The Strategic Counsel

GLOBEANDMAIL CTV

Pre-Election Benchmark 2005 – Wave 3

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Introduction and Methodology

- Gregg, Kelly, Sullivan & Woolstencroft: *The Strategic Counsel* is pleased to present Wave 3 of The Globe and Mail/CTV Polling Program.
- The findings are based on interviews conducted by telephone among a weighted national sample of 1500 adult Canadians 18 years of age or older.
- The interviews were conducted between May 12th and May 15th, 2005.
- A sample of 1,500 yields a margin of error of +/- 2.5 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.
- Note: Due to rounding, proportions may not total to exactly 100%.

Key Conclusions – Liberals have picked up support in Ontario and Quebec

- The Liberals and Conservatives are tied nationally in terms of popular vote. However, the Liberals have re-taken a significant lead (13 percentage points) over the Conservatives in battleground Ontario. Moreover, the Liberals are enjoying a modest rebound in Quebec, which suggests that federalists in Quebec are starting to re-consider the Liberals given that the focus of the debate has shifted toward the future of Quebec within the Canadian federation. The Conservatives have a stranglehold on the Prairies (which includes Alberta), but the Liberals are leading in BC (this may be reflecting the provincial election vote).

- Conservatives continue to be in third place behind the Liberals and NDP in Canada's large metropolitan centres – Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal.

Key Conclusions – We are on the wrong track, but Canadians are not sure it is time for change

- Despite the resurgence in Liberal support, a plurality (49%) of Canadians believe that the country is on the wrong track, which suggests that there is an opportunity for the Conservatives to convince Canadian voters that they represent a positive change for the country.

- However, the country is by and large split on whether it is a good time to change governments. Interestingly, Ontarians and British Columbians are more likely to think that this would be the wrong time to make a change.

Key Conclusions – The Liberal brand remains strong and is seen as more able to manage critical issues facing Canadians

- Canadians see the Liberals as stronger in managing the national economy, health care, US-Canada relations, and national unity. These views are particularly strong in Ontario and Quebec where the Liberals hold a significant advantage over the Conservatives.

- Even though the Liberals have taken a hit in Quebec, they still enjoy a strong advantage in this province on the unity file.

- Even on defence issues (traditionally, an area of strength for the Conservatives), the Liberals are perceived to be equal with the Conservatives.

- Not surprisingly, the Liberals are weakest on having the highest standards of ethics and honesty. However, the largest group is “none of the above” and the NDP which underscores that the Gomery revelations are intensifying cynicism against parties of all stripes. Harper’s focus on Liberal corruption intensifies this cynicism among Canadians.

Key Conclusions – The Liberal brand remains strong and is seen as more able to manage critical issues facing Canadians (cont'd)

- Perhaps, one of the most fascinating results relates to the hidden agenda, which is evenly split between the Liberals and Conservatives. This sounds contradictory, but it is not. Liberal and NDP supporters are the most inclined to believe that Conservatives have a hidden agenda, while Bloc and Conservative supporters believe that the Liberals have a hidden agenda. This question is now entirely driven by partisan support.

- The only issue where the Conservatives have an advantage over the Liberals is on spending taxpayers' money wisely. But its advantage is only 5 percentage points, which simply underscores that the Conservatives have yet to demonstrate that they are a government in waiting.

Key Conclusions – While Canadians see the Bloc-Conservative alliance as one-time affair, they generally disapprove of this arrangement

- This underscores the discomfort with the Conservatives in making deals with separatists. This concern may reflect a worry among Ontarians about the long-term consequences for the federation in bolstering the power of the Bloc. Only in Quebec is there support for this alliance.

- This highlights a significant opportunity for the Liberals to attack the Conservatives.

Key Conclusions – Paul Martin's agreements look like vote-buying, however it is bolstering his support among key segment – Liberal-NDP switchers

- A majority (58%) of Canadians perceive that Paul Martin's deal looks like buying votes. This view is strongest in Quebec, but much weaker in the rest of Canada. While there is a potential vulnerability, it suggests that some of the deals are finding some measure of support among English Canadians.

- These deals are helping to bolster Liberal support among a key voting group – Liberal-NDP switchers. Keep in mind that the largest group of switchers are the Liberal-NDP switchers. Playing to the left is helping to stabilize and hold Liberal support.

Right Track or Wrong Track?

		Region				
	Total (n=1500) %	R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
On the right track	38	41	51	37	39	29
On the wrong track	49	44	34	48	46	65
DK/NA/Ref	13	15	15	15	15	6

Q.1 Right now, do you think that overall the country is on the right track or the wrong track?
Base: Total sample

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

	Total		Region									
			R.O.C		B.C.		Prairies		Ontario		Quebec	
	Wave 2 (n=1000) %	Wave 3 (n=1500) %	Wave 2 (n=753) %	Wave 3 (n=1130) %	Wave 2 %	Wave 3 (n=198) %	Wave 2 %	Wave 3 (n=247) %	Wave 2 (n=379) %	Wave 3 (n=569) %	Wave 2 (n=247) %	Wave 3 (n=370) %
Liberal	22	23	24	24	-	32	-	15	25	25	14	17
Conservative	36	34	39	38	-	23	-	49	35	38	26	23
NDP	11	12	13	14	-	19	-	11	14	14	8	6
Green	1	3	1	3	-	6	-	3	2	2	<1	2
Bloc Quebecois	11	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	36
None	11	8	13	8	-	6	-	6	13	9	6	8
Other	2	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	<1	2
DK/NA/Ref	6	10	8	12	-	14	-	15	9	11	2	6

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?

Base: Total sample

Do Canadians believe it is the right time for a new government?

		Region				
	Total (n=1500) %	R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
It's time for a change and a new government should be voted in	48	47	42	60	42	55
Now would be the wrong time to make a change	44	45	50	33	49	39
DK/NA/Ref	8	8	8	7	9	6

Q.3 Some people have been saying it's time for a change and that a new government should be voted in. Other people have said that now would be the wrong time to make a change and we should return the Liberals to power. Which one of these two views best represents your own?

Base: Total sample

Which Party is best able to manage the economy?

… is best able to manage the economy	Total (n=1500) %	Region: R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Liberal Party	34	38	48	22	41	25
Conservative Party	27	31	23	42	29	17
NDP	10	11	12	11	10	9
Green Party	2	2	3	2	2	3
Bloc Quebecois	6	-	-	-	-	24
None of them	8	7	7	6	7	11
Other/Don't Know/Refused	12	12	7	17	11	11

Q.5-14 And which one of the political parties do you think ...
Base: Total sample

Which Party is best able to manage health care?

… is best able to manage health care	Total (n=1500) %	Region: R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Liberal Party	30	31	30	22	35	27
Conservative Party	20	23	16	30	23	10
NDP	22	24	34	22	22	14
Green Party	2	2	5	1	2	1
Bloc Quebecois	7	-	-	-	-	27
None of them	7	7	5	9	6	9
Other/Don't Know/Refused	13	14	11	16	13	11

Q.5-14 And which one of the political parties do you think ...
Base: Total sample

Which Party has the best plan for Canada's military and defence?

… has the best plan for Canada's military and defence	Total (n=1500) %	Region: R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Liberal Party	27	26	23	19	29	29
Conservative Party	25	26	22	29	27	21
NDP	7	8	13	7	7	3
Green Party	1	1	2	1	1	1
Bloc Quebecois	3	-	-	-	-	10
None of them	8	8	8	8	7	10
Other/Don't Know/Refused	30	31	32	36	29	27

Q.5-14 And which one of the political parties do you think ...
Base: Total sample

Which Party is best able to deal with US-Canada relations?

… is best able to deal with US-Canada relations	Total (n=1500) %	Region				
		R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Liberal Party	40	41	47	26	45	38
Conservative Party	28	31	21	39	31	18
NDP	8	9	13	7	6	7
Green Party	1	2	5	1	1	1
Bloc Quebecois	3	-	-	-	-	12
None of them	6	5	4	6	5	9
Other/Don't Know/Refused	14	14	12	21	12	15

Q.5-14 And which one of the political parties do you think ...
Base: Total sample

Which Party is best able to deal with Quebec-Canada relations and national unity?

… is best able to deal with Quebec-Canada relations and national unity	Total (n=1500) %	Region				
		R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Liberal Party	40	43	42	34	49	30
Conservative Party	17	19	17	22	18	10
NDP	9	10	11	9	9	8
Green Party	2	1	2	2	1	2
Bloc Quebecois	8	-	-	-	-	32
None of them	8	8	7	10	7	10
Other/Don't Know/Refused	16	19	22	23	16	7

Q.5-14 And which one of the political parties do you think ...
Base: Total sample

Which Party would spend the taxpayers' money most wisely?

… would spend the taxpayers' money most wisely	Total (n=1500) %	Region				
		R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Liberal Party	20	22	29	12	24	15
Conservative Party	25	28	21	35	27	16
NDP	18	20	19	18	21	14
Green Party	4	4	6	4	4	3
Bloc Quebecois	7	-	-	-	-	26
None of them	16	15	17	17	14	17
Other/Don't Know/Refused	11	12	8	14	11	10

Q.5-14 And which one of the political parties do you think ...
Base: Total sample

Which Party has the highest standards of ethics and honesty?

… has the highest standards of ethics and honesty	Total (n=1500) %	Region: R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Liberal Party	11	12	11	8	14	10
Conservative Party	19	22	18	30	20	11
NDP	21	23	25	16	26	13
Green Party	7	8	14	5	7	4
Bloc Quebecois	8	-	-	-	-	30
None of them	21	21	20	24	21	22
Other/Don't Know/Refused	13	15	12	16	14	10

Q.5-14 And which one of the political parties do you think ...
Base: Total sample

Which Party has a hidden agenda?

… has a hidden agenda	Total (n=1500) %	Region: R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Liberal Party	30	25	21	29	24	43
Conservative Party	28	32	31	23	38	15
NDP	6	7	11	4	6	3
Green Party	1	1	2	3	1	<1
Bloc Quebecois	3	-	-	-	-	11
None of them	7	7	8	8	6	7
Other/Don't Know/Refused	27	28	27	34	25	21

Q.5-14 And which one of the political parties do you think ...
Base: Total sample

Which Party has values that most reflect your own?

… has values that most reflect your own	Total (n=1500) %	Region: R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Liberal Party	26	28	29	18	32	20
Conservative Party	22	26	19	38	24	9
NDP	19	22	25	17	22	9
Green Party	6	6	13	6	4	4
Bloc Quebecois	10	-	-	-	-	40
None of them	9	8	4	10	9	11
Other/Don't Know/Refused	10	10	10	11	9	7

Q.5-14 And which one of the political parties do you think ...
Base: Total sample

Which Party has the best team?

... has the best team	Total (n=1500) %	Region: R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Liberal Party	30	32	34	19	36	23
Conservative Party	21	25	20	34	23	9
NDP	13	16	20	12	16	5
Green Party	2	3	7	2	2	2
Bloc Quebecois	9	-	-	-	-	36
None of them	7	6	5	6	6	10
Other/Don't Know/Refused	18	19	16	27	17	16

Q.5-14 And which one of the political parties do you think ...
Base: Total sample

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

			Region									
	Total		R.O.C		B.C.		Prairies		Ontario		Quebec	
	Wave 2 (n=920) %	Wave 3 (n=1417) %	Wave 2 (n=687) %	Wave 3 (n=1056) %	Wave 2 - %	Wave 3 (n=184) %	Wave 2 - %	Wave 3 (n=226) %	Wave 2 (n=349) %	Wave 3 (n=536) %	Wave 2 (n=233) %	Wave 3 (n=361) %
Paul Martin	31	33	36	36	-	37	-	23	39	40	18	25
Stephen Harper	29	28	35	31	-	27	-	45	30	26	14	19
Jack Layton	18	23	18	25	-	29	-	22	20	24	16	17
Gilles Duceppe	9	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36	29
None	12	9	11	9	-	8	-	9	13	9	17	11

Q.14b And which one would you trust most to be the Prime Minister of Canada ... Paul Martin, Stephen Harper, Jack Layton or Gilles Duceppe?
Base: Respondents with an opinion – excludes “don’t know” responses

Do Canadians approve of the Conservatives and Bloc Quebecois combining to defeat the current government?

		Region				
	Total (n=1500) %	R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
TOTAL APPROVE	**34**	**30**	**27**	**39**	**29**	**48**
Strongly approve	16	12	13	14	11	29
Somewhat approve	18	18	14	25	18	19
Neither approve nor disapprove	5	3	3	5	2	10
Somewhat disapprove	16	18	17	17	18	12
Strongly disapprove	40	43	46	33	47	29
TOTAL DISAPPROVE	**56**	**61**	**63**	**50**	**65**	**41**
DK/NA/Ref	5	6	7	6	5	1

Q.15 As you may know, there's been some talk about the Conservatives and Bloc Quebecois combining to defeat the current government. If this were to occur, would you... ?

Base: Total sample

Would this be a longer-term formal arrangement or a one-time alliance?

		Region				
	Total (n=1500) %	R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
Longer term alliance	27	12	8	12	12	72
One-time alliance	65	78	75	78	79	25
DK/NA/Ref	8	10	17	10	9	3

Q.16 Would you see this as a longer-term formal arrangement between the Conservatives and the Bloc or simply a one-time alliance to bring down the current Liberal government?

Base: Total sample

Are Canadians familiar with the measures contained in the budget?

		Region				
	Total (n=1500) %	R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
TOTAL FAMILIAR	**47**	**52**	**45**	**51**	**55**	**33**
Very familiar	10	12	7	11	13	7
Somewhat familiar	37	40	83	40	42	26
Not too familiar	29	26	28	26	26	39
Not familiar at all	21	20	24	22	17	24
TOTAL NOT FAMILIAR	**50**	**46**	**52**	**48**	**43**	**63**
DK/NA/Ref	3	2	3	1	2	4

Q.17 If the government were defeated, the measures that are contained in its budget would not be passed. Would you say you are very familiar, somewhat familiar, not too familiar or not familiar at all with the measures that are contained in the budget?

Base: Total sample

How concerned will Canadians be if the budget does not go through?

		Region				
	Total (n=1500) %	R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
TOTAL CONCERNED	**58**	**64**	**61**	**60**	**66**	**41**
Very concerned	20	23	22	19	24	12
Somewhat concerned	38	41	39	41	42	29
Not too concerned	19	17	21	17	16	24
Not concerned at all	19	15	14	18	15	32
TOTAL NOT CONCERNED	**38**	**32**	**35**	**35**	**31**	**56**
DK/NA/Ref	3	4	4	5	3	3

Q.18 If the budget did not go through would you be very concerned, somewhat concerned, not very concerned or not concerned at all?
Base: Total sample

Are Paul Martin's agreements an attempt to buy votes or is he trying to deal with the needs of different groups?

		Region				
	Total (n=1500) %	R.O.C (n=1130) %	B.C. (n=198) %	Prairies (n=247) %	Ontario (n=569) %	Quebec (n=370) %
This is good government and Paul Martin is simply trying to deal with the needs of different groups and provinces in the best way possible	37	42	46	33	44	22
This is nothing more than reckless spending and an attempt to buy votes before the next election	56	50	46	57	49	74
DK/NA/Ref	7	8	8	10	7	4

Q.19 As you may also know, Prime Minister Paul Martin has signed a number of different agreements lately – one with the NDP to change the budget, another with Newfoundland and Nova Scotia on off-shore energy and one with Ontario to help with its finances. Some people say this is good government and that Paul Martin is simply trying to deal with the needs of different groups and provinces in the best way possible. Others say that this is nothing more than reckless spending and an attempt to buy votes before the next election. Which one of these two views best represents your own?

Base: Total sample

How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

	Total			Region														
				R.O.C			B.C.			Prairies			Ontario			Quebec		
	Wave 1 (n=848) %	Wave 2 (n=892) %	Wave 3 (n=1339) %	Wave 1 (n=687) %	Wave 2 (n=1057) %	Wave 3 (n=1002) %	Wave 1 - %	Wave 2 - %	Wave 3 (n=178) %	Wave 1 - %	Wave 2 - %	Wave 3 (n=220) %	Wave 1 (n=329) %	Wave 2 (n=338) %	Wave 3 (n=509) %	Wave 1 (n=219) %	Wave 2 (n=224) %	Wave 3 (n=337) %
Liberal	30	27	33	35	31	36	-	-	38	-	-	19	38	34	43	16	16	25
Conservative	28	31	30	34	39	36	-	-	23	-	-	56	30	35	30	9	8	14
NDP	18	20	19	21	23	22	-	-	27	-	-	21	23	25	21	8	11	9
Green Party	10	7	6	10	7	6	-	-	12	-	-	4	9	7	6	12	8	4
Bloc Quebecois	14	14	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	56	48

Q.23A If the federal 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.23B 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, or the 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) %	Total Wave 3 (n=1500) %	Current Vote – Wave 3					
				Liberal (n=428) %	Conservative (n=414) %	NDP (n=250) %	Green (n=70) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=167) %	Other/DK (n=161) %
Liberal to Conservatives	7	7	8	29	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal to NDP	11	11	13	45	-	-	-	-	-
Liberal to Bloc	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-
Conservatives to Liberal	7	8	8	-	29	-	-	-	-
Conservatives to NDP	8	9	8	-	30	-	-	-	-
Conservatives to Bloc Quebecois	1	1	1	-	3	-	-	-	-
NDP to Liberals	6	7	7	-	-	38	-	-	-
NDP to Conservatives	4	4	4	-	-	24	-	-	-
NDP to Bloc Quebecois	1	1	1	-	-	5	-	-	-
Bloc Quebecois to Liberals	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	5	-
Bloc Quebecois to Conservatives	3	3	4	-	-	-	-	35	-
Bloc Quebecois to NDP	3	4	4	-	-	-	-	33	-
All others	51	43	41	23	38	32	100	26	100

Base: Total sample

How solid is the Party Vote?

	Total Wave 1 (n=1000) %	Total Wave 2 (n=777) %	Total Wave 3 (n=1144) %	Current Vote – Wave 3					
				Liberal (n=372) %	Conservative (n=325) %	NDP (n=224) %	Green (n=66) %	Bloc Quebecois (n=148) %	Other/DK (n=9) %
NET Likely	28	31	27	25	25	34	41	19	BTS
NET Not Likely	69	66	70	73	74	62	59	80	BTS
DK/NA/Ref	3	3	3	2	1	4	-	1	BTS

Q.25 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
BTS: Base size too small to report