



The Strategic Counsel



# May Survey Report 2005 – Wave 2

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The Strategic Counsel

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## Introduction and Methodology

- ◆ Gregg, Kelly, Sullivan & Woolstencroft: *The Strategic Counsel* is pleased to present Wave 2 of The Globe and Mail/CTV Polling Program.
- ◆ The findings are based on interviews conducted by telephone among a weighted national sample of 1000 adult Canadians 18 years of age or older.
- ◆ The interviews were conducted between May 2<sup>nd</sup> and May 8<sup>th</sup>, 2005.
- ◆ A sample of 1,000 yields a margin of error of +/- 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.
- ◆ Note: Due to rounding, proportions may not total to exactly 100%.

## Key Conclusions

- ◆ **The federal election race continues to remain tight with the Conservatives now holding a slight lead over the Liberals, with both of these parties essentially tied in Ontario. The NDP is performing strongly with a popular vote of 20%. Moreover, the Conservative vote remains the hardest with the Liberals and the NDP being the softest. The single largest group of switchers are Liberal/NDP supporters. Nevertheless, given the Gomery revelations, Canadians are acknowledging that the Conservatives have the momentum going into a federal election.**
- ◆ **Quebec has made up its mind - and closed the door - on the three national parties. There is no softening of the Bloc Quebecois stranglehold on Quebec with none of the other parties showing any potential in breaking through the BQ monopoly on popular support in Quebec. Quebecers are fixated on Gomery which is why its verdict on Martin (and the Liberals) is harsher than in ROC in almost every category.**

## Key Conclusions (cont'd)

- ◆ **Gomery has hurt Martin across the board. And the negative commentary over his efforts to make deals to keep his party in on office over the last two weeks also seems to be taking a toll: Of all party leaders, he is considered to be the most indecisive, dishonest, most hypocritical, and the most likely to lie if it would help him politically. Given this, it is not surprising that his unfavourable ratings exceed his favourable scores.**
- ◆ **While Harper is viewed to be more principled (which may be one reason why people fear that he has a hidden agenda), he is clearly perceived to be more remote and less personal which is illustrated by the reluctance of Canadians to want to have him over for dinner. In short, he comes across as a cold fish. This is likely holding down Conservative support. Nevertheless, his positive ratings exceed his negatives which suggest that there are opportunities to continue to re-define his image.**

## Key Conclusions (cont'd)

- ◆ **However, Harper is personally more competitive this election than last - if only because Martin has fallen so far. In many of the areas probed, they are at par or quite close. Surprisingly he elicits no more of a "strongly unfavourable" response than Martin - which may be problematic in Liberal efforts to demonize him or claim a "secret agenda" in a potential June election.**
- ◆ **Layton continues to be seen in a very positive light. His favourable ratings exceed his unfavourable scores by a significant margin. Layton scores strongly in being principled, honest, charismatic, and having the values that are closest to Canadians. Moreover, they are interested in having Layton over for dinner which highlights his friendly and interesting demeanour.**

## Key Conclusions (cont'd)

- ◆ **An electoral challenge for both the Conservatives and Liberals is the extent which these leaders can position themselves as holding the same values as Canadians. If Harper or Martin gains advantage on this dimension, their attractiveness to Canadians as Prime Minister will be increased significantly. Right now, it is essentially tied on this consideration which is a key reason that the gap between the leading parties remains tight.**

# What are the key issues for a June Federal Election?

	Total (n=1000) %	Region		
		R.O.C (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
Sponsorship scandal/Gomery Inquiry/Corruption	23	21	19	30
Healthcare	20	23	23	9
Economic issues (excl. Govt. spending/unemployment)	9	9	10	7
Other social issues (excl. Healthcare)	9	10	9	5
Government leadership/stability	8	5	5	17
Government spending	4	5	6	4
Infrastructure/environmental issues	3	3	3	2
Unemployment/employment	2	2	2	2
Other	5	6	6	5
None	12	11	11	15
DK/NA/Ref	6	7	7	5

Q.1 As you may know there has been considerable discussion about the possibility of a federal election in the near future. In your view what is the most important issue in the next election -- that is the one about which you are most concerned?

Base: Total sample

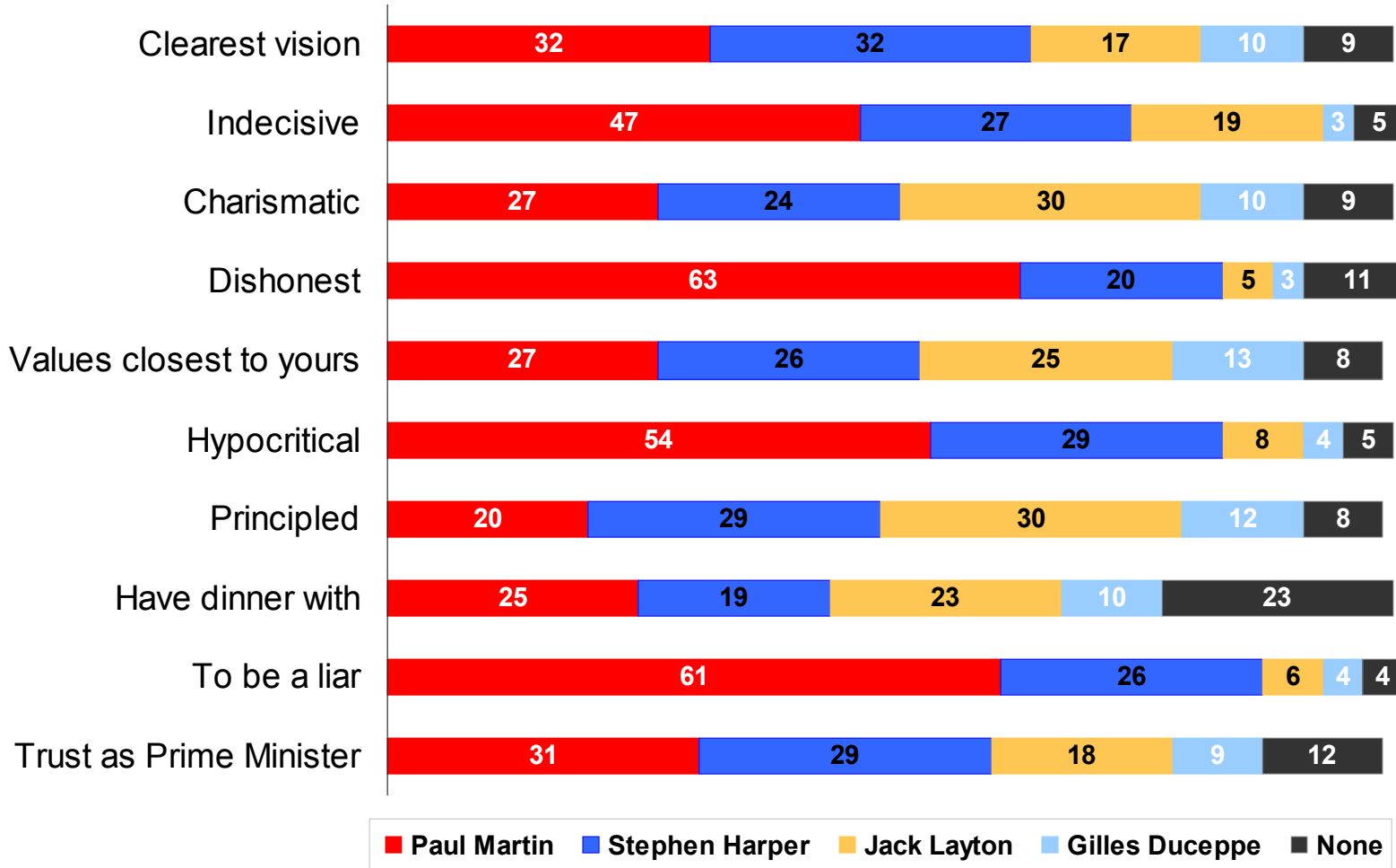
# Which Party has the most momentum towards a possible June election?

	Total (n=1000) %	Region		
		R.O.C (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
Liberal	22	24	25	14
Conservative	36	39	35	26
NDP	11	13	14	8
Green	1	1	2	<1
Bloc Quebecois	11	-	-	43
None of them	11	13	13	6
Other	2	2	1	<1
DK/NA/Ref	6	8	9	2

Q.2 As you may know, there may be a federal election in June. From what you can tell, which party, if any, is gaining the most popularity and momentum towards this possible election. Is it the...?

Base: Total sample

# Summary - Attributes associated with Party Leaders



Q.3-10B Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Q.15 And which one would you trust most to be the Prime Minister of Canada...

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

# Which Party leader has the clearest vision where he wants to take the country?

	Region			
	Total (n=828) %	R.O.C (n=604) %	Ontario (n=300) %	Quebec (n=224) %
Paul Martin	32	36	34	20
Stephen Harper	32	38	35	15
Jack Layton	17	20	23	11
Gilles Duceppe	10	-	-	37
None	9	6	9	17

Q.3 Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

## Which Party Leader is the most indecisive?

	Region			
	Total (n=742) %	R.O.C (n=536) %	Ontario (n=296) %	Quebec (n=206) %
Paul Martin	47	51	53	35
Stephen Harper	27	28	30	23
Jack Layton	19	16	13	28
Gilles Duceppe	3	-	-	9
None	5	5	5	5

Q.4 Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

# Which Party Leader is the most dishonest?

	Total (n=707) %	Region		
		R.O.C (n=475) %	Ontario (n=265) %	Quebec (n=212) %
Paul Martin	63	60	58	70
Stephen Harper	20	24	25	8
Jack Layton	5	6	5	2
Gilles Duceppe	3	-	-	9
None	11	10	12	11

Q.5 Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

## Which Party Leader is the most charismatic?

	Region			
	Total (n=836) %	R.O.C (n=607) %	Ontario (n=316) %	Quebec (n=229) %
Paul Martin	27	32	31	13
Stephen Harper	24	28	27	15
Jack Layton	30	33	34	24
Gilles Duceppe	10	-	-	35
None	9	7	9	14

Q.6 Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

## Which Party Leader is the most hypocritical?

	Total (n=767) %	Region		
		R.O.C (n=544) %	Ontario (n=290) %	Quebec (n=223) %
Paul Martin	54	51	49	61
Stephen Harper	29	34	37	17
Jack Layton	8	10	9	4
Gilles Duceppe	4	-	-	13
None	5	5	5	5

Q.7 Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

# Which Party Leader holds values that come closest to your own?

	Total (n=856) %	Region		
		R.O.C (n=626) %	Ontario (n=312) %	Quebec (n=229) %
Paul Martin	27	31	32	16
Stephen Harper	26	34	28	6
Jack Layton	25	28	31	16
Gilles Duceppe	13	-	-	50
None	8	7	9	12

Q.8 Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

## Which Party Leader is the most principled?

	Total (n=773) %	Region		
		R.O.C (n=554) %	Ontario (n=310) %	Quebec (n=219) %
Paul Martin	20	23	20	14
Stephen Harper	29	36	33	13
Jack Layton	30	34	40	20
Gilles Duceppe	12	-	-	44
None	8	8	7	10

Q.9 Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

# Which Party Leader is the most likely to tell a lie if it would help him politically?

	Region			
	Total (n=794) %	R.O.C (n=568) %	Ontario (n=278) %	Quebec (n=226) %
Paul Martin	61	59	56	65
Stephen Harper	26	32	34	12
Jack Layton	6	8	7	1
Gilles Duceppe	4	-	-	12
None	4	2	4	10

Q.10 Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

# Which Party Leader is the one you'd most like to have dinner with?

	Total (n=856) %	Region		
		R.O.C (n=615) %	Ontario (n=336) %	Quebec (n=241) %
Paul Martin	25	29	31	15
Stephen Harper	19	23	21	6
Jack Layton	23	25	28	18
Gilles Duceppe	10	-	-	35
None	23	22	20	26

Q.10B Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

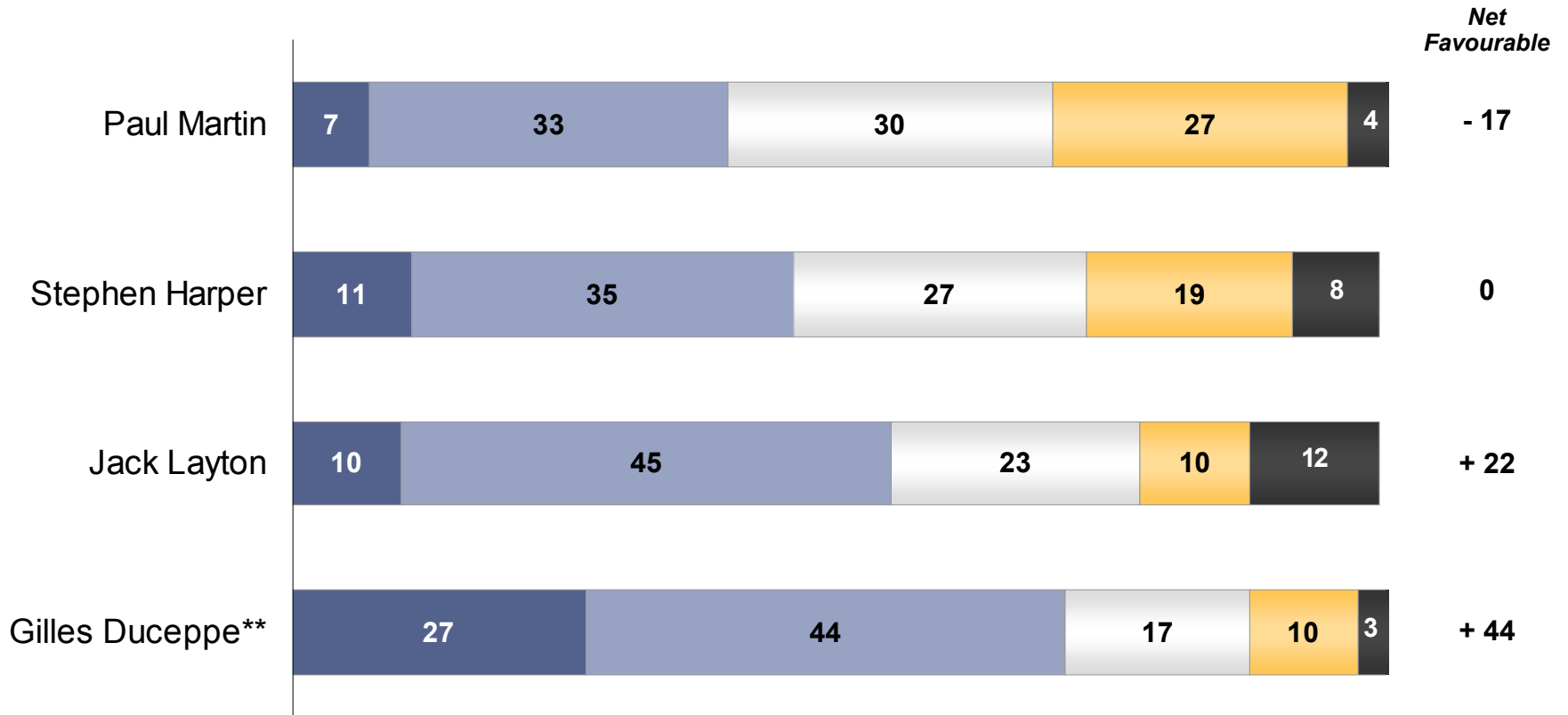
# Which one would you trust Most to be the Prime Minister of Canada?

	Region			
	Total (n=920) %	R.O.C (n=687) %	Ontario (n=349) %	Quebec (n=233) %
Paul Martin	31	36	39	18
Stephen Harper	29	35	30	14
Jack Layton	18	18	20	16
Gilles Duceppe	9	-	-	36
None	12	11	13	17

Q.15 Thinking of the leaders of the political parties Paul Martin of the Liberals, Stephen Harper of the Conservatives, Jack Layton of the NDP and Gilles Duceppe of the Bloc Quebecois (ASK ONLY IN QUEBEC) – which one do you think...?

Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

# What is your overall impression of Party Leaders?



■ Very favourable 
 ■ Somewhat favourable 
 ■ Somewhat unfavourable 
 ■ Very unfavourable 
 ■ DK/NA/Ref

Q. 11-14 Generally speaking, would you say your overall impression of (READ AND ROTATE Q11-14) is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable?

Base: Total sample

\*\* Quebec only

Note: Net Favourable is (Very favourable + Somewhat favourable) minus (Somewhat unfavourable + Very unfavourable)

# What is your overall impression of Paul Martin?

	Region			
	Total (n=1000) %	R.O.C (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
<b>NET Somewhat/Very Favourable</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>26</b>
Very Favourable	7	8	8	5
Somewhat Favourable	33	37	38	21
Somewhat Unfavourable	30	28	30	34
Very Unfavourable	27	23	20	39
<b>NET Somewhat/Very Unfavourable</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>73</b>
DK/NA/Ref	4	4	4	2

Q. 11-14 Generally speaking, would you say your overall impression of (READ AND ROTATE Q11-14) is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable?

Base: Total sample

# What is your overall impression of Stephen Harper?

	Total (n=1000) %	Region		
		R.O.C (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
<b>NET Somewhat/Very Favourable</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>38</b>
Very Favourable	11	13	12	4
Somewhat Favourable	35	35	32	34
Somewhat Unfavourable	27	26	29	32
Very Unfavourable	19	20	21	18
<b>NET Somewhat/Very Unfavourable</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>50</b>
DK/NA/Ref	8	7	7	12

Q. 11-14 Generally speaking, would you say your overall impression of (READ AND ROTATE Q11-14) is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable?

Base: Total sample

# What is your overall impression of Jack Layton?

	Total (n=1000) %	Region		
		R.O.C (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
<b>NET Somewhat/Very Favourable</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>58</b>
Very Favourable	10	11	13	9
Somewhat Favourable	45	44	46	49
Somewhat Unfavourable	23	22	21	24
Very Unfavourable	10	11	10	7
<b>NET Somewhat/Very Unfavourable</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>31</b>
DK/NA/Ref	12	12	10	12

Q. 11-14 Generally speaking, would you say your overall impression of (READ AND ROTATE Q11-14) is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable?

Base: Total sample

# What is your overall impression of Gilles Duceppe?

	Quebec (n=247) %
<b>NET Somewhat/Very Favourable</b>	<b>71</b>
Very Favourable	27
Somewhat Favourable	44
Somewhat Unfavourable	17
Very Unfavourable	10
<b>NET Somewhat/Very Unfavourable</b>	<b>27</b>
DK/NA/Ref	3

Q. 11-14 Generally speaking, would you say your overall impression of (READ AND ROTATE Q11-14) is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable?

Base: Total sample in Quebec only

# How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

	Total %		R.O.C. %		Ontario %		Quebec %	
	Wave 1 n= 848	Wave 2 892	Wave 1 630	Wave 2 668	Wave 1 329	Wave 2 338	Wave 1 219	Wave 2 224
Liberal	30	27	35	31	38	34	16	16
Conservative	28	31	34	39	30	35	9	8
NDP	18	20	21	23	23	25	8	11
Green Party	10	7	10	7	9	7	12	8
Bloc Quebecois	14	14	-	-	-	-	55	56

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

# Possible Switchers

	Total Wave 1 (n=1000) %	Total Wave 2 (n=1000) %	Current Vote – Wave 2					
			Liberal (n=242) %	Conservative (n=279) %	NDP (n=180) %	Green (n=66) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=125) %	Other/DK (n=108) %
Liberal to Conservatives	7	7	29	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal to NDP	11	11	46	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal to Bloc	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-
Conservatives to Liberal	7	8	-	29	-	-	-	-
Conservatives to NDP	8	9	-	31	-	-	-	-
Conservatives to Bloc Quebecois	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	-
NDP to Liberals	6	7	-	-	39	-	-	-
NDP to Conservatives	4	4	-	-	22	-	-	-
NDP to Bloc Quebecois	1	1	-	-	7	-	-	-
Bloc Quebecois to Liberals	1	1	-	-	-	-	6	-
Bloc Quebecois to Conservatives	3	3	-	-	-	-	27	-
Bloc Quebecois to NDP	3	4	-	-	-	-	31	-
All others	51	43	22	37	32	100	36	100

Base: Total sample

# How solid is the Party Vote?

	Total Wave 1 (n=1000) %	Total Wave 2 (n=777) %	Current Vote – Wave 2						Other/DK (n=10) %
			Liberal (n=213) %	Conservative (n=228) %	NDP (n=167) %	Green (n=57) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=103) %		
NET Likely	28	31	32	28	36	46	16	BTS	
NET Not Likely	69	66	67	70	59	50	80	BTS	
DK/NA/Ref	3	3	1	2	5	4	4	BTS	

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