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July Survey for the Globe and Mail and CTV

July 2005

Introduction and Methodology

- ◆ Gregg, Kelly, Sullivan & Woolstencroft: *The Strategic Counsel* is pleased to present July findings of The Globe and Mail/CTV Polling Program.
- ◆ The findings are based on interviews conducted by telephone among a national sample of 1,000 adult Canadians 18 years of age or older.
- ◆ The interviews were conducted on July 5th – July 10th, 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 exactly 100%.

Key Conclusions – Liberals' lead over the Conservatives remains stable at 9 percentage points

- ◆ At the national level, the Liberals (35%) continue to hold a 9 percentage point lead over the Conservatives (26%). NDP support remains flat at 19%.
- ◆ However, there are signs that some modest shifts are occurring in Quebec. The Liberals continue to enjoy a rebound in Quebec where support has climbed from a low of 16% in late April to 28% in the first week of July. At the same time, support for the Conservatives in Quebec has slipped to its lowest level (6%).
- ◆ In Ontario, voter support remains largely unchanged.

Key Conclusions – On an unaided basis, Canadians are unable to identify any notable achievements of the minority government

- ◆ Approximately 60% could not identify any notable achievements of the minority government. Among those who could identify a notable achievement, same sex legislation received the highest number of mentions (18%).
- ◆ On an aided basis, increased federal spending on health care (28%) emerges as the most notable achievement, followed by the same-sex marriage legislation (19%).

Key Conclusions – Canadians are divided over whether the Liberal minority government has performed well

- ◆ On the surface, it appears that Canadians are divided over whether the Liberal Government has performed well.
- ◆ However, a deeper analysis suggests that Martin has done an effective job in consolidating and solidifying Liberal support. It is to be expected that “hard” and “soft” Liberals would have a strongly positive view of the government’s performance, but “potential” Liberal voters (67%) also believe that the government has performed well.
- ◆ Even a majority of “hard”, “soft”, and “potential” NDP supporters believe that the Liberal minority government has performed well.
- ◆ While “hard” and “soft” Conservative voters are adamant that the Liberal minority government has performed poorly, “potential” Conservative voters are evenly divided on the government’s performance. The fact that these voters are divided on the government’s performance provides further proof of the effectiveness of the Liberal strategy to build support for the party.

Key Conclusions – Canadians would like to see a majority government

- ◆ Not surprisingly, opinions on the performance of the minority parliament split along partisan lines.
- ◆ Liberal and NDP voters have a more positive view, while Conservative and Bloc voters hold a more negative perspective.
- ◆ However, there is a clear consensus that Canadians would like to see a return to a majority government (58%). Just one-third (32%) prefer the minority government. This view is widely shared among partisans of all stripes except NDP voters who are evenly split on the issue.
- ◆ This level of support for a majority government symbolizes that Canadians have grown fatigued with minority government wrangling.

Key Conclusions – At the conclusion of the minority parliament's first year, impressions toward Harper have eroded significantly while Martin's image is starting to improve

- ◆ While impressions toward Martin and Harper have worsened significantly over the past year, Harper has taken a bigger hit in the past two months.
- ◆ The proportion saying that their impressions of Harper have “gotten worse” has doubled from 21% (April) to 41% (July), while the proportion whose impressions have “improved” has declined from 22% (April) to 14% (July). This deterioration in Harper's image has been across the board (across virtually sub-groups), but the biggest drops have occurred among Liberals and NDP supporters.
- ◆ While Martin's image has deteriorated significantly over the past year, there is evidence that his positives are beginning to improve: the proportion saying his image has “improved” has increased from 10% (April) to 15% (July), while those saying their impressions have “gotten worse” has declined from 49% (April) to 42% (July). Regardless, Martin's “gotten worse” are on par with Harper's.
- ◆ Opinions of Layton have also improved, from 27% (April) to 32% (July), although most people's impressions remain unchanged (53%).

Key Conclusions – Canadians want both Harper and Martin to be replaced

- ◆ After 12 months of a minority Parliament, almost 6-in-10 (59%) say that Stephen Harper should be replaced as Conservative Leader, while 41% want Harper to remain. Interestingly, some 45% of Western Canadians want Harper to be replaced. Even one-third of “hard” Conservatives support replacing Harper. Moreover, the desire for change is also strong among “potential” Conservative voters, with 50% of these wanting a new leader. Harper’s strength is the weakest of the major party leaders among their respective parties’ partisans.
- ◆ There are also indications of strong support for a change in the Liberal leader, but views are more divided: 52% say that they want a leadership change, while 48% indicate a desire for the status quo. However, it is important to note that Liberal supporters are much more supportive of Paul Martin remaining as leader: “hard” Liberals, “soft” Liberals, and “potential” Liberals support the status quo. Even “NDP-Liberal switchers” prefer retaining Martin as leader.
- ◆ In contrast, both Jack Layton and Gilles Duceppe enjoy strong support as leaders with very little desire for change.

Key Conclusions – A majority of Canadians want the same-sex legislation to stand and not be repealed in a future parliament

- ◆ A clear majority (55%) of Canadians want the same-sex legislation to stand, while 39% believe that the legislation should be repealed.
- ◆ While Conservative supporters are the most inclined to attempt to repeal the legislation, “potential” Conservative voters are more likely to prefer that the current legislation stand. Harper’s commitment to repeal this legislation is only serving to consolidate his Conservative supporters, and is not expanding his current voter base. This perspective is underscored by the finding that only residents living on the Prairies support the repeal of this legislation. Other regions, including BC and Atlantic Canada, support maintaining the legislation.
- ◆ However, there is a bigger danger for Harper in making this commitment – Harper is helping to consolidate and solidify Liberal support. Liberal-NDP switchers are much more inclined to want this legislation to stand than to have it repealed. In essence, Harper is giving these switchers more reason to consider voting Liberal.

Key Conclusions – Canadians are divided over whether gay couples should have the legal right to adopt children

- ◆ Canadian society is progressing quickly to extend more legal rights to gay couples.
- ◆ While 51% say they do not believe that gay couples should have the right to adopt children, 46% believe that they should.
- ◆ Liberals voters are by and large divided on the issue, while “hard” Conservatives are highly opposed (77%). However, a large proportion of “soft” (40%) and “potential” (43%) Conservatives are supportive. “Hard” (72%) NDP voters are strongly supportive, while “soft” (49%) and “potential” (49%) NDP voters are much more ambivalent.

Key Conclusions – Canadians place the highest priorities on dealing with African poverty and global warming

- ◆ Clearly, the G8 decision to commit to doubling aid to Africa is supported by Canadians given the high priority they place on this issue (24%). Clearly, the Live 8 had significant impact on public opinion.
- ◆ However, it is also evident that Canadians have other priorities, which include global warming (20%), global terrorism (17%) and easing trade barriers to third world countries (16%).
- ◆ It is important to note that the recent terrorist attacks in London have had a significant impact on public opinion. Following the London attacks, Canadians placed a significantly higher priority on combating terrorism than was evident prior to the attacks. This puts global terrorism on par with dealing with African poverty. While the importance of African poverty did not shift, the priority on global warming softened somewhat as the priority on global terrorism increased.

Combating Global Terrorism

July 5th-6th:	13%
July 7th-10th	22%

What is the most notable achievement of the minority government?

Total Mentions	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
Nothing/has not achieved anything/DK/Refused	60	59	60	61
Same sex marriage	18	18	20	17
The budget	10	10	12	7
Stay in power	6	6	5	3
Health care (all mentions)	2	2	1	5
Gomery commission	2	1	1	4
Provincial accord	1	1	<1	3
Social spending/programs	1	1	1	2
Atlantic accord	1	1	-	-
Childcare (all mentions)	1	1	1	-
Education	1	1	1	<1
Keeping peace/staying out of Iraq	1	1	1	<1
Foreign aid/fighting poverty	1	1	<1	<1
Kyoto/environment legislation	1	<1	1	1
Other	8	8	8	6

Q.1 Thinking back over the year, what would you say is the most notable achievement of this minority government in terms of accomplishments and legislation passed?

Base: Total sample

Which specific activity is the most notable achievement?

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
The health care accord with increased federal spending	28	25	27	37
Same sex marriage legislation	19	20	23	16
Tsunami relief effort	14	14	12	12
Agreements with provinces for substantial federal funding of day care	10	10	12	12
Off shore oil deal with Newfoundland and Nova Scotia	9	12	8	3
Significant increase in social spending through the budget	8	8	8	10
DK/Refused	12	13	12	10

Q.2 And which of these activities would you say is the most notable achievement, is it...?

Base: Total sample

How would you rate the overall performance of the liberal minority government?

	Region			
	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
Total Good	50	51	52	45
Very good	5	5	5	4
Good	45	46	47	41
Poor	31	28	27	37
Very Poor	15	16	14	14
Total Poor	46	44	41	51
DK/NA/Ref	5	5	7	4

Q.3 Overall, would you rate the performance of the Liberal Minority government as very good, good, poor, or very poor?

Base: Total sample

How well is the minority parliament operating?

	Region			
	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
Total Well	46	48	44	40
Very well	5	5	5	4
Somewhat well	41	43	39	36
Not very well	29	26	29	38
Not very well at all	17	19	19	14
Total Poor	46	45	48	52
DK/NA/Ref	8	8	8	9

Q.4 And how about the operation of the minority parliament. Would you say Parliament has been working very well, somewhat well, not very well or not very well at all?

Base: Total sample

Do Canadians prefer a minority or majority government?

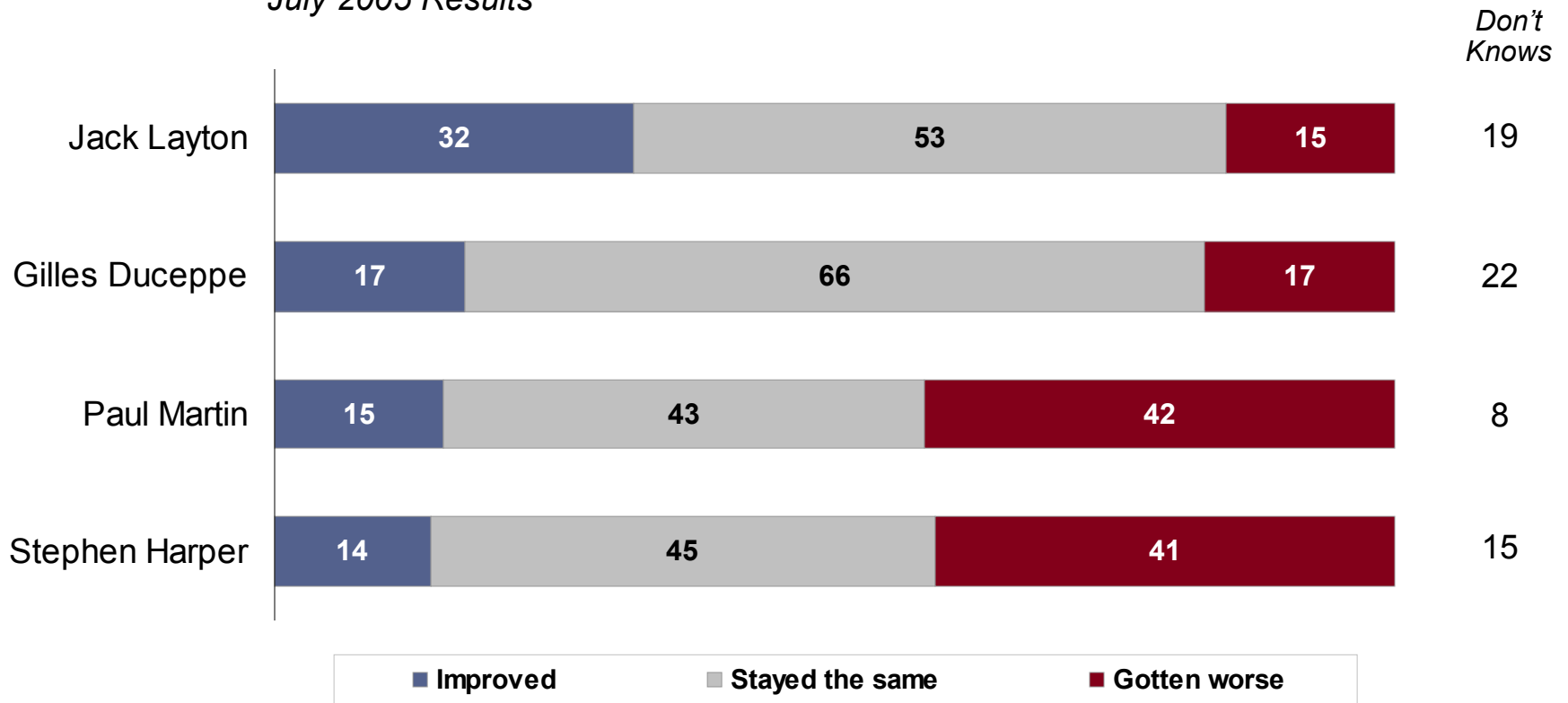
	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
Majority	58	56	56	66
Minority	32	34	34	26
DK/NA/Ref	10	10	10	8

Q.5 And if you had your way, would you prefer a minority government or a majority government?

Base: Total sample

Have opinions of Party Leaders changed in the last year?

July 2005 Results



Q.6-9 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?

Base: Total sample. Chart excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses, however proportions are shown for a frame of reference.

Have opinions of Paul Martin changed in the last year?

	Region							
	Total Sample		Rest of Canada		Ontario		Quebec	
	Apr 05 (n=963) %	Jul 05 (n=920) %	Apr 05 (n=715) %	Jul 05 (n=696) %	Apr 05 (n=363) %	Jul 05 (n=341) %	Apr 05 (n=249) %	Jul 05 (n=224) %
Improved	10	15	11	16	11	15	6	14
Stayed the Same	41	43	44	42	44	43	34	45
Gotten Worse	49	42	45	42	45	42	60	41

Q.6-9 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?

Base: Total sample. Excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses.

Have opinions of Stephen Harper changed in the last year?

	Region							
	Total Sample		Rest of Canada		Ontario		Quebec	
	Apr 05 (n=894) %	Jul 05 (n=850) %	Apr 05 (n=669) %	Jul 05 (n=653) %	Apr 05 (n=340) %	Jul 05 (n=324) %	Apr 05 (n=225) %	Jul 05 (n=197) %
Improved	22	14	23	14	24	13	18	11
Stayed the Same	57	45	54	45	52	41	67	51
Gotten Worse	21	41	23	41	24	46	15	38

Q.6-9 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?

Base: Total sample. Excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses.

Have opinions of Jack Layton changed in the last year?

	Region							
	Total Sample		Rest of Canada		Ontario		Quebec	
	Apr 05 (n=829) %	Jul 05 (n=814) %	Apr 05 (n=618) %	Jul 05 (n=612) %	Apr 05 (n=317) %	Jul 05 (n=310) %	Apr 05 (n=211) %	Jul 05 (n=202) %
Improved	27	32	27	32	33	34	27	34
Stayed the Same	60	53	60	53	54	52	61	53
Gotten Worse	13	15	13	15	13	14	12	13

Q.6-9 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?

Base: Total sample. Excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses.

Have opinions of Gilles Duceppe changed in the last year?

	Region							
	Total Sample		Rest of Canada		Ontario		Quebec	
	Apr 05 (n=737) %	Jul 05 (n=783) %	Apr 05 (n=501) %	Jul 05 (n=548) %	Apr 05 (n=265) %	Jul 05 (n=283) %	Apr 05 (n=237) %	Jul 05 (n=235) %
Improved	17	17	9	10	10	10	36	36
Stayed the Same	70	66	76	72	77	72	54	49
Gotten Worse	13	17	15	18	13	18	10	15

Q.6-9 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?

Base: Total sample. Excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses.

Should parties keep or replace their current leaders?

	Total Sample %		Current Vote									
			Liberal %		Conservative %		NDP %		Green Party %		Bloc Quebecois %	
	Keep	Replace	Keep	Replace	Keep	Replace	Keep	Replace	Keep	Replace	Keep	Replace
The Liberals	48	52	80	20	27	73	42	58	36	64	23	77
The Conservatives	41	59	29	71	63	37	31	69	33	67	49	51
The NDP	78	22	82	18	75	25	90	10	65	35	73	27
The Bloc Quebecois	76	24	64	36	55	45	76	24	100	-	84	16

Q.10 If you had your way, would you like to see (ROTATE The Liberals, The Conservatives, The NDP, and in Quebec, The Bloc Quebecois) keep or replace their current leader?

Base: Total Sample. Excludes "DK/NA/Ref" responses (base sizes vary)

Do you think the next government should let same sex legislation stand or should they repeal?

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Region		
		Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
Allow the legislation to stand	55	51	53	68
Attempt to repeal the legislation	39	42	40	30
DK/NA/Ref	6	7	7	2

Q.11 As you know, the federal government enacted legislation legalizing same sex marriage. Following the next election, do you think the government in power should allow this legislation to stand or should they attempt to repeal the legislation?

Base: Total sample

How supportive are Canadians of allowing gay couples to legally adopt children?

	Region			
	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	Quebec (n=247) %
Total Supportive	46	47	48	42
Very supportive	23	22	23	24
Somewhat supportive	23	25	25	18
Not too supportive	16	15	13	18
Not at all supportive	35	35	37	36
Total Not Supportive	51	50	50	54
DK/NA/Ref	3	3	2	4

Q.12 Gay rights advocates have been making the case that since gays are now allowed to marry they should also be allowed to adopt children as couples. Overall are you very supportive, somewhat supportive, not too supportive, or not at all supportive of allowing legal recognition to gay couples to adopt children?

Base: Total sample

What is the most important global issue that should be addressed by the G8?

	Region							
	Total Sample (n=1000) %		Rest of Canada (n=753) %		Ontario (n=379) %		Quebec (n=247) %	
	First	Total	First	Total	First	Total	First	Total
Dealing with poverty in Africa	24	45	24	44	27	47	23	46
Dealing with global warming	20	37	19	36	19	37	25	42
Combating global terrorism	17	32	18	34	18	35	15	25
Making it easier for third world countries to sell their goods and produce to the rest of the world	16	33	16	33	14	30	16	36
Making it more difficult for nations to develop and acquire nuclear weapons	9	22	9	22	9	22	8	21
Removing barriers to trade	8	14	9	16	9	14	6	10
Reducing agricultural subsidies in Europe and the U.S.	5	9	5	8	3	7	4	10
DK/Refused	2	7	2	7	2	7	3	8

Q.13 The G8 meeting of the major economic powers is taking place in Scotland this week. Which of the following is the most important global issue that you would like to see the major powers deal with?

Base: Total sample

What is the most important global issue that should be addressed by the G8? *First Mention by Survey Date*

	Total Sample (n=1000) %	Survey Dates		
		July 5-6 (n=539) %	July 7-8 (n=267) %	July 9-10 (n=194) %
Dealing with poverty in Africa	24	23	25	23
Dealing with global warming	20	23	15	18
Combating global terrorism	17	13	24	21
Making it easier for third world countries to sell their goods and produce to the rest of the world	16	17	16	13
Making it more difficult for nations to develop and acquire nuclear weapons	9	9	7	10
Removing barriers to trade	8	8	6	10
Reducing agricultural subsidies in Europe and the U.S.	5	4	6	4
DK/Refused	2	2	1	2

Q.13 The G8 meeting of the major economic powers is taking place in Scotland this week. Which of the following is the most important global issue that you would like to see the major powers deal with?

Base: Total sample

How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

	Total Sample				
	04/27 (n=1000) %	05/08 (n=1000) %	05/15 (n=1500) %	06/09 (n=1000) %	07/06 (n=1000) %
Liberal	30	27	33	34	35
Conservative	28	31	30	26	26
NDP	18	20	19	19	19
Green Party	10	7	6	9	7
Bloc Quebecois	14	14	12	13	13

Q.15A 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.15B 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

How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

Regional Distribution

	Region														
	R.O.C.					Ontario					Quebec				
	04/27 (n=687) %	05/08 (n=776) %	05/15 (n=1002) %	06/09 (n=777) %	07/06 (n=753) %	04/27 (n=329) %	05/08 (n=338) %	05/15 (n=509) %	06/09 (n=304) %	07/06 (n=379) %	04/27 (n=219) %	05/08 (n=224) %	05/15 (n=337) %	06/09 (n=203) %	07/06 (n=247) %
Liberal	35	31	36	37	37	38	34	43	41	41	16	16	25	22	28
Conservative	34	39	36	32	34	30	35	30	31	31	9	8	14	8	6
NDP	21	23	22	21	22	23	25	21	19	22	8	11	9	12	11
Green Party	10	7	6	9	8	9	7	6	10	6	12	8	4	8	5
Bloc Quebecois	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	55	56	48	51	51

Q.15A 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.15B 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