Prepared by:

Innovative Research Group, Inc.

Toronto • Vancouver www.innovativeresearch.ca



Canada This Month

In-depth: NDP Leadership

























Purpose

- Over the past seven months, seven candidates have battled to replace Jack Layton as leader of the federal NDP, Canada's official opposition.
- Despite the NDP's status as Official Opposition, few Canadians have paid much attention the race and most know little of the candidates and their platforms.
- Rather than focus on the personalities of the race, INNOVATIVE has focused on some of the ideas.
- We wanted to explore to what degree the ideas put forward by the leadership candidates have the ability to grow the NDP base.



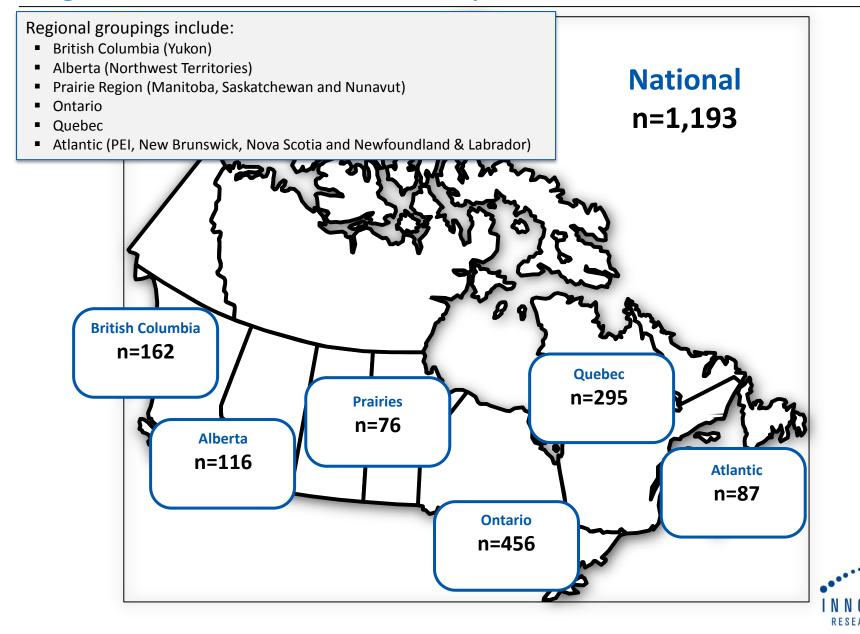
Methodology

- These are the findings of an Innovative Research Group (INNOVATIVE) poll conducted from March 20 21, 2012.
- This online survey of 1,193 Canadian adults was conducted on INNOVATIVE's Canada 20/20 national panel.
- The Canada 20/20 Panel is recruited from a wide variety of sources to reflect the age, gender, region and language characteristics of the country as a whole. Each survey is administered to a series of randomly selected samples from the panel and weighted to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual Canadian population according to Census data to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample.
- INNOVATIVE provides each panellist with a unique URL via an email invitation so that only invited panel members are able to complete the survey and panel members can only complete a particular survey once.
- An unweighted probability sample of this size would have an estimated margin of error of \pm 2.84 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

Note: Graphs and tables may not always total 100% due to rounding values rather than any error in data. Sums are added before rounding numbers.



Segmentation: Where did respondents come from?



Context





Niki Ashton

Niki Ashton, Member of Parliament for Churchill, is the youngest candidate for NDP leader. First elected to Parliament in 2008, Ms. Ashton is running a leadership campaign based on a platform of "new politics," as she feels her campaign has the best understanding of how to engage young people. She is not in favour of shutting down the oil sands, instead calling for efforts to reduce the oil sands' environmental footprint and ensure that processing jobs are not sent overseas.

Ms. Ashton voted in favour of scrapping the long gun registry in 2010, but in 2011 was a vocal opponent of destroying the data contained in the registry after the 41st Parliament voted to dismantle this project.

Ms. Ashton is fluent in French.



Nathan Cullen

Nathan Cullen has been the Member of Parliament for the British Columbia riding of Skeena-Bulkley Valley since 2004. He is the only candidate in favour of cooperation between left-of-centre parties in the next election, for the purpose of defeating the Conservatives. He is a vocal opponent of the Northern Gateway pipeline, which would run through his riding, if completed. Mr. Cullen is against the federal government subsidizing the oil sands and in favour of keeping resources in Canada for processing.

Mr. Cullen voted in favour of scrapping the long gun registry in 2010 but voted with the NDP caucus in 2012 when the bill was brought back before Parliament.

Mr. Cullen can speak French.





Paul Dewar was first elected to the House of Commons in 2006 as the Member of Parliament for Ottawa Centre. Mr. Dewar has focused a great deal of his campaign on detailing the way in which he would expand the NDP to the next 70 seats it needs in order to win government in the 2015 election. Mr. Dewar is an advocate for labour, public servants and was the NDP's foreign affairs critic until stepping aside to run for leader. Mr. Dewar is in favour of environmentally sustainable development of the oil sands.

Mr. Dewar is not fluent in French.

Paul Dewar



Thomas Mulcair

Thomas Mulcair is the MP for Outremont and a former provincial Liberal cabinet minister in Quebec. Mr. Mulcair advocates "bringing the centre to the Party," and says the NDP must make more an effort to reach out to rural Canadians and young people, while still holding on to its new seats in Quebec. Mr. Mulcair was the Quebec lieutenant and Deputy Leader under previous NDP Leader Jack Layton.

Mr. Mulcair is in favour of reversing corporate tax cuts and adding an additional tax to corporations in the natural resource sector. He is in favour of a long gun registry and has publicly stated his opposition to the Northern Gateway Pipeline running through British Columbia and his opposition to the \$1.3 billion government subsidies to the oil sands in Alberta.

Mr. Mulcair is fluent in both English and in French.





Peggy Nash

Peggy Nash was the NDP Member of Parliament for Parkdale—High Park from 2006-2008 and was re-elected in the 2011 general election. A former union leader, Ms. Nash also has experience of having been the NDP's president and is a former finance critic in the House.

Ms. Nash has run on an economy-focused campaign that relies on secondary, interconnected planks of environment and social justice. During her leadership campaign, she has advocated for federal reduction of tuition at post-secondary educational institutions and is against Mr. Mulcair's perceived attempts to move the NDP towards the centre to attract support.

Ms. Nash can speak French, but is not fluent.



Martin Singh

Martin Singh is a Canadian Forces reservist and small business owner from Nova Scotia. He has never run for elected office, but is a long-time member of the New Democratic Party. His campaign has been focused around small business and pharmacare.

Recently, Mr. Singh told his supporters – many of whom are members of visible minorities in British Columbia – to support Mr. Mulcair on the second ballot, leading to criticism from media and other candidates that he was merely a spoiler in the race who ran only to garner support for Mr. Mulcair's campaign.

Mr. Singh is not fluent in French.





Brian Topp

Brian Topp is a former NDP president, strategist and union leader. He and Mr. Mulcair are the only native-Quebeckers in the leadership race.

Mr. Topp has been a vocal critic of Mr. Mulcair's perceived willingness to move the NDP to the centre to appeal to Liberal and Green voters. He cites growing inequality as the most important issue facing Canadians today, and is an advocate of raising taxes on the rich and big business to ensure they are doing their fair share.

He has publicly opposed building an oil pipeline through northern British Columbia and is opposed to exporting raw natural resource exports when people need jobs here in Canada.

Mr. Topp is fluently bilingual.



Policy statements: Party cooperation, Quebec



Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign...

	The NDP, Greens and Liberals should work together to beat the Conservatives by only running one progressive candidate in Conservative-held seats.	It is critically important to ensure there is one federalist party in Quebec that people who oppose Quebec sovereignty can unite behind.	There are a lot of issues where it makes sense to do things one way in Quebec and another way in the rest of Canada.	Any leader who wants to be taken seriously as a potential Prime Minister must be comfortably bilingual.
Niki Ashton				
Nathan Cullen				
Paul Dewar				
Thomas Mulcair				
Peggy Nash				
Martin Singh				
Brian Topp				



Policy statements: Social justice, foreign affairs



Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign...

	The long gun registry is an important public safety tool and should be brought back.	The federal government needs actively support the rights of women to make their own reproductive choices.	The federal government must take action to ensure women receive equal pay for equal work.	When it comes to international affairs, Canada should stop focusing so much on our military and spend more time and effort on diplomacy and foreign aid.	Canada should only send troops abroad as part of military missions with a UN mandate.
Niki Ashton					
Nathan Cullen					
Paul Dewar					
Thomas Mulcair					
Peggy Nash					
Martin Singh					
Brian Topp					



Policy statements: Jobs, economy



Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign...

	The government should discourage the export of raw natural resources and encourage the use of those resources to create jobs here in Canada.	We need to raise taxes on the rich and big business to ensure they pay their fair share.	The federal government should encourage the growth of unions in Canada.	Every Canadian should have the right to retire and live with dignity.	The federal government must take action to close the gap between rich and poor in Canada.
Niki Ashton					
Nathan Cullen					
Paul Dewar					
Thomas Mulcair					
Peggy Nash					
Martin Singh					
Brian Topp					



Policy statements: Tuition, environment



Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign...

	The federal funding for post secondary education should be targeted towards reducing tuition fees for students.	The government should stop offering tax breaks and incentives to subsidize development of the oil sands.	Canada should introduce a cap and trade system for greenhouse gases so that the price of products such as oil includes the environmental damage it creates.	It is wrong to build an oil pipeline through British Columbia.	Canada should play a leading and proactive international role on environmental issues.
Niki Ashton					
Nathan Cullen					
Paul Dewar					
Thomas Mulcair					
Peggy Nash					
Martin Singh					
Brian Topp					

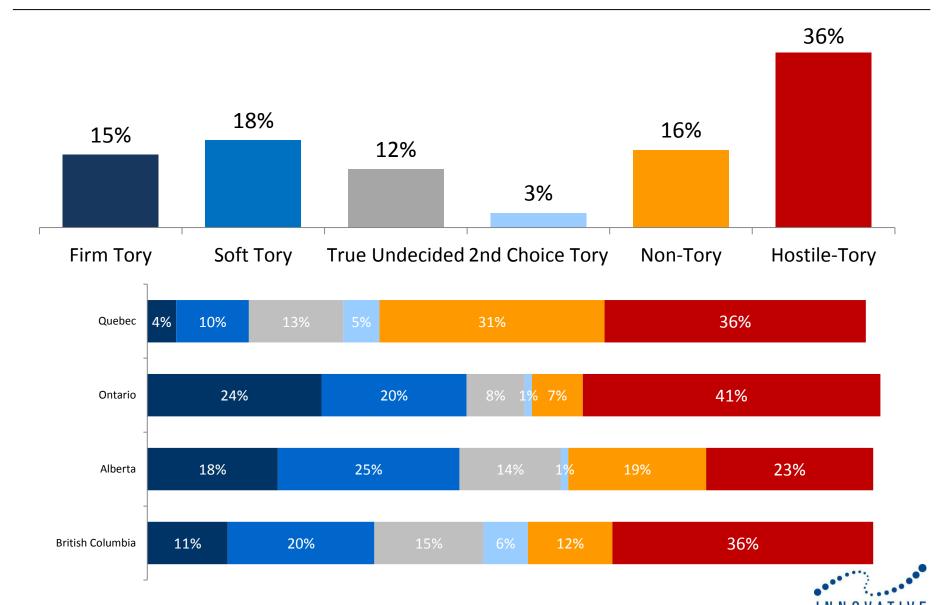


The Tory Universe



Tory Universe: Conservative base largest in Alberta,

Ontario



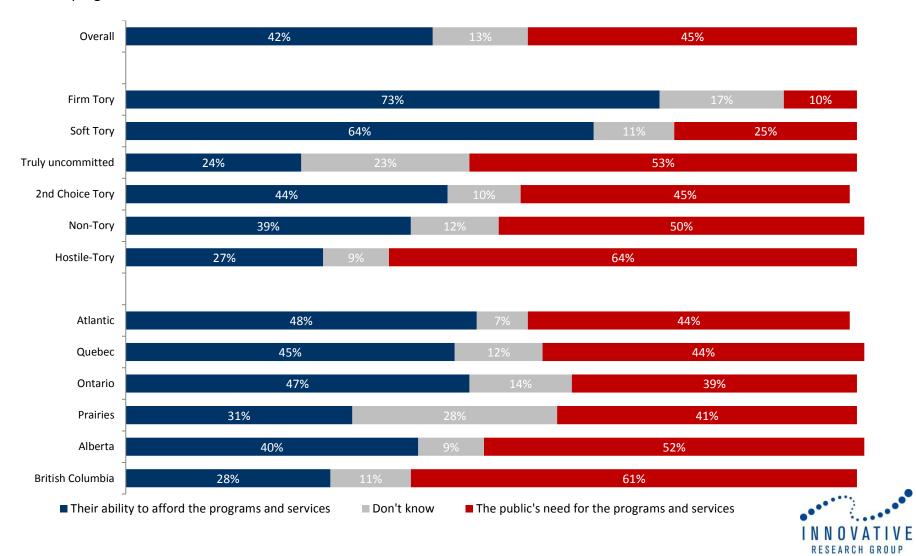
Values



Government spending decisions: Country split on what should justify spending

Q

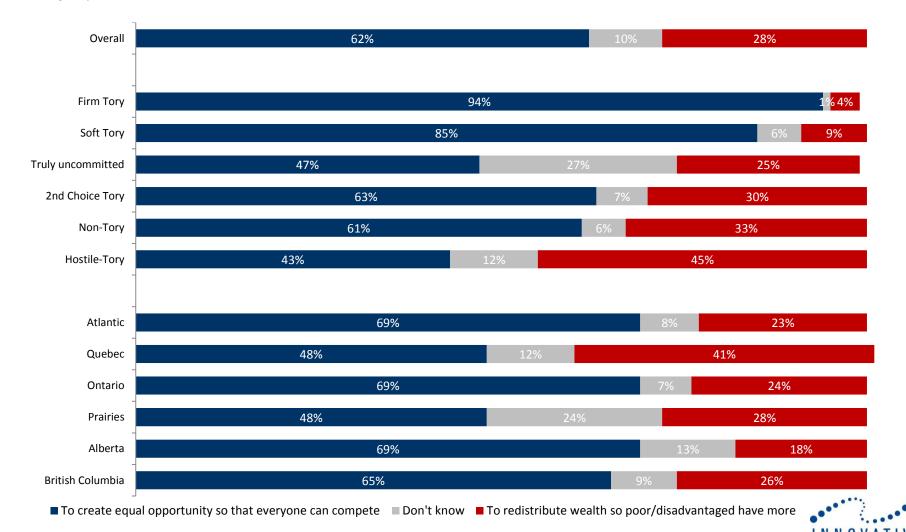
When governments make major decisions concerning spending on programs and services, do you think they should be **(ROTATE STATEMENTS)** basing their decisions mainly on their ability to afford the programs and services **OR** mainly on the public's need for the programs and services?



Role of government: Quebec and Prairies most supportive of redistributing wealth



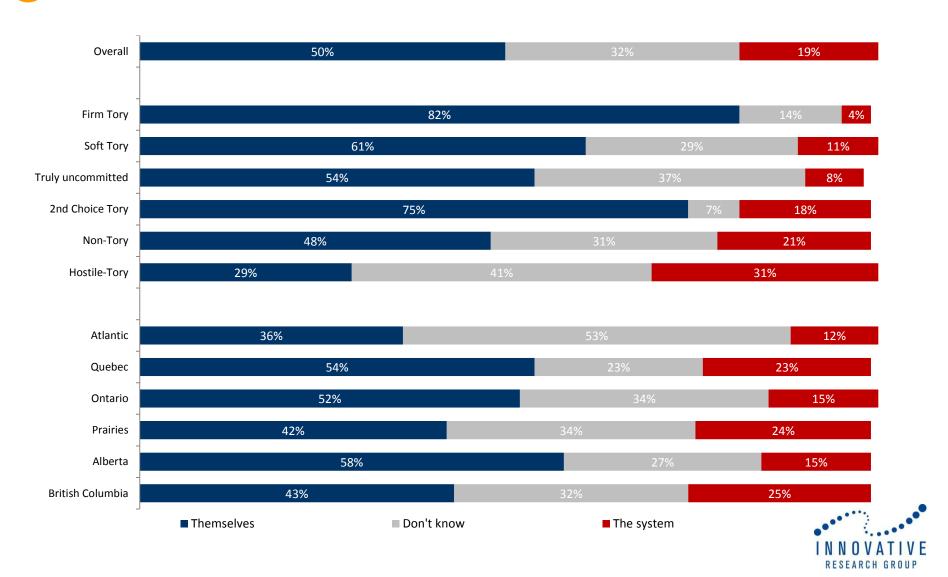
Is the main role of government (ROTATE STATEMENTS)... to create equal opportunity so that everyone can compete on their own to be the best they can be; OR to redistribute wealth so that the poor and disadvantaged have more than they would if left on their own?



Economic alienation: Half (50%) say individual is to blame, but one-third (32%) unsure



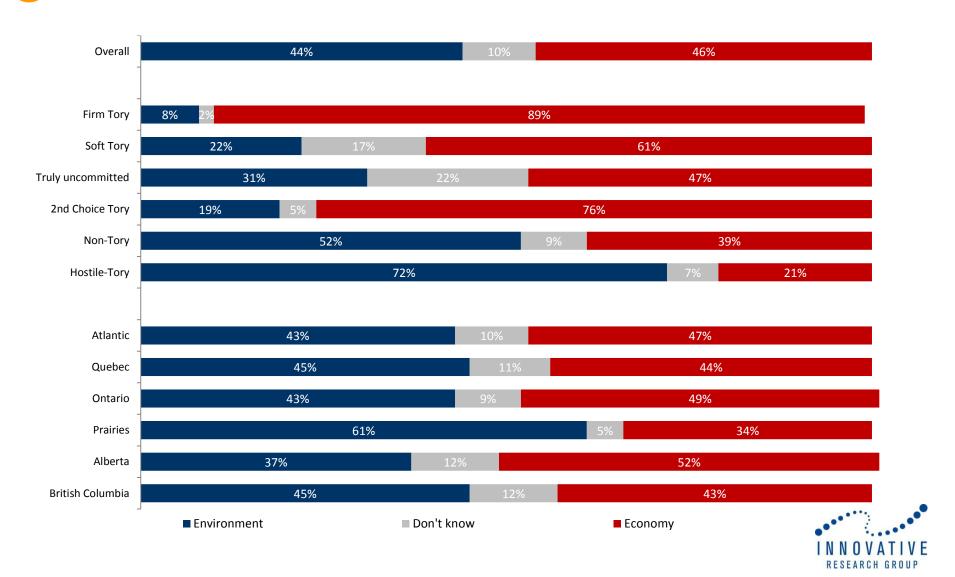
Generally, do you think people who don't get ahead in life should blame...



Environment vs. economy: Country split on priority; those most likely to vote Conservative most likely to choose ec



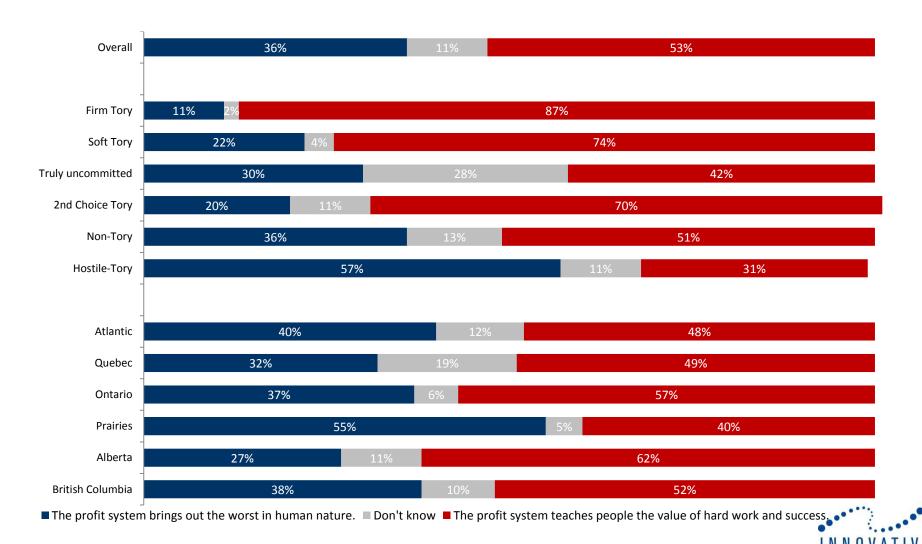
When it comes to trade-offs between the environment or the economy, which is more important to you...



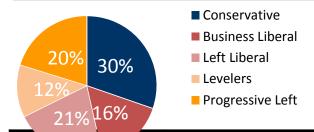
The profit system: Majority believe profit system teaches people the value of hard work



Which of the following statements comes closest to your view: **(ROTATE STATEMENTS)** The profit system brings out the worst in human nature, **OR** the profit system teaches people the value of hard work and success?



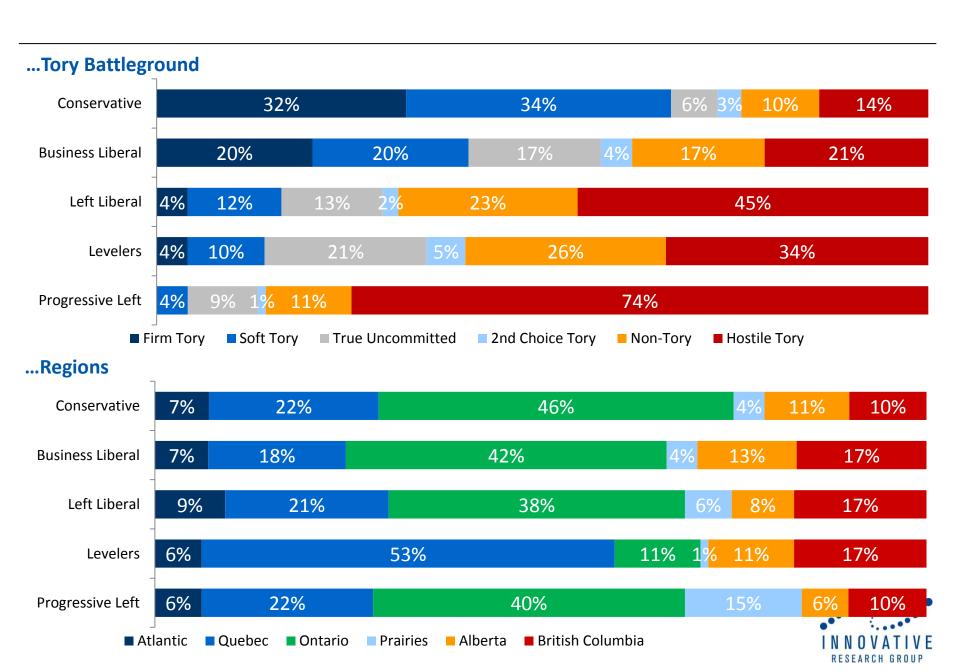
Vote Clusters



	Conservative	Business Liberal	Left Liberal	Levelers	Progressive Left
Programs and services: ability to afford vs. public need	Ability to afford	Public need	Public need	Public need	Public need
Role of government: create equal opportunity or redistribute wealth?	Create equal opportunity	Create equal opportunity	Create equal opportunity	Redistribute wealth	Redistribute wealth
Who is to blame: individuals or the system?	Individuals	Individuals	Individuals	The system	The system
Priority: environment or economy?	Economy	Economy	Environment	A little of each	Environment
Profit system: brings out the worst or teaches value of hard work?	Teaches the value of hard work	Teaches the value of hard work	Brings out the worst	Brings out the worst	Brings out the worst



Vote Clusters vs...

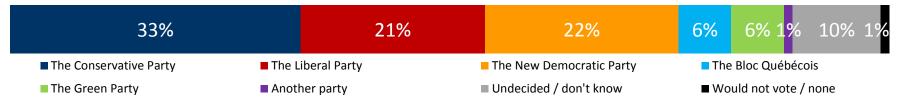


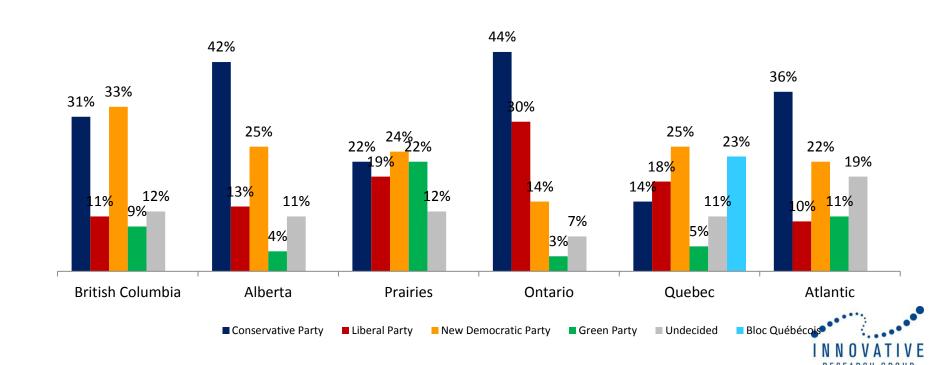
Vote



Support for parties: One-third (33%) of national vote to the Conservatives; Bloc tied with NDP in Quebec

If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly?

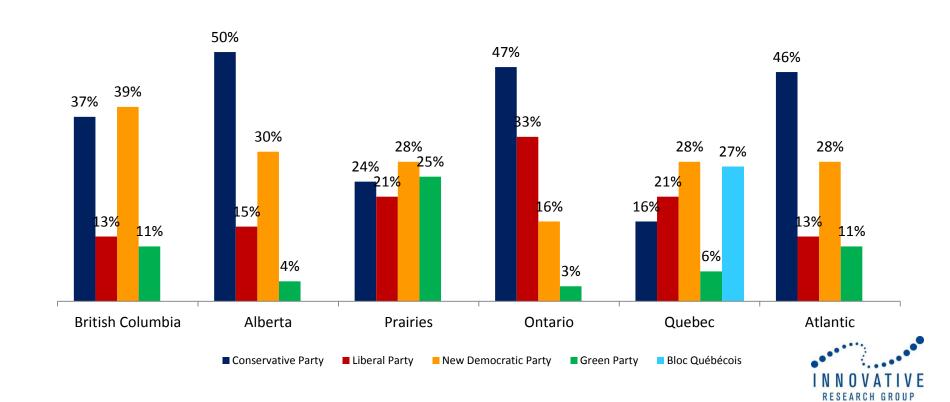




Decided Vote: Strong Tory hold among decided voters in Alberta and Ontario, NDP tied with Bloc in Quebec

If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly?





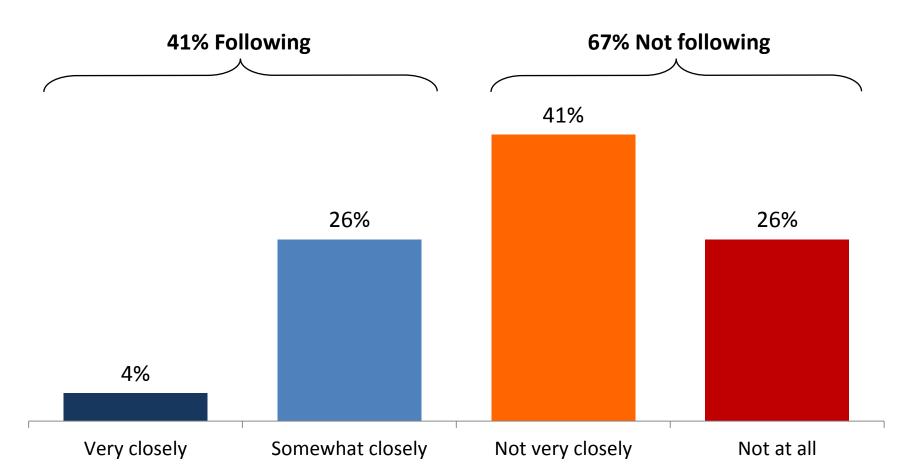
NDP Universe



Awareness: Two-thirds (67%) of Canadians not following NDP leadership race



As you may know, there is currently a federal NDP leadership race to replace Jack Layton, who died last August. How closely have you been following the NDP leadership race?

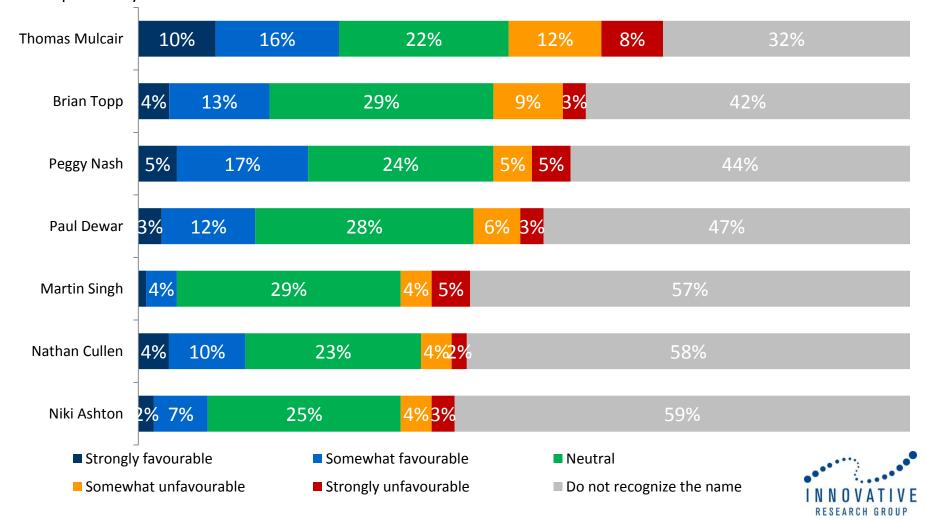




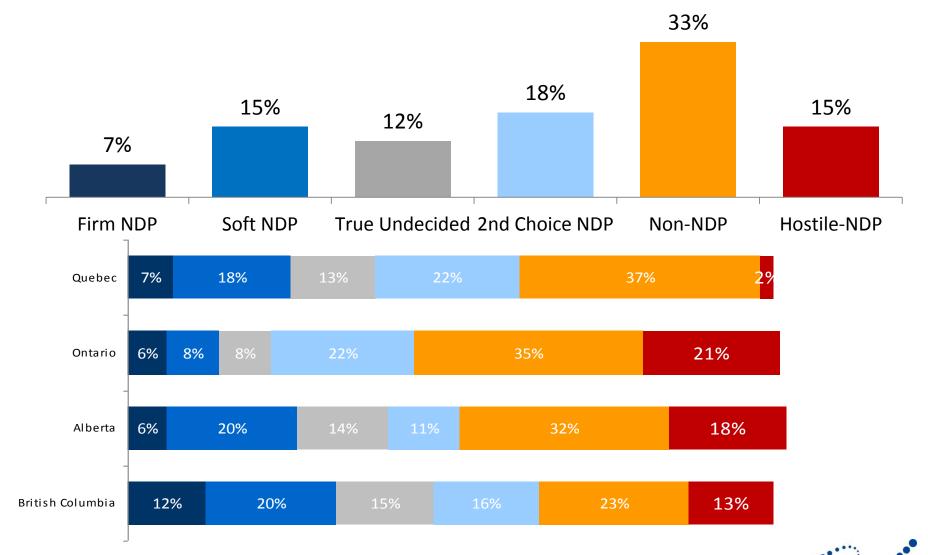
Name recognition: Thomas Mulcair has highest name recognition, followed by Topp, Nash and Dewar

Q

Now we are going to provide you with several names of public figures. Please indicate whether or not you have heard of that person and, if so, whether you have a strongly favourable, somewhat favourable, neutral, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable impression of that person. If you have not heard of that person, please say so.



NDP Universe vs. Regions: Firmest NDP support in Quebec, 30 Alberta and British Columbia



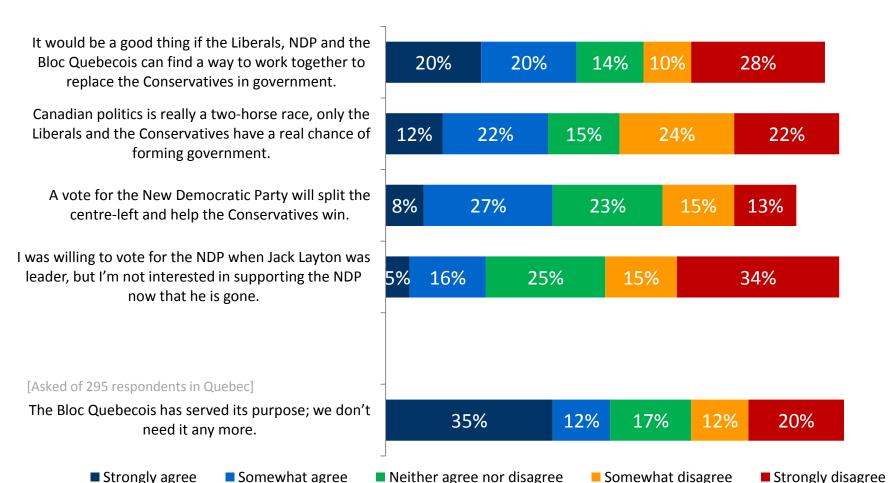
Political Attitudes



Political Attitudes



For each statement below please indicate if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements.

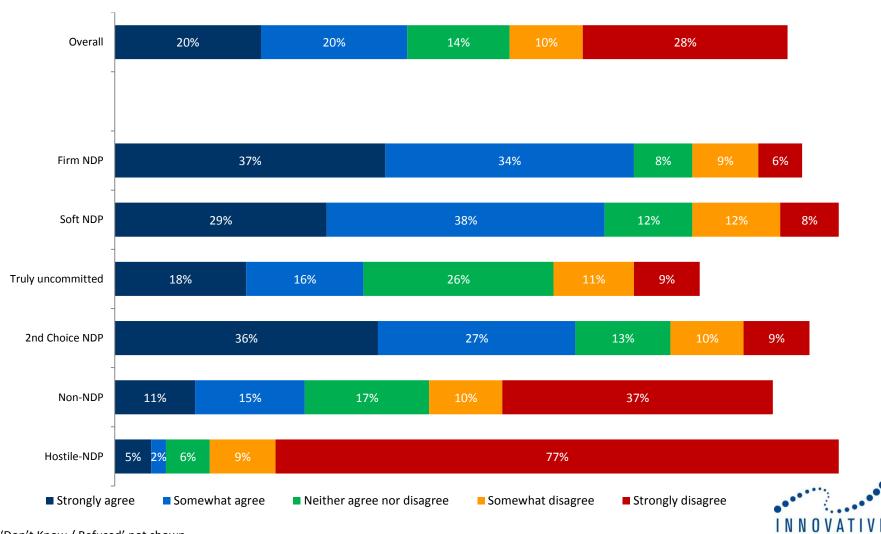




Cooperation on the left: Left-leaning Canadians support cooperation; those hostile to NDP do not



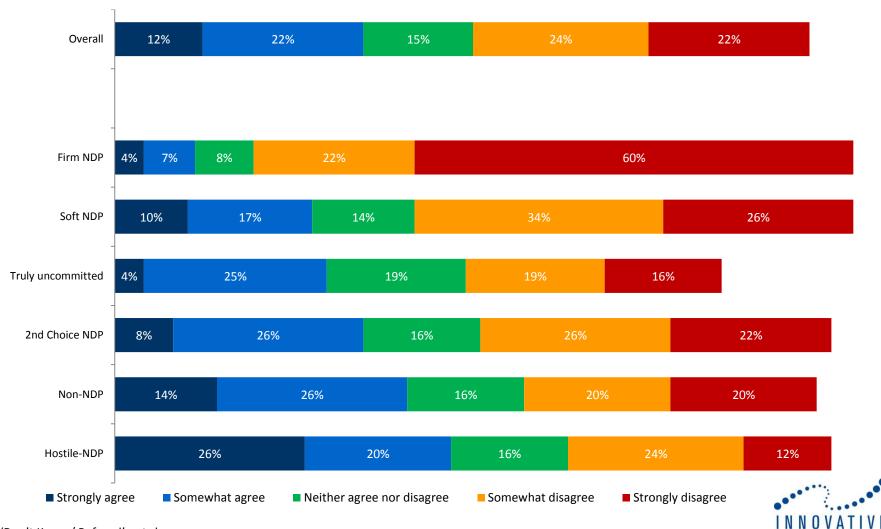
For each statement below please indicate if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements. It would be a good thing if the Liberals, NDP and the Bloc Québécois can find a way to work together to replace the Conservatives in government.



Horses in the race: NDP supporters think politics is more than a two-horse race; others not so sure



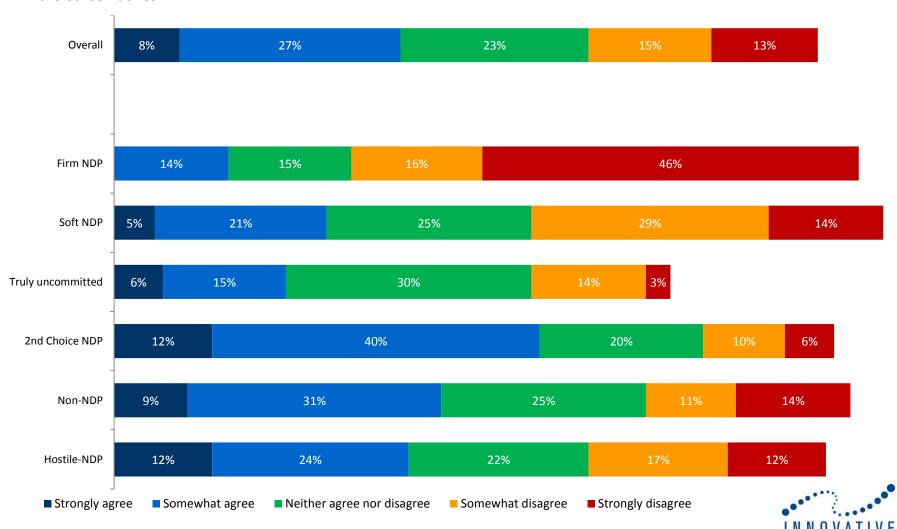
For each statement below please indicate if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements. *Canadian politics is really a two-horse race, only the Liberals and the Conservatives have a real chance of forming government.*



Splitting the left: Half (52%) of those with NDP as their second choice think voting NDP is a wasted vote



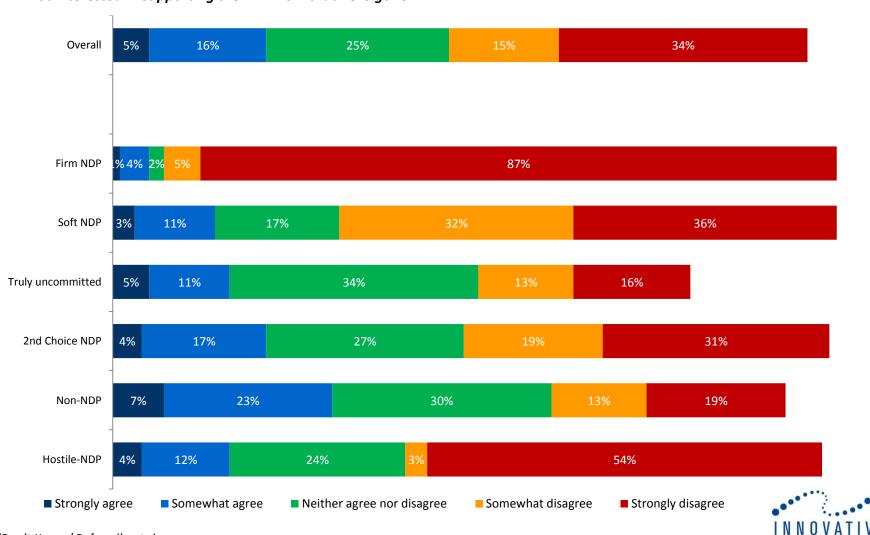
For each statement below please indicate if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements. A vote for the New Democratic Party will split the centre-left and help the Conservatives win.



Jack's legacy: One-in-five (21%) Canadians no longer interested in voting NDP without Layton at party's helm



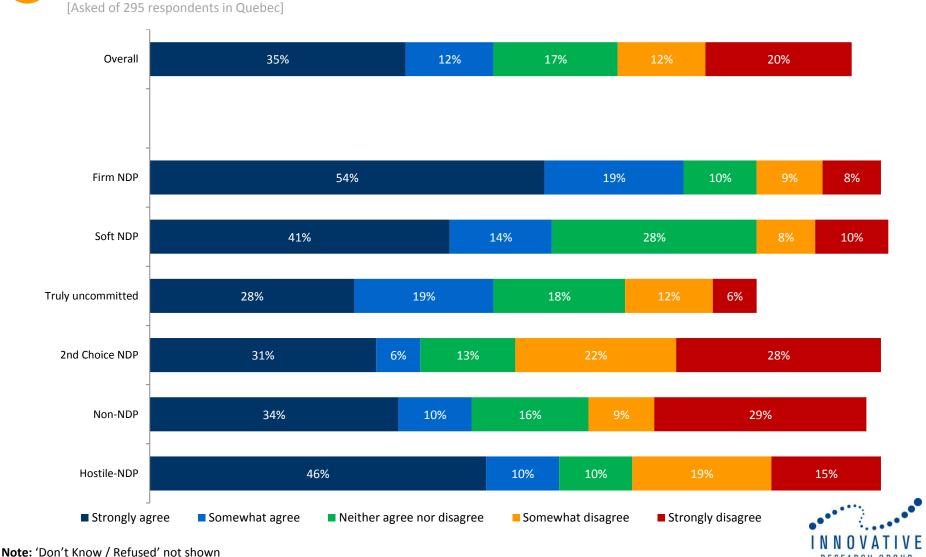
For each statement below please indicate if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements. I was willing to vote for the NDP when Jack Layton was leader, but I'm not interested in supporting the NDP now that he is gone.



Bloc Québécois: Quebeckers whose second choice is the NDP still willing to give the Bloc a chance



For each statement below please indicate if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statements. *The Bloc Québécois has served its purpose; we don't need it any more.*



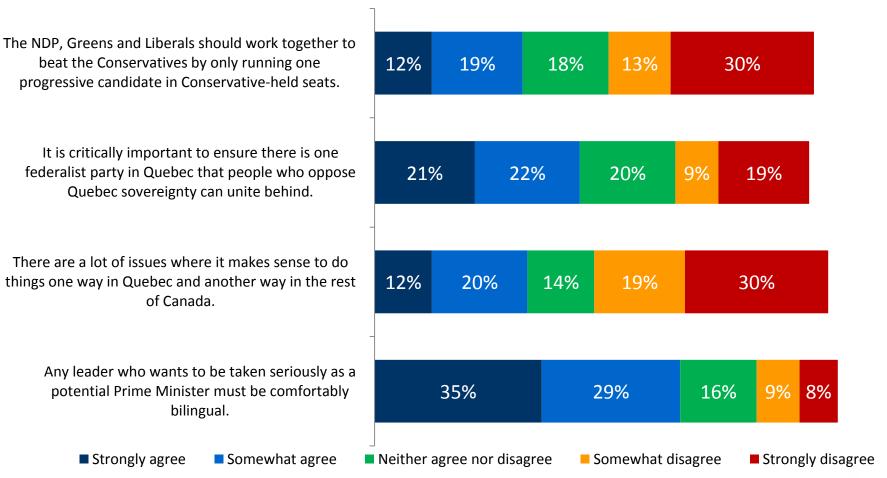
Big Ideas



Policy statements: Party cooperation, Quebec



Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement.

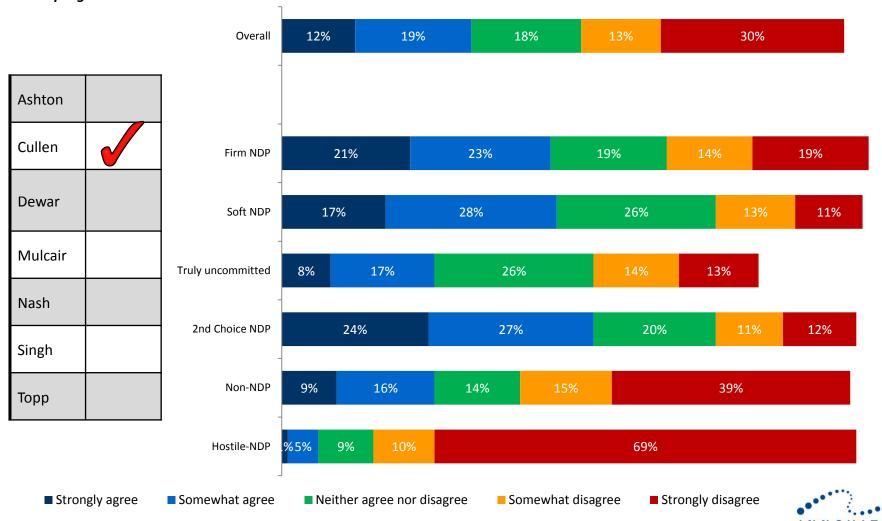




Party cooperation: Cullen's proposal for cooperation most popular with 2nd Choice NDP-voters



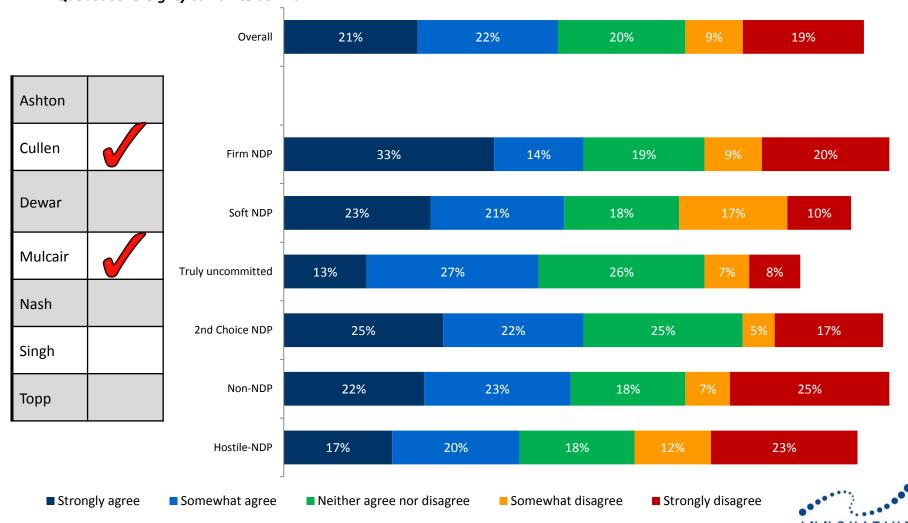
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. *The NDP, Greens and Liberals should work together to beat the Conservatives by only running one progressive candidate in Conservative-held seats.*



Party cooperation: Uncommitted & 2nd choice NDP voters not sure if QC federal politics should mirror provincial scene



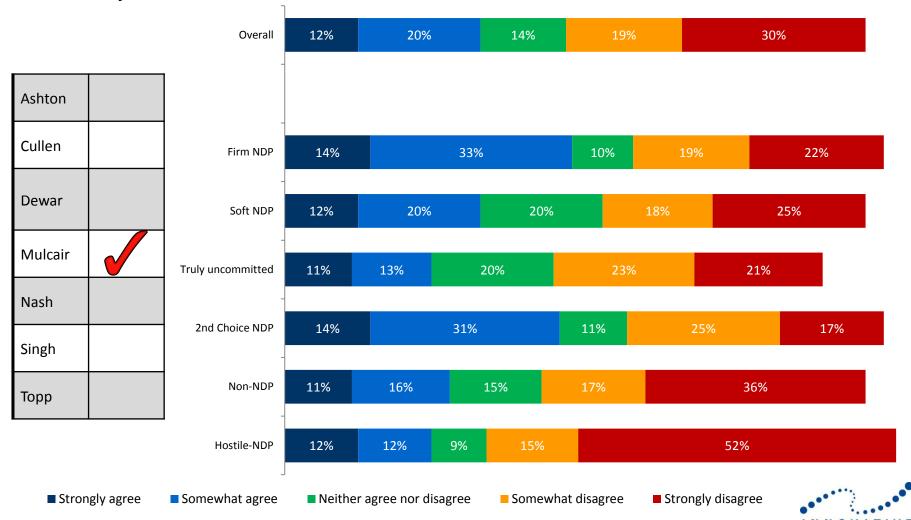
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. It is critically important to ensure there is one federalist party in Quebec that people who oppose Quebec sovereignty can unite behind.



Quebec vs. ROC: Treating Quebec differently may cost NDP those who are truly uncommitted



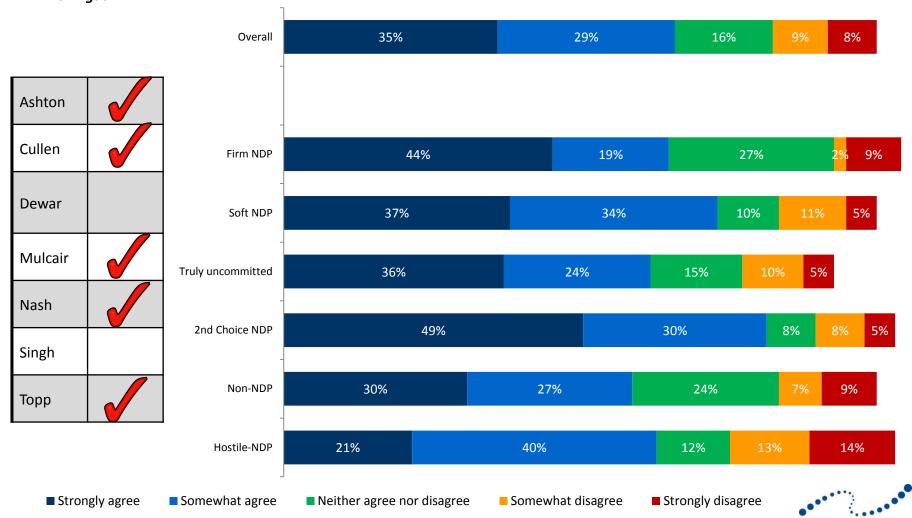
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. There are a lot of issues where it makes sense to do things one way in Quebec and another way in the rest of Canada.



Bilingualism: Majority of Canadians (64%) believe bilingualism is necessary in a Prime Minister



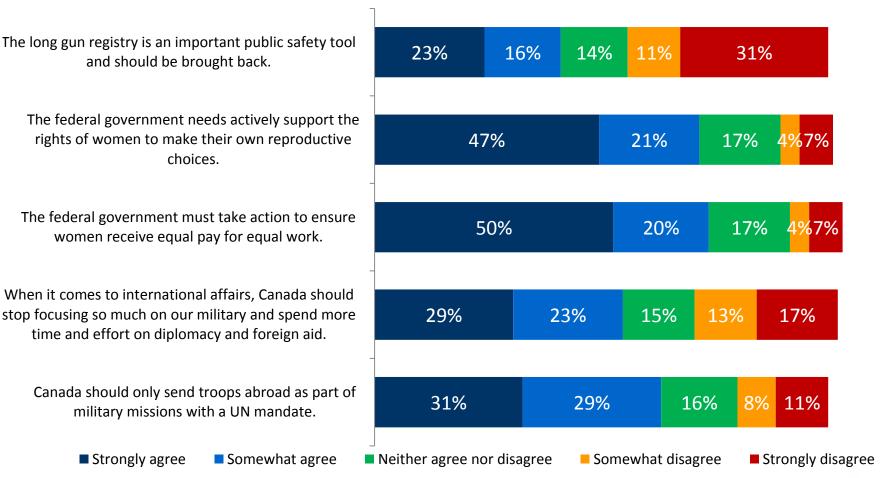
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. *Any leader who wants to be taken seriously as a potential Prime Minister must be comfortably bilingual.*



Policy statements: Social justice, foreign affairs



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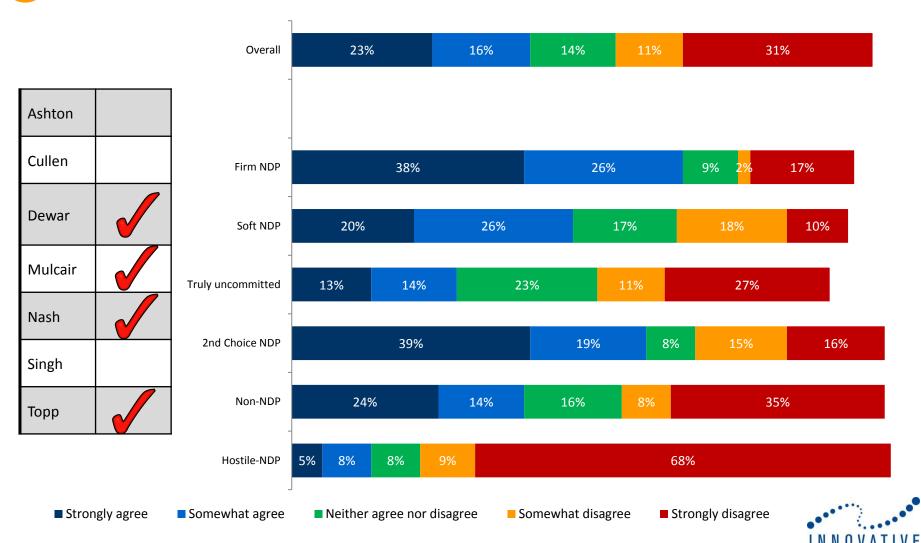




Long gun registry: Firm and 2nd Choice NDP most supportive⁴⁵ of long gun registry; uncommitted voters opposed



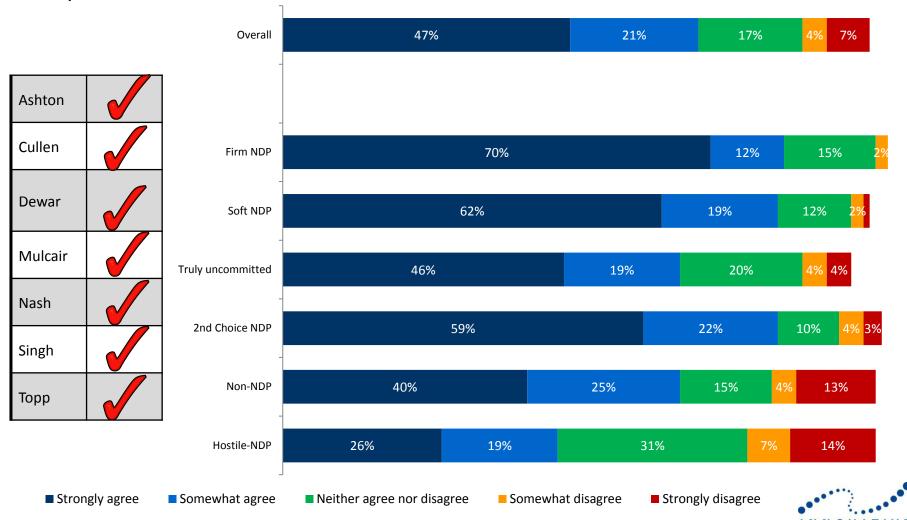
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. *The long gun registry is an important public safety tool and should be brought back.*



Right to choose: Pro-choice stance supported by majority (65%) of uncommitted voters



Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. *The federal government needs actively support the rights of women to make their own reproductive choices.*

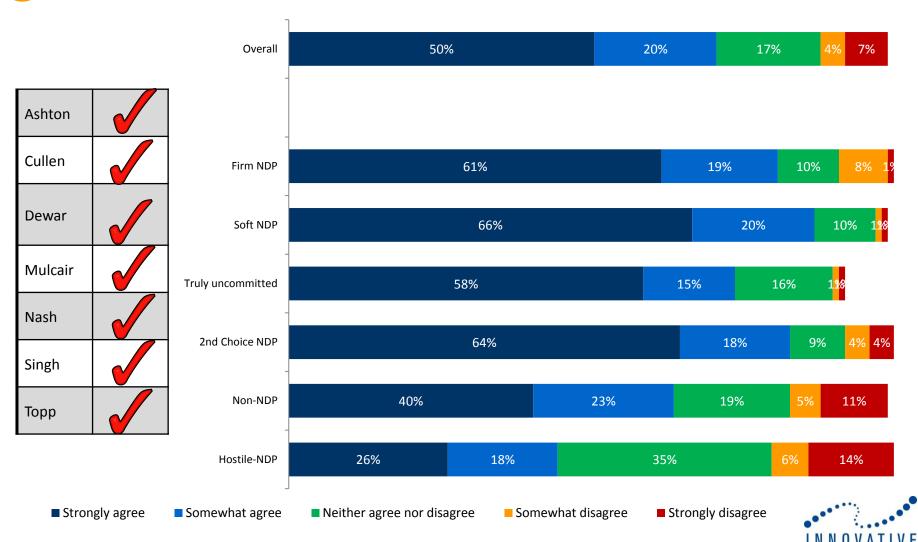


Equal pay for equal work: Progressive Canadians overwhelmingly support gov't action on equal pay



Note: 'Don't Know / Refused' not shown

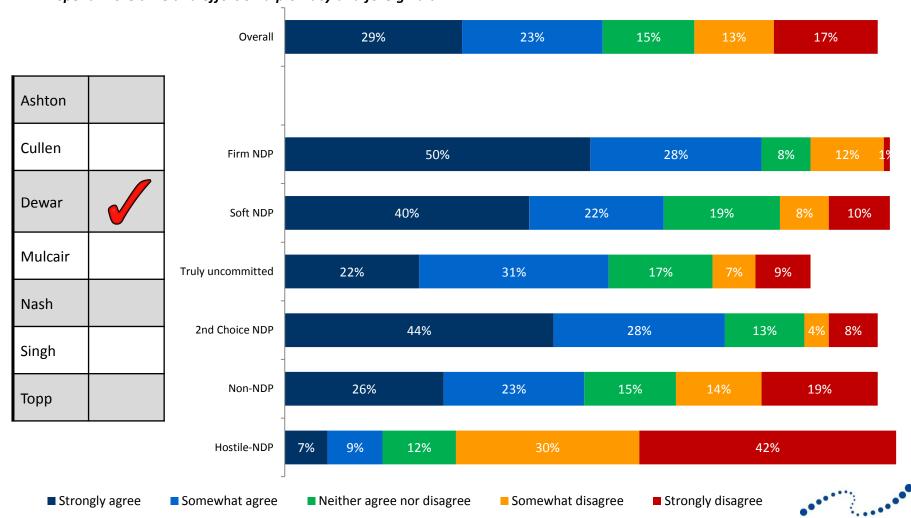
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. *The federal government must take action to ensure women receive equal pay for equal work.*



Diplomacy: Progressive Canadians prefer greater emphasis on diplomacy and foreign aid



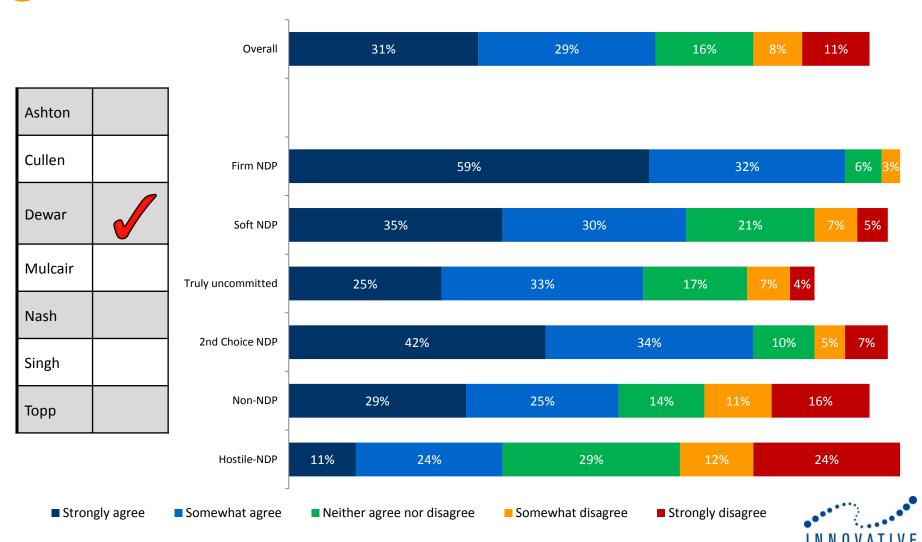
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. When it comes to international affairs, Canada should stop focusing so much on our military and spend more time and effort on diplomacy and foreign aid.



UN mandates: Requiring UN mandate for military missions popular among Firm and 2nd Choice NDP supporters



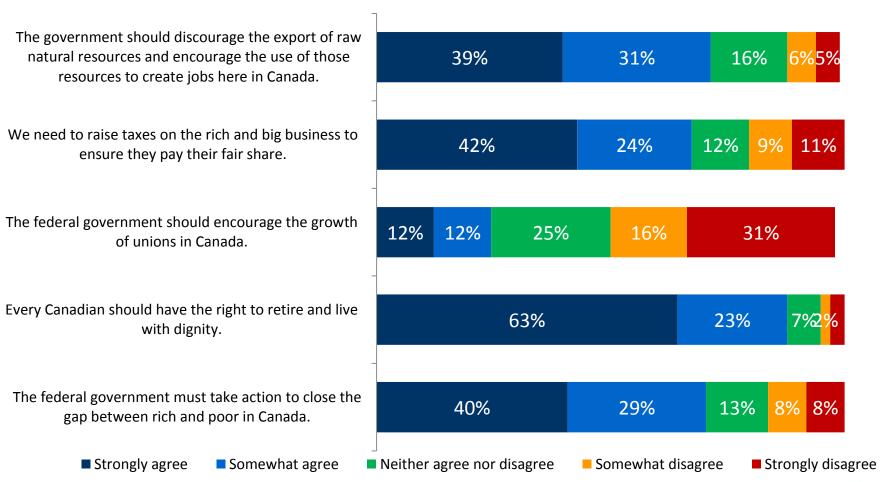
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. **Canada should only send troops abroad as part of military missions with a UN mandate.**



Policy statements: Jobs, economy



Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement.

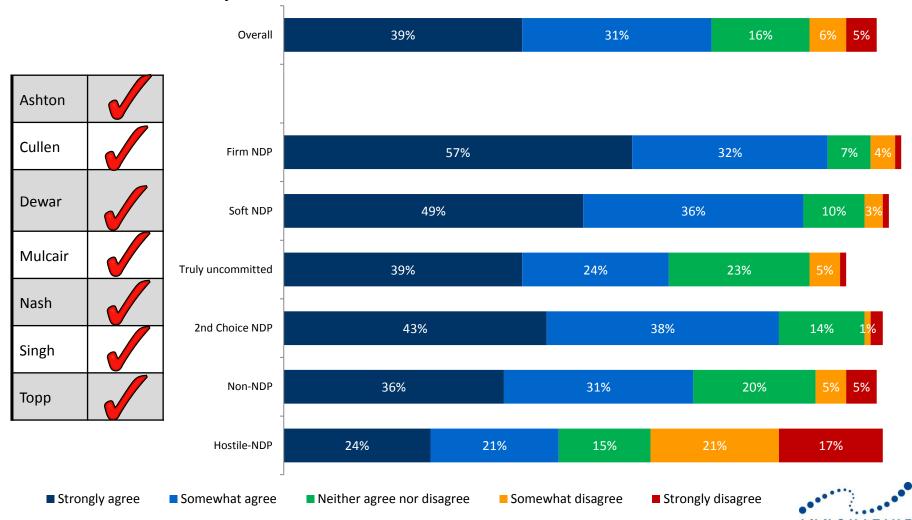




Raw resource exports: Keeping resources in Canada for processing favoured by progressives; uncommitted less sure



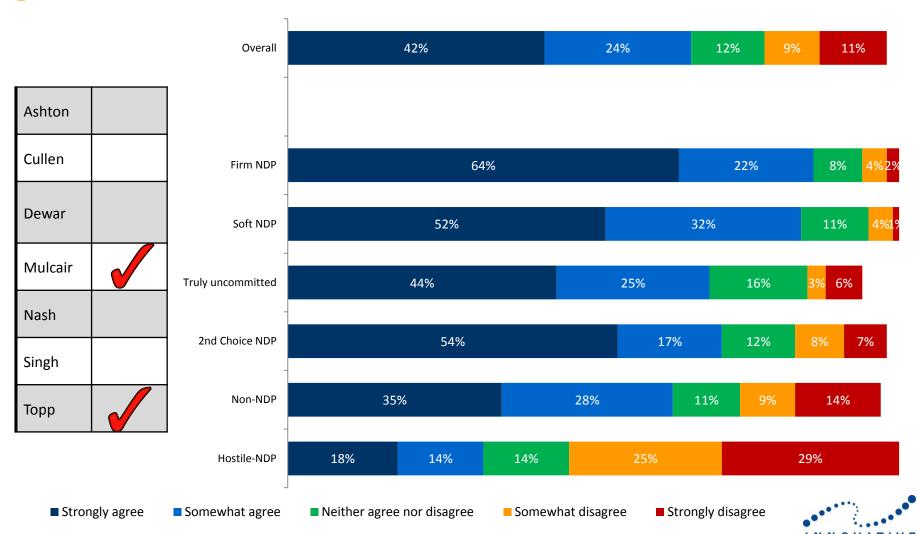
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. The government should discourage the export of raw natural resources and encourage the use of those resources to create jobs here in Canada.



Raise taxes on the 1%: Appeals to NDP base and those who lean NDP



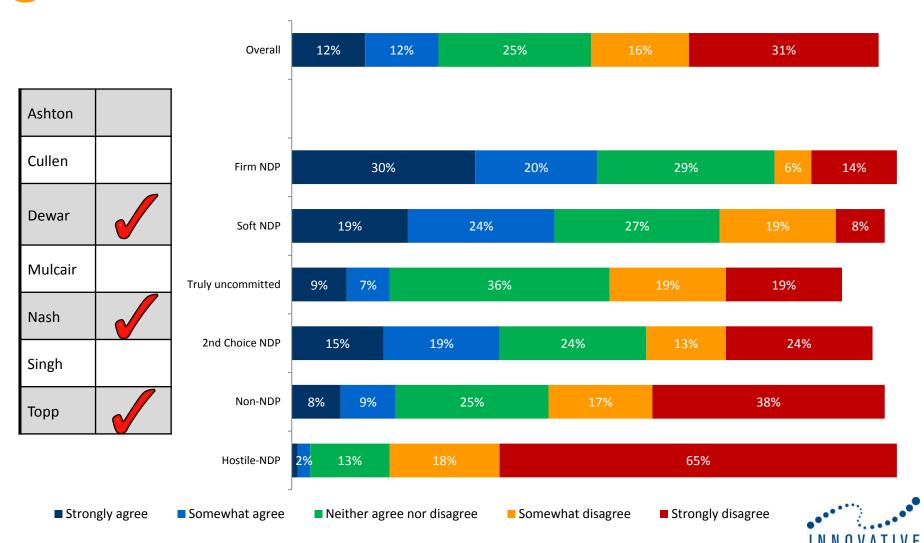
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. We need to raise taxes on the rich and big business to ensure they pay their fair share.



Unions: Uncommitted voters not sure (36% neither agree nor disagree) if gov't should encourage the growth of unions



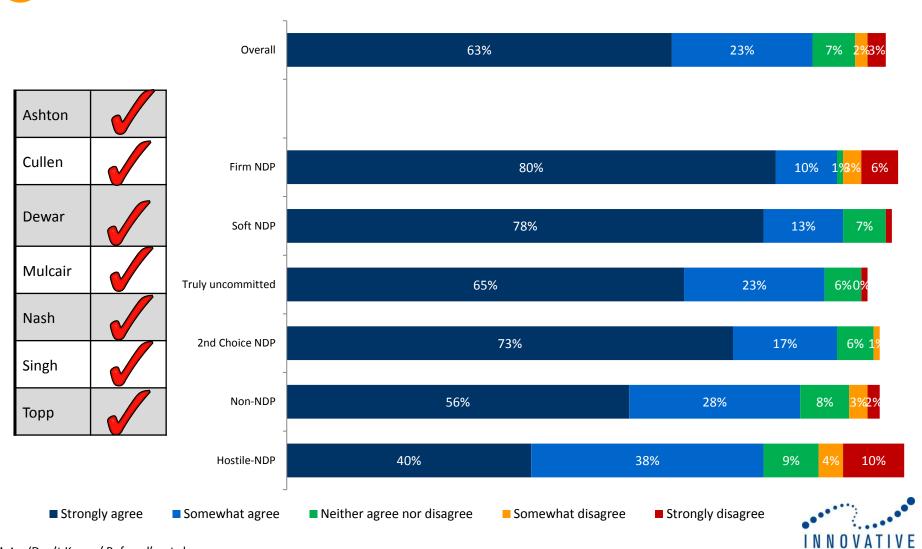
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. *The federal government should encourage the growth of unions in Canada.*



Dignity as a right: Strongest support among progressives, but all Canadians in general agreement



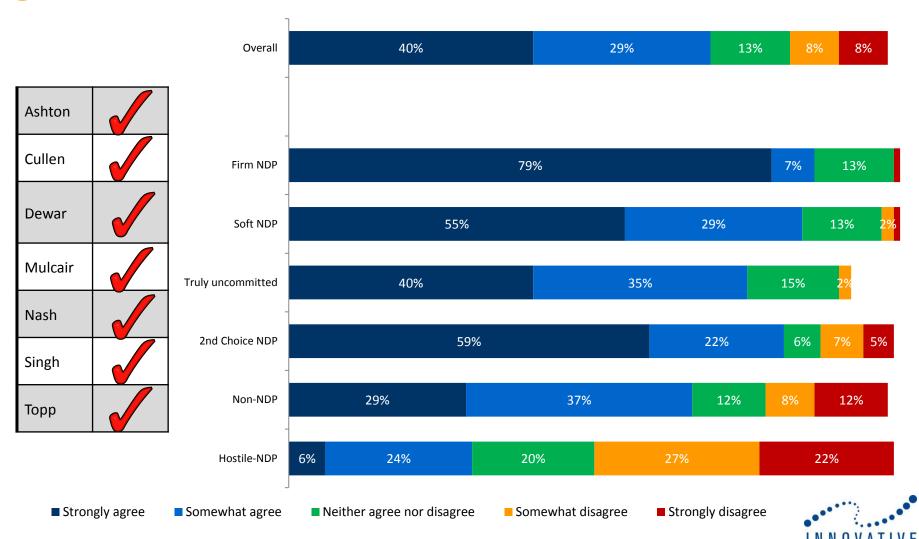
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. *Every Canadian should have the right to retire and live with dignity*



Mind the gap: Strong majority of all progressives support federal gov't action to close the gap between rich and poor



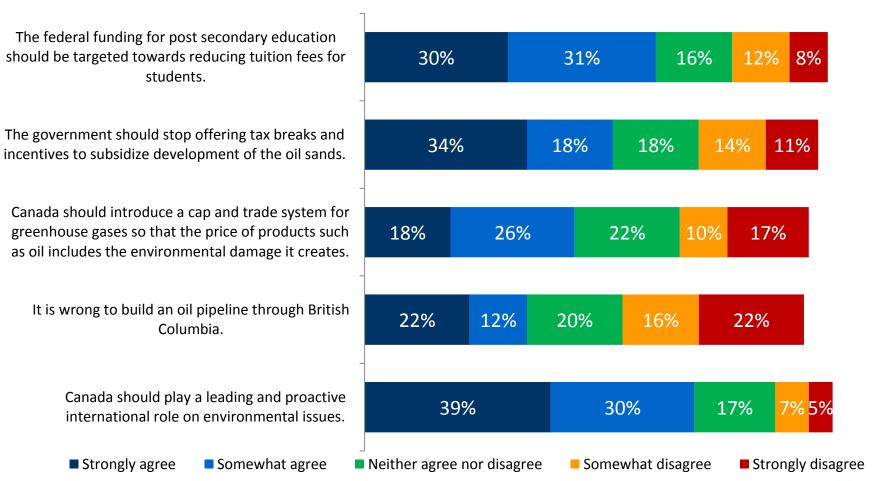
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. *The federal government must take action to close the gap between rich and poor in Canada.*



NDP leadership policy statements



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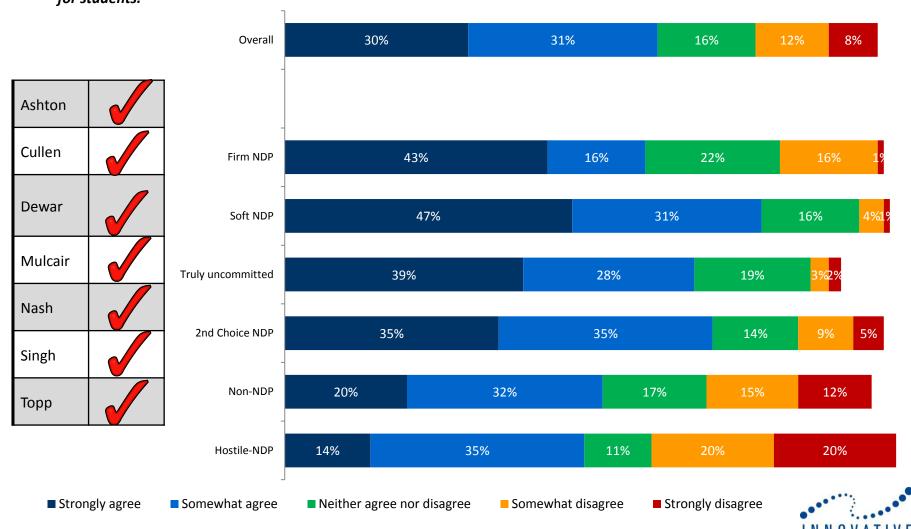




Federal tuition cuts a tent-expander: Strongest support among those leaning NDP



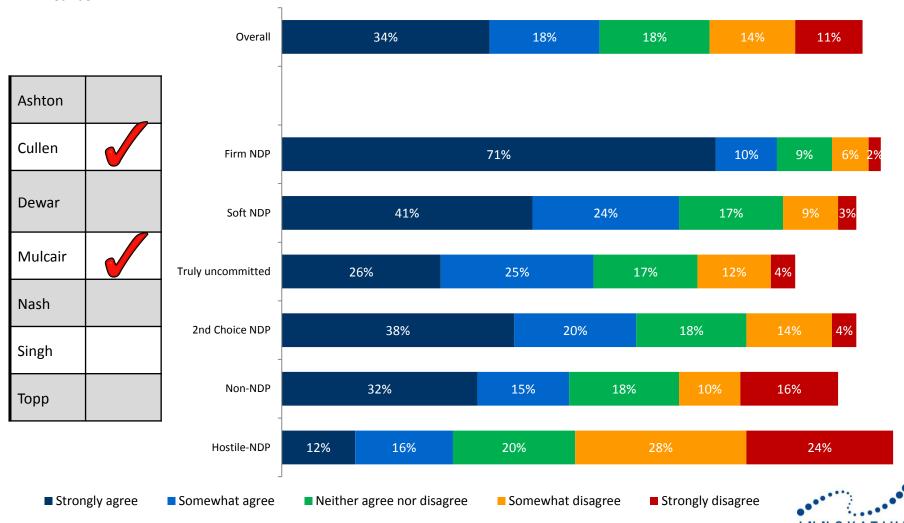
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. *The federal funding for post secondary education should be targeted towards reducing tuition fees for students.*



Oil sands tax breaks: Seven-in-ten (71%) in NDP base strongly oppose government subsidies and incentives



Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. *The government should stop offering tax breaks and incentives to subsidize development of the oil sands.*

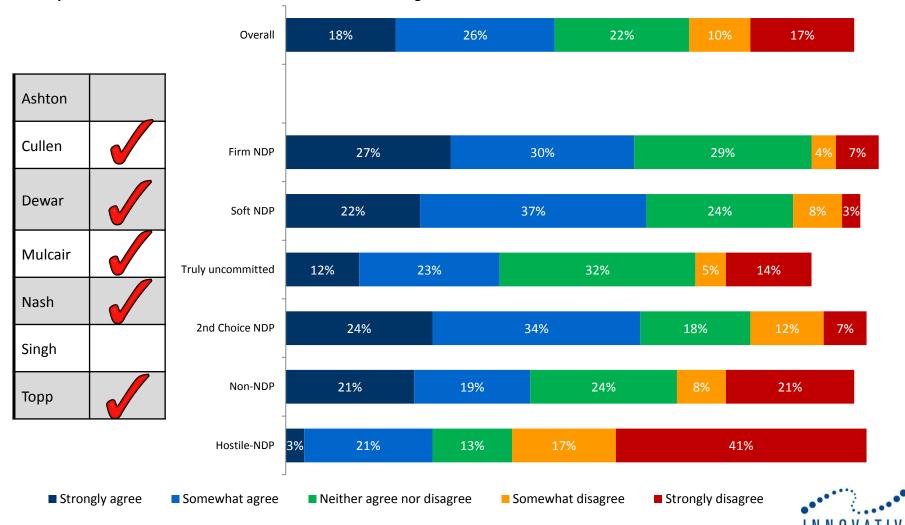


Cap & trade: Majority of firm (67%), soft (59%) and 2nd choice (58%) NDP supporters in favour



Note: 'Don't Know / Refused' not shown

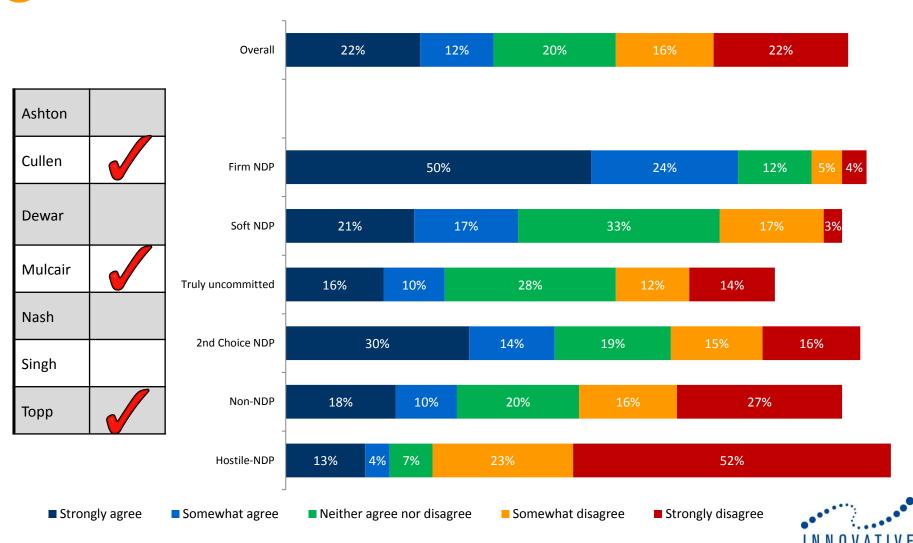
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. Canada should introduce a cap and trade system for greenhouse gases so that the price of products such as oil includes the environmental damage it creates.



BC Pipeline: One-third (30%) of 2nd Choice NDP voters opposed to Northern Gateway pipeline



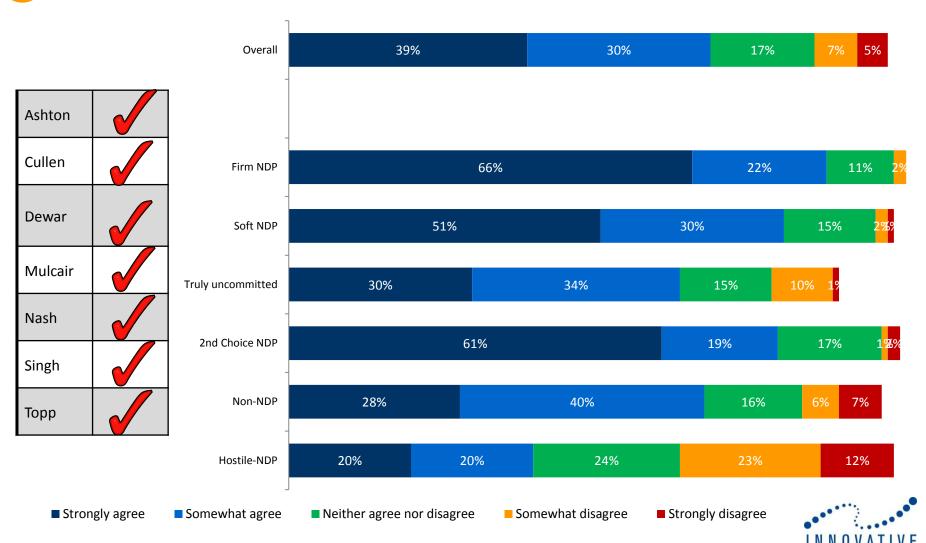
Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. It is wrong to build an oil pipeline through British Columbia.



Environmentalism: NDP keeps or attracts vote by calling for 'Canada to play a leading role on environmental issues



Below are some of the ideas and statements that have been raised in the NDP leadership campaign. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each statement. **Canada should play a leading and proactive international role on environmental issues.**

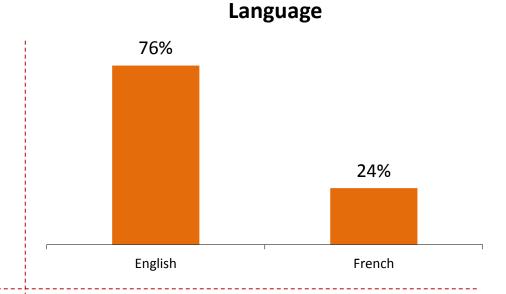


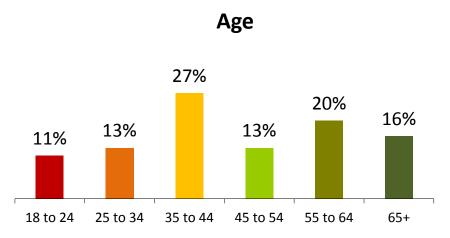
Demographics: Respondent Profile

Gender

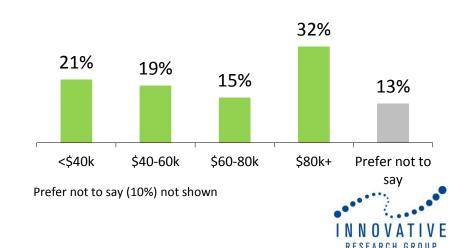














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