Five Lessons from the 2011 Federal Election

Prepared for:

The Market Research and Intelligence Association

Ottawa Chapter

September, 2011

Methodology

- Results come from five waves of INNOVATIVE's Canada 20/20 panel. Four waves were conducted during the 2011 federal election and a final wave was conducted in May following the election.

- A total of 4,617 panelists responded to one or more waves.

- The Canada 20/20 Panel is recruited from a wide variety of sources to be representative of the known distribution of Canadians by age, gender, region and language.

- Results are weighted according to Census data and RDD telephone results to ensure that the sample is representative of the age, gender, region and party identification breakdown of the Canadian population to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample.

- Each panelist is provided with a unique URL in their invitation so that only invited panel members are able to complete any specific survey. Each URL can only be used to complete one survey.

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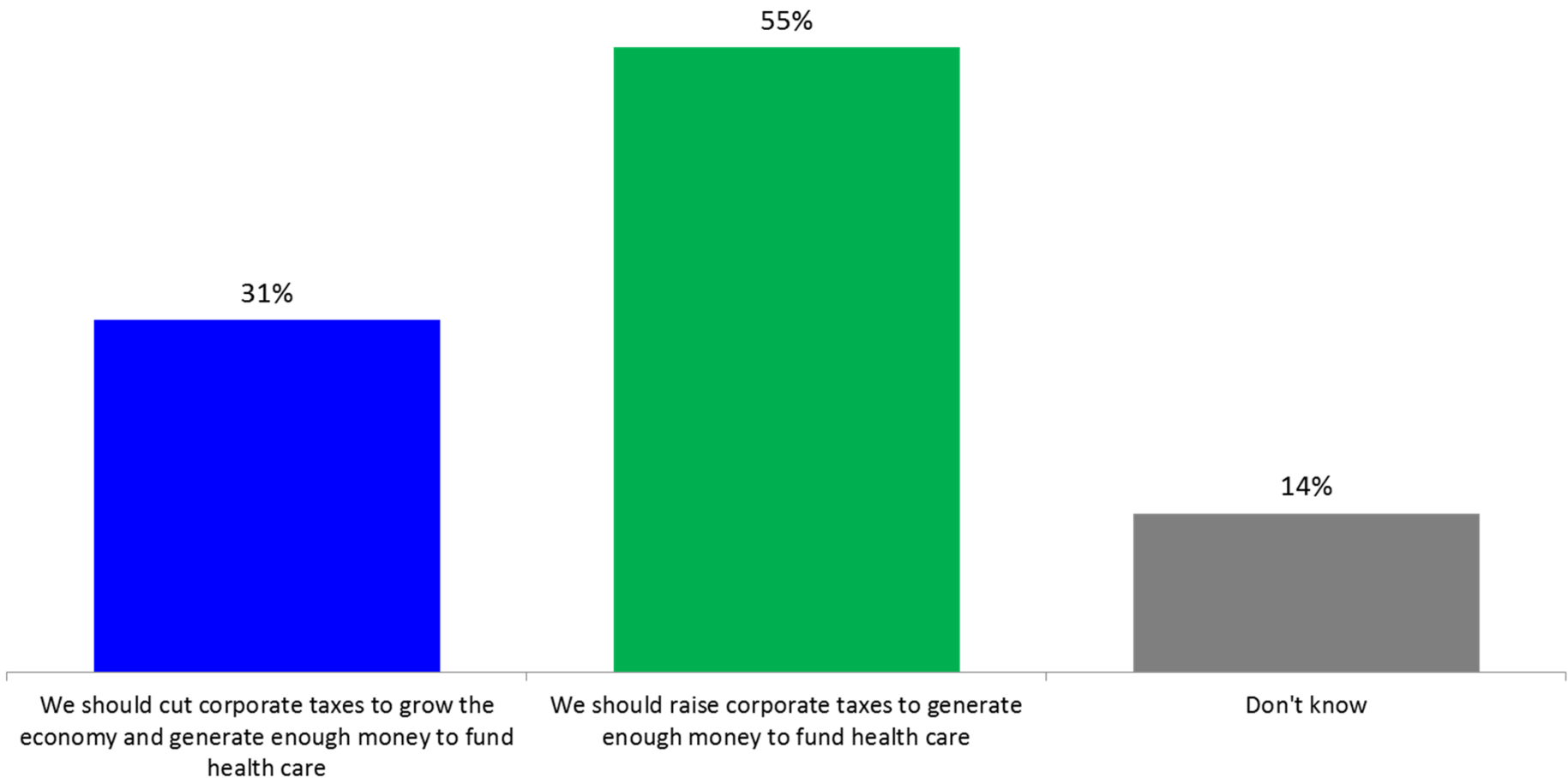RESEARCH GROUP

Free Trade Revisited
The Foundation for Tory Success

Minority support Conservative position on corporate taxes

Q All the major parties in this campaign are promising 6% per year increases in transfers to pay for health care, but they disagree on the best way to increase government revenues to be able to afford those increases. Which statement is closest to your point of view?

31%	55%	14%
We should cut corporate taxes to grow the economy and generate enough money to fund health care	We should raise corporate taxes to generate enough money to fund health care	Don't know

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Almost all who support Conservative corporate tax position will vote Conservative; opponents split

Q All the major parties in this campaign are promising 6% per year increases in transfers to pay for health care but they disagree on the best way to increase government revenues to be able to afford those increases. Which statement is closest to your point of view?
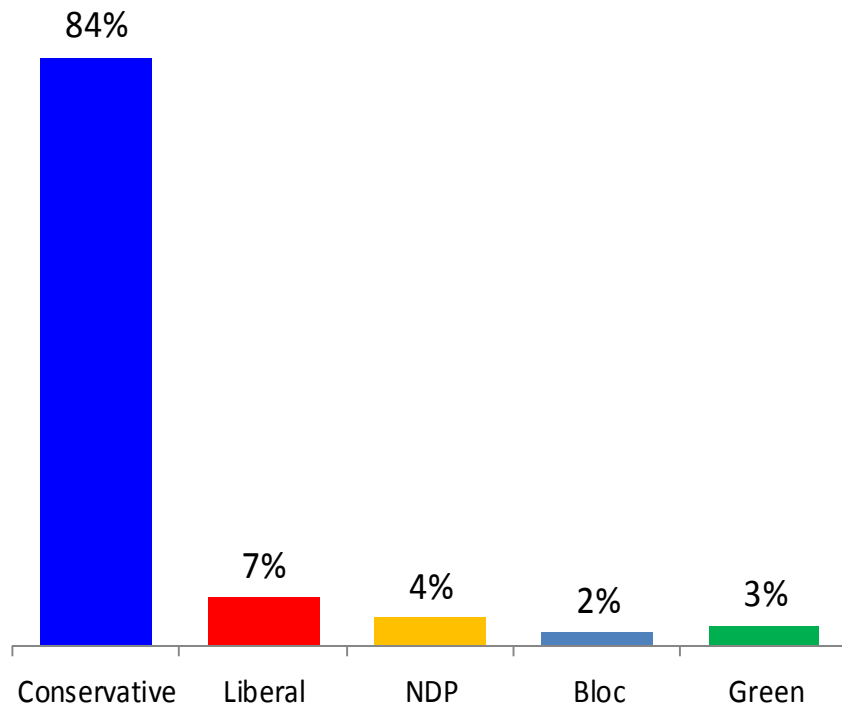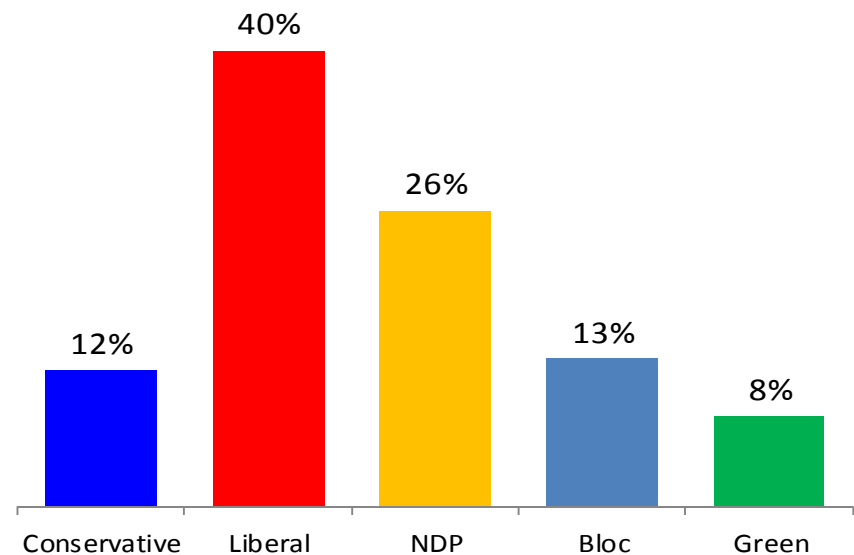
Cut corporate taxes

| Conservative	Liberal	NDP	Bloc	Green
84%	7%	4%	2%	3%

Raise corporate taxes

Conservative	Liberal	NDP	Bloc	Green
12%	40%	26%	13%	8%

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Minority support Conservative approach on crime

Q If the government introduces new policies to deal with crime, should it focus more on getting tougher on crime or should it focus more on dealing with the causes of crime?

More on getting tough	More on the causes of crime	Don't know
38%	57%	5%

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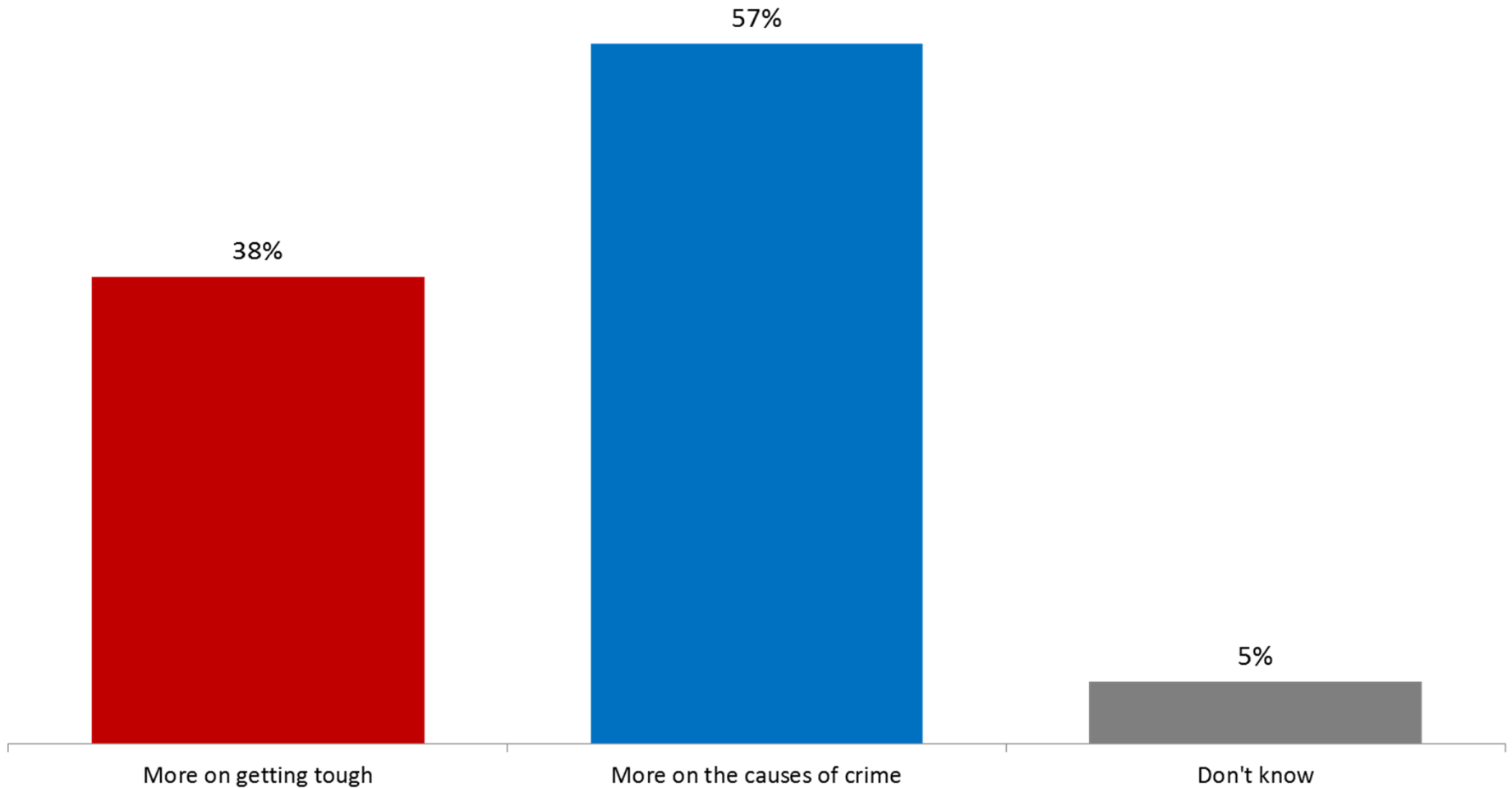
Tough on crime supporters vote Conservative, those who want to deal with causes split between opposition parties

Q If the government introduces new policies to deal with crime, should it focus more on getting tougher on crime or should it focus more on dealing with the causes of crime?
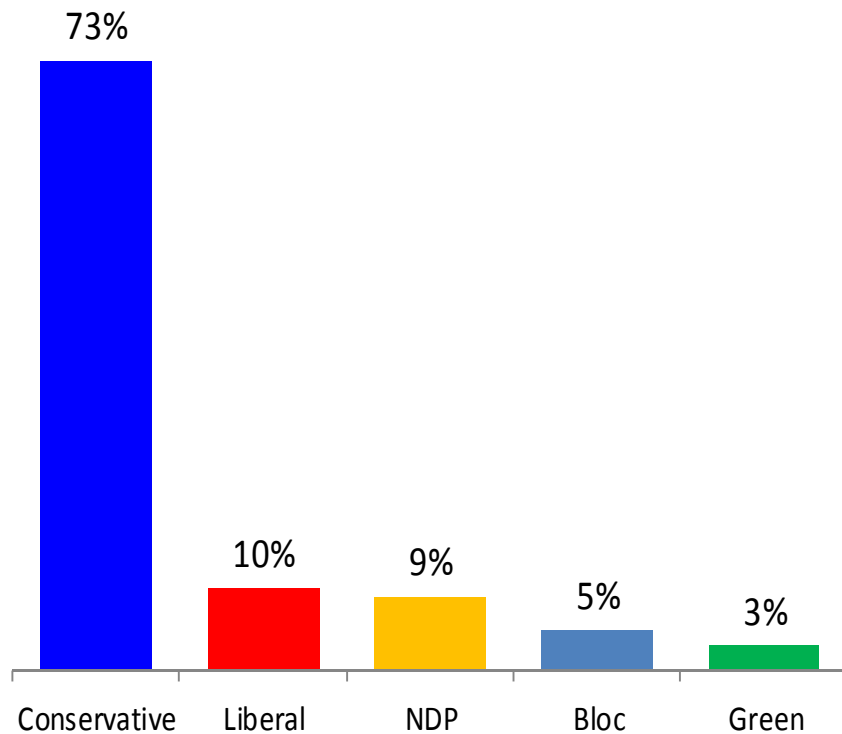
Get tough on crime

Party	%
Conservative	73%
Liberal	10%
NDP	9%
Bloc	5%
Green	3%

Deal with causes of crime

Party	%
Conservative	16%
Liberal	41%
NDP	23%
Bloc	11%
Green	9%

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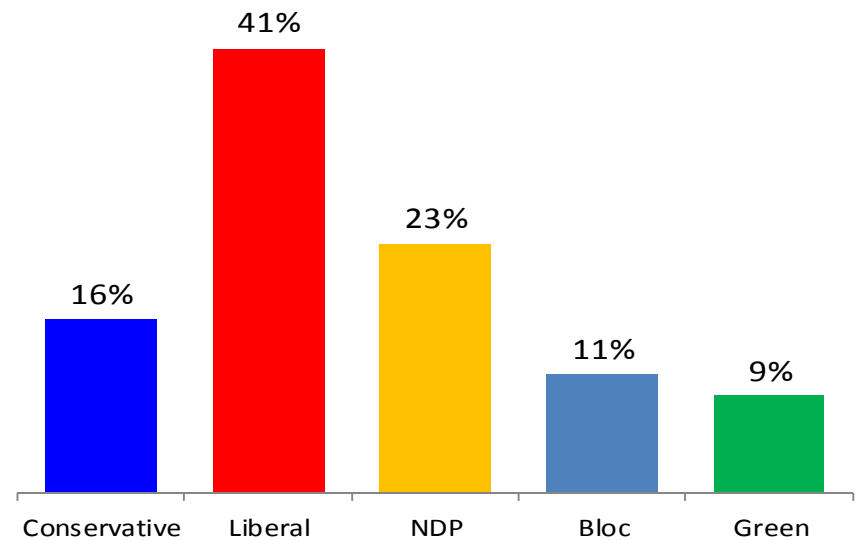
What Triggered the NDP Breakthrough

Not the Debate!

Q **In your opinion, which leader did the best in that debate?**

English Only:
- Harper 43%
- Ignatieff 11%
- Layton 24%
- Duceppe 3%
- All did well 9%
- None 9%

Both:
- Harper 30%
- Ignatieff 18%
- Layton 22%
- Duceppe 14%
- All did well 10%
- None 5%

French Only:
- Harper 7%
- Ignatieff 11%
- Layton 16%
- Duceppe 46%
- All did well 10%
- None 10%

Legend: ■ Harper ■ Ignatieff ■ Layton ■ Duceppe ■ All did well ■ None

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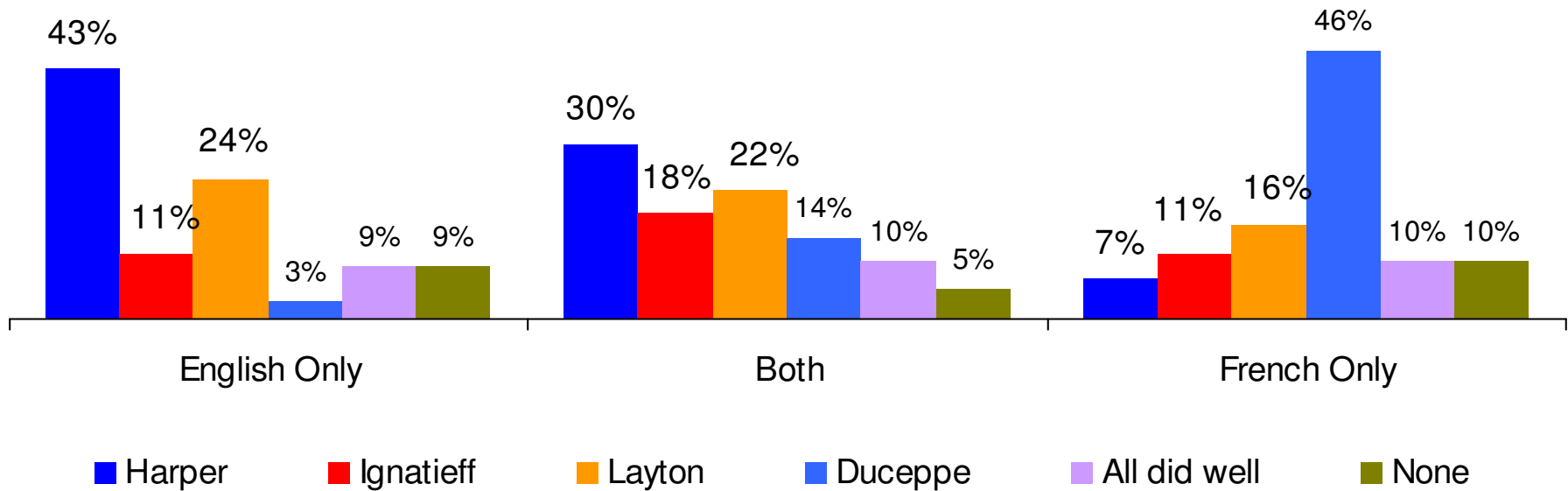
Although Layton Scored Points with Liberals and Greens that may have paid-off later
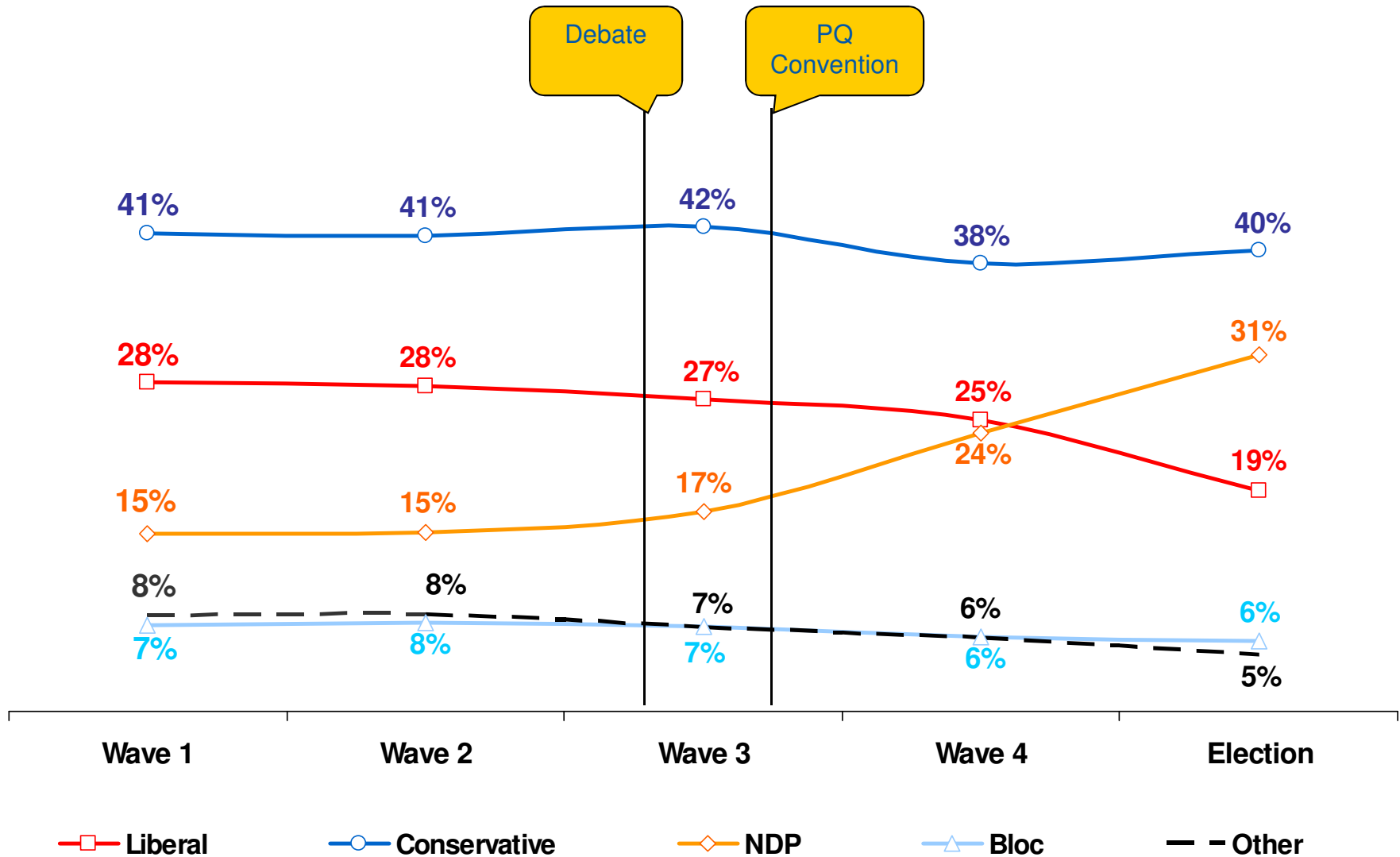
Q In your opinion, which leader did the best in that debate?

	Conservative	Liberal	NDP	Bloc	Green	Undecided
Harper	78%	4%	5%	2%	7%	17%
Ignatieff	1%	32%	6%	10%	4%	6%
Layton	6%	21%	57%	10%	33%	25%
Duceppe	1%	8%	9%	67%	13%	8%
All did well	6%	15%	10%	6%	7%	12%
No one	9%	20%	13%	6%	36%	33%

Key Shift Occurred In Quebec the Weekend AFTER the Debates

NDP biggest initial gains in Quebec came primarily from soft federalists, soft sovereignists more on board at start

Q DECIDED VOTE: Are you very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat opposed, or very opposed to Quebec sovereignty, that is Quebec is no longer a part of Canada?

Wave 1					
	Very favourable	Somewhat favourable	Somewhat opposed	Very opposed	Total
Conservative	7%	12%	10%	39%	**21%**
Liberal	7%	4%	23%	32%	**19%**
NDP	6%	39%	21%	12%	**14%**
Bloc	81%	46%	26%	3%	**37%**
Green	0%	0%	21%	10%	**7%**
Other	0%	0%	0%	4%	**2%**

Wave 4					
	Very favourable	Somewhat favourable	Somewhat opposed	Very opposed	Total
Conservative	4%	9%	6%	40%	**19%**
Liberal	5%	0%	27%	20%	**14%**
NDP	13%	53%	49%	29%	**31%**
Bloc	77%	38%	12%	3%	**30%**
Green	0%	0%	6%	6%	**4%**
Other	1%	0%	0%	3%	**2%**

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What Happened Then?
A Marketing Lesson for Campaigners

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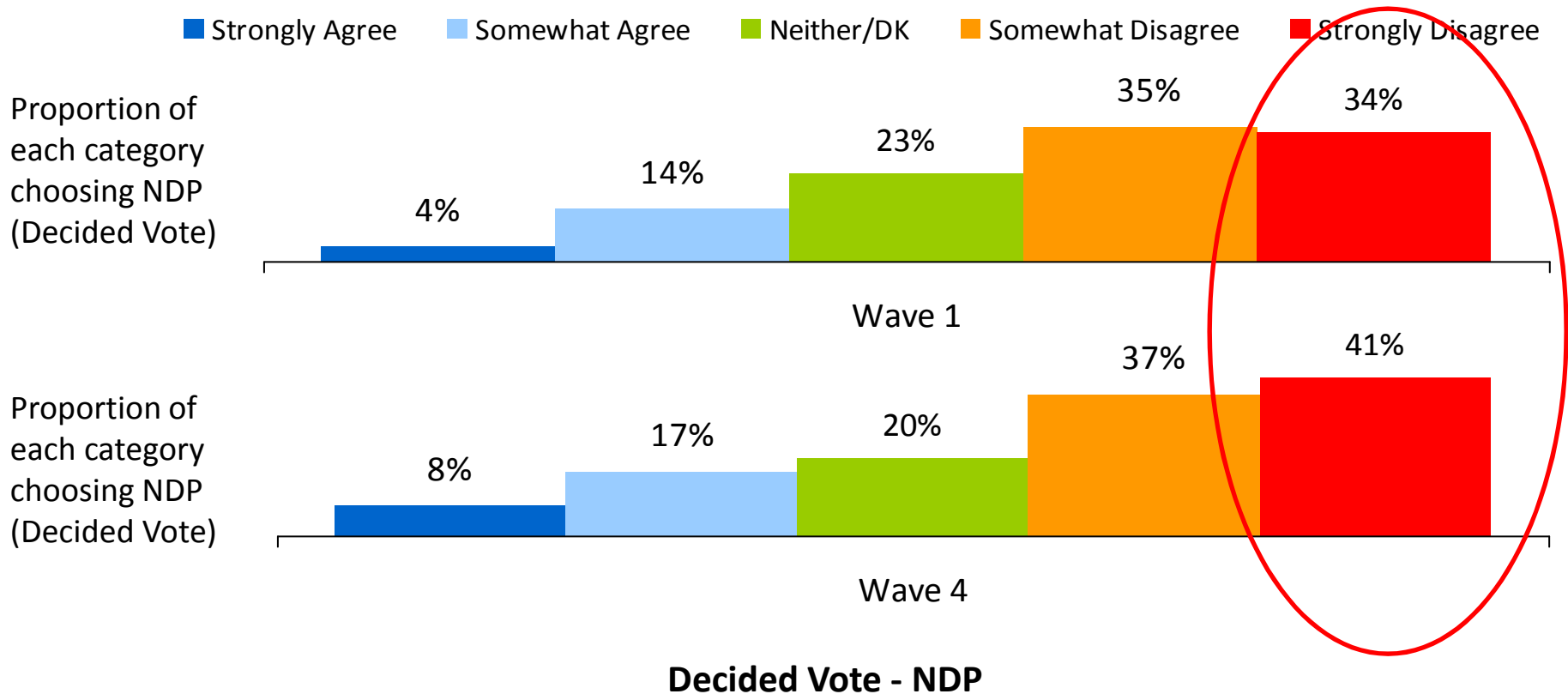RESEARCH GROUP

Theoretical Set of Car Choices

My Consideration Set

Federal Election – NDP Vote By Belief Election 'Really a Two-Horse Race'

Q This election is really a two-horse race, only the Liberals and the Conservatives have a real chance of forming government.

Legend: ■ Strongly Agree ■ Somewhat Agree ■ Neither/DK ■ Somewhat Disagree ■ Strongly Disagree

Proportion of each category choosing NDP (Decided Vote) — Wave 1

4% | 14% | 23% | 35% | 34%

Wave 1

Proportion of each category choosing NDP (Decided Vote) — Wave 4

8% | 17% | 20% | 37% | 41%

Wave 4

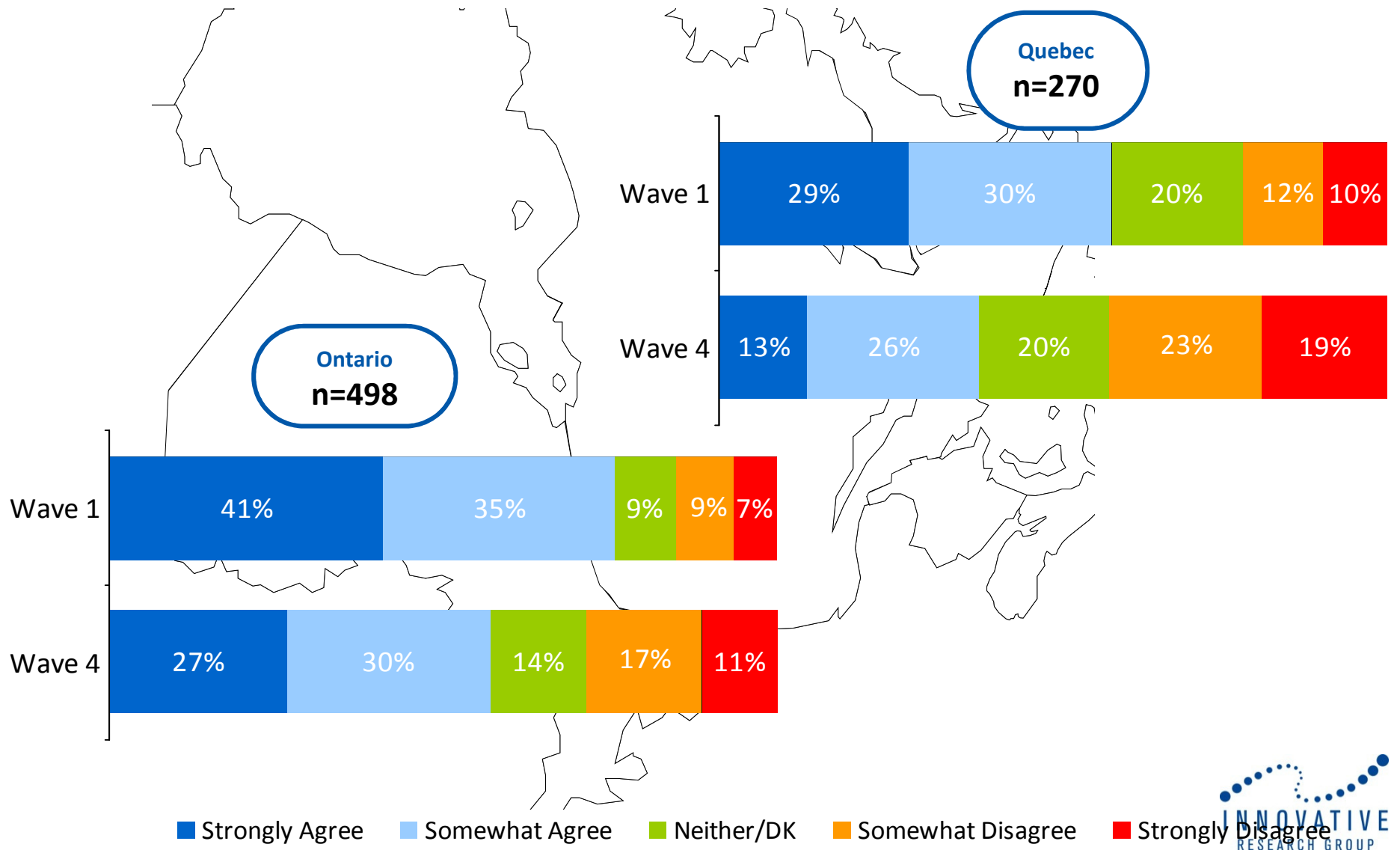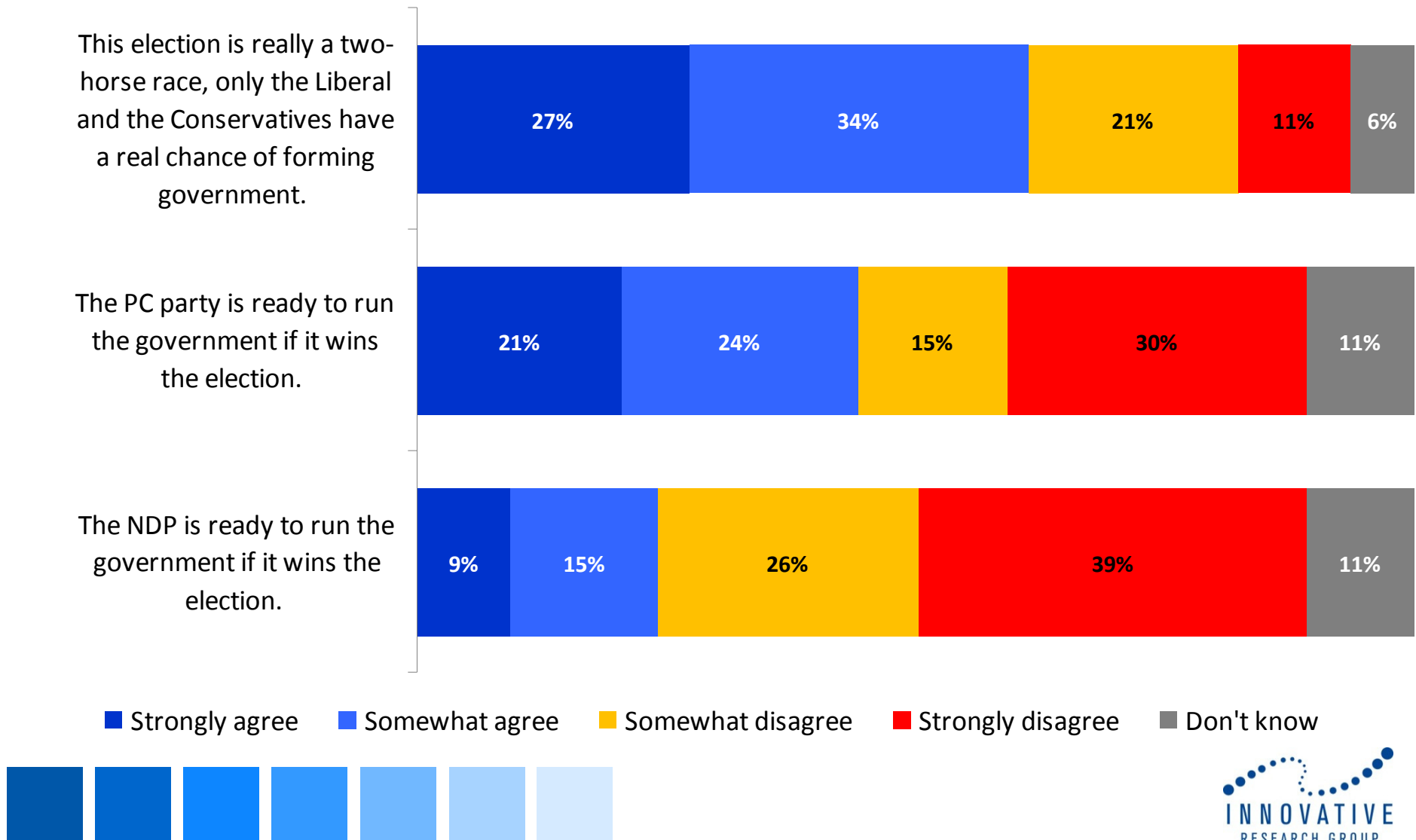**Decided Vote - NDP**

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2011 Federal Election Tracking

Q This election is really a two-horse race, only the Liberals and the Conservatives have a real chance of forming government.

Quebec n=270

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither/DK	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Wave 1	29%	30%	20%	12%	10%
Wave 4	13%	26%	20%	23%	19%

Ontario n=498

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither/DK	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Wave 1	41%	35%	9%	9%	7%
Wave 4	27%	30%	14%	17%	11%

■ Strongly Agree ■ Somewhat Agree ■ Neither/DK ■ Somewhat Disagree ■ Strongly Disagree

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It's Happening Again Now in Ontario

Q Do you agree or disagree with the following statements: (Ontario Only - August 2011)

This election is really a two-horse race, only the Liberal and the Conservatives have a real chance of forming government.
- 27% Strongly agree
- 34% Somewhat agree
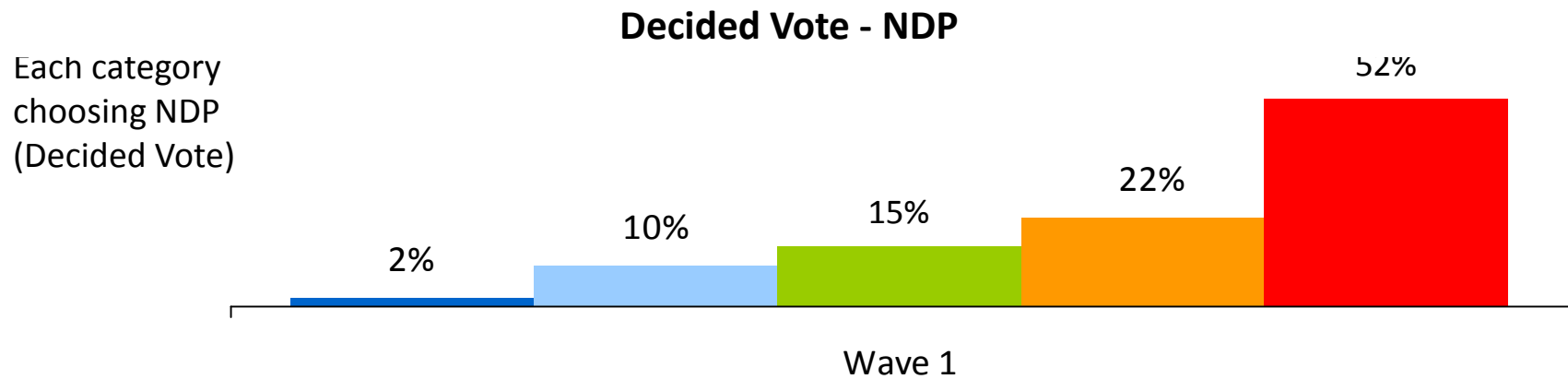- 21% Somewhat disagree
- 11% Strongly disagree
- 6% Don't know

The PC party is ready to run the government if it wins the election.
- 21% Strongly agree
- 24% Somewhat agree
- 15% Somewhat disagree
- 30% Strongly disagree
- 11% Don't know

The NDP is ready to run the government if it wins the election.
- 9% Strongly agree
- 15% Somewhat agree
- 26% Somewhat disagree
- 39% Strongly disagree
- 11% Don't know

Legend: ■ Strongly agree   ■ Somewhat agree   ■ Somewhat disagree   ■ Strongly disagree   ■ Don't know

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Ontario Election – NDP Vote By Belief Election 'Really a Two-Horse Race'

Q This election is really a two-horse race, only the Liberals and the Conservatives have a real chance of forming government.

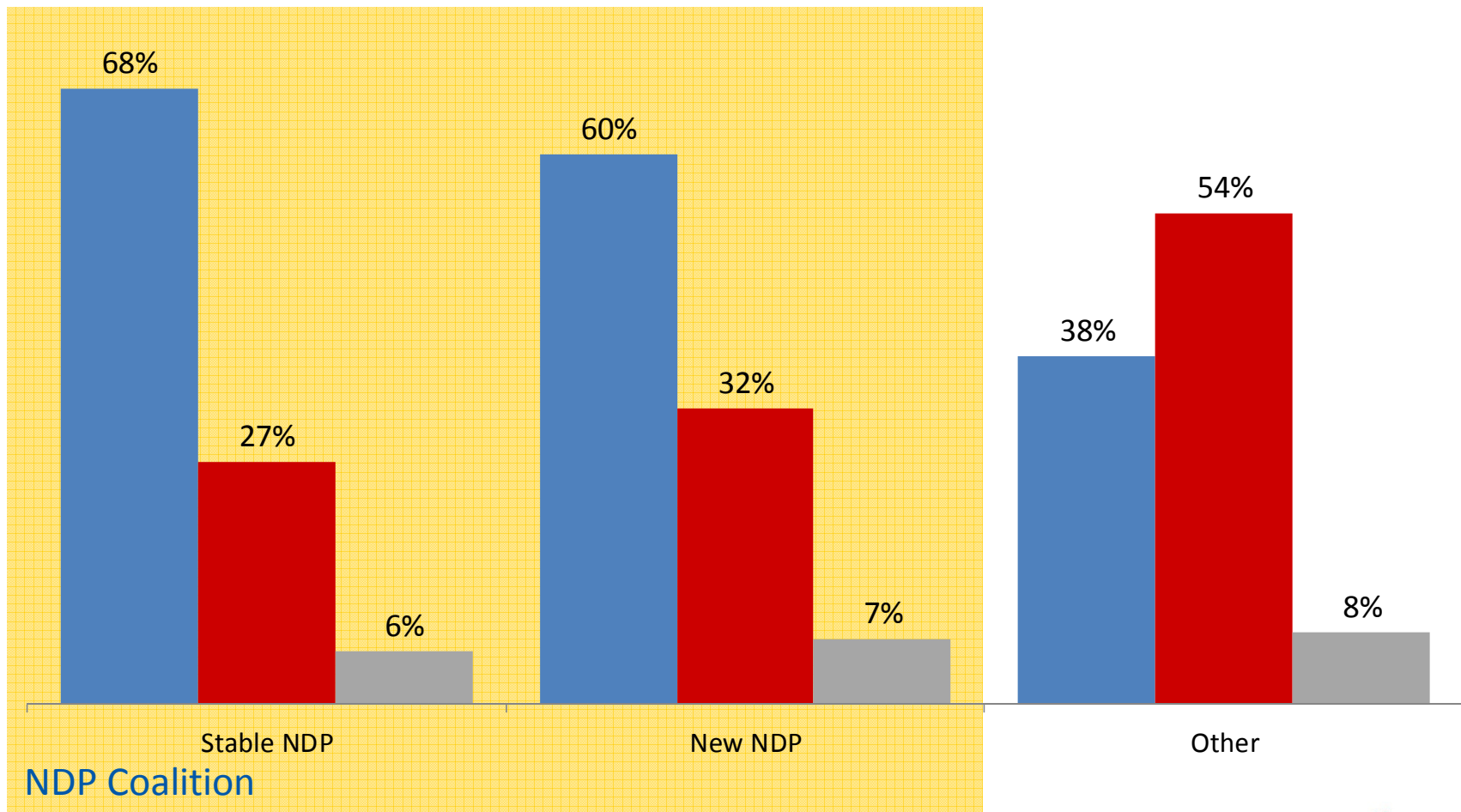■ Strongly Agree   ■ Somewhat Agree   ■ Neither/DK   ■ Somewhat Disagree   ■ Strongly Disagree

Decided Vote - NDP

Each category
choosing NDP
(Decided Vote)

2%   10%   15%   22%   52%

Wave 1

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Will the Breakthrough Last?

NDP Find Consensus on 'Progressive' Agenda

Q When it comes to trade-offs between (ROTATE) the environment or the economy, which is more important to you:
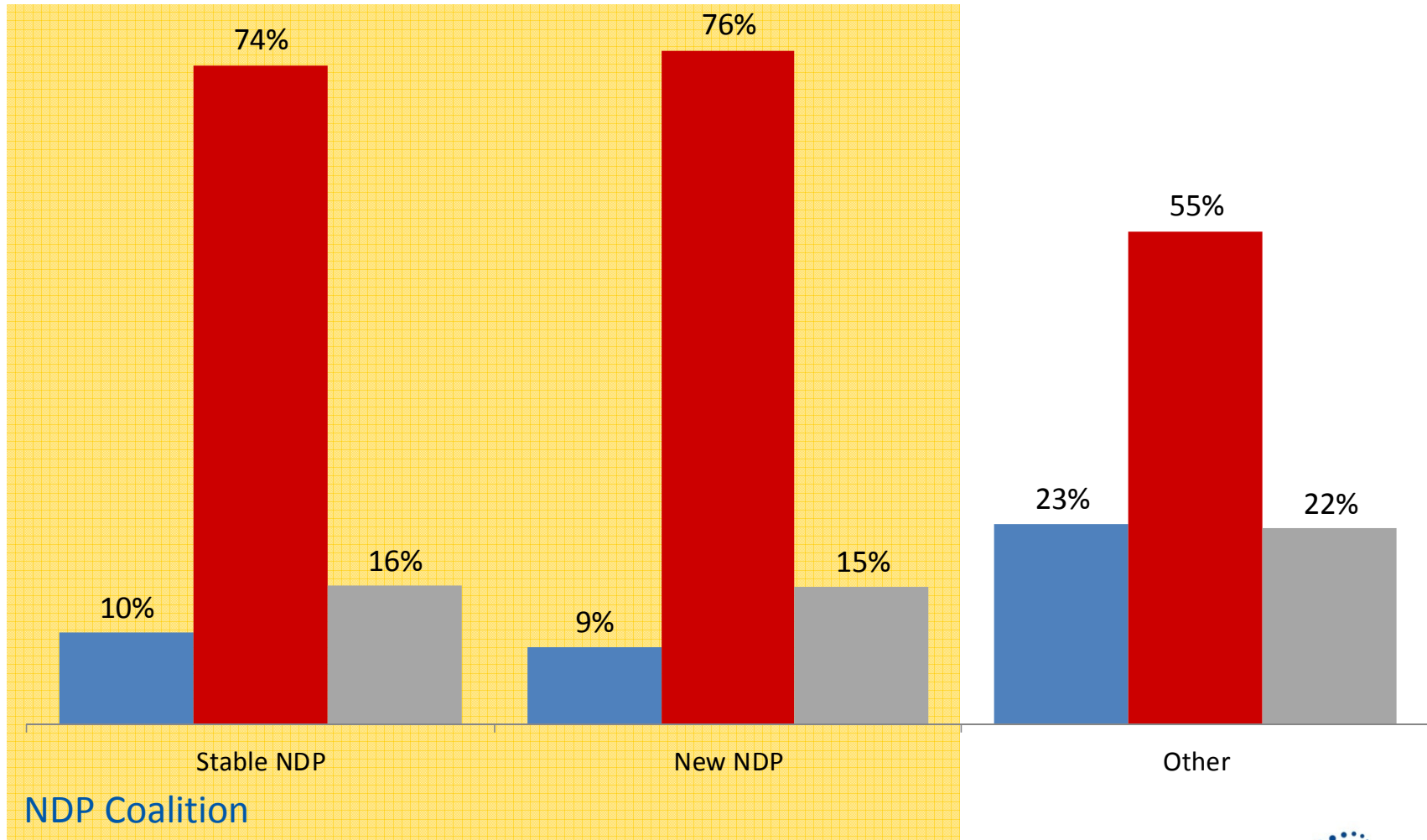
■ The environment   ■ The economy   ■ Don't Know

NDP Coalition

	Stable NDP	New NDP	Other
The environment	68%	60%	38%
The economy	27%	32%	54%
Don't Know	6%	7%	8%

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More Consensus

Q Sexual relations between two adults of the same sex are morally wrong.

■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ Neither agree nor disagree

Stable NDP: 10% / 74% / 16%

New NDP: 9% / 76% / 15%

Other: 23% / 55% / 22%
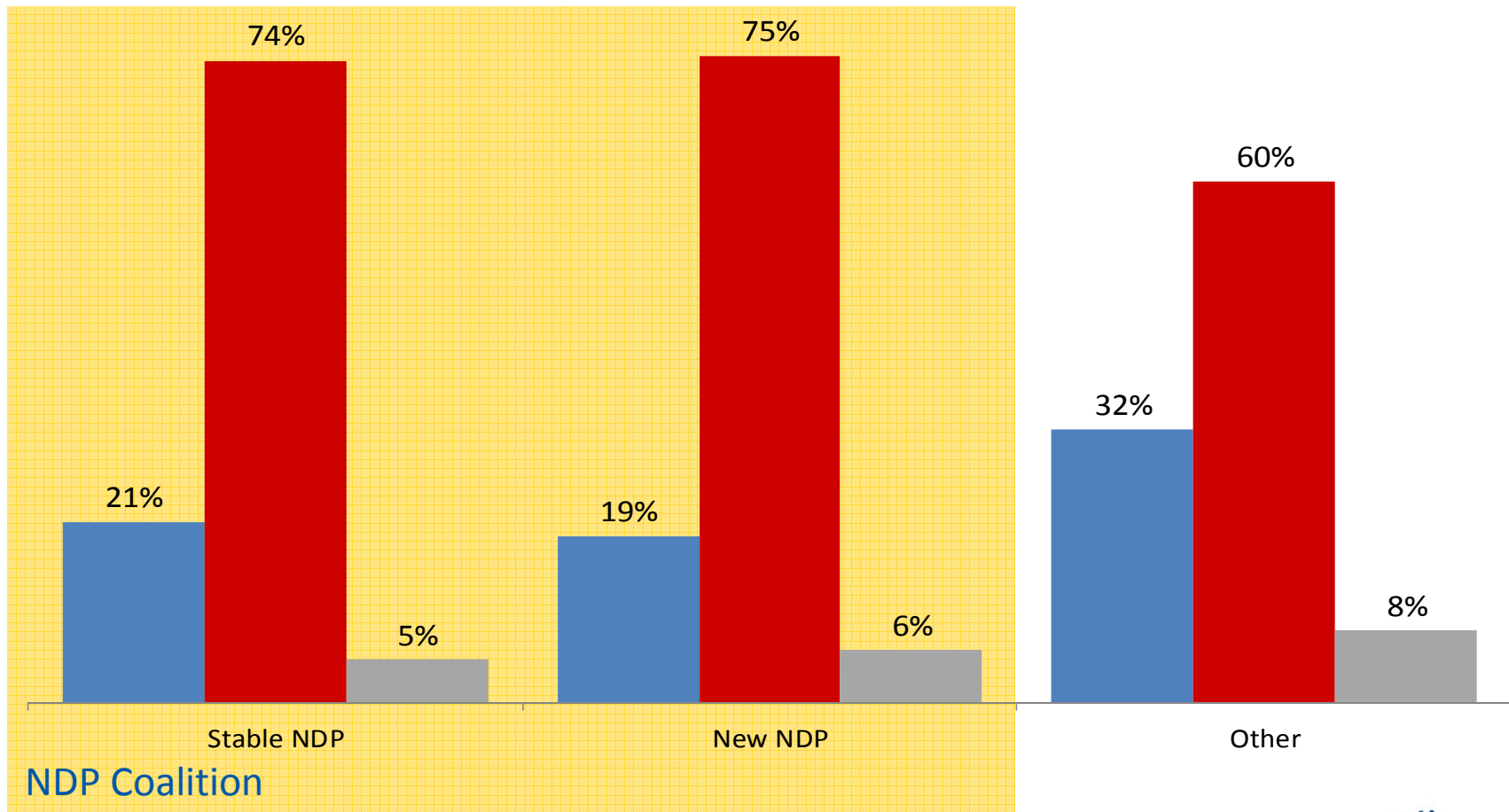
NDP Coalition

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And Again …

Q Do you think the best approach to drug abuse is to (ROTATE) treat the use of illegal drugs as a crime and get tough on enforcement of drug laws among addicts OR treat the use of illegal drugs as an illness and focus on prevention and treatment for addicts?

■ Treat the use of illegal drugs as a crime   ■ Treat the use of illegal drugs as an illness   ■ Don't Know
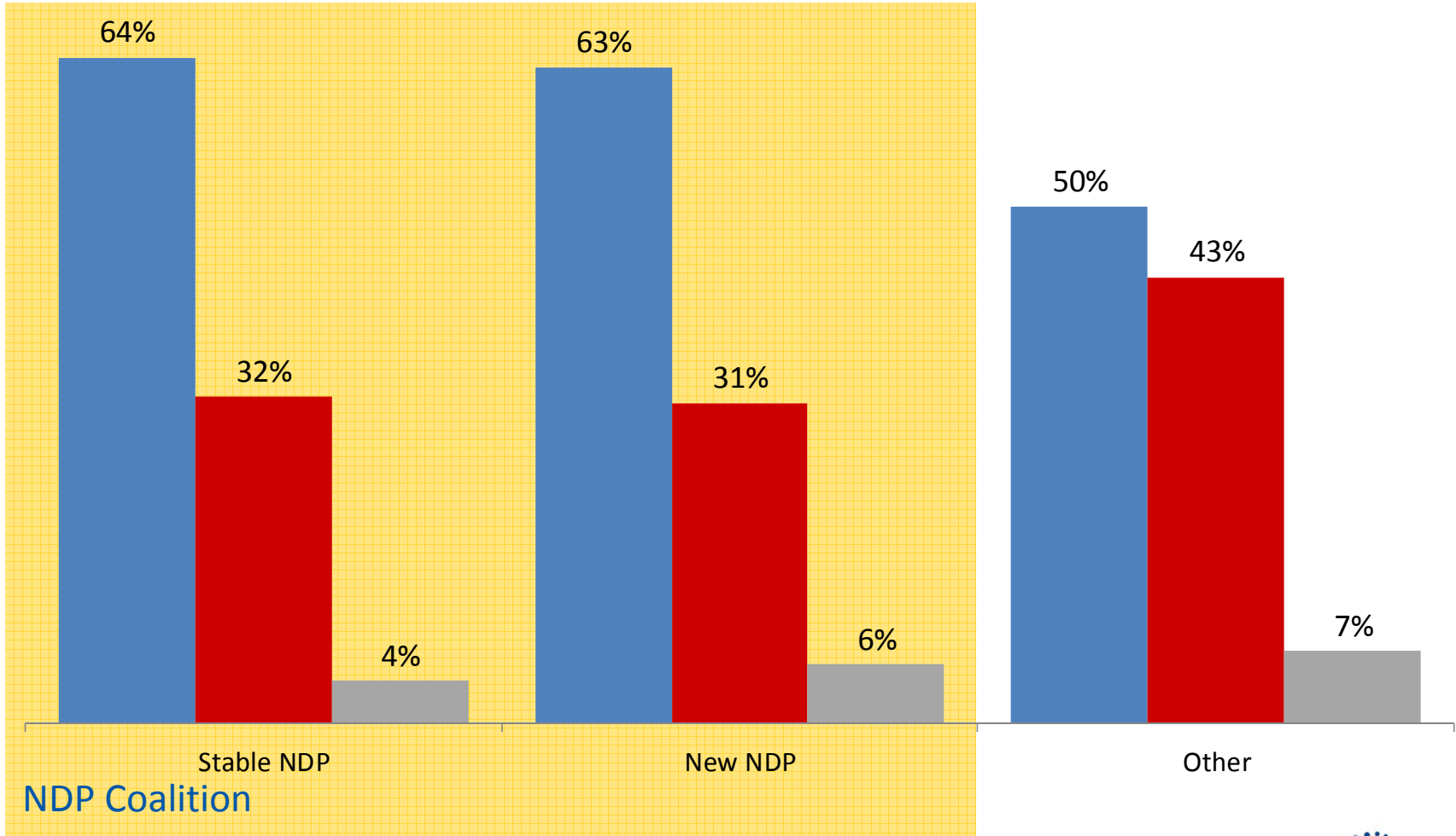

Stable NDP — 21%, 74%, 5%
New NDP — 19%, 75%, 6%
Other — 32%, 60%, 8%

NDP Coalition

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And Again …

Q Do you think the main role of jails is:

■ Rehabilitate those convicted of crimes ■ Punish those convicted of crimes ■ Don't Know
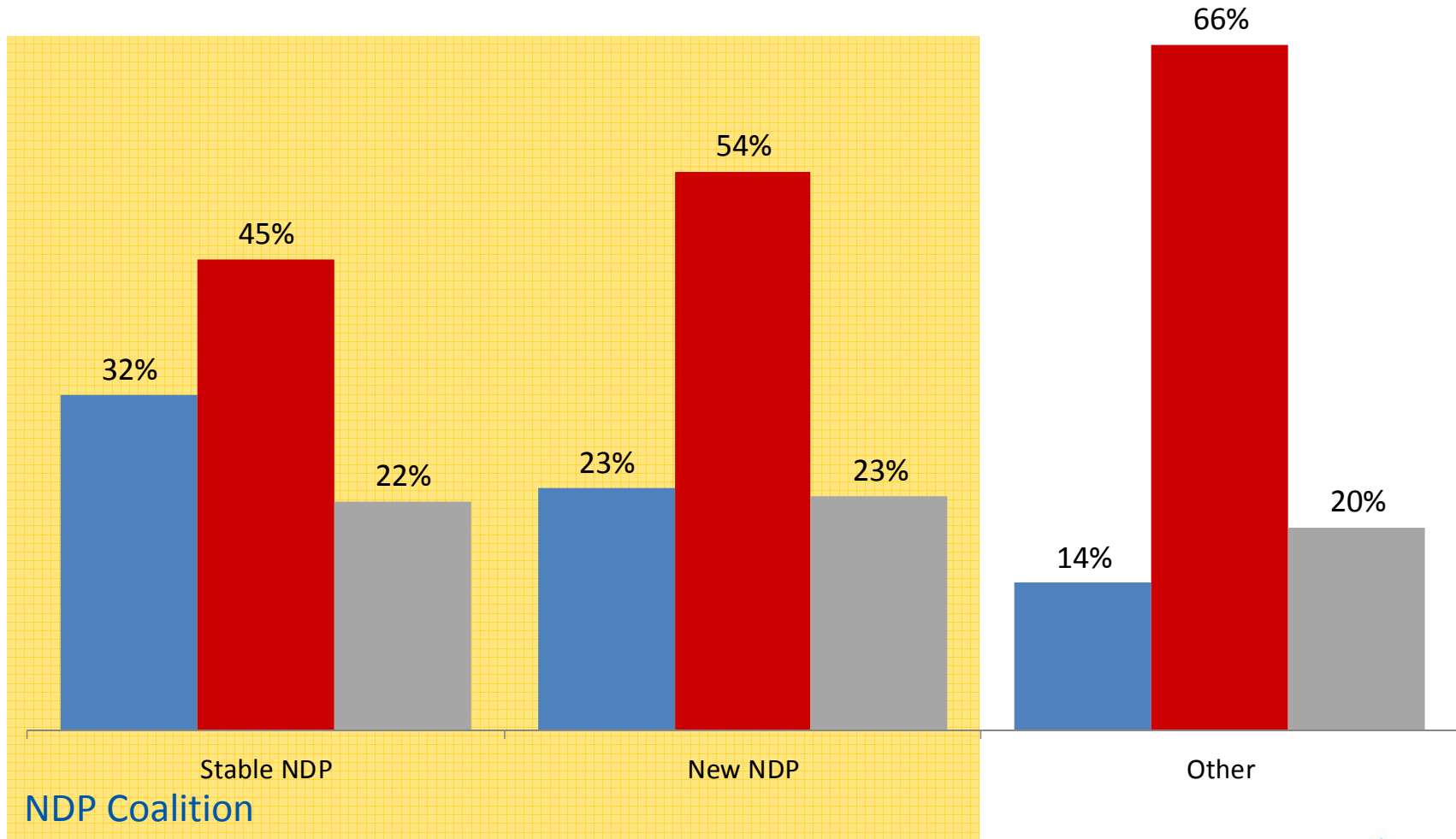

NDP Coalition

	Stable NDP	New NDP	Other
Rehabilitate	64%	63%	50%
Punish	32%	31%	43%
Don't Know	4%	6%	7%

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New Additions a Little Less Alienated

Q It's hard for people like me to get ahead in Canada.


■ Agree ■ Disagree ■ Neither agree nor disagree

Stable NDP: Agree 32%, Disagree 45%, Neither agree nor disagree 22%
New NDP: Agree 23%, Disagree 54%, Neither agree nor disagree 23%
Other: Agree 14%, Disagree 66%, Neither agree nor disagree 20%

NDP Coalition

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New Additions More Fiscally Conservative

Q When governments make major decisions concerning spending on programs and services, do you think they should be basing their decisions mainly on…

Legend: ■ Their ability to afford the programs and services ■ The public's need for the programs and services ■ Don't Know

Stable NDP: 26%, 71%, 2%
New NDP: 39%, 57%, 4%
Other: 55%, 41%, 4%

NDP Coalition
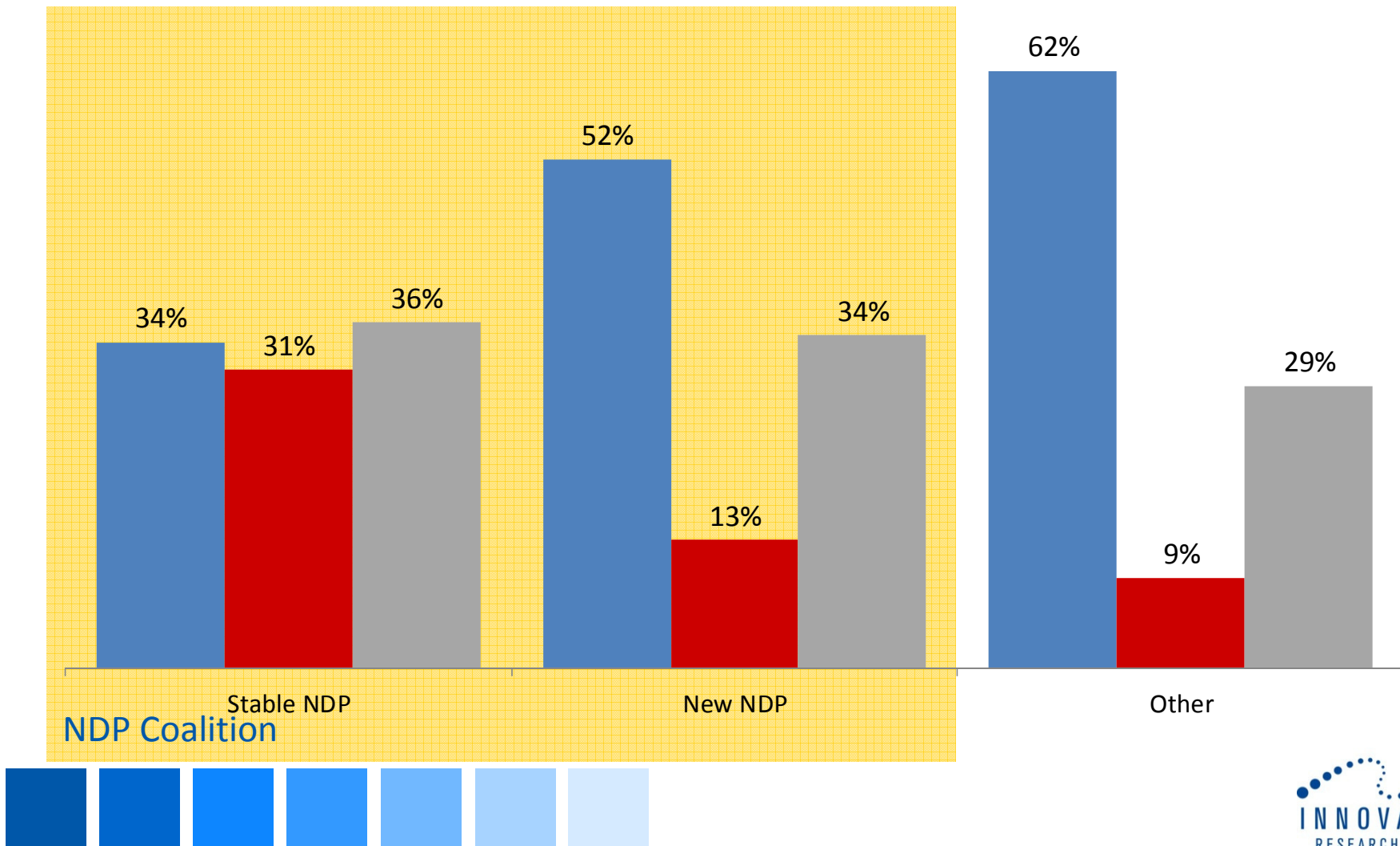
INNOVATIVE RESEARCH GROUP
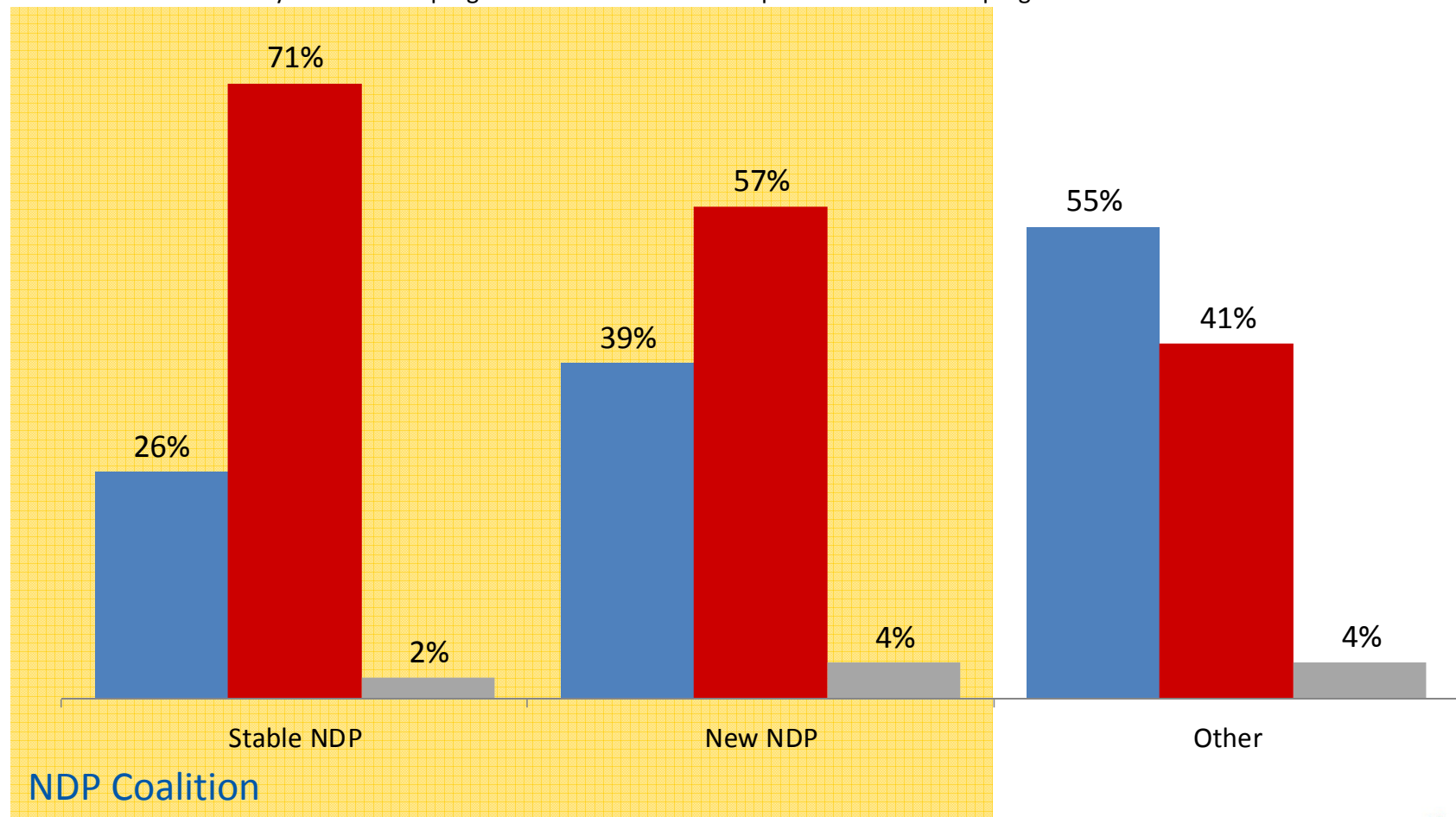
New Additions More Economically Populist

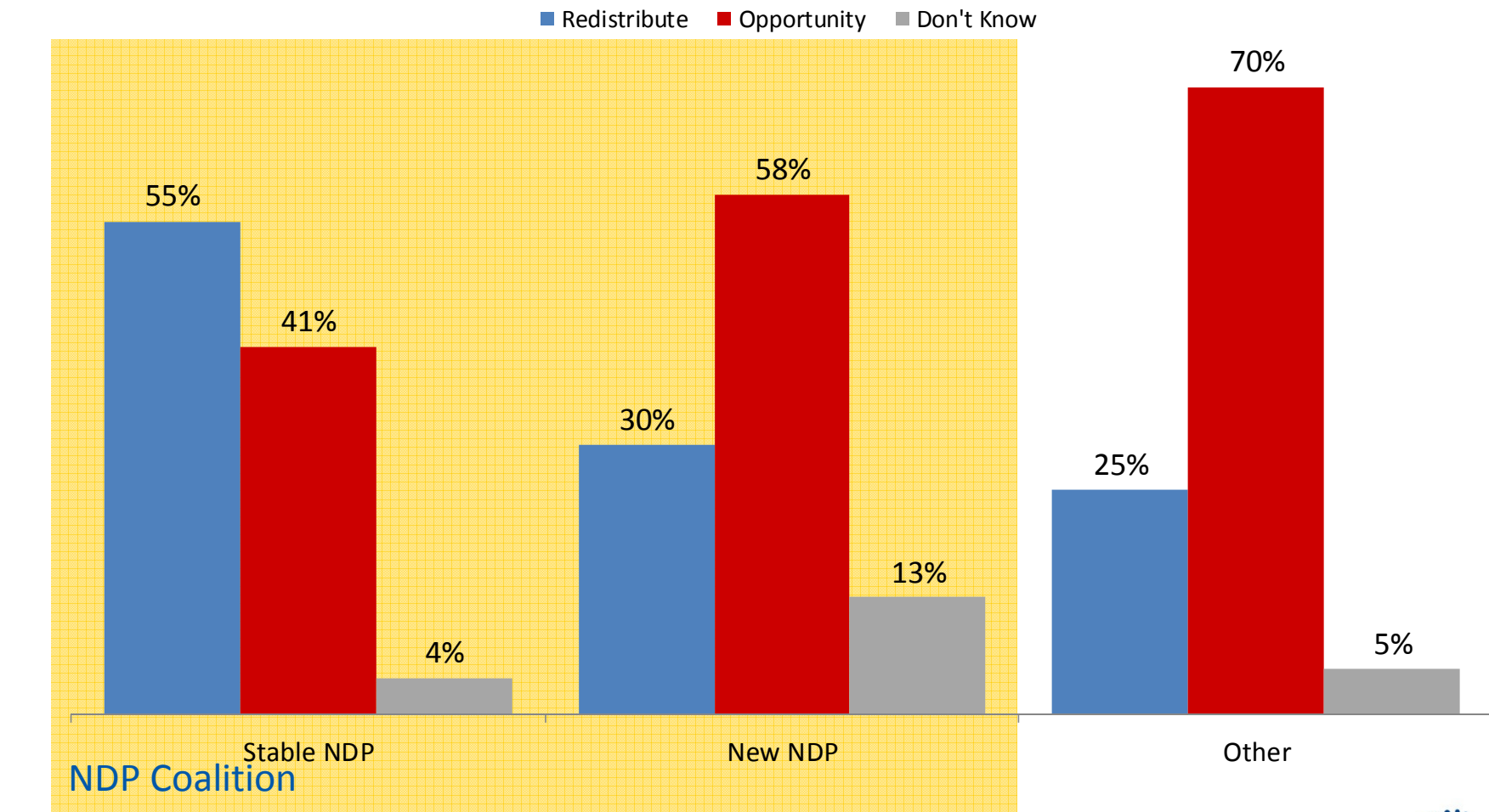**Q** Generally, do you think people who don't get ahead in life should blame:

■ Themselves ■ The system ■ Don't Know

NDP Coalition

	Themselves	The system	Don't Know
Stable NDP	34%	31%	36%
New NDP	52%	13%	34%
Other	62%	9%	29%

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NDP Coalition Divided on Core Social Democratic Ideal

Q Is the main role of government: 1) to create opportunity so that everyone can compete on their own to be the best they can be, or 2) to redistribute wealth so that the poor and the disadvantaged have more than they would if left on their own?

Legend: ■ Redistribute ■ Opportunity ■ Don't Know

Stable NDP: Redistribute 55%, Opportunity 41%, Don't Know 4%
New NDP: Redistribute 30%, Opportunity 58%, Don't Know 13%
Other: Redistribute 25%, Opportunity 70%, Don't Know 5%

NDP Coalition

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The Chess Club Debate

Is There More Than One Valid Way to Measure Vote?

- If an election were held today, which party would you vote for? RANDOMIZE AND READ LIST

OR

- How likely are you to vote for each of the following federal political parties? RANDOMIZE AND READ LIST
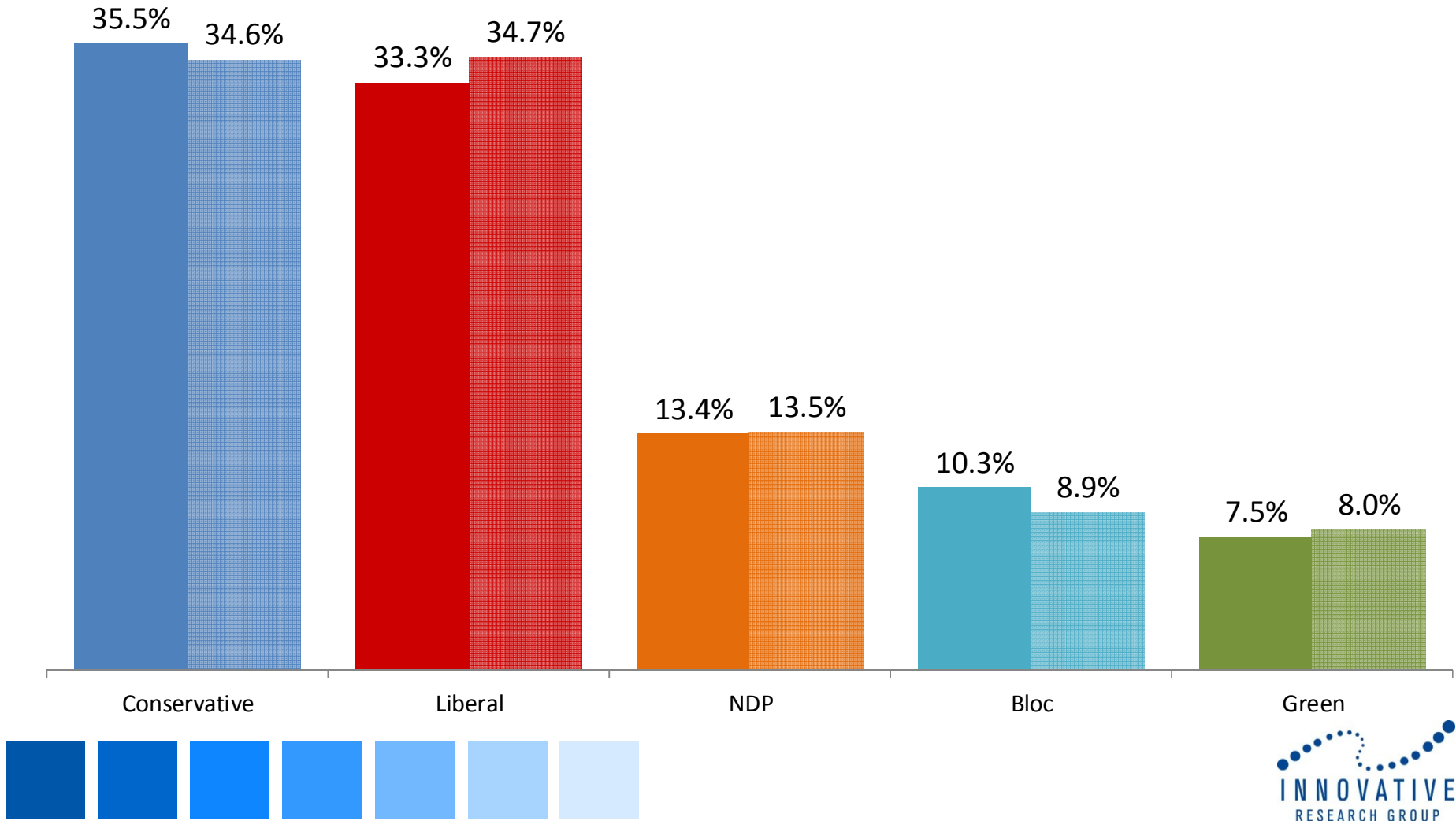
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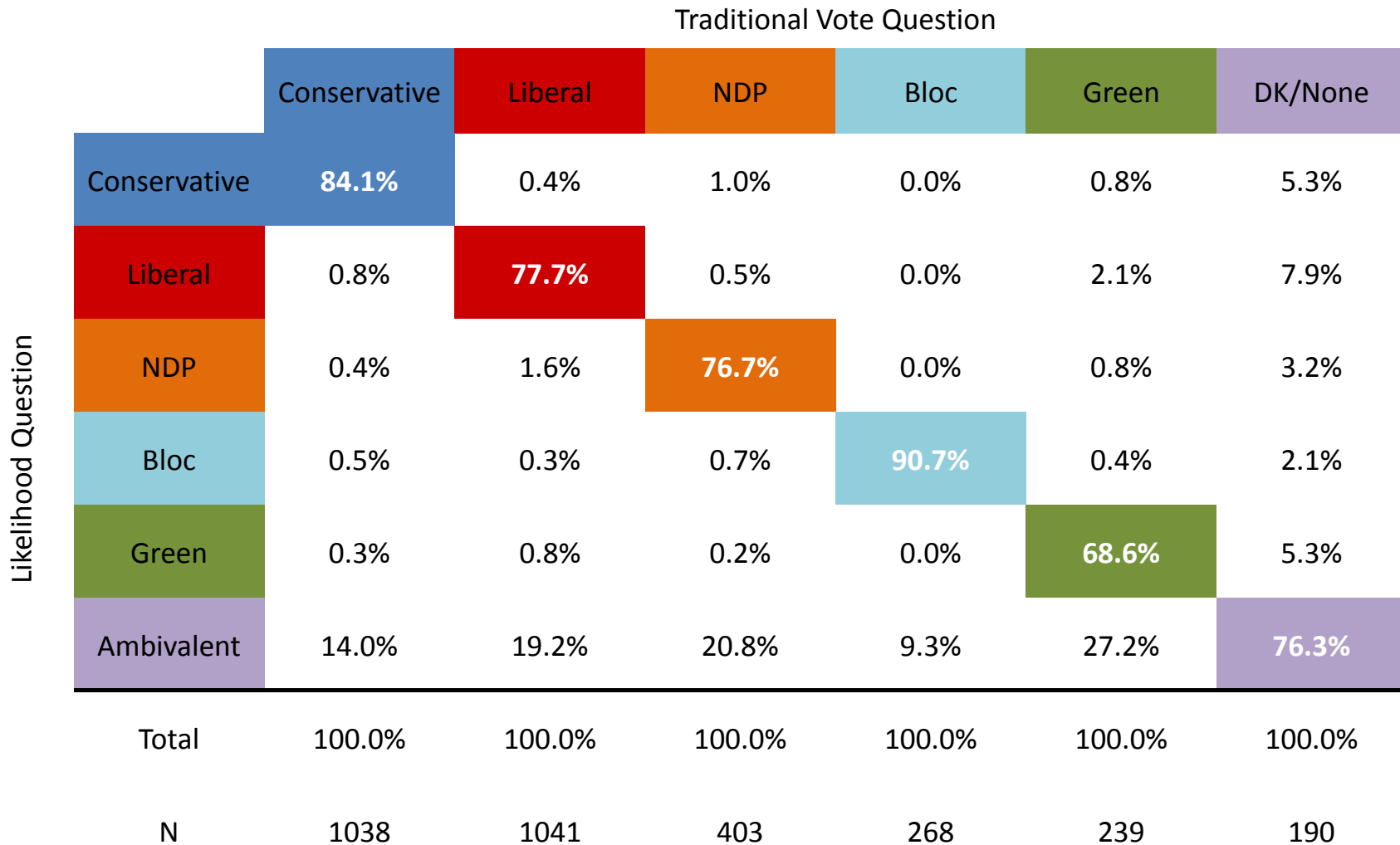# Decided Vote Looks the Same Regardless of How You Measure It

Q Traditional, "If an election were held today which party would you vote for?" versus, "In general, how likely are you to vote for each of the following parties?" January 2007

■ Traditional ■ Likelihood

	Conservative	Liberal	NDP	Bloc	Green
Traditional	35.5%	33.3%	13.4%	10.3%	7.5%
Likelihood	34.6%	34.7%	13.5%	8.9%	8.0%

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Digging deeper, ambivalent voters may come disproportionately from different parties

	Traditional Vote Question					
	Conservative	Liberal	NDP	Bloc	Green	DK/None
Conservative	**84.1%**	0.4%	1.0%	0.0%	0.8%	5.3%
Liberal	0.8%	**77.7%**	0.5%	0.0%	2.1%	7.9%
NDP	0.4%	1.6%	**76.7%**	0.0%	0.8%	3.2%
Bloc	0.5%	0.3%	0.7%	**90.7%**	0.4%	2.1%
Green	0.3%	0.8%	0.2%	0.0%	**68.6%**	5.3%
Ambivalent	14.0%	19.2%	20.8%	9.3%	27.2%	**76.3%**
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N	1038	1041	403	268	239	190

Likelihood Question

Five Things To Remember

1. You can win a majority government advocating a minority view.

2. The NDP should thank the PQ for creating the moment that pushed them into the consideration set.

3. There is a strong 'progressive' consensus underpinning the new NDP coalition.

4. Economic values are more problematic for the NDP

5. There is more than one way to ask the vote question.

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