



The Strategic Counsel



April Survey Report, 2005— Wave I

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Introduction and Methodology

- ◆ Gregg, Kelly, Sullivan & Woolstencroft: *The Strategic Counsel* is pleased to present Wave 1 of The Globe and Mail/CTV Polling Program.
- ◆ Telephone interviewing for Wave 1 was conducted between April 24th and 27th, 2005.
- ◆ The weighted nation-wide sample is based on 1,000 which yields a margin of error of 3.1% 19 times in 20. Note: Proportions may not sum to 100% due to rounding

Key Conclusions

- ◆ **Liberals and Conservatives now in a dead heat. Liberals bounce back in Ontario.**
 - Issue shifts away from an exclusive focus on scandal to include election timing
 - Martin's proposal far more acceptable than Harper's.

- ◆ **Harper is stuck in the mud with a hidden agenda monkey on his back.**
 - Notwithstanding Liberal/Martin misfortunes, electorate has not embraced Harper; his threat to call an election is not a huge issue but it does him more than good; and almost 2/3rds believe he still harbours a hidden agenda.

- ◆ **Notwithstanding bounce, Poll shows that Martin has been hurt by and will not be able to dodge the Gomery effect.**
 - Even though voters believed the scandal was the result of the activities of a few individuals, the do not believe Martin was uninvolved; see his apology more as an act of desperation than contrition; and believe he must be held accountable.

Key Conclusions (cont'd)

- ◆ **Liberal/NDP alliance on the budget has little effect on voting patterns.**
 - Voters are split down the middle on whether Martin's alliance with Layton is motivated by expediency or principled compromise. Liberal and NDP voters give Martin the benefit of the doubt; PC and Bloc voters do not.

- ◆ **Duceppe and Bloc tighten their strangle hold in Quebec.**
 - Bloc vote now stands at 55%, Duceppe most improved leader; federalist vote split among other parties – including the Green – indicating a lack of affection for any.

Performance of the Liberal Government

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
NET Excellent/Good	14	16	14	7
Excellent	3	3	3	<1
Good	11	13	11	7
Average	35	36	40	30
Poor	21	21	20	23
Very Poor	24	19	19	38
NET Poor/Very Poor	45	40	39	61
DK/NA/Ref	6	8	7	2

Q.1 How would you rate the performance of the Liberal government since the June 2004 federal election? Would you say the Liberal government is doing an excellent, good, average, poor or very poor job?

Base: Total sample

Performance of Paul Martin

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
NET Excellent/Good	19	21	21	15
Excellent	4	4	4	1
Good	15	17	17	14
Average	38	40	42	33
Poor	21	19	20	26
Very Poor	17	15	13	24
NET Poor/Very Poor	38	34	33	50
DK/NA/Ref	5	5	4	2

Q.2 And how would you rate the performance of Paul Martin as Prime Minister? Would you say Paul Martin has done an excellent, good, average, poor or very poor job?

Base: Total sample

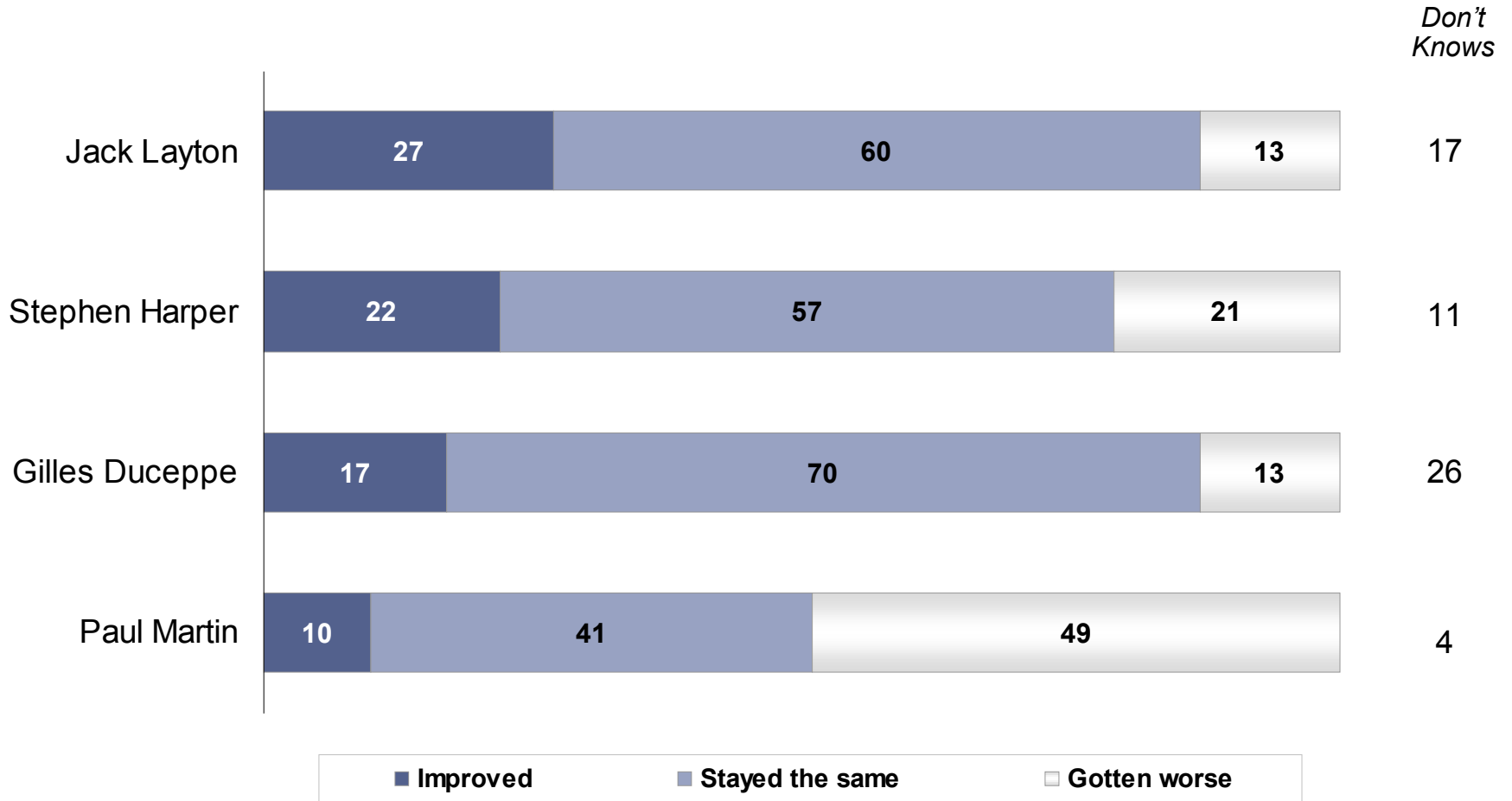
Performance of Stephen Harper

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
NET Excellent/Good	20	22	22	16
Excellent	2	2	2	1
Good	18	20	20	15
Average	39	35	35	47
Poor	17	18	17	14
Very Poor	9	9	11	9
NET Poor/Very Poor	26	27	28	23
DK/NA/Ref	15	16	15	14

Q.3 And how would you rate the performance of Stephen Harper, as leader of the opposition? Has Stephen Harper has done an excellent, good, average, poor or very poor job?

Base: Total sample

Have opinions of Party Leaders changed in the last year?



Q.4-7 For each of the following leaders, I'd like to know if your opinion of them has improved, stayed the same or gotten worse in the last year. The first is

Base: Those who indicated that their opinions have improved, stayed the same or gotten worse. Excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses.

Note: While DK/NA/Ref are excluded from the calculation of proportions, they are shown

Have opinions of Paul Martin changed in the last year?

	Total Sample (n=963) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=715) %	Ontario (n=363) %	Quebec (n=249) %
Improved	10	11	11	6
Stayed the Same	41	44	44	34
Gotten Worse	49	45	45	60

Q.4-7 For each of the following leaders, I'd like to know if your opinion of them has improved, stayed the same or gotten worse in the last year.
The first is

Base: Those who indicated that their opinions have improved, stayed the same or gotten worse. Excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses.

Note: Between 1% and 5% of respondents answered don't know, refused, or did not give an answer.

Have opinions of Stephen Harper changed in the last year?

	Total Sample (n=894) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=669) %	Ontario (n=340) %	Quebec (n=225) %
Improved	22	23	24	18
Stayed the Same	57	54	52	67
Gotten Worse	21	23	24	15

Q.4-7 For each of the following leaders, I'd like to know if your opinion of them has improved, stayed the same or gotten worse in the last year.
The first is

Base: Those who indicated that their opinions have improved, stayed the same or gotten worse. Excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses.

Note: 11% of respondents answered don't know, refused, or did not give an answer.

Have opinions of Jack Layton changed in the last year?

	Total Sample (n=829) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=618) %	Ontario (n=317) %	Quebec (n=211) %
Improved	27	27	33	27
Stayed the Same	60	60	54	61
Gotten Worse	13	13	13	12

Q.4-7 For each of the following leaders, I'd like to know if your opinion of them has improved, stayed the same or gotten worse in the last year.
The first is

Base: Those who indicated that their opinions have improved, stayed the same or gotten worse. Excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses.

Note: 16% to 17% of respondents answered don't know, refused, or did not give an answer.

Have opinions of Gilles Duceppe changed in the last year?

	Total Sample (n=737) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=501) %	Ontario (n=265) %	Quebec (n=237) %
Improved	17	9	10	36
Stayed the Same	70	76	77	54
Gotten Worse	13	15	13	10

Q.4-7 For each of the following leaders, I'd like to know if your opinion of them has improved, stayed the same or gotten worse in the last year.
The first is

Base: Those who indicated that their opinions have improved, stayed the same or gotten worse. Excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses.

Note: Between 6% and 33% of respondents answered don't know, refused, or did not give an answer.

How believable is Paul Martin's claim that he was not involved in the sponsorship scandal?

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
NET Somewhat/Very Believable	31	35	37	17
Very Believable	5	6	6	3
Somewhat Believable	26	29	31	14
Somewhat Unbelievable	29	28	29	33
Very Unbelievable	34	29	26	49
NET Somewhat/Very Unbelievable	63	57	55	82
DK/NA/Ref	6	8	8	1

Q.8 Paul Martin has said that he was not involved in the sponsorship scandal. Do you find this claim very believable, somewhat believable, somewhat unbelievable, or very unbelievable?

Base: Total sample

Has Gomery changed feelings about Paul Martin and the Liberals?

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
Have Feelings Changed				
Yes	39	35	33	52
No	56	58	61	47
DK/NA/Ref	5	7	6	1
How Supportive	(n=393)	(n=261)	(n=126)	(n=132)
NET Somewhat/Significantly More Supportive	8	9	10	7
Significantly More	2	2	3	2
Somewhat More	6	7	7	5
Somewhat Less	40	45	44	29
Significantly Less	48	43	40	59
NET Somewhat/Significantly Less Supportive	88	88	84	88
DK/NA/Ref	4	3	6	5

Q.9 Based on what you have seen, read or heard about what Paul Martin has been saying lately about the Gomery inquiry, has it changed your feelings about the Liberal party under Paul Martin in any way? (IF "YES") Are you now significantly more supportive, somewhat more supportive, somewhat less supportive or significantly less supportive of the Liberal party than you were before?

Base: Total sample

Why has Paul Martin said he is sorry for the abuses that occurred Under the sponsorship program?

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
Liberal party is beginning to accept responsibilities for the abuses of the program	31	31	34	31
Liberal party is desperate to stay in power	59	58	56	62
Both	3	3	3	3
DK/NA/Ref	7	8	7	4

- Q.10 Paul Martin has been saying that he is sorry for the abuses that had occurred under the sponsorship program. Some people say that this indicates to them that the Liberal party is beginning to accept responsibility for the abuses of the program. Other people say that that this indicates to them that the Liberal party is desperate to stay in power. Thinking of these two points of view, which one best reflects your own?

Base: Total sample

Is Paul Martin accountable for the sponsorship scandal?

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
Do not believe Paul Martin was responsible and he should not be held accountable for what happened	24	25	29	23
Even if Paul Martin was not directly involved, as Finance Minister and as the leader of the Liberal party, he must be held accountable for what happened	69	67	63	75
DK/NA/Ref	7	8	8	2

Q.11 Some people say that while they are very angry about the abuses of the sponsorship program they do not believe Paul Martin was responsible and that he should not be held accountable for what happened. Other people say that they are angry about the abuses and that even if Paul Martin was not directly involved, as Finance Minister and as the leader of the Liberal party, he must be held accountable for what happened. Thinking of these two points of view, which one best reflects your own?

Base: Total sample

Is Paul Martin's offer to call an election after the inquiry reasonable?

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
Paul Martin's offer to call an election once Judge Gomery has submitted his report of the inquiry in November of this year is a reasonable one and they are prepared to wait until then for an election	61	64	66	54
Offer is unreasonable because have heard enough and it is now time to call an election	33	29	28	43
DK/NA/Ref	6	7	6	3

- Q.12 Some people say that Paul Martin's offer to call an election once Judge Gomery has submitted his report of the inquiry in November of this year is a reasonable one and that they are prepared to wait until then for an election.
Other people say that the offer is unreasonable because we have heard enough and it is now time to call an election.
Thinking of these two points of view, which one best reflects your own?

Base: Total sample

Likelihood to vote for the Conservatives if they forced an election

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
More likely to vote for them	12	13	12	9
Less likely to vote for them	21	25	25	9
Has no impact either way	62	57	58	79
DK/NA/Ref	5	5	5	3

Q.13 If the Conservatives joined with the other Opposition parties to force an election, would this make you more likely to vote for them, less likely to vote for them or have no impact either way on any decision about voting Conservative or not?

Base: Total sample

Who do you hold responsible for the sponsorship scandal?

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
Federal Liberal Party	32	33	31	31
A few individuals in the Liberal Party	59	56	58	67
DK/NA/Ref	9	11	11	2

Q.14 Who do you hold responsible for the sponsorship scandal? Do you hold the federal Liberal Party responsible or do you hold a few individuals in the Liberal Party responsible?

Base: Total sample

Do you believe that Stephen Harper and the Conservatives have a hidden agenda?

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=749) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=251) %
NET Somewhat/Very Believable	57	59	60	52
Very Believable	20	22	23	11
Somewhat Believable	37	37	37	41
Somewhat Unbelievable	25	23	23	31
Very Unbelievable	11	11	10	11
NET Somewhat/Very Unbelievable	36	34	33	42
DK/NA/Ref	7	7	7	6

Q.15 The Liberals have also said that Stephen Harper and the Conservatives have a hidden agenda – that is, they have a number of not very popular plans for making changes if they form the government. Do you find this claim very believable, somewhat believable, somewhat unbelievable, or very unbelievable?

Base: Total sample

Is Paul Martin’s agreement to change the government’s budget political expediency or a principled compromise?

	Total Sample (n=812) %	Current Vote				
		Liberal (n=187) %	Conservative (n=182) %	NDP (n=125) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=120) %	Green/Other/ DK (n=199) %
Paul Martin has abandoned his principles and is prepared to do anything to cling to power	46	20	59	41	74	44
Paul Martin is willing to compromise to get a budget that appeals to the broadest cross-section of Canadians	46	75	35	54	22	40
DK/NA/Ref	8	5	6	5	4	16

Q.19 There has been talk that Prime Minister Paul Martin may agree to changes to his government’s Budget in order to earn the support of the NDP to keep the government in office through to next winter. Some people say he has abandoned his principles and is prepared to do anything to cling to power, other people say he is willing to compromise to get a budget that appeals to the broadest cross-section of Canadians. Which view comes closest to your own?

Base: Total sample

Note: Question added on April 25th – 3 days after the start of the survey.

How will Canadians vote if an election was held today?

	Total Sample (n=848) %	Region		
		English Canada (n=630) %	Ontario (n=329) %	Quebec (n=219) %
Liberal	30	35	38	16
Conservative	28	34	30	9
NDP	18	21	23	8
Green Party	10	10	9	12
Bloc Quebecois	14	-	-	55

Excludes “other, don’t know, refused, undecided, won’t vote” responses

Q.16A If the election was being held tomorrow, do you think you’d be supporting the Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Q.16B In that case, which party’s candidate in your local area would you be leaning towards at this time? Would it be the Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Base: Excludes “other, don’t know, refused, undecided, won’t vote” responses

What is the Liberal Pool of Voters and Non-Voters

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Current Vote					
		Liberal (n=252) %	Conservative (n=234) %	NDP (n=153) %	Green (n=89) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=120) %	Other/DK (n=152) %
Hard Liberal	16	65	-	-	-	-	-
Soft Liberal	9	35	-	-	-	-	-
Potential Liberal	5	-	7	12	11	2	-
Non-Liberal	70	-	93	88	89	98	100

Includes "other, don't know, refused, undecided, won't vote" responses

What is the Conservative Pool of Voters and Non-Voters

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Current Vote					
		Liberal (n=252) %	Conservative (n=234) %	NDP (n=153) %	Green (n=89) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=120) %	Other/DK (n=152) %
Hard Conservative	17	-	72	-	-	-	-
Soft Conservative	7	-	28	-	-	-	-
Potential Conservative	5	8	-	12	4	7	-
Non-Conservative	71	92	-	88	96	93	100

Includes "other, don't know, refused, undecided, won't vote" responses

What is the NDP Pool of Voters and Non-Voters

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Current Vote					
		Liberal (n=252) %	Conservative (n=234) %	NDP (n=153) %	Green (n=89) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=120) %	Other/DK (n=152) %
Hard NDP	9	-	-	61	-	-	-
Soft NDP	6	-	-	39	-	-	-
Potential NDP	6	10	7	-	16	2	-
Non-NDP	79	90	93	-	84	98	100

Includes "other, don't know, refused, undecided, won't vote" responses

What is the Bloc Quebecois Pool of Voters and Non-Voters

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Current Vote					
		Liberal (n=252) %	Conservative (n=234) %	NDP (n=153) %	Green (n=89) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=120) %	Other/DK (n=152) %
Hard Bloc Quebecois	9	-	-	-	-	76	-
Soft Bloc Quebecois	3	-	-	-	-	24	-
Potential Bloc Quebecois	1	1	2	1	1	-	-
Non-Bloc Quebecois	87	99	98	99	99	-	100

Includes "other, don't know, refused, undecided, won't vote" responses

Possible Switchers

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Current Vote					
		Liberal (n=252) %	Conservative (n=234) %	NDP (n=153) %	Green (n=89) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=120) %	Other/DK (n=152) %
Liberal to Conservatives	7	27	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal to NDP	11	42	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal to Bloc	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Conservatives to Liberal	7	-	29	-	-	-	-
Conservatives to NDP	8	-	32	-	-	-	-
Conservatives to Bloc Quebecois	1	-	3	-	-	-	-
NDP to Liberals	6	-	-	36	-	-	-
NDP to Conservatives	4	-	-	26	-	-	-
NDP to Bloc Quebecois	1	-	-	4	-	-	-
Bloc Quebecois to Liberals	1	-	-	-	-	6	-
Bloc Quebecois to Conservatives	3	-	-	-	-	24	-
Bloc Quebecois to NDP	3	-	-	-	-	27	-
All others	51	30	37	35	100	43	100

Base: Total sample

How solid is the Party Vote?

	Total Sample (n=720) %	Current Vote				
		Liberal (n=207) %	Conservative (n=185) %	NDP (n=141) %	Green (n=77) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=103) %
NET Likely	28	27	21	36	38	23
Very likely	5	3	4	5	13	4
Somewhat likely	23	24	17	31	25	19
Not too likely	26	26	27	25	31	26
Not at all likely	43	43	49	38	30	49
NET Not Likely	69	69	76	63	61	75
DK/NA/Ref	3	4	3	1	1	2

Q.18 How likely is it that you might switch your vote to your second choice if the federal election was held in June, is it very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely or not at all likely?

Base: Those with a second vote