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Nationalism and Municipal Elections in Québec

In Canada, the province of Québec has a partisan system which is mostly based on political parties' positions toward the national question, that is, whether Québec should be an independent state (Bélanger and Nadeau, 2009). The birth of the Parti Québécois (PQ) in 1968 polarized the debate at the provincial level and became the alternative to the Quebec Liberal Parti (QLP) which has always been in favour of staying in the Canadian federation. The third most important party, whether it was the ADQ (1994-2011) or the Coalition Avenir Québec (since 2011), tried to inhibit this cleavage by being 'agnostic' or 'autonomist' on the national question but had a very limited success. The same applies with the Bloc Québécois at the federal level, which provided an independentist option since 1991. Hence, it is very clear and there is a rich literature demonstrating that attitudes toward Québec independence is one of the most important determinants of vote choice. This is true at the provincial (Bastien et al., 2013; Bélanger and Nadeau, 2009; Bélanger et al., 2018; Blais and Nadeau 1984; Lemieux, 2011) and the federal levels (Bakvis and Macpherson, 1995; Blais et al., 2002; Daoust and Dassonneville, 2018; Fournier et al., 2013; Gagnon and Boucher, 2012).

However, we do not know if the impact of issues related to nationalism are as salient during municipal elections as it is for other levels. There are theoretical reasons to believe that nationalism is important. First, there might be a 'contamination' effect from the other levels of election which are polarized around, among other things, the national question. Voters from the Parti québécois and Québec solidaire (which is also favourable to secession) might want to support the same candidate for similar reasons that explain their vote choice at the provincial level. The same rational applies for voters of the Bloc québécois at the federal level. Second, municipal elected representatives can and sometimes do take actions related to nationalism. For example, Denis Coderre, the incumbent mayor of Montréal (2013-2017), changed in 2017 the coat of arms and the flag of the city in order to include the iconic white pine which represents the First nations who were at the origin of the metropole. Moreover, the municipal level has the power (and used it) to suspend the parking rules on religious celebrations days that prevent Jewish to drive and thus relocate their car to a legal parking. In Québec city, the incumbent mayor Régis Labeaume had to publicly defend the possibility for the Islamic community to have their own cemetery.

In this chapter, I analyze whether nationalism is important in municipal elections in Québec. I also compare it to the left-right ideological cleavage. To do so, I use the CMES-EEMC datasets which include two electoral inquiries for the Montréal and Québec municipal elections. Results show that attitudes toward Québec independence matters quite a lot and as much as the left-right cleavage in Montréal but that attitudes toward immigrants does not affect vote choice. In

Québec city, attitudes toward Québec independence was also a significant predictor a vote choice but its effect was less important than the classic left-right cleavage. I conclude that nationalism is quite important in the province's municipal elections and that my results support the idea that the cleavage of the national question is still, in 2017, central to several attitudes and political behaviours.

Data and indicators

I use the CMES-EEMC datasets for the Montréal and Québec city municipal elections described earlier in this book. All questions wording can be find in Appendix. Below, I describe which indicators I used and how I coded them. Furthermore, detailed descriptive statistics can be found in Table 1.

Age: A continuous measure ranging from 18 to 92. Rescaled [0,1]

Sex: Based on self-identification. Woman=1.

Education: "What is the highest level of education that you have completes?" No schooling, Some elementary school, Completed elementary school, Some secondary/high school, Some technical, community college, Completed technical, community college, Some university, Bachelor's degree, Master's degree, Professional degree or doctorate. I created a dichotomy where 1 = some university or more. Non-responses were coded as missing.

Language: What is the first language you learned and still understand? Francophones are coded 1, 0 otherwise.¹

Municipal party identification: In MUNICIPAL politics, do you usually think of yourself as a: [For Montréal: Coalition Montréal, Équipe Denis Coderre, Projet Montréal, None of the above, Don't Know] [For Québec: Démocratie Québec, Équipe Labeaume, Option Capitale-nationale, Québec 21, None of the above, Don't know]. I kept each party identification as a unique category but merged the 'None of the above', 'Don't know', 'Coalition Montréal' (for Montréal) and 'Option Capitale-nationale' (for Québec) in the same category.²

Provincial party identification: In PROVINCIAL politics, do you usually think of yourself as a: [Liberal, PQ, CAQ, QS, Other, None of the above, Don't know]. I kept each party identification as a unique category but merged the 'None of the above' and 'Don't know' together.

Federal party identification: In FEDERAL politics, do you usually think of yourself as a: [Liberal, Conservative, NDP, Green, Bloc, Other, None of the above, Don't know]. I kept each party

¹ As a robustness checks, I ran analysis separating francophones, anglophones and 'other' and it did not change the results.

² In Montréal, respondents who identify themselves with the Coalition Montréal represent 18 individuals and in Québec, 4 respondents were identified with Option Capitale-Nationale.

identification as a unique category but merged the ‘None of the above’ and ‘Don’t know’ together.

Ideology (left-right): In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means left and 10 means right? Non-responses are coded as 5. Rescaled [0,1].

Québec independence: “Are you very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat opposed, or very opposed to Quebec sovereignty, that is Quebec is NO LONGER A PART OF CANADA?”. Response choices were rescaled from 0 to 1 where 1 represents someone who is very favourable.

Feeling toward immigrants: How do you feel about each of the following groups? Please use the sliders to indicate your feelings on a scale from 0 to 100, where zero means you REALLY DISLIKE the group and one hundred means you REALLY LIKE the group. [Immigrant]. Non-responses were coded as missing. Rescaled [0,1].

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for Montréal and Québec City

Variable	Min	Mean	Std. Dev.	Max	%
Age	0	0.47/0.48	0.19/0.20	1	
Sex	0	0.48/0.42	0.50/0.42	1	
Education	0	0.68/0.59	0.47/0.49	1	
Language	0	0.78/0.97	0.41/0.17	1	
Ideology	0	0.46/0.54	0.21/0.21	1	
Québec Independence	0	0.45/0.36	0.40/0.37	1	
Immigrants	0	0.70/0.69	0.29/0.28	1	
No municipal PID					26.5/20.1
Projet Montréal (Mtl)					42.7
Équipe Denis Coderre (Mtl)					30.9
Équipe Labeaume (Qc)					43.7
Québec 21 (Qc)					23.1
Démocratie Québec (Qc)					13.1
No provincial PID					13.1/14.6
Libéral					33.7/25.8
Parti québécois					24.5/21.2
CAQ					11.4/30.4
Québec solidaire					17.3/8
No federal PID					11.8/10.1
Liberal					36.9/23.7
Conservative					7.8/33.4
NDP					19.3/14.6
Green					5.4/2.3
Bloc québécois					18.8/15.9

Note: Values for Montréal/Québec are displayed. N = 612/998

There is very few variance between the cities regarding the socio-demographic variables. It is worth to note, however, that there is slightly more women and that almost all respondents were francophones in the Québec sample. On the attitudes variables, Québec voters are .08 points more rightist and less favourable to Québec independence, which is consistent with the literature (Daoust, 2017). These preferences are also reflected in the distribution of the party identification across levels as parties that are right-of-the-centre are more popular in Québec compared to Montréal. That is, at the provincial level, the CAQ is much more popular (by 20%) and the vote share of Québec solidaire is twice less important in Québec. At the federal level, the most striking clash is related to the Liberals and the Conservatives. The former do much better in Montréal while the latter are more popular in Québec. Party identification at the municipal level cannot be compared because the parties are different but the proportion of people who identify with a party is not dramatically different (26.5% in Montréal and 20.1% in Québec).

Voter's Perceptions of Candidates' Political Affiliation

Of course, the impact of nationalism on vote choice in municipal elections would have a greater potential to be important if voters are aware of candidates' position on the issues related to nationalism. Hence, I first look at if voters associated candidates to a sovereigntist or a federalist party at the provincial and at the federal level. Results at the provincial level are, however, more insightful because the sovereigntist/federalist cleavage is important at this level. That is, sovereigntists tend to vote for either the Parti Québécois or Québec solidaire while at the federal level, a significant proportion of sovereigntist voters support other parties than the Bloc Québécois (Fournier et al., 2013). The questions used were very straightforward and go as follow: "Which [PROVINCIAL/FEDERAL] political party, if any, would you associate with [Plante/Coderre/Labeaume/Gosselin/Guérrette]". Results are display in Table 2.

Table 2: Municipal Candidates and Political Parties

	Montréal		Quebec		
	Plante	Coderre	Labeume	Gosselin	Guerette
<i>Provincial ID</i>					
Coalition Avenir Quebec (CAQ)	10.2	3.9	5.4	39.8	6.8
Parti Libéral du Québec	9.6	60.2	30.1	6.2	12.6
Parti québécois	11.8	4.4	29.2	4.8	14.3
Québec solidaire	19.6	1.4	0.7	2.6	18.9
Other provincial party	2.9	1.2	1.5	3.4	2.1
Don't know	34.7	20.1	19.7	31.9	32.3
None	11.3	8.8	12.5	11.4	13.1
<i>Federal ID</i>					
Conservative Party of Canada	5.1	6.5	9	38.5	4.2
Green Party of Canada	8.1	1	0.3	0.7	8.3
Liberal Party of Canada	9.5	62.1	30.5	5.1	11.9
New Demcoratic Party of Canada (NDP)	19.9	1.8	2	5.8	21.1
Bloc québécois	9	3.1	18.5	4.2	7.3
Other federal party	2	1	1.9	1.7	1.7
Don't know	33.6	17.6	22.3	32.1	31.5
None	12.9	7.1	15.6	12	13.9

Note: N = 612 for Montréal and 998 for Québec city

Indeed, the percentage of 'don't know' is quite high. After all, it would not be strategic for a candidate to be clearly associated with a party as it could repulse the opponent of that party. Furthermore, a candidate of a major city such as Montréal or Québec would like to be seen as able to collaborate with the other levels of governance no matter which party is in power. However, for the Montréal case, Denis Coderre was clearly associated with a federalist party, that is, the Liberal Party. A little more than 60% said that Coderre is associated with the provincial and the federal liberals. Only 6% thought that he was associated with an independentist party at the provincial level and 3% at the federal level. This reflects the fact that he was a Member of Parliament in Ottawa for the Liberal Party of Canada from 1997 to 2013 and a member of the cabinet for several years. His opponent, Valérie Plante, was less known in the public sphere which is illustrated by a higher proportion of people (slightly more than one third) who did not know how to associate her with other parties. The results at the federal level show that Plante is first and foremost perceived as a leftist as the most popular option is the NDP. However, the two most popular options at the provincial level were the independentist ones. That is, about 20% of respondents associated her with Québec solidaire and 12% with the Parti Québécois. Clearly, an important proportion of Montrealer had the cue that Plante was associated with an independentist party. Overall, the Montreal municipal election seems to be perceived by voters as a campaign between a liberal federalist (Coderre) and a nationalist sovereigntist at the left (Plante).

In Québec city, the incumbent Régis Labeaume is, as expected, the most known candidate. At the federal level, he is seen as a liberal (30.5%) or a Bloquiste (18.5%). It is interesting to note that Labeaume is seen as more 'impartial' or 'independent' as 15.6% think that he has no affiliation which most likely reflects the fact that he collaborated a lot with different governments not matter its allegiance. At the provincial level, voters are split between the Québec Liberal Party and the Parti québécois. Overall, voters differ quite a lot when it comes to evaluate the affiliation of Labeaume. These results clash with those for Gosselin. Clearly, voters see him as a candidate leaning to the right. He is perceived as being associated with the CAQ (39.8%) at the provincial level and the Conservative Party of Canada (38.5%) at the federal level. Finally, Guérette is perceived as leaning to the left as voters think that she is associated with Québec solidaire (18.9%) and the NDP (21.1%). All in all, the most striking result in Québec city is that Gosselin, the most important challenger, is perceived as being a federalist. Hence, in both cases, there is a potential for issues related to nationalism to be significant determinant of vote choice. I provide tests for both cities in the next two sections.

Vote Choice and Nationalism in Montréal

As there were two major candidates in Montréal sharing more than 90% of the vote share³, I focus on them and exclude voters who supported another candidate. Having a binary dependent variable where a vote for Plante equals 1 and a vote for Coderre equals 0, I run logistic regression models to analyse the determinants of Montrealers' vote choice. Results are displayed in Table 2. Model 1 includes socio-demographic determinants and party identification at the municipal level. Indeed, people who identify with Coderre's party are more likely to vote for him and the same applies for Plante. Model 2 includes the independent variables related to nationalism. First, support for Québec independence has a positive and significant impact on one's proclivity to vote for Plante. *Ceteris paribus*, someone who is 'very opposed' to Québec independence has a predicted probability of .58 to vote for Plante compared to .70 for someone is for 'very in favour', for a quite important total effect of 12 percentage points. Regarding feelings toward immigrants, there is no strong relationship. In fact, the p value of the coefficient is .12, which is too uncertain even with a relatively small sample of about 600 respondents. The ideology variable proves also to be significant and its impact is also quite important. In general, leftist tend to support Valérie Plante. Going from 0 to 1 on the left-right scale decreases by 17 percentage points the probability that someone votes for the challenger. This effect is slightly greater than the support for Québec independence, but the confidence intervals are also slightly greater. All in all, it seems that both cleavages are at play and to a similar extent.

³ In the survey, 63.2% of respondents said that they voted for Plante while 36.8% supported Coderre.

Table 2: Logit Regression models: Plante=1; Coderre=0

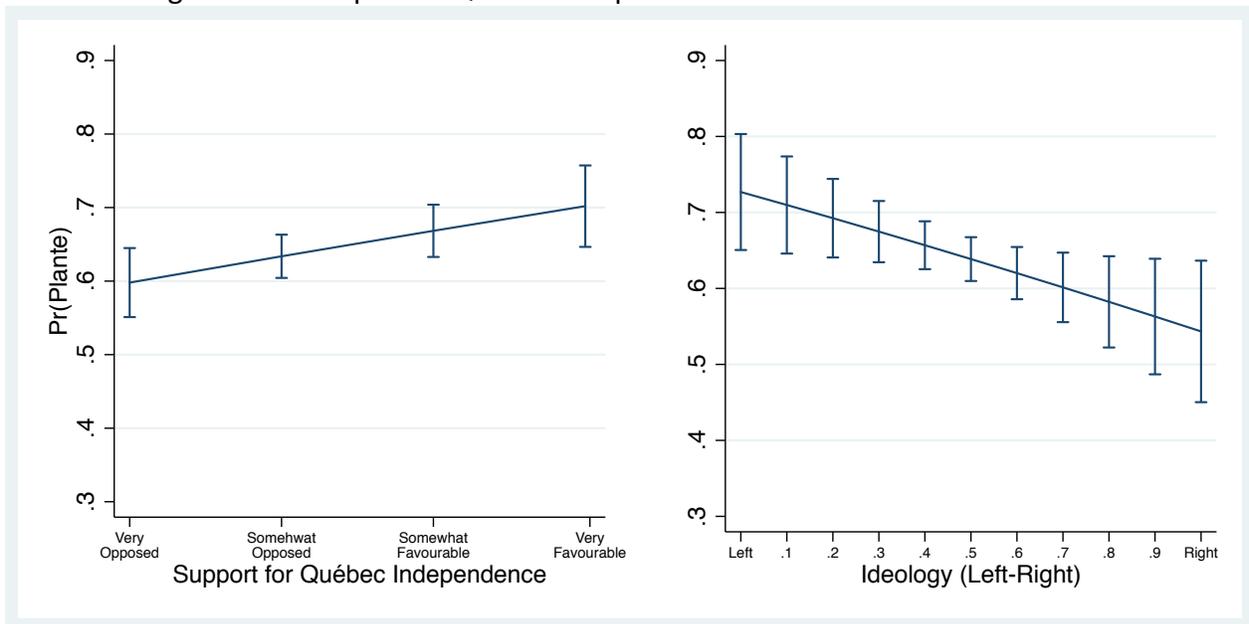
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Age	-0.40	-0.37	-0.56	-0.76
	(0.61)	(0.63)	(0.49)	(0.49)
Sex (Woman)	-0.18	-0.22	-0.15	-0.12
	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.19)	(0.19)
Education	-0.83*	-0.73*	-0.40*	-0.46*
	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.20)	(0.20)
Francophone	0.16	-0.26	-0.48+	-0.35
	(0.27)	(0.30)	(0.25)	(0.24)
No Municipal Party ID = Reference				
Equipe Denis Coderre	-2.43*	-2.38*		
	(0.27)	(0.28)		
Projet Montréal	2.02*	1.88*		
	(0.32)	(0.32)		
Ideology		-1.36*	-1.42*	-1.35*
		(0.64)	(0.50)	(0.52)
Quebec Independence (Support)		0.99*	0.79*	0.85*
		(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.32)
Feelings Toward Immigrants		-0.69		
		(0.45)		
No Provincial Party ID = Reference				
Liberal			-0.97*	
			(0.30)	
Parti Québécois			-0.25	
			(0.35)	
CAQ			-0.07	
			(0.37)	
Québec solidaire			0.89*	
			(0.41)	
No Federal Party ID = Reference				
Liberal				-1.04*
				(0.32)
Conservative				-0.37
				(0.43)
Neodemocrat (NPD)				0.56
				(0.38)
Green				1.22+
				(0.67)
Bloc Québécois				-0.35
				(0.37)
Constant	1.50*	2.50*	2.18*	2.22*
	(0.44)	(0.70)	(0.51)	(0.53)
Observations	612	612	612	612
Pseudo R^2	0.394	0.417	0.125	0.139

Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$

Another way to look at the impact of nationalism on vote choice in Montreal is to analyse whether people who identify with a sovereigntist party at the provincial and the federal are more likely to vote for a candidate compared to those who identify with a federalist party. Model 3 and 4 of Table 2 display the results. At the provincial level (Model 3), party identifications for the Liberal Party of Québec and Québec solidaire prove to be significant. On the one hand, being a Liberal (compared to no party identification) decreases the likelihood of voting for Plante by 22 percentage points while identifying with Québec solidaire increases it by 15. At the federal level, party identification is significant for the Liberal Party of Canada and the Green Party of Canada. The interpretation is very straightforward: people who identify with a party leaning at the left (the Green Party of Canada) are more likely to vote for Plante while the Liberals are more likely to vote for Coderre. I now turn to Québec city.

Figure 1. The Impact of Québec Independence on Vote Choice in Montréal



Vote Choice and Nationalism in Québec

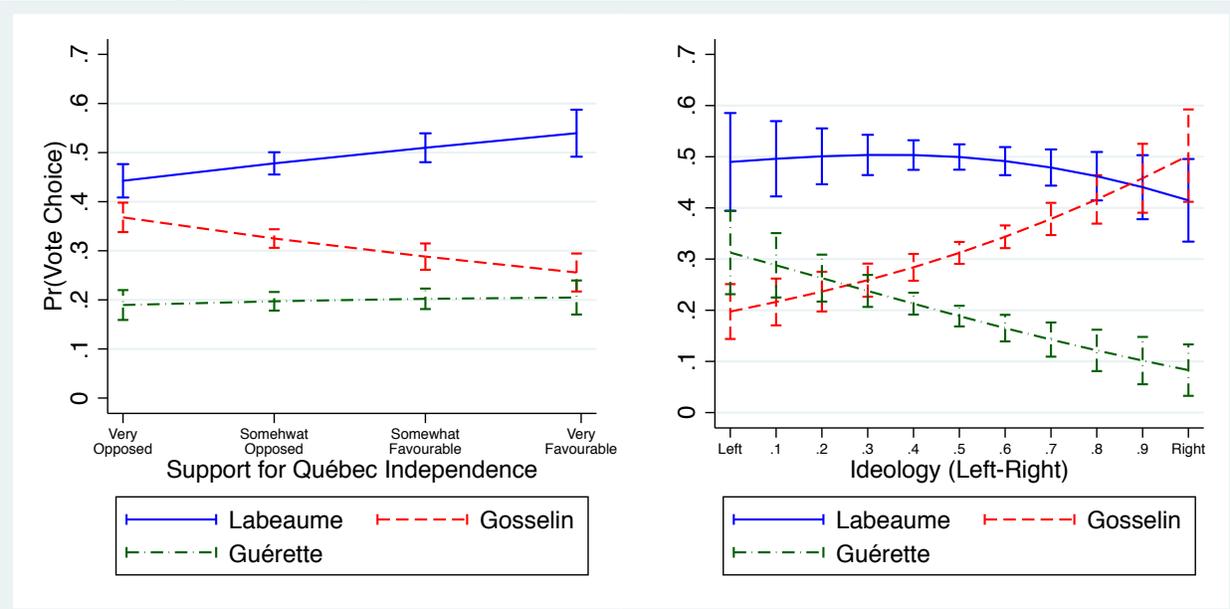
Contrary to Montréal, Québec had three ‘major’ candidates. Hence, the dependent variable will be categorical and will represent a vote for Labeaume, Gosselin or Guérette⁴. The appropriate model is a multinomial logistic regression. I will display the effects of the variables comparing them to Labeaume (the reference category). Displaying the Models of the multinomial logistic regressions would take too much space so the detailed Models can be found in Table A1 of the Appendix.

⁴ The distribution goes as follow : 47.4% for Labeaume, 33.3% for Gosselin and 19.3% for Guérette.

Model 1 of Table A1 shows that education and age are significant control variables. Compared to Labeaume’s voters, supporters of Gosselin are less educated and those who voted for Guérette are older. Regarding party identification at the municipal level, the effects are important but the magnitude does not vary a lot between candidates. For example, someone who identifies with Québec 21 is 51 percentage points more likely to vote for Gosselin (based on Table 3, Model 1). Model 2 adds the left-right ideological scale and the variables related to nationalism. Not surprisingly, rightists are more likely to support Gosselin compared to Labeaume while leftists are more likely to vote for Guérette. Figure 1 shows the effects for each candidate. Someone at 0 has 49 percentage points to vote for Labeaume and 41 if it increases to 1, for a total impact of 8 points. These effects are much greater for the other candidates. Going from the minimum to the maximum, a voter would have 20 percentage points to vote for Gosselin compared to 50 percentage points, a huge increase of 30 points. This effect is 23 points for Guérette (going from 31 to 8 percentage points).

Support for Québec’s independence is the only significant variable related to nationalism in Model 2 in the Gosselin’s model. The impact of this variable on the predicted probabilities to vote for each candidate is displayed in Figure 2. A typical voter who is ‘very opposed’ to independence has a predicted probabilities of 44 percentage points to vote for Labeaume while it increases to 54 for someone who is ‘very favourable’. For Gosselin, support for independence decreases the proclivity to vote for him by 12 points (from 37 et 25 percentage points). This effect is, however, of 1 point for Guérette which is not significant.

Figure 2. The Impact of Québec Independence on Vote Choice in Québec



The second step consists of analysing the impact of party identification at the provincial and the federal level on municipal vote choice. Model 3 indicates that everyone the CAQ is less likely to vote for Gosselin. The impact of the Québec solidaire is the strongest as it clashes with their respective ideology. Furthermore, it is not surprising to see in Model 4 that federal Conservatives are more likely to vote for Gosselin by 27 points compared to someone who has no identification. In the case of Guérette, the story is very straightforward: a respondent that identifies with the rightest party for each level (the CAQ and the Conservative party of Canada) is significantly less likely to support her. For example, a federal Conservative has, everything else being equal, 9 percentage points likely to vote for Guérette.

Discussion

Québec nationalists know that independence would be achieved at the provincial level. However, it did not prevent them to polarize the debate at the federal level. In this chapter, I analyzed whether nationalism was a significant determinant of vote choice at the municipal level which was never analyzed.

First, the vast majority of voters had an opinion when they were asked to associate municipal candidates to provincial and federal political parties. In Montréal, voters clearly associated Denis Coderre with the Liberal Party of Québec and Canada, which is not surprising considering his career. His opponent, Valérie, was rather associated with leftist and sovereigntist party (the Parti Québécois and Québec solidaire) at the provincial level and the NDP at the federal one. In Québec, results were mixed for the incumbent Régis Labeaume but were very clear for Jean-François Gosselin. The latter was associated with rightist parties such as the CAQ and the Conservative Party of Canada by a majority of voters. Overall, an important part of the electorate had some cues regarding their party identification and the affiliation of the candidates.

Second, attitudes toward Québec independence was a significant determinant of vote choice in municipal elections. In Montréal, the effect was of 10 percentage points in favour of Plante (see Figure 1). This is consistent with the fact that respondents who identify Québec solidaire are more likely to support her. However, there was no significant effect for the Parti Québécois and, at the federal level, the Bloc Québécois. These results are interesting, and I see two potential explanations. On the one hand, it could be simply be that Gilles Duceppe, the former Bloc québécois' leader and closely tied to the Parti québécois (but not Québec solidaire) publicly supported Denis Coderre, the opponent of Valérie Plante. On the other hand, these results seem to point out that the effect of nationalism was greater among those who identify with a leftist party such as Québec solidaire.

In Québec city, attitudes toward Québec independence has a significant effect on two of the three candidates. The magnitude of the effect was, as in Montréal, of about 10 percentage points (see Figure 2). Labeaume enjoyed more support among voters favourable to Québec independence while the opposite relationship applies to Gosselin, his main opponent. This is indeed consistent with the fact that respondents who identify with the Parti Québécois or

Québec solidaire at the provincial level are less likely to support Gosselin (and the effect is twice more important for Québec solidaire because they support independence and are more leftist).

Third, I analyzed the impact of ideology in terms of left-right cleavage in order to compare it to the impact of nationalism. In Montréal, the magnitude of the ideology variable was few points greater than attitudes toward independence but the confidence intervals were greater. Hence, I conclude that both cleavages had a similar impact on vote choice in Montréal. In Québec city, the magnitude of the left-right variable was greater than Québec independence for two candidates, that is, Gosselin and Guérette. The former received more votes among people at the right of the political spectrum and this impact was of 30 points (compared to a 9 points effect for independence) while the latter enjoyed more votes from people at the left and the impact was of 22 points (compared to 1 for independence). Hence, I conclude that left-right ideology is more important than issues related to nationalism in Québec city.

All in all, nationalism appears to be important in the study of municipal elections. However, it is restricted to attitudes toward Québec independence, that is, different questions toward immigrations/racial minorities were not significant determinants on vote choice in both cities. It might be possible, however, that this is due to the fact that there was no 'anti-immigrant' option among the main candidates. Hence, it might be possible that this variable related to nationalism would be relevant in future elections, but for now, nationalism is mostly about Québec independence and is as important as the left-right cleavage in Montréal but slightly less in Québec.

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Appendix

Table A1: Multinomial Logit Regression models: Reference=Labeaume

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Gosselin (Reference = Labeaume)				
Age	-0.28 (0.56)	-0.08 (0.59)	-0.72+ (0.43)	-0.82+ (0.42)
Sex (Woman)	-0.11 (0.22)	-0.11 (0.24)	-0.40* (0.17)	-0.32+ (0.17)
Education	-0.69* (0.23)	-0.53* (0.24)	-0.35* (0.17)	-0.37* (0.17)
Francophone	0.61 (0.69)	0.67 (0.69)	0.65 (0.51)	0.72 (0.52)
No Municipal Party ID = Reference				
Démocratie Québec	-1.09* (0.55)	-0.89 (0.57)		
Équipe Labeaume	-2.50* (0.25)	-2.76* (0.28)		
Québec 21	3.05* (0.38)	2.58* (0.40)		
Ideology			3.02* (0.72)	2.73* (0.52)
Quebec Independence (Support)			-1.43* (0.39)	-1.07* (0.33)
Feelings Toward Immigrants			-1.08* (0.32)	-1.07* (0.33)
No Provincial Party ID = Reference				
Liberal			-1.04* (0.26)	
Parti Québécois			-1.09* (0.35)	
CAQ			0.15 (0.24)	
Québec solidaire			-2.50* (1.05)	
No Federal Party ID = Reference				
Liberal				-0.12 (0.35)
Conservative				1.35* (0.34)
Neodemocrat (NPD)				0.65+ (0.39)
Green				0.87 (0.75)
Bloc Québécois				0.31 (0.44)
Constant	0.06 (0.76)	-1.28 (0.99)	-1.45* (0.68)	-2.34* (0.73)
Guérette (Reference = Labeaume)				
Age	1.34* (0.61)	1.41* (0.62)	1.60* (0.50)	1.38* (0.49)
Sex (Woman)	0.26 (0.24)	0.23 (0.25)	0.07 (0.19)	0.11 (0.19)
Education	0.19 (0.27)	-0.02 (0.28)	0.60* (0.21)	0.61* (0.21)
Francophone	0.24 (0.65)	0.32 (0.67)	0.13 (0.53)	0.08 (0.54)
No Municipal Party ID = Reference				
Démocratie Québec	2.08* (0.33)	1.95* (0.34)		
Équipe Labeaume	-2.80* (0.29)	-2.68* (0.30)		
Québec 21	-1.98+ (1.07)	-1.69 (1.08)		
Ideology			-2.42* (0.84)	-3.84* (0.66)
Quebec Independence (Support)			-0.26 (0.38)	-0.15 (0.36)
Feelings Toward Immigrants			0.71 (0.52)	
No Provincial Party ID = Reference				
Liberal			-0.50 (0.33)	
Parti Québécois			-0.33 (0.33)	
CAQ			-0.58 (0.36)	
Québec solidaire			0.36 (0.37)	
No Federal Party ID = Reference				
Liberal				-0.36 (0.32)
Conservative				-0.89* (0.43)
Neodemocrat (NPD)				0.13 (0.32)
Green				0.83 (0.54)
Bloc Québécois				0.01 (0.33)
Constant	-1.28+ (0.76)	-0.57 (1.01)	-0.37 (0.71)	-0.23 (0.74)
Observations	998	998	998	998
Pseudo R ²	0.490	0.531	0.217	0.220

Standard errors in parentheses
+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$