hypothesis test. In this case, the null hypothesis states that all correlations are equal to 0.[73] To reject the null hypothesis, this indicator must be smaller than the alpha defined by the researcher. The current research uses the threshold generally admitted in social sciences, which is α=0.05. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity for the current research has a value of p=0.000, which is convincingly lower than the 0.05 threshold. This result is reported in Table 1, along with the value of the KMO. The null hypothesis is thus easily rejected. This is expected, given the large number of cases in the database.

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[72] Durand, Claire. *L'analyse factorielle et l'analyse de fidélité*. https://www.webdepot.umontreal.ca/Enseignement/SOCIO/Intranet/SOL6210/public/notesdecours/analyse_factorielle_texte.pdf [En Ligne] Page consultée le 17 décembre 2011. p. 14

[73] Durand, Claire. *L'analyse factorielle et l'analyse de fidélité*. https://www.webdepot.umontreal.ca/Enseignement/SOCIO/Intranet/SOL6210/public/notesdecours/analyse_factorielle_texte.pdf [En Ligne] Page consultée le 17 décembre 2011. p. 14

Another indicator of the quality of the analysis is the matrix determinant. It indicates how much the variables are correlated. The more the variables are correlated, the lower the determinant's value is. As such, one wants to find a matrix determinant that is as close to 0 as possible. The current research has a matrix determinant of 0.074. This value is actually a little high for a matrix determinant. This can be explained by studying how variables are related to each other in the database. Instead of moving in a similar direction together, variables are only related to a few others in the database. For example, variable A is strongly associated to variable B, which is strongly associated with variable C. However, there is no strong association between A and C. This peculiar structure explains this result. This structure is explained by the fact that the CES is not meant to be used to conduct factor analyses. In disciplines where this approach is used frequently, scales are tested and used time and again to ensure the validity and reliability of factors. This is not the case with the CES.

Communalities indicate how much of the variance of a given variable is explained by the variance of the other variables present in the analysis. Generally, variables with communalities inferior to 0.2 are eliminated from a factor analysis, since they are too different from the other variables to contribute to the solution. However, given the limitations inherent to the CES, this is impossible for the current research, since fourteen variables out of twenty have communalities under 0.2. Descriptive statistics for the variables kept in the analysis are reported in Appendix C, on page XXIV, and communalities are reported in Appendix D, on page XXVI.

Table 2, entitled "Total Variance Explained" and displayed on page XI, is very important. It notes all the factors identified during the analysis and gives them each an eigenvalue score. The Kaiser criterion suggests keeping the factors with an eigenvalue above 1. By doing so, 6 factors explaining 51% of the variables' variance are kept.

The scree plot shows the eigenvalue of each factor and traces a line between each of those scores. This plot allows the researcher to determine how many factors must be kept using Cattell's scree test, which claims that factors after a cleft in the line should be dropped. This cleft is not easily observable in the scree plot shown as Figure 1, on page XVII. Even if the slope steadily goes down, it does so slowly, without suddenly dropping. In such a case, the Kaiser criterion is more reliable.

The pattern matrix indicates the factor loadings of each variable on the factors. In this table, each variable should appear only once on every factor and each factor loading should be above 0.3. This threshold is unfortunately impossible to maintain given the structure of the CES database. To reach a good factor solution, this criterion has been relaxed to 0.25.

Four variables load on the most important factor, as can be seen in the Pattern Matrix, in Appendix E, on page XXVIII. They are support or opposition to gay marriage, access to abortion, views on the effect on society of women staying home with their kids and the perceived importance of obedience and autonomy in the education of children. These variables can be thought of as opposing progressives and conservatives. People in favour of gay marriage are also those who prefer an easier access to abortion, do not wish for women to stay at home and prefer autonomy to obedience when raising their kids. This factor explains 16,46% of the variance of all the variables in the factor analysis, is tied to family values and has a standardized Cronbach's alpha value of 0.6.

Four variables load on the second most important factor identified. They are respondents' answers to questions asking if we would solve important problems if decisions were brought down to the grassroots, if we should trust the down-to-earth knowledge of everyday people rather than the theories of experts, as well as how much should be done to help women and the poor. This factor explains 10.38% of variance and relates to community. It is interesting to note

that those who want to bring decision centers close to their community are also those who want to do more to help the poor and women. The factor thus seems centered around community, both in how decisions are taken and whether some groups deserve special support. It is worthwhile to point out that social justice variables included in this factor are those that are relevant in all communities. There are women and poor people everywhere. On the contrary, social justice variables that do not share this characteristic, for example those about Quebec or racial minorities, are not found on this factor. This factor has a standardized Cronbach's alpha value of 0.46.

Only two variables load on the third factor. They are support for the privatization of healthcare and support to a statement claiming that people willing to pay should be able to have access to a faster medical treatment. People in favour of the privatization of hospitals in Canada agree that those with the means to pay should be able to have faster access to treatment. This factor explains 7.24% of the variance, is tied to the issue of healthcare privatization and has a standardized Cronbach's alpha value of 0.57.

Five variables load on the fourth factor. They are the questions about respondents' opinion on the death penalty, the best way to react to young offenders, the importance of fighting crime, government expenses related to welfare and opinion about whether or not people should blame themselves or the system if they can't succeed. Those who are in favour of the death penalty are also in favour of stronger sentences against young offenders, they believe that fighting against crime is very important, that welfare expenses should go down and that those who can't succeed should blame themselves. This factor relates to perceptions of personal responsibility. Respondents with individualistic tendencies will tend to see economic failure and crime as the result of personal decisions, and will favour harsh punishments and reducing social safety nets as a consequence. Those who think responsibility for economic failure and crime is collective

prefer to spend more on welfare programs and rehabilitation. This factor explains 6.40% of variance and has a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.57.

Two variables load on the fifth factor. They are views on statements claiming that it is better to keep using what is known instead of trying new things and that changing things generally worsens them. Those who prefer to keep using what they know are the most likely to believe that changing things worsen them. This factor explains 5.6% of variance, it reflects traditionalism and has a standardized Cronbach's alpha value of 0.50.

Finally, three variables load on the sixth factor. They are responses to what respondents believe to be the best way to solve major economic problems, to create jobs and whether people who can't find a job should move where jobs exist. The analysis shows that people believing that more space must be given to the private sector to solve economic problems also believe that the private sector is best able to create new jobs, and that people who can't find a job should leave for regions where jobs are more numerous. This factor explains 5.1% of variance and is related to economic liberalism, which claims that the state should be involved as little as possible in economic matters. It also has a standardized Cronbach's alpha value of 0.43

Before moving on to the next step of the analysis, it is necessary to recognize the weakness of the Cronbach's alpha values of the identified dimensions. This situation is explainable by the way in which the CES questionnaire is built. The study does not aim to build factors, or dimensions. As such, the questions are not tested ahead of time to make sure they will yield reliable factors, as is the practice in domains where factor analysis is regularly employed, like psychology. The low Cronbach's alpha values, which are summarized in Table 3 on page XII, can also be explained by the small number of variables that load on each individual factor. If there had been a few more questions asked that would have loaded on a given factor, its internal validity would be greater. Furthermore, it deserves to be said that such Cronbach's alpha values

are par for the course in similar analyses based on CES data.[74] Scholars working on the 1997

Canadian election obtained dimensions that had similar internal consistency. The good news is

that many of the dimensions they identified emerge in the current research, like those

pertaining to family and economic freedom. This replication adds to the robustness of the

results obtained from the 2008 data. The very good KMO and Bartlett's test obtained during the

analysis also speak to the validity of the identified dimensions.

Regional Variations

Before analyzing where each region falls on the dimensions proper, it should be pointed out that

the CES sample is representative within every region surveyed. Because we are interested in

comparing across regions and we are not concerned with the overall Canadian distribution, no

weights are used over the course of this analysis. Table 4, which can be found on page XIII,

summarizes mean scores of every region on each dimension as well as whether they significantly

deviate from the mean or not. In all the tables, the Canadian average for individual respondents

is automatically 0 and its standard deviation automatically 1. This permits an easier assessment

of how much other regions of the country vary around this average.

On the first dimension, family, Quebec should vary significantly from the rest of the country.

Wiseman described the province as being very progressive, for example regarding gay marriage

and couples eschewing the institution of marriage.[75] Regions that are described as having a

traditional lineage, like Ontario and the Atlantic Provinces, should be more traditional than the

rest of the country on this dimension. The hypotheses regarding family values are confirmed.

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[74] Nevitte, Neil et al. *Unsteady State: The 1997 Canadian Federal Election.* 2000. Oxford University Press. Toronto. p. 138

[75] *Op. Cit*., Wiseman, p. 185

Quebec is the most progressive of all the provinces. Furthermore, it deviates significantly from the rest of the country. Ontario and the Atlantic Provinces are more traditional in matters of the family than the rest of the country as well. However, it deserves to be noted that the Midwest is also significantly more traditional regarding matters of family than the rest of the country.

The second dimension, feelings of community, should vary significantly in the Atlantic Provinces and in the West when compared to the rest of the country. On the one hand, the Atlantic Provinces are described as homogenous, and Atlantic voters seem to consider being a member of a party tantamount to being member of a religion. [76] This demonstrates greater feelings of community than what should be expected from the rest of the country. On the other hand, citizens of the West are described by Wiseman as being more liberal than the rest of the country, given their support of women's rights, democratic populism and free enterprise.[77] They should significantly deviate from the rest of the country, but in a direction opposite from Atlantic Canadians. The Atlantic Provinces are, as predicted, more tightly-knit than any other region of the country. However, while the West is more individualistic than the rest of the country, it is not significantly so. No other Canadian region varies significantly from the rest of the country on this dimension.

The third dimension relates to privatization of healthcare. On this dimension, regions that have strong social democratic traditions, like the Midwest[78] and Quebec[79], should prominently favour public healthcare, whereas regions favouring liberalism, like the Western provinces, should favour privatization of the healthcare system.[80] Hypotheses regarding privatization of Healthcare are largely disconfirmed. Western Canadians are significantly more in favour of privatizing

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[76] *Ibid.*, p. 152
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 239
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 166
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 227
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 239

healthcare than other Canadians. Contrary to expectations, however, Quebecers share this opinion, as they desire privatization even more than Western Canadians and do so significantly more than other Canadians. Citizens of the Midwest are not markedly opposed to privatization, despite their region being the cradle of the public healthcare system. Actually, they do not differ from the rest of the country regarding this issue. Unexpectedly as well, Ontarians and Canadians from the Atlantic Provinces are the staunchest defenders of the publicly funded healthcare system, and diverge significantly from other Canadians on this issue.

The fourth dimension, which regards personal responsibility in economic and judicial matters, should oppose the West on one side and Quebec and the Midwest on the other. The West should espouse the philosophy of personal responsibility, being more favourable to the death penalty and harsh sentences for young offenders, for example. Quebec and the Midwest should, on the contrary, be significantly more opposed to such measures than the rest of Canadians, if Wiseman's characterization of the provinces' social solidarity holds true.[81] Hypotheses regarding personal responsibility are generally supported. Quebec is the region that believes the most strongly in collective responsibility in economic and criminal matters, whereas the West is markedly more individualistic in this regard than the rest of the country. However, it deserves to be noted that regarding this issue, the Midwest is as staunchly opposed to rehabilitation and the establishment of a social safety net as the West, despite its alleged socialist tendencies. Ontario also significantly diverges from the rest of the country on this matter, siding with the Midwest and the West, whereas Canadians from the Atlantic Provinces are significantly more receptive to welfare and rehabilitation to respond to economic hardship and crime than other Canadians. On this dimension, Canadians are polarized, with no region bridging the gap between the two extremes.

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[81] *Ibid*., p. 170

The fifth dimension is the dimension of traditionalism. According to Wiseman, the West would surely be the most progressive of regions. After all, he describes the region as one of pioneers, who left the core of the country to establish themselves on a land of their own.[82] On the contrary, the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec, given their conservative traditions, homogeneity and, in the case of Quebec, its seigniorial heritage, should be significantly more conservative. Hypotheses regarding traditionalism are generally confirmed. Western Canadians are the least traditionalist of Canada's regions, whereas Quebecers are the most traditionalist. Inhabitants of the Atlantic Provinces, however, do not significantly deviate from the rest of the country. Ontarians are significantly more traditionalist than the rest of the country.

Finally, economic liberalism should oppose the West and its liberal tradition to the more socialist Midwest and Quebec. Quebec is indeed the least economically liberal of Canada's regions. Likewise, the West is significantly more liberal than the rest of Canada. What is surprising is that once again Midwesterners, which should be the most socialist of Canadians, are instead the most liberal Canadians of all in economic matters.

Discussion

The results confirm hypotheses 10 times out of 16, or 63% of the time. Table 5, on page XV, summarizes the hypotheses, the results and finally whether hypotheses are confirmed or disconfirmed. Quebec and the West are probably the two regions that fit hypotheses the best. As predicted, Quebecers are least traditional in family matters, believe that responsibility is social, are more traditional than most Canadians and reject economic liberalism. The only surprise regarding Quebecers concerns their views on the privatization of healthcare, which they support. Westerners also supports privatized healthcare more than the rest of the country, as

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[82] *Ibid.*, p. 250

predicted. They are also less traditional, more economically liberal and adopt views of personal responsibility more readily than other Canadians. The only difference with expectations comes from the fact they do not deviate from the rest of the country in matters of community. The one hypothesis regarding Ontario is also confirmed, meaning that Ontarians are more traditional in family matters than the rest of Canadians. While citizens of the Atlantic Provinces care more about the community than most Canadians, as expected, they are not more traditional than other Canadians. However, two items in particular seem to elicit more than their fair share of errors. They are hypotheses about the privatization of healthcare and the Midwest.

As discussed earlier, scores regarding the privatization of Healthcare are not as expected. Only the citizens of the West behave as predicted, which means they are more favourable to the privatization of healthcare than other Canadians. No other region behaves as expected. The generally social-democratic Quebecers are favourable to the privatization of healthcare, while Midwesterners are not significantly different from the average Canadian on this matter. Surprisingly, Ontarians and Canadians from the Atlantic Provinces are significantly least favourable to this policy. This highlights the fact that opinion on this matter is probably related more to nationalism than to ideological leanings. The rationale behind this supposition is that national identity is often rooted in differences.[83] Canadian identity in particular is rooted in differences with the US. The public healthcare system is a very strong symbol of what differentiates Canada from its southern counterpart. As such, regions where Canadian nationalism is strong should support healthcare more strongly than other regions. Given their status of founders of Canada, Ontarians and Canadians from the Atlantic Provinces are probably the most patriotic of Canadians. On the other hand, Quebecers' identity is rooted in their use of

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[83] Michael Ignatieff. 1997. "The Narcissism of Minor Difference," in *The Warrior's Honor: Ethnic War and the Modern Conscience*. Henry Holt and Co., pages 34–71.

French and their distinct history. Likewise, the identity of Midwesterners and Westerners has developed in opposition to the Canadian East, which leads to feelings of regional identity rather than feelings of national pride. This may explain the results about privatized Healthcare. Obviously, this is a tentative explanation, and more research is warranted to explore this hypothesis.

Another unexpected finding regards the Midwest as a region. Wiseman,[84] like other authors,[85][86] believes that the Midwest is the most socialist of Canada's regions. To defend this thesis, he points out that this region is the cradle of the CCF-NDP and has boasted a large numbers of left-leaning provincial governments since the middle of the twentieth century. The CES data do not confirm this analysis. On the contrary, Midwesterners appear to be more liberal than other Canadians. According to the data surveyed, Midwesterners support public healthcare no more than other Canadians, despite the fact public healthcare was born in Saskatchewan. Furthermore, Midwesterners are more prone to attribute responsibility for criminal acts and economical failures to individuals, and not to the larger society, and to adopt a liberal view of the economy. They agree in a stronger proportion than the rest of Canadians with the death penalty, with harsher penalties for young offenders and with cutting federal government spending on welfare. They also agree with the statement that people who don't get ahead should blame themselves and not the system, that people should move where jobs are and that the government should leave the market solve major economic problems. They are also more individualistic than the average Canadian. This is closer to the picture of a liberal free market

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[84] *Ibid.*, Wiseman, p. 233

[85] Wesley, J. J. 2011. *Code politics : campaigns and cultures on the Canadian Prairies*. Vancouver, UBC Press.

[86] Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1968. *Agrarian Socialism: the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan: A Study in Political Sociology*. Anchor Books. New York. 487 p.

with harsh attitudes towards failure than to the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation extolled by Tommy Douglas and other prominent Midwesterners. Although this flies in the face of Wiseman's predictions, it partly explains Midwesterners' electoral behaviour in recent federal elections.

The results obtained in the Midwest represent a challenge for Wiseman's approach. Its mischaracterization of one of Canada's component regions jeopardizes its validity. It is thus important to understand why the Midwest does not correspond to Wiseman's expectations. Based on an argument made by Gibbins,[87] it can be argued that the regional particularities of the Prairies declined during the post-war period because of industrialization and changes made to agriculture. It deserves to be noted that Gibbins considers the Prairies to encompass Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. While this does not follow the typology suggested by Wiseman, it isn't a significant problem for the current research, as long as it is remembered that the point of studying Gibbins' argument is to explain how changes in the Prairies weakened socialism in the Midwest in particular.

Lipset (1968) thought that Canadian socialism was agrarian in nature. It was explained by the high number of farmers who experienced together the unpredictability of wheat prices, their main export.[88] The risks of the trade motivated farmers to meet, discuss the problem and decide to band together to face common hardships. A significant number of farmers was necessary to generate a strong agrarian socialism and have it gain traction in the region. However, things have changed a lot since the days of Lipset's analysis. People living in rural areas went down from 64 to 33% of the total Prairie population from 1911 to 1971,[89] and this figure was as low as

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[87] Gibbins, Roger. 1980. *Prairie politics and society: Regionalism in decline*. Butterworths. Toronto. 228 p.

[88] *Op. Cit.*, Lipset, p. 44
[89] *Op. Cit.*, Gibbins, p. 69

16% in 2006.[90] Farm population went down from 50% to 17% from 1931 to 1971,[91] while the number of farms went from 296 469 to 174 653 from 1941 to 1971.[92] According to the 1971 census, only 16.3% of the workforce was involved in agriculture.[93] While there were 153,000 farm labourers in 1941, there were less than 40,000 in 1966.[94] It is thus clear that the critical mass of farmers that once permitted agrarian socialism to prosper in the region disappeared decades ago.

Furthermore, the agricultural sector transformed, becoming more mechanized and corporate, losing the competitive, individual and risky traits that characterized it when settlers first arrived to the Prairies. One of the reasons that agriculture is less risky nowadays is that farmers have diversified their crops. In the days of Lipset, agriculture in the Prairies revolved largely around wheat, which price was really unstable. Lipset wrote: "The lack of important secondary industries means that any change in the fortunes of wheat necessarily affects almost everyone in the province. [...]More than any other rural group, the wheat farmer is economically naked, completely exposed to the vagaries of the price systems.[95]" However, Gibbins writes that from the late thirties to the early seventies, wheat production went from representing 51.3 to 38.3% of the region's agricultural production. During the same time, oats went down from 34.9% to 18.1%, while barley went up from 12.0% to 33.8%. Flaxseed, mixed grain and rapeseed production all went up during that time as well.[96] The number of beef cattle in the region also

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[90] Statistics Canada. Online resource. *Socioeconomic data.* http://www5.statcan.gc.ca/cansim/a26 [Online] Consulted on April 1st, 2012.

[91] *Op. Cit*., Gibbins, p. 70
[92] *Op. Cit*., Gibbins, p. 78
[93] *Op. Cit*., Gibbins, p. 78
[94] *Op. Cit*., Gibbins, p. 78
[95] *Op. Cit*., Lipset, p. 44
[96] *Op. Cit*., Lipset, p. 83

went from 439,000 to 3,014,000 in the same period.[97] This means that farmers are not as vulnerable to price variations as they once were. Moreover, agribusinesses have taken the place of many family-owned farms, which means that risks are now divided among shareholders instead of being the responsibility of one family.[98] Agribusinesses do not have the same effect on regional political ideology as an important number of farmers would have. Political ideology is spread and maintained through discussions, exchanges and political involvement. It is easy to see how farmers, making up most of the region's population at one point, would meet, discuss and spread the ideas of agrarian socialism across the region.[99] Agribusinesses do not hold meetings extolling the virtues of agrarian socialism and, as such, do not exert the same influence over the political ideas of the Prairies' citizens.

Since Prairie socialism was the result of an important number of farmers being anxious because of the risky nature of their trade, it is to be expected that it would recede as the number of farmers diminishes and agriculture becomes less risky and the responsibility of agribusinesses instead of individual families.

These considerations do not mean the end for Wiseman's approach to understanding ideology in Canada. However, the case of the Midwest highlights how focusing on conditions during the initial settlement of a given region can lead to formulating erroneous hypotheses. If the initial conditions of the Midwest had been permanent, it is very likely that the agrarian movement would still be strong in both Saskatchewan and Manitoba. However, industrialization and changes made to agriculture changed life in the Midwest, demonstrating that while initial conditions are important in determining a political ideology, they are not immutable. Wiseman's

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[97] *Op. Cit.*, Gibbins, p. 82
[98] *Op. Cit.*, Gibbins, p. 80
[99] *Op. Cit.*, Gibbins, p. 80

approach is useful to understand how a settlement develops given its initial conditions, but it does not take into account long-term, gradual changes like industrialization.

In the case of Ontario, explicit hypotheses were not falsified. It still must be pointed out that the results disagree with the widespread idea that that Ontario is essentially Canada writ small. Whereas many authors[100] [101] support this idea, claiming that Ontarians are the most prone of Canadians to depict themselves as Canadians first, they nevertheless deviate from the Canadian norm on four dimensions out of six. They do so on matters of family, privatization of healthcare, personal responsibility and traditionalism. The idea that Ontarians are representative of Canada as a whole is rejected by the data.

It also deserves to be noted that the idea that Quebec is a distinct society is supported by the data. Quebec, after all, significantly diverges from the rest of the country on every dimension, with the exception of the community. It is the region that deviates the most often from the others.

Are Dimensions Ideologies?

The most interesting question, however, is broader in scope. It deserves to be asked whether the dimensions identified really are ideologies or not. This is what Nevitte et al. have defended in their book, *Unsteady State*, an analysis of the 1997 Canadian federal election.[102] Much like in the current research, the authors rely on factor analyses to identify how ideologies are relevant in a Canadian electoral context. They even identify some of the dimensions highlighted by the current research, which speaks to the robustness of its results. Such dimensions are the

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[100] *Op. Cit*. Wiseman, p. 187

[101] Cooper, Barry. "Regionalism, Political Culture, and Canadian Political Myths." In Archer, K. and Young, L. 2002. Regionalism and Party Politics in Canada. Don Mills, Ont. ; New York, Oxford University Press.

[102] Op. Cit. Nevitte, p. 46

importance of family as well as views on free enterprise. The researchers also highlight the salience of cynicism, opinions on immigrants, US/Canada and Quebec/relationships for the election. It is doubtful, however, that such narrow dimensions should be called ideologies. This is a problem the current research must tackle as well.

Strictly speaking, are the identified dimensions ideologies? Clearly, the answer to this question must be negative. Based on Hamilton's definition of ideologies, they should be far-reaching, broad, and create patterns and connections among seemingly disparate matters. The identified dimensions do not accomplish this. Some of them are extremely specific to one set of issues. The dimensions of family, community, healthcare and traditionalism come to mind. While economic liberalism and personal responsibility are broader than the other dimensions, the fact remains that they do not represent liberalism, conservatism or socialism by themselves. Actually, if they did, those two dimensions would most likely coalesce together in a single factor, which would affect both perceptions of economic and social success. As such, it needs to be said that the dimensions do not reflect the predicted ideologies and may even fall short of being worthy of the term in the first place.

It nevertheless deserves to be asked if, and how, the dimensions relate to ideologies. It is one thing to say they are not ideologies proper, but it would be another thing entirely to sustain that they do not relate to ideology at all. Maybe there is a way to salvage, at least partially, Wiseman's assertions about ideology in Canada. The key to this analysis lies in Hamilton's writings and the factor correlation matrix, presented in Table 6, on page XVI. As Hamilton wrote, ideologies are supposed to create links between ideas. The factor correlation matrix reports how correlated each factor is with one another. Under the rule that factors need to show a correlation of 0.3 or more to be considered associated, two groups of variables can be

established. [103] The first is made up of the privatization of healthcare, personal responsibility and economic liberalism dimensions. The second is made up of the family, personal responsibility and traditionalism dimensions. The remaining dimension is the importance of the community. It is not too far-fetched to claim that the first of those groups can be equated to liberalism and the second to conservatism. It can be argued that whoever scores low in those two groups could de facto be considered a socialist. Furthermore, the last remaining dimension relates to the importance of the community, which is clearly associated to socialism. After all, it includes the iconic socialist question: "How much should be done to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor in Canada?". [104]

Those groups all vary in a coherent manner, meaning that people who favour the privatization of healthcare are more prone to consider people responsible for their successes and failures and to favour free markets in the economy. Likewise, people who prefer more traditional families are more prone to consider individuals as responsible for their successes and failures and to be more adverse to change. The fact that the community dimension has a correlation score of 0.27 with traditionalism underlines the point made by Hartz, that is, that socialism needs a form of conservatism to grow. As such, it seems that although the dimensions proper are not, strictly speaking, the ideologies envisioned by Hartz, Horowitz and Wiseman, in particular because of their narrowness, they nevertheless coalesce into coherent ideological groupings, which speak to the relevance of using these notions even today.

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[103] Of course, this is an absolute number. Correlations values inferior to -0.3 would also be acceptable, although there are none in the Correlation Factor Matrix in this case.

[104] On a more methodological note, these easily interpretable correlations among the dimensions confirm the validity of the results obtained, despite the fact that these dimensions have relatively low values of Cronbach's alphas.

Conclusion

As a first step, a factor analysis was conducted to identify from opinion statements the ideological dimensions that were the most important in the 2008 federal elections. Six important dimensions were identified. Those dimensions are, in order of importance, family, community, privatization of healthcare, personal responsibility, traditionalism and economic liberalism. After having identified those six factors, the score of each respondent on each of the factors was recorded. Doing so allowed to test whether Wiseman's predictions of how each ideology fares in each region of the country were right. As predicted, Quebecers are less traditional in family matters than most Canadians, believe that responsibility is social, are more traditional and less economically liberal than most Canadians. However, they also favour private healthcare more than other Canadians. Westerners follow hypotheses pretty closely. They support privatized healthcare more than other Canadians, are less traditional, more economically liberal and espouse views of personal responsibility more readily than other Canadians. However, they do not diverge from the rest of the country in matters of the community. As expected, Ontario is more traditional than the rest of the country in matters of family, and Canadians from the Atlantic Provinces care more about the community than most Canadians. However, they are not more traditionalist than the rest of the country.

Nevertheless, significant deviations from the predictions deserve to be noted. First of all, predictions about the privatization of healthcare were wrong four times out of five. It seems that adhesion to the idea of free, public healthcare relies more on Canadian nationalism than on ideological preferences of the kind described by Hartz, Horowitz and Wiseman. Predictions about the Midwest were also often wrong. The Midwest does not appear to be as socialist as supposed by Wiseman. This is unexpected, given the important role of continental Europeans in the colonization of the region and its history of socialist provincial governments. Midwesterners

do not care more about public healthcare than the average Canadian, they are more individualistic, harsher on matters of personal responsibility and more economically liberal than the average Canadian. This hardly paints the picture of a socialist region. These unexpected results are explained by industrialization and the modifications made to agriculture after the Second World War. They highlight how important events can alter the course set by the first immigrants to settle in a given territory, something Wiseman's approach does not take into account seriously enough.

The findings concerning Ontarians' political ideas, while supporting hypotheses, also deviate importantly from conventional wisdom. Ontario is described by many as a Canadian microcosm, given its demographic importance in the Canadian landscape and the fact Ontarians are those who identify with Canada the most. Nevertheless, the data contradict this view. Ontarians significantly diverge from the rest of the country on matters of family, privatization of healthcare, personal responsibility and traditionalism.

The data support the idea that Quebec is a distinct society. Quebec significantly deviates from the rest of the country. It does so on all dimensions except the community. It is the region that deviates the most often from the norm.

The current research generally agrees with Simeon and Blake's paper. The characterization of ideology in Ontario and the Atlantic Provinces is very similar. Quebecers are ideologically progressive, as they were at the end of Simeon and Blake's study. Despite the fact that regional boundaries in the West are not drawn exactly the same way, some observations can still be made. Citizens of the western provinces are very liberal, as observed by Simeon and Blake in British Columbia. However, the Midwest appears even less socialist than it did in Simeon and

Blake's paper, since it is below the Canadian average on the community index and above this average regarding personal responsibility, economic liberalism and traditionalism in the family.

It is very hard to claim that the dimensions identified are, by themselves, ideologies. After all, they remain very specific. By themselves, those six dimensions are too narrow to be labelled ideologies. However, after having reviewed the factor correlation matrix, it appears that the dimensions follow a pattern. They converge in two groups. One is made up of the family, personal responsibility and traditionalism, and can be equated to conservatism. A second group is made up of economic liberalism, healthcare privatization and personal responsibility, and can be equated to liberalism. Of course, not scoring high on both of those makes one a progressive opposed to the free market or, in other words, a socialist. This being said, the fact that the only remaining dimension is the importance of the community also supports the idea that socialists are in a group of their own. The positive correlation between the community dimension and the traditionalism dimension confirms Hartz's assertions about socialism, which is that it needs to be into contact with conservatism to exist.

This review confirms that the region of habitation affects how Canadians position themselves on politically important issues. It also shows that those important issues, or dimensions, follow a pattern similar to that described by Hartz and Wiseman. Most of the time, hypotheses formulated following Wiseman's application of fragment theory are confirmed by the data and speak to the value of this approach. Nevertheless, some specific hypotheses, most notably those regarding the Midwest and the privatization of Healthcare, have been falsified in the conduct of the current research and deserve to be topics of future inquiry.

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Table I : KMO and Bartlett's Test

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		,771
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	5841,668
	Df	190
	Sig.	,000

Table II: Total Variance Explained

Factor	Eigenvalue	% of variance	Cumulative % of variance
Family	3.29	16.46	16.46
Community	2.08	10.39	26.85
Healthcare privatization	1.45	7.24	34.08
Individual responsibility	1.28	6.40	40.48
Traditionalism	1.13	5.63	46.11
Economical liberalism	1.02	5.07	51.19

Table III : Standardized Alpha Table

Facteur	Theme	Standardized Alpha
1	Family	0.6
2	Community	0.464
3	Healthcare privatization	0.679
4	Individual responsibility	0.565
5	Traditionalism	0.5
6	Economical liberalism	0.429

Table IV: Scores on Dimensions
Traditional Family

Region	Mean	Std Dev.
Prairies	0.16*	1.05
Atlantic	0.14**	1.02
Ontario	0.06*	1.01
West	0.03	1.04
Canada	0.00	1
Quebec	-0.23***	0.88

Community

Region	Mean	Std Dev.
Atlantic	0.35***	0.92
Canada	0.00	1
West	-0.04	1.03
Quebec	-0.04	0.94
Ontario	-0.06*	1.04
Prairies	-0.12*	0.95

Privatized Healthcare

Region	Mean	Std Dev.
Quebec	0.30***	0.98
West	0.12***	1
Canada	0.00	1
Prairies	-0.08	0.99
Atlantic	-0.14**	0.95
Ontario	-0.23***	0.97

Personal Responsibility

Region	Mean	Std Dev.
Prairies	0.19**	0.96
West	0.15***	1
Ontario	0.11***	0.99
Canada	0.00	1
Atlantic	-0.13**	0.96
Quebec	-0.25***	0.99

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Traditionalism

Region	Mean	Std Dev.
Quebec	0.20***	1.03
Atlantic	0.04	1.08
Canada	0.00	1
Prairies	-0.05	0.94
Ontario	-0.08**	0.98
West	-0.14***	0.93

Economic Liberalism

Region	Mean	Std Dev.
Prairies	0.19**	0.99
West	0.11**	0.98
Atlantic	0.08	0.97
Canada	0.00	1
Ontario	-0.02	1.04
Quebec	-0.16***	0.95

Legend

* 0.05

** 0.01

*** 0.001

Table V: Hypotheses and Results: Summary

Hypotheses

	Traditional Family	Community	Privatized Healthcare	Personal responsibility	Traditionalism	Economic Liberalism
Atlantic		+			+	
Québec	-		-	-	+	-
Ontario	+					
Midwest			-	-		-
West		-	+	+	-	+

- : The region should score lower than the mean of the rest of the country on this dimension.

+ : The region should score higher than the mean of the rest of the country on this dimension.

Results

	Traditional Family	Community	Privatized Healthcare	Personal responsibility	Traditionalism	Economic Liberalism
Atlantic	+	+	-	-	=	=
Québec	-	=	+	-	+	-
Ontario	+	-	-	+	-	=
Midwest	+	-	=	+	=	+
West	=	=	+	+	-	+

- : The region scores lower than the mean of the rest of the country on this dimension.

= : The region does not deviate significantly from the mean of the rest of the country on this dimension.

+ : The region scores higher than the mean of the rest of the country on this dimension.

Results and Hypotheses : Comparison

	Traditional Family	Community	Privatized Healthcare	Personal responsibility	Traditionalism	Economic Liberalism
Atlantic		+			-	
Québec	+		-	+	+	+
Ontario	+					
Midwest			-	-		-
West		-	+	+	+	+

- : The hypothesis is disconfirmed.

+ : The hypothesis is confirmed.

Table VI : Factor Correlation Matrix

Factor Correlation Matrix

Factor	Family	Community	Privatized Healthcare	Personal Responsability	Traditionalism	Economic Liberalism
Family	1,000	,114	,083	,316	,346	,236
Community	,114	1,000	-,107	-,004	,271	-,128
Privatized Healthcare	,083	-,107	1,000	,241	,116	,312
Personal Responsability	,316	-,004	,241	1,000	,227	,368
Traditionalism	,346	,271	,116	,227	1,000	,200
Economic Liberalism	,236	-,128	,312	,368	,200	1,000

Extraction Method: Unweighted Least Squares.

Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

Figure 1: Scree Plot

Scree Plot
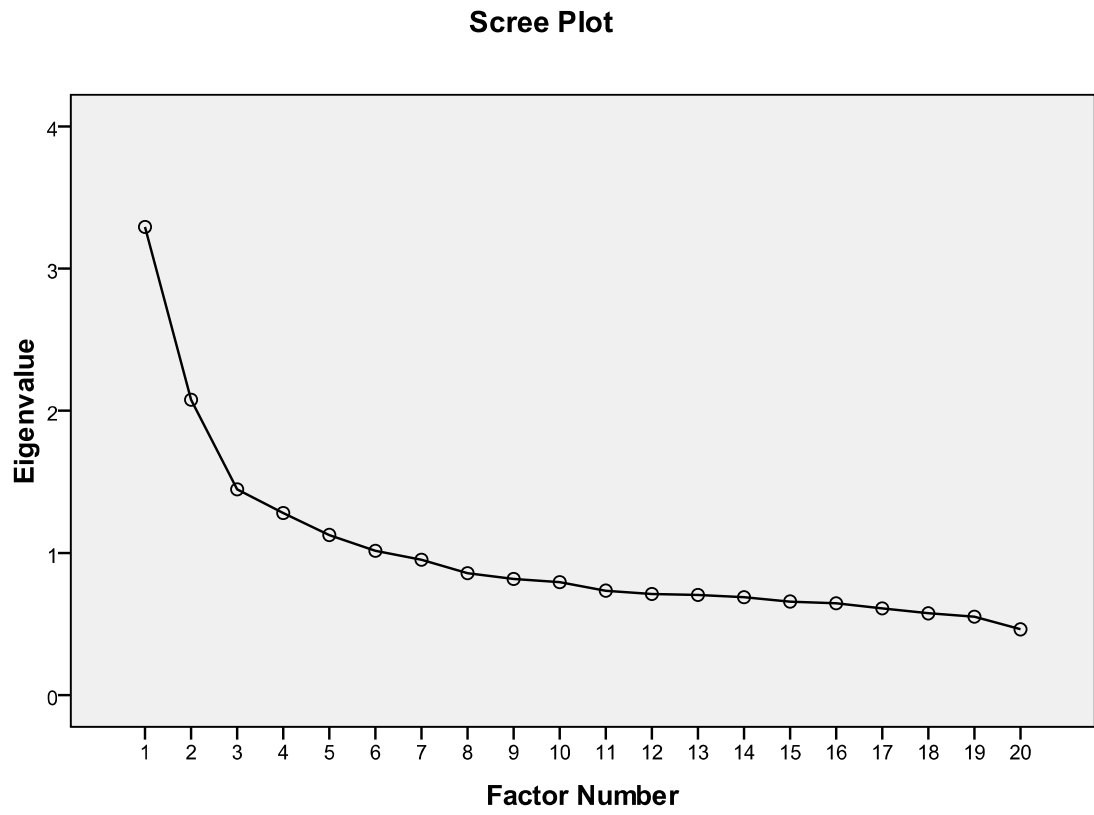
Appendix A: Immigration Waves to Canada

This table summarizing the waves of immigration to Canada is reproduced from page 32 of Nelson Wiseman's *In Search of Canadian Political Culture*.

Immigrant waves by period, region, and orientation			
Immigrant Waves	**Period**	**Primary region**	**Dominant Orientations**
France	Up to 1760	Quebec/Acadia	Quasi-feudal conservative
Loyalist	1780s	Atlantic Provinces/Ontario	Tory-touched liberal
Britain	1815-1851	Ontario/Atlantic Provinces	Reform liberal
Britain/US/Continental Europe	1890s-1920s	West/Ontario	a)Labour-socialist b)Populist-liberal c)Deferential
Asia/Southern Europe/Caribbean/Latin America	1945-	Metro Canada	Individual/equality rights

Appendix B: List of Variables Used in the Factor Analyses

The following table lists all the variables used in the factor analysis, as well as frequencies, minimum, maximum, mean and standard deviation.

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
ces08_CPS_I1 [RANDOM3] Importance to you PERSONALLY: Fighting crime?	3254	,00	1,00	,2356	,32386
ces08_CPS_I2 [RANDOM3/RANDOM1] Importance: Improving health care / social welfare programs?	3255	,00	1,00	,2266	,31538
ces08_CPS_I3 [RANDOM3/RANDOM2] Importance: Creating jobs / Dealing with the economy?	3257	,00	1,00	,1547	,26894
ces08_CPS_I4 [RANDOM3] Importance to you PERSONALLY: Protecting the environment?	3256	,00	1,00	,1806	,27592
ces08_PES_I2N The government should leave it ENTIRELY to the private sector to create jobs.	2444	,00	1,00	,5796	,31966
ces08_PES_I3N Overall, free trade with the U.S. has been good for the Canadian economy.	2446	,00	1,00	,4259	,30209
ces08_PES_I5N If people can't find work in the region where they live, they should move to where the jobs are.	2443	,00	1,00	,4014	,32560

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ces08_PES_P1 ONLY the police and the military should be allowed to have guns.	2443	,00	1,00	,3429	,38304
ces08_PES_P3 Society would be better off if more women stayed home with their children.	2435	,00	1,00	,5912	,37326
ces08_PES_P6 Do you think Canada should admit more immigrants, ...?	2438	,00	1,00	,7096	,36231
ces08_PES_P8 Do you favour or oppose having some private hospitals in Canada?	2446	,00	1,00	,5184	,47993
ces08_PES_P9 Do you favour or oppose the dealth penalty for people convicted of murder?	2427	,00	1,00	,5400	,46746
ces08_PES_P10 What is the BEST way to deal with young offenders who commit violent crime:	2413	,00	1,00	,5207	,47620
ces08_PES_P11 Canadian troops are fighting in Afghanistan. Is this a:	2442	,00	1,00	,6134	,38220
ces08_PES_P12 In general, does the federal government treat your province:	2445	,00	1,00	,6125	,28896
ces08_PES_D1A Federal government spending on Defence/Military [see PES_RANDOM5]	2443	,00	1,00	,5063	,37322
ces08_PES_D1B Federal government spending on Welfare.	2441	,00	1,00	,4754	,35703

ces08_PES_D1C Federal government spending on Health Care.	2443	,00	1,00	,1148	,22854
ces08_PES_D1D Federal government spending on Education.	2446	,00	1,00	,1380	,23945
ces08_PES_D1F Federal government spending on the Environment.	2449	,00	1,00	,1962	,28688
ces08_PES_D1G Federal government spending on Arts and Culture.	2446	,00	1,00	,4728	,34198
ces08_PES_D1K [PES_RANDOM4=2] Should personal income taxes be increased, decreased ...?	2445	,00	1,00	,6589	,28320
ces08_PES_D1L Should corporate taxes be increased, decreased or kept about the same as now?	2442	,00	1,00	,3462	,32511
ces08_PES_F6 How much should be done to reduce gap between the rich and the poor in Canada:	2440	,00	1,00	,2309	,22433
ces08_PES_I3 How much do you think should be done for RACIAL MINORITIES:	2432	,00	1,00	,4240	,23763
ces08_PES_I4 How much do you think should be done for WOMEN:	2438	,00	1,00	,3491	,20876
ces08_PES_F7 How much should be done for QUEBEC:	2435	,00	1,00	,5489	,25543
ces08_PES_F8 Do you think Canada's ties with the United States should be:	2446	,00	1,00	,5026	,23360

ces08_PES_F9 IN GENERAL, which government looks after YOUR interests better:	2423	,00	1,00	,7305	,32860
ces08_PES_G1 When businesses make a lot of money, everyone benefits, including the poor.	2447	,00	1,00	,5592	,33134
ces08_PES_G5 Gays and lesbians should be allowed to get married.	2392	,00	1,00	,3705	,37948
ces08_PES_G6 People who are willing to pay should be allowed to get medical treatment sooner.	2441	,00	1,00	,5621	,37533
ces08_PES_G7 People who don't get ahead should blame themselves, not the system.	2425	,00	1,00	,4224	,31800
ces08_PES_G11 Do you think it SHOULD be: very easy for women to get an abortion, ...?	2400	,00	1,00	,4496	,28556
ces08_PES_G13 Which do you prefer: a strong federal government or more power to the provincial governments?	2425	,00	1,00	,5443	,47438
ces08_PES_G14 What should the government do: fund public daycare or give the money directly to parents? (post only)	2440	,00	1,00	,3297	,45232
ces08_PES_G15 What's the BEST way to deal with major economic problems:	2437	,00	1,00	,3494	,43866
ces08_PES_G16 How concerned are you about your retirement income:	2449	,00	1,00	,3341	,31735

ces08_PES_T4 More important children learn: Independence or respect for authority?	2435	,00	1,00	,6616	,46361
ces08_PES_T5 More important children learn: Obedience or self-reliance?	2437	,00	1,00	,6908	,45136
ces08_PES_T6 Most people take advantage of you if they got the chance or try to be fair?	2442	,00	1,00	,7166	,44015
ces08_PES_T7 People should always find ways to help others less fortunate than themselves.	2450	,00	1,00	,1244	,18612
ces08_PES_T8 It is better to trust the down-to-earth thinking of ordinary people than theories of experts.	2432	,00	1,00	,3842	,28927
ces08_PES_T9 If people start trying to change things, it usually makes them worse.	2439	,00	1,00	,6508	,29084
ces08_PES_T10 People should look after themselves first before worrying about the well-being of others.	2440	,00	1,00	,4742	,32658
ces08_PES_T11 We would probably solves most of our big problems if decisions could be brought back to the people at the grass roots.	2444	,00	1,00	,3512	,27581
ces08_PES_T12 It is better to stick with what you have, rather than trying new things you are not really sure about.	2443	,00	1,00	,6053	,31937

Appendix C: List of Variables Kept in the Factor Analysis

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
ces08_CPS_I1 [RANDOM3] Importance to you PERSONALLY: Fighting crime?	,2474	,33044	2251
ces08_PES_I2N The government should leave it ENTIRELY to the private sector to create jobs.	,5835	,34868	2251
ces08_PES_I5N If people can't find work in the region where they live, they should move to where the jobs are.	,3879	,35185	2251
ces08_PES_P3 Society would be better off if more women stayed home with their children.	,5927	,39191	2251
ces08_PES_P8 Do you favour or oppose having some private hospitals in Canada?	,5098	,48087	2251
ces08_PES_P9 Do you favour or oppose the dealth penalty for people convicted of murder?	,5367	,46796	2251
ces08_PES_P10 What is the BEST way to deal with young offenders who commit violent crime:	,5238	,47725	2251
ces08_PES_D1B Federal government spending on Welfare.	,5242	,35804	2251
ces08_PES_F6 How much should be done to reduce gap between the rich and the poor in Canada:	,7694	,22419	2251
ces08_PES_I4 How much do you think should be done for WOMEN:	,3480	,20899	2251
ces08_PES_G5 Gays and lesbians should be allowed to get married.	,6424	,38944	2251
ces08_PES_G6 People who are willing to pay should be allowed to get medical treatment sooner.	,5521	,39635	2251

ces08_PES_G7 People who don't get ahead should blame themselves, not the system.	,4104	,34559	2251
ces08_PES_G11 Do you think it SHOULD be: very easy for women to get an abortion, ...?	,5790	,31642	2251
ces08_PES_G15 What's the BEST way to deal with major economic problems:	,6482	,44289	2251
ces08_PES_T5 More important children learn: Obedience or self-reliance?	,6910	,45184	2251
ces08_PES_T8 It is better to trust the down-to-earth thinking of ordinary people than theories of experts.	,3749	,32131	2251
ces08_PES_T9 If people start trying to change things, it usually makes them worse.	,6721	,31405	2251
ces08_PES_T11 We would probably solves most of our big problems if decisions could be brought back to the people at the grass roots.	,3327	,30233	2251
ces08_PES_T12 It is better to stick with what you have, rather than trying new things you are not really sure about.	,6249	,34338	2251

Appendix D : Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
ces08_CPS_I1 [RANDOM3] Importance to you PERSONALLY: Fighting crime?	,168	,252
ces08_PES_I2N The government should leave it ENTIRELY to the private sector to create jobs.	,187	,294
ces08_PES_I5N If people can't find work in the region where they live, they should move to where the jobs are.	,120	,145
ces08_PES_P3 Society would be better off if more women stayed home with their children.	,178	,227
ces08_PES_P8 Do you favour or oppose having some private hospitals in Canada?	,295	,486
ces08_PES_P9 Do you favour or oppose the dealth penalty for people convicted of murder?	,215	,364
ces08_PES_P10 What is the BEST way to deal with young offenders who commit violent crime:	,184	,294
ces08_PES_D1B Federal government spending on Welfare.	,157	,242
ces08_PES_F6 How much should be done to reduce gap between the rich and the poor in Canada:	,200	,315
ces08_PES_I4 How much do you think should be done for WOMEN:	,174	,278
ces08_PES_G5 Gays and lesbians should be allowed to get married.	,248	,463
ces08_PES_G6 People who are willing to pay should be allowed to get medical treatment sooner.	,303	,564
ces08_PES_G7 People who don't get ahead should blame themselves, not the system.	,174	,227
ces08_PES_G11 Do you think it SHOULD be: very easy for women to get an abortion, ...?	,180	,303
ces08_PES_G15 What's the BEST way to deal with major economic problems:	,149	,259
ces08_PES_T5 More important children learn: Obedience or self-reliance?	,174	,237

ces08_PES_T8 It is better to trust the down-to-earth thinking of ordinary people than theories of experts.	,190	,275
ces08_PES_T9 If people start trying to change things, it usually makes them worse.	,172	,247
ces08_PES_T11 We would probably solves most of our big problems if decisions could be brought back to the people at the grass roots.	,198	,342
ces08_PES_T12 It is better to stick with what you have, rather than trying new things you are not really sure about.	,213	,559

Extraction Method: Unweighted Least Squares.

Appendix E : Pattern Matrix

	Factor					
	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
ces08_PES_G5 Gays and lesbians should be allowed to get married.	,680					
ces08_PES_G11 Do you think it SHOULD be: very easy for women to get an abortion, ...?	,565					
ces08_PES_P3 Society would be better off if more women stayed home with their children.	,367					
ces08_PES_T5 More important children learn: Obedience or self-reliance?	,358					
ces08_PES_T11 We would probably solves most of our big problems if decisions could be brought back to the people at the grass roots.		,539				
ces08_PES_I4 How much do you think should be done for WOMEN:		,431				
ces08_PES_F6 How much should be done to reduce gap between the rich and the poor in Canada:		,412				
ces08_PES_T8 It is better to trust the down-to-earth thinking of ordinary people than theories of experts.		,384				

ces08_PES_G6 People who are willing to pay should be allowed to get medical treatment sooner.			,742			
ces08_PES_P8 Do you favour or oppose having some private hospitals in Canada?			,687			
ces08_PES_P9 Do you favour or oppose the dealth penalty for people convicted of murder?				,573		
ces08_PES_P10 What is the BEST way to deal with young offenders who commit violent crime:				,531		
ces08_PES_D1B Federal government spending on Welfare.				,385		
ces08_CPS_I1 [RANDOM3] Importance to you PERSONALLY: Fighting crime?				,342		
ces08_PES_G7 People who don't get ahead should blame themselves, not the system.				,292		
ces08_PES_T12 It is better to stick with what you have, rather than trying new things you are not really sure about.					,737	
ces08_PES_T9 If people start trying to change things, it usually makes them worse.					,377	
ces08_PES_G15 What's the BEST way to deal with major economic problems:						,470

ces08_PES_I2N The government should leave it ENTIRELY to the private sector to create jobs.						,449
ces08_PES_I5N If people can't find work in the region where they live, they should move to where the jobs are.						,258

Extraction Method: Unweighted Least Squares.

 Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 29 iterations.