



*Public Opinion Research ▶▶*

# Canada This Month: Ontario Politics

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## PC Leadership, Vote Impact, Vote Switching & Values

*February 1, 2018*

# Methodology & Demographics

# Methodology

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- These are the findings from two Innovative Research Group (INNOVATIVE) polls conducted from January 11<sup>th</sup> to January 17<sup>th</sup>, 2018 (Wave 1), and January 26<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup>, 2018 (Wave 2), respectively.
- The online surveys of 1,040 (W1) and 1,027 (W2) adult Ontarians were conducted on INNOVATIVE's Canada 20/20 national research panel with additional sample from Survey Sampling International, a leading provider of online sample. The Wave 1 Ontario sample is drawn from a Canada wide survey of N=2,315 conducted on the same dates.
- Both samples are weighted by age, gender, and region of the province based on the latest Statistics Canada Census data. Weighted and unweighted N-sizes for each cell are provided on the following slides.
- The Canada 20/20 Panel is recruited from a wide variety of sources to reflect the age, gender, and region 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 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.
- This is a representative sample. We have set targets to ensure we properly reflect key regional and demographic distribution and then used weights to ensure we reflect the province properly. However, since the online survey was not a random probability based sample, a margin of error can not be calculated. The Marketing Research and Intelligence Association prohibits statements about margins of sampling error or population estimates with regard to most online panels.

**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.*

## Wave 1 Weighting: Region, age, gender

Results for Ontario are weighted by age, gender, and region to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual population according to Census data; in order to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample. Weighted and unweighted frequencies are reported below.

	Unweighted (n)	Unweighted (%)	Weighted (n)	Weighted (%)
Males 18-34	109	10.5%	137	13.7%
Males 35-54	152	14.6%	183	18.3%
Males 55+	306	29.4%	160	16.0%
Females 18-34	104	10.0%	140	14.0%
Females 35-54	141	13.6%	194	19.4%
Females 55+	228	21.9%	186	18.6%
Toronto	238	22.9%	209	20.9%
Rest of GTA	213	20.5%	253	25.3%
South/West	296	28.5%	262	26.2%
North/East	293	28.2%	276	27.6%

## Wave 2 Weighting: Region, age, gender

Results for Ontario are weighted by age, gender, and region to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual population according to Census data; in order to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample. Weighted and unweighted frequencies are reported below.

	Unweighted (n)	Unweighted (%)	Weighted (n)	Weighted (%)
Males 18-34	109	10.6%	138	13.8%
Males 35-54	170	16.6%	166	16.6%
Males 55+	220	21.4%	177	17.7%
Females 18-34	133	13.0%	138	13.8%
Females 35-54	179	17.4%	178	17.9%
Females 55+	216	21.0%	203	20.3%
Toronto	224	21.8%	209	20.9%
Rest of GTA	248	24.1%	260	26.0%
South/West	275	26.8%	258	25.8%
North/East	280	27.3%	273	27.3%

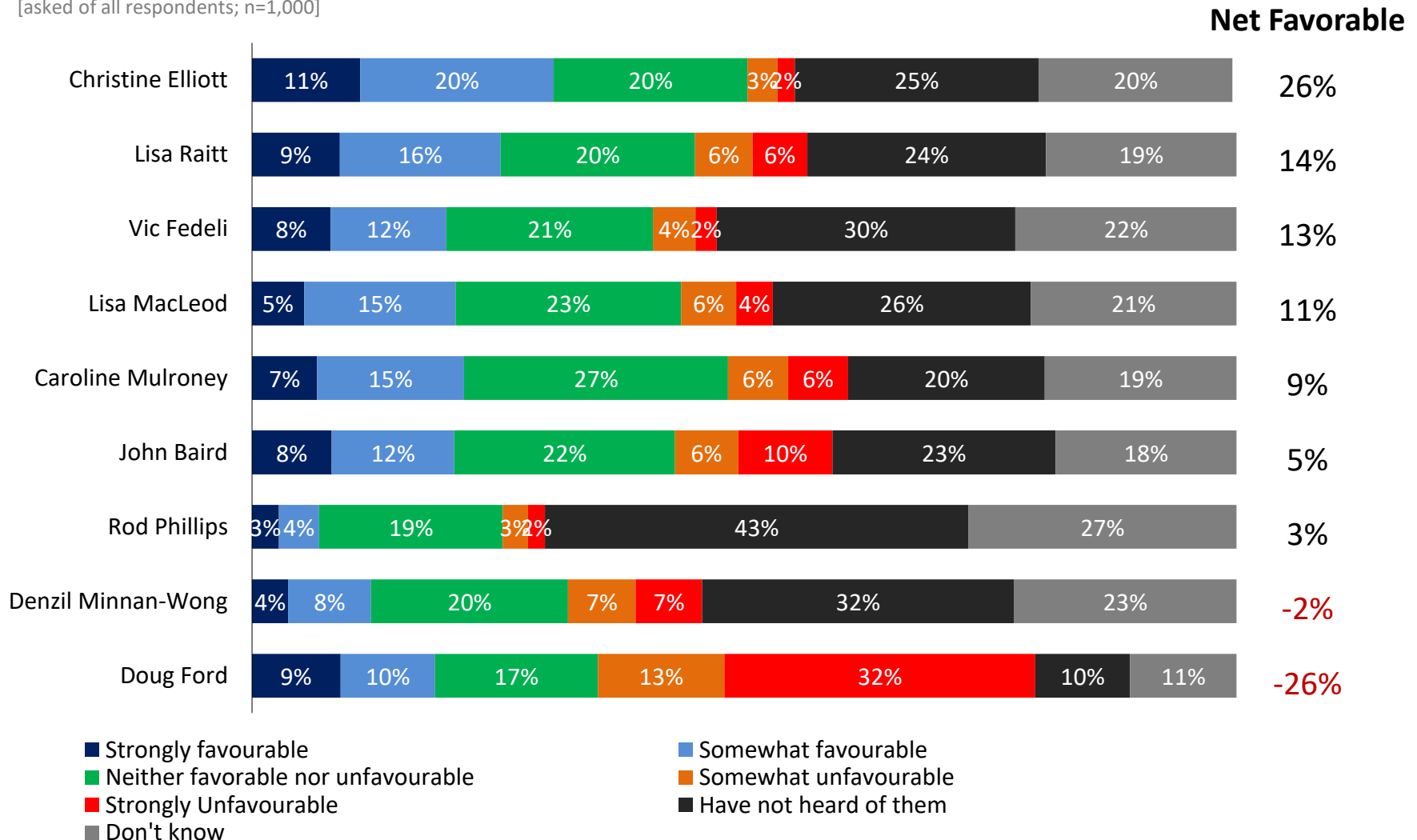
# PC Party Leadership

# Leadership Candidates: Elliott most favourable, Ford least<sup>7</sup> favourable. Interim leader Fedeli third-most favourable

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The Ontario PC Party now has to select a new leader. Below are the names of several individuals who have been mentioned in the news as possible candidates for the leader of the PCs. For each one, please indicate whether you have heard of that person and, if so, whether you have a favourable or unfavourable impression of that person. If you haven't heard of them, just say so.

[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]



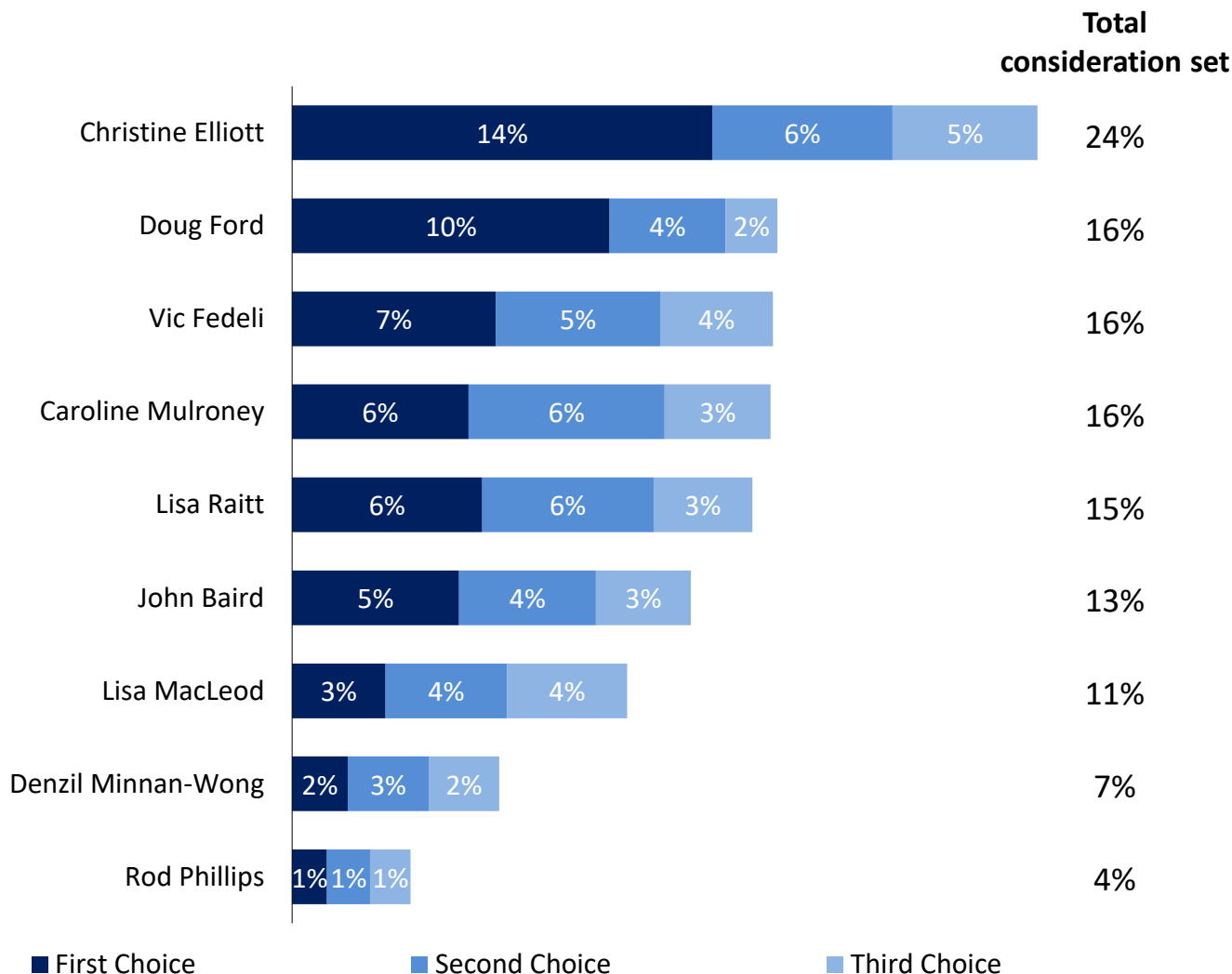
# Leadership Candidates: 1-in-4 include Elliott in their top three. Ford, Fedeli and Mulroney are tied at 16%

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Q

Which of these potential candidates for leader of the Ontario PC party would be your [first/second/third] choice?

[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]





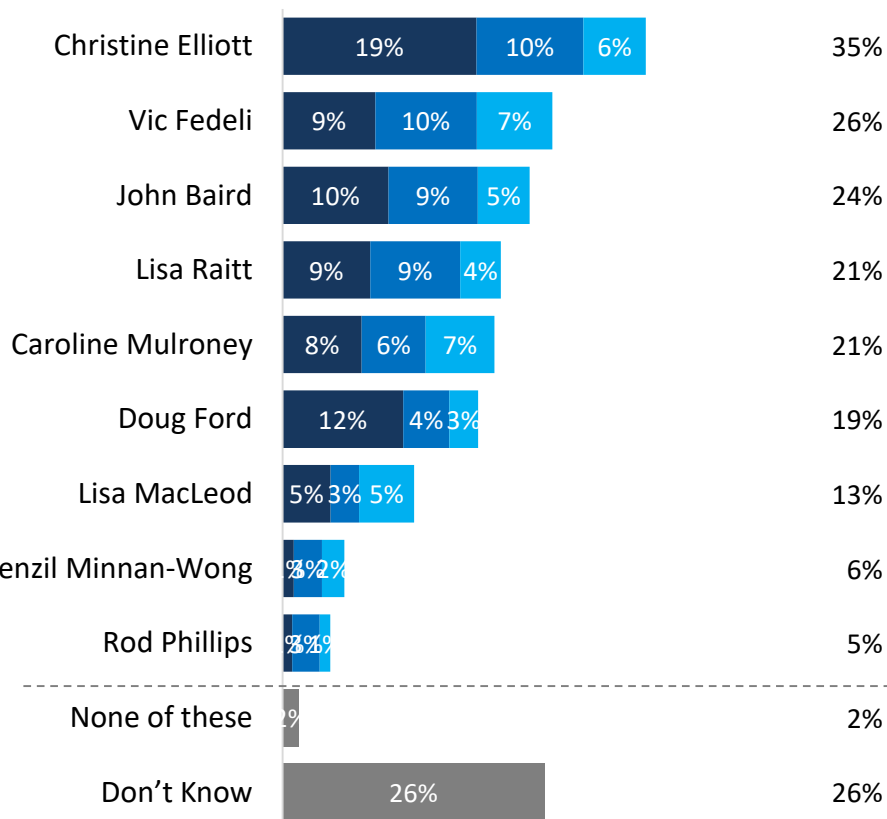
# Leadership Candidates: Among core PC, Elliott (35%) holds 9 pt lead over Fedeli; among Battleground, the field widens



Which of these potential candidates for leader of the Ontario PC party would be your first choice? Which of these...second choice? Third choice?

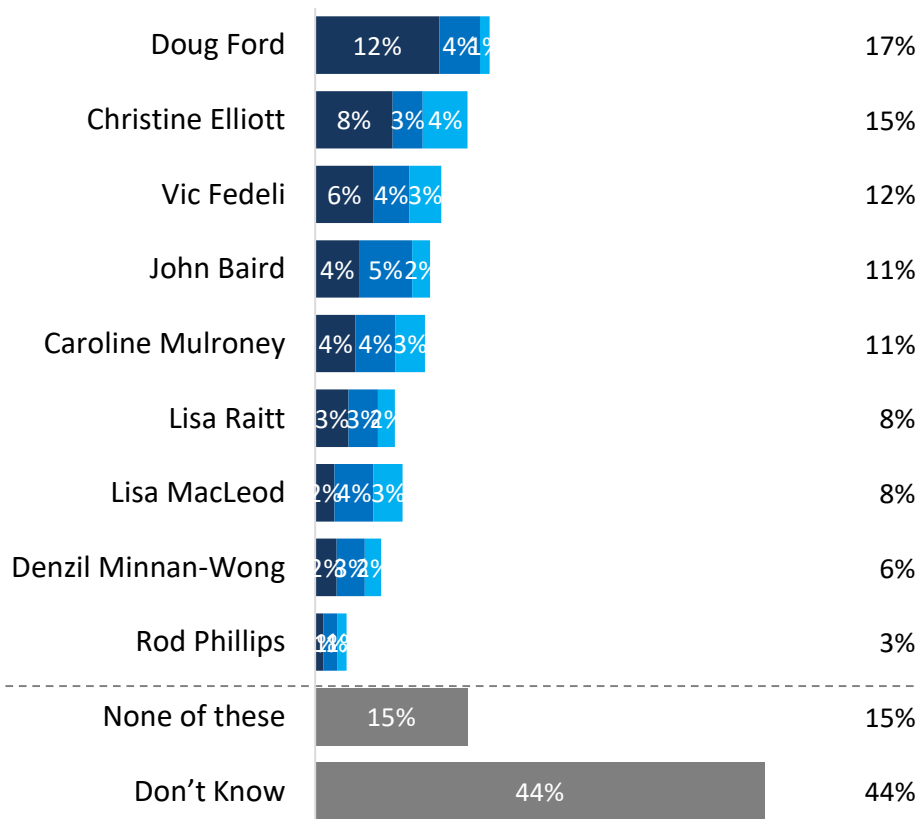
[all percentages are based on all respondents]

## Core PC



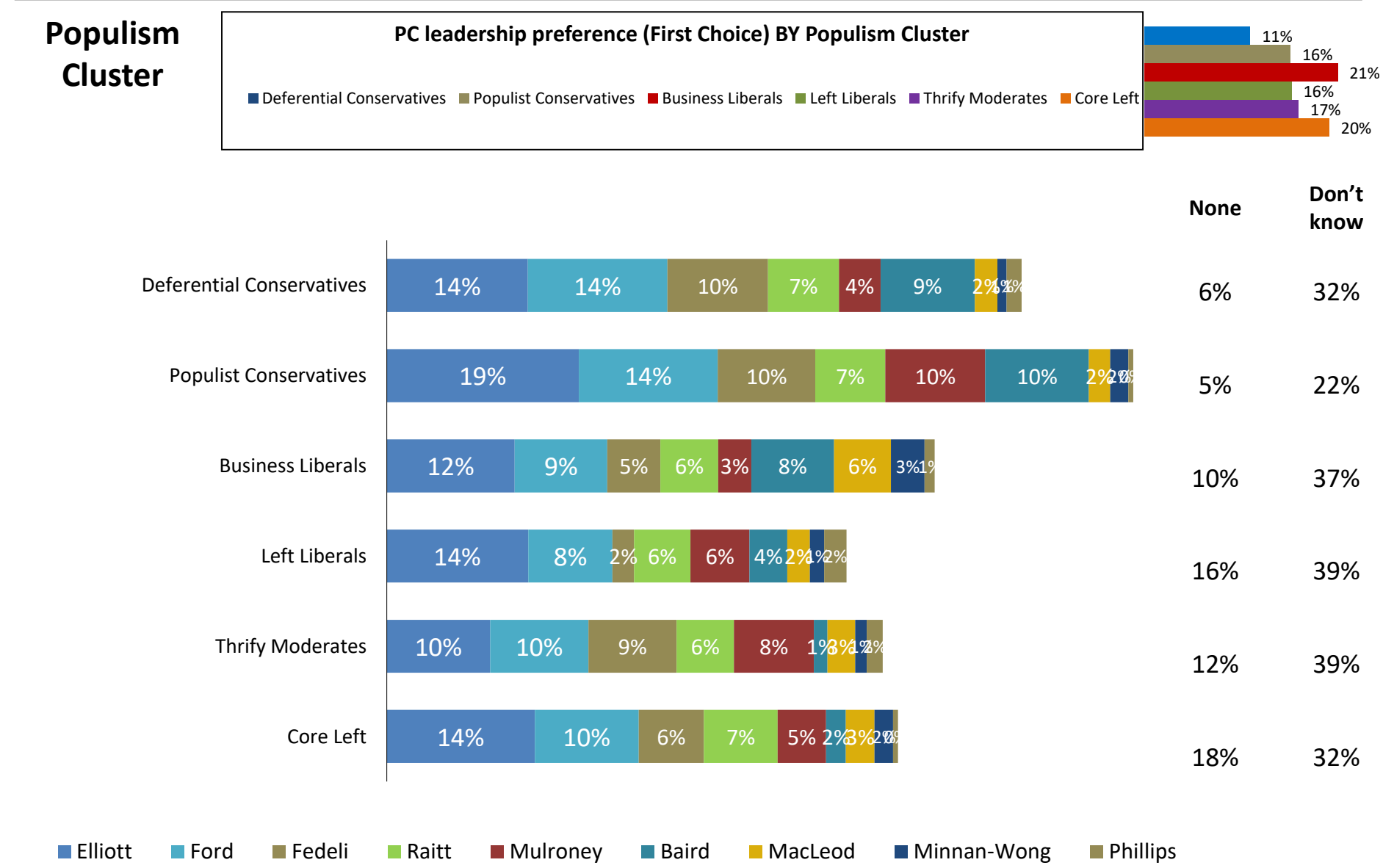
■ First Choice ■ Second Choice ■ Third Choice

## Battleground PC (Soft, Ambivalent, 2<sup>nd</sup> choice)



■ First Choice ■ Second Choice ■ Third Choice

# First Choice by Populism Cluster: Elliott edges out Ford among most; tied among Deferential Cons. & Thrifty Moderates



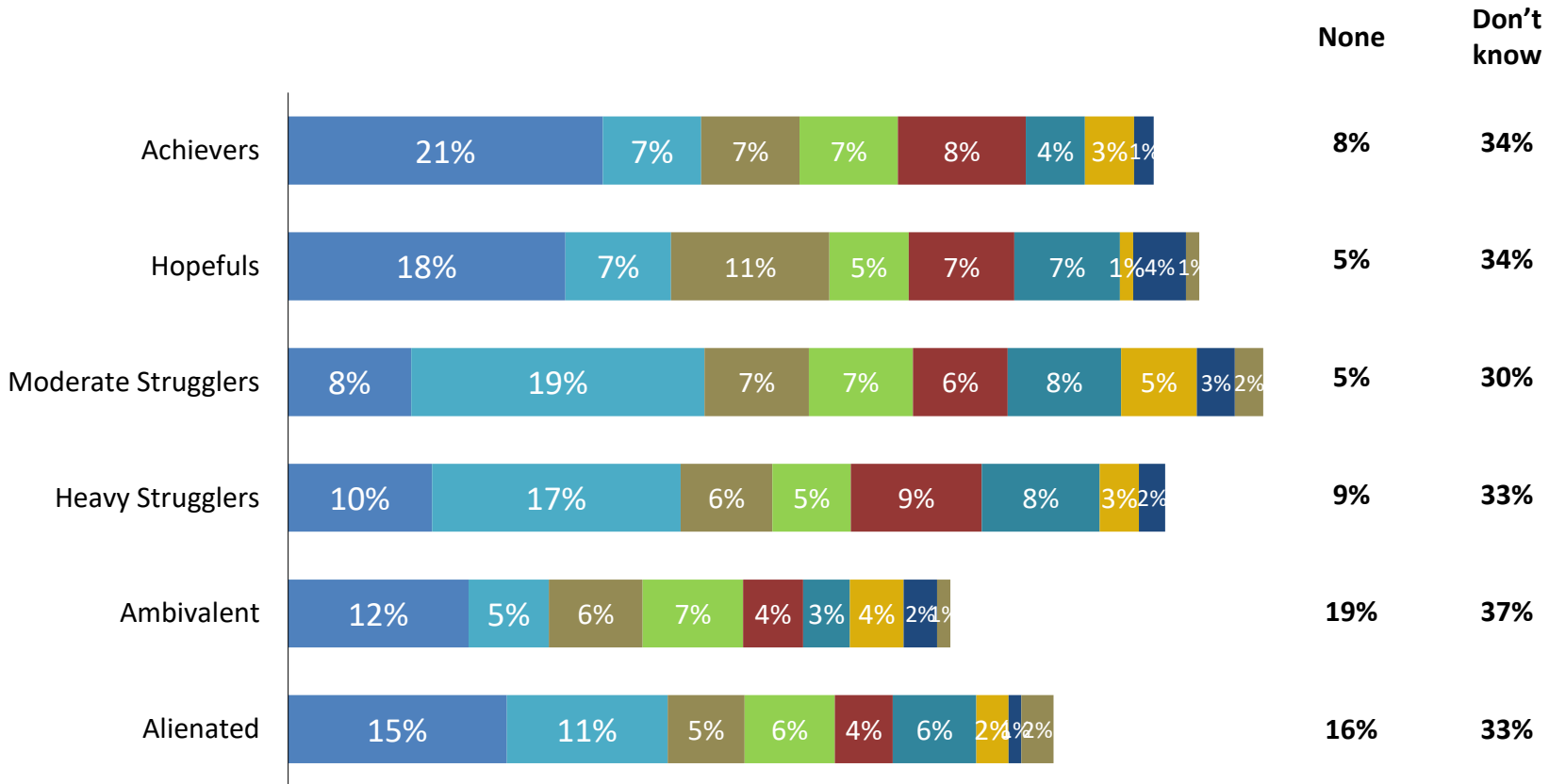
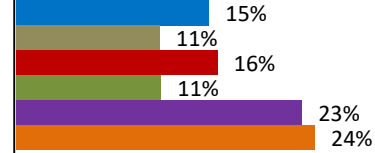
# First Choice by Economic Alienation: Most prefer Elliott, but Ford 1<sup>st</sup> choice in both Struggler segments

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## Economic Alienation Segments

### PC leadership preference (First Choice) BY Economic Alienation Segment

■ Achievers 
 ■ Hopefuls 
 ■ Moderate Strugglers 
 ■ Heavy Strugglers 
 ■ Ambivalent 
 ■ Alienated



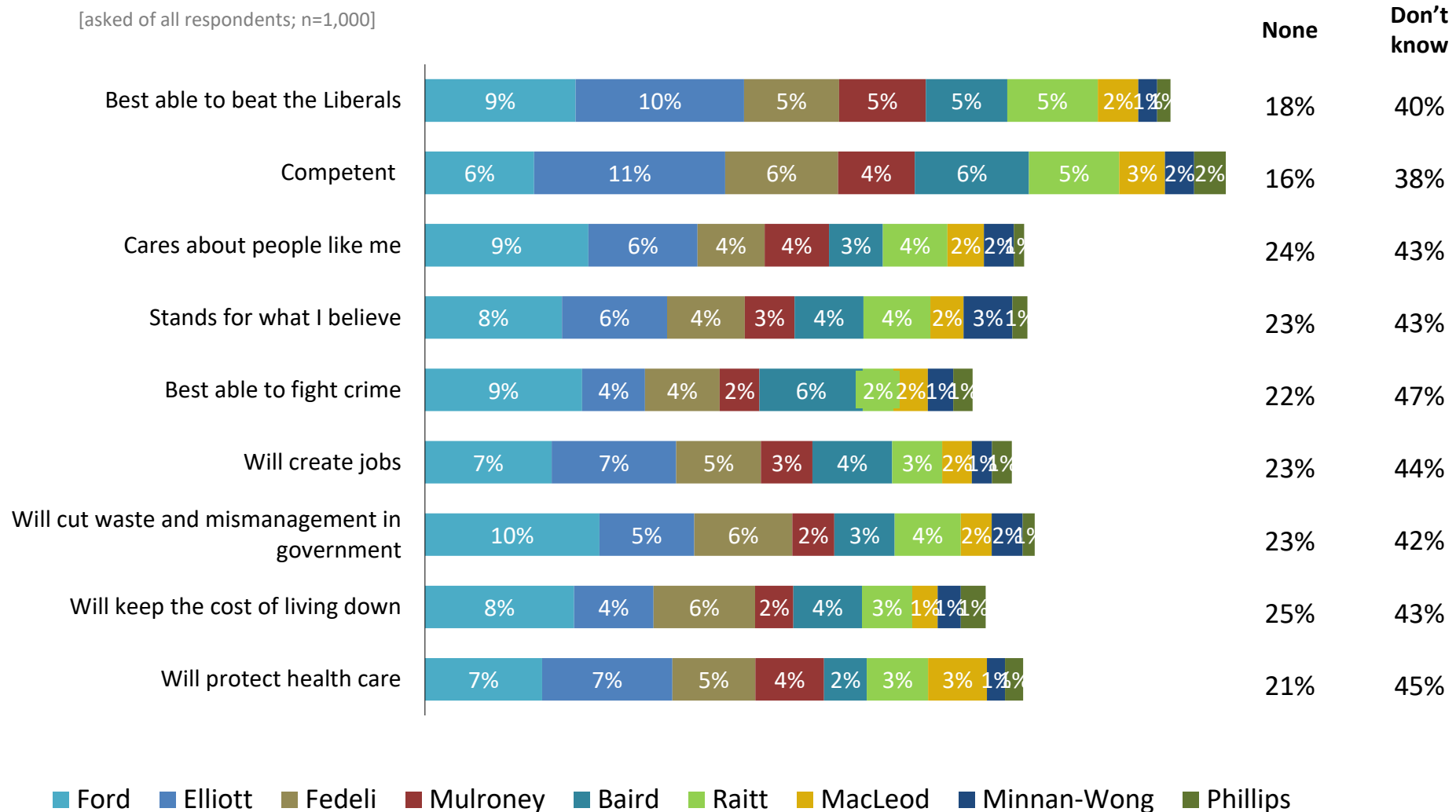
■ Elliott 
 ■ Ford 
 ■ Fedeli 
 ■ Raitt 
 ■ Mulroney 
 ■ Baird 
 ■ MacLeod 
 ■ Minnan-Wong 
 ■ Phillips

# Leader Attributes: Ford edges out Elliott on several measures; Fedeli ranks third on most

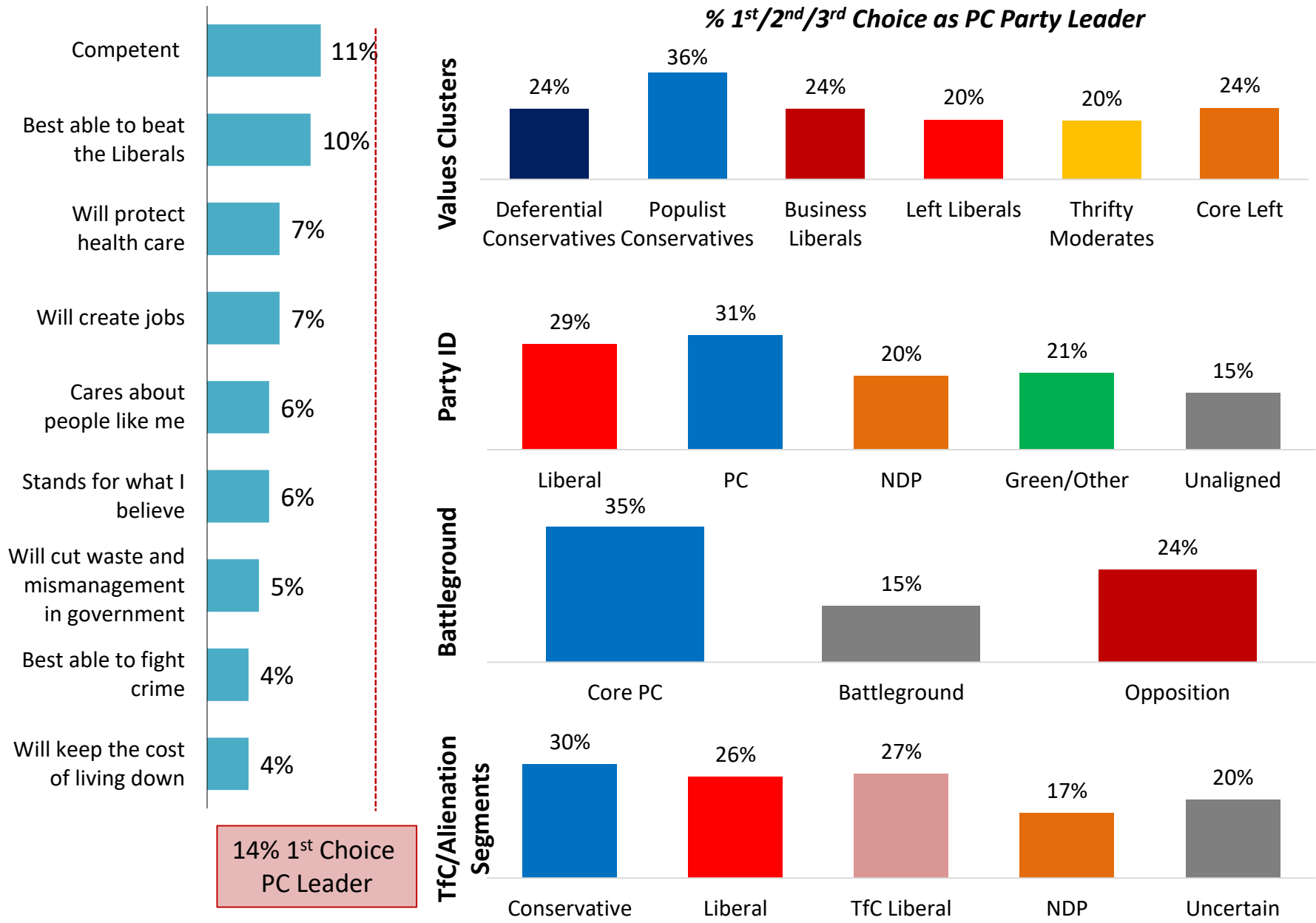
Q

Below is a list of different words or phrases that describe political leaders. For each word or phrase, please indicate which of the leaders it BEST describes or whether none of them stand out on that item. How about ...

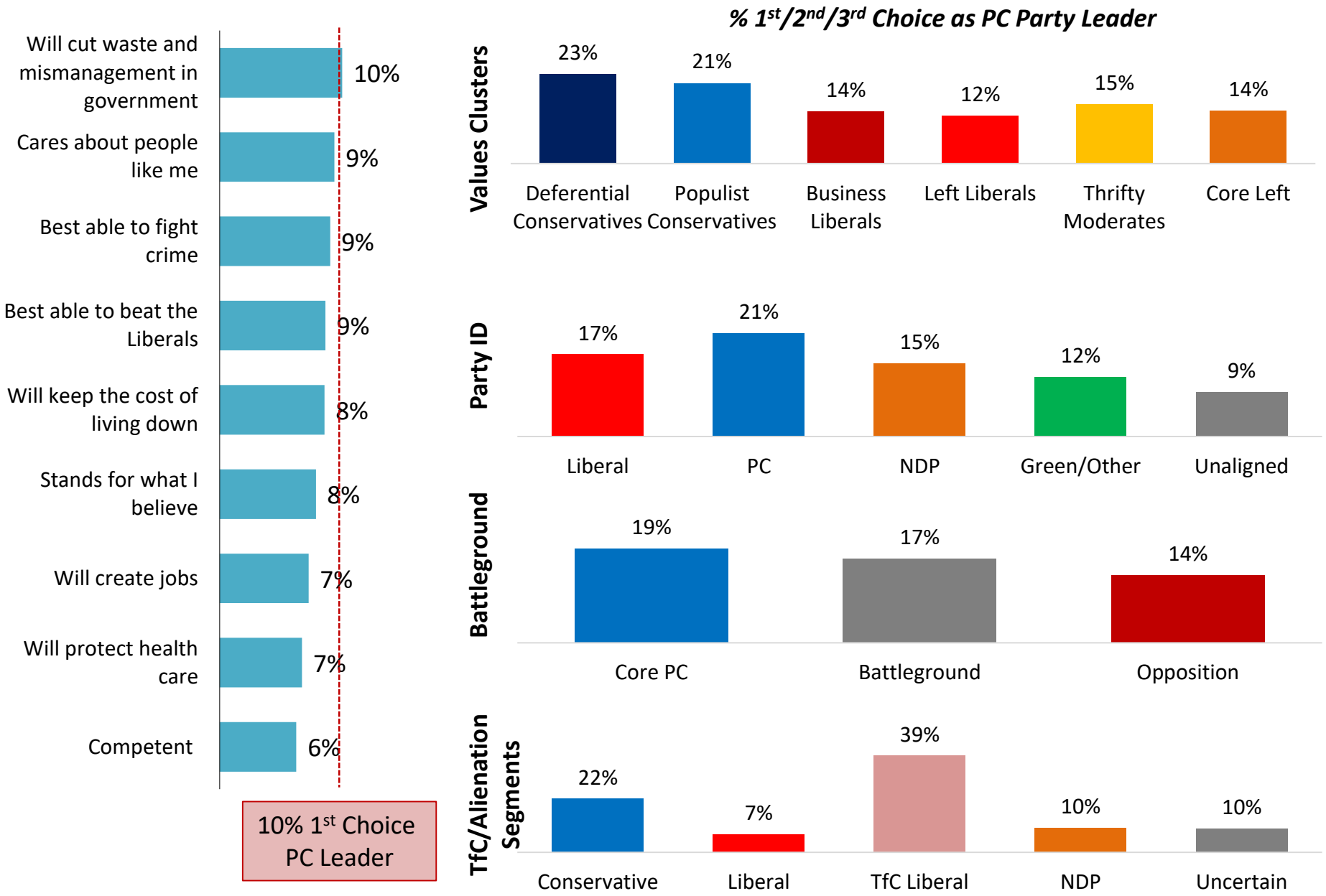
[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]



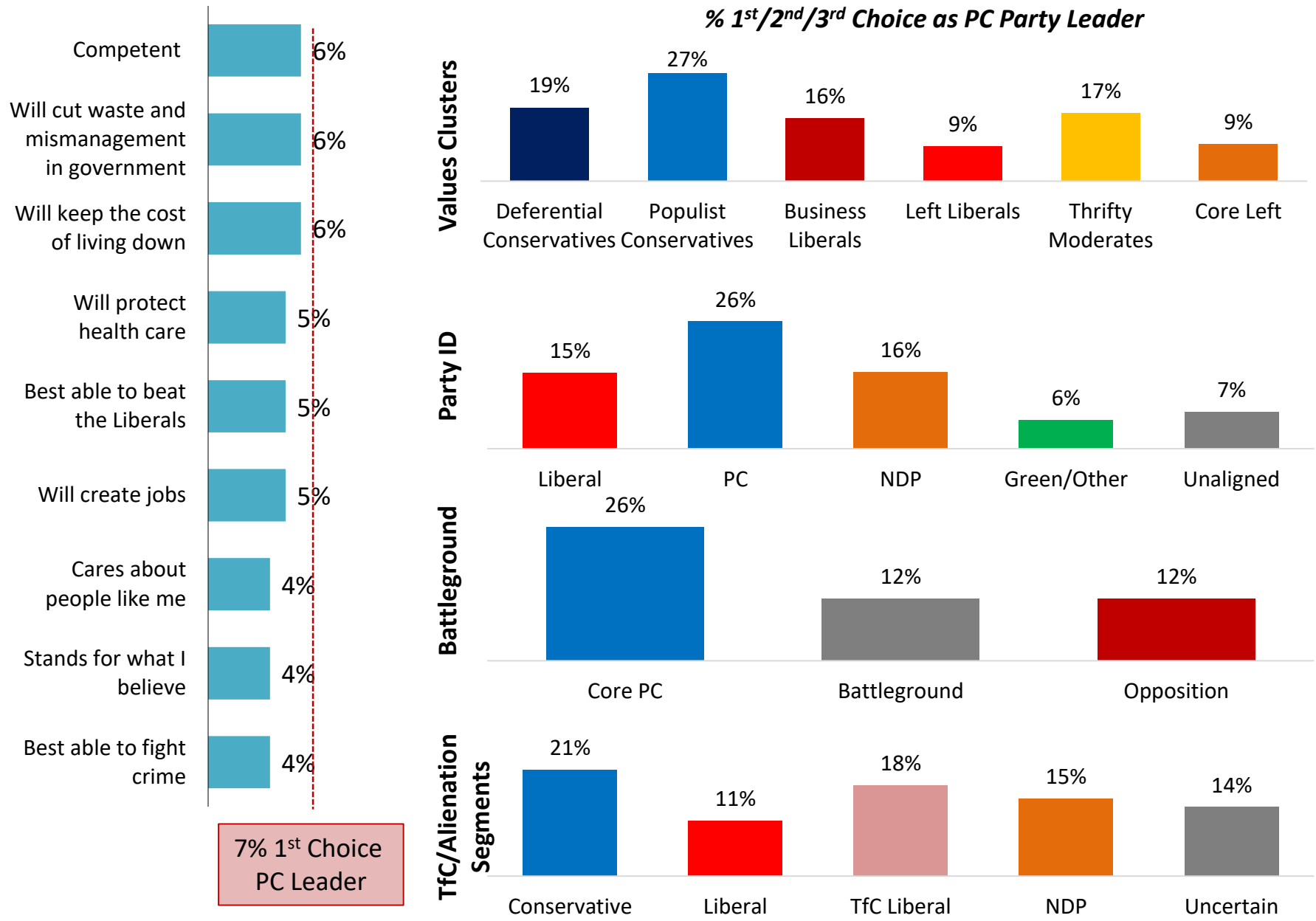
# Christine Elliott: Rated highest on competence; most popular in all conservative segments



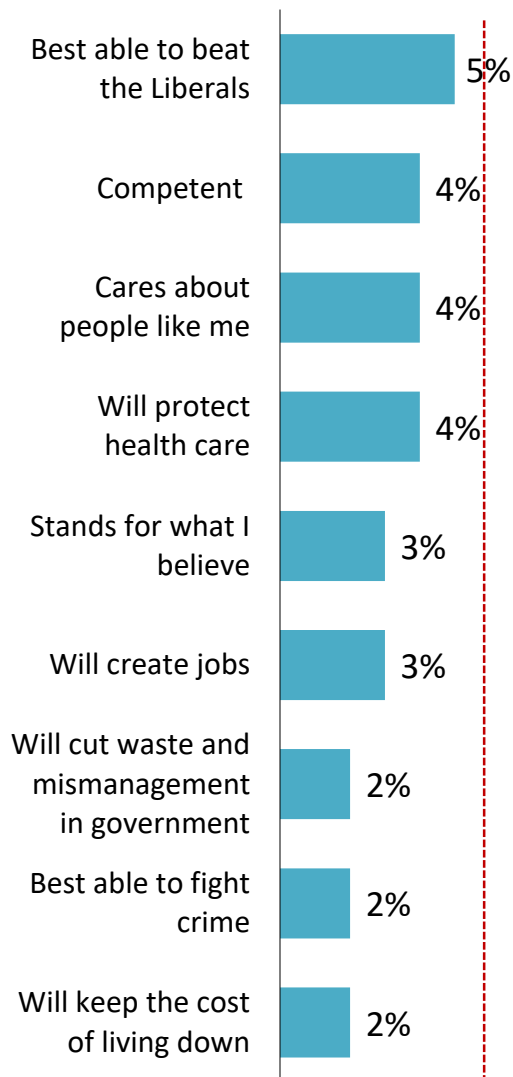
# Doug Ford: Strongest on cutting waste and mismanagement; most popular among Tfc Liberals



# Vic Fedeli: Strongest on competence, cutting waste and cost of living; most popular across conservative segments



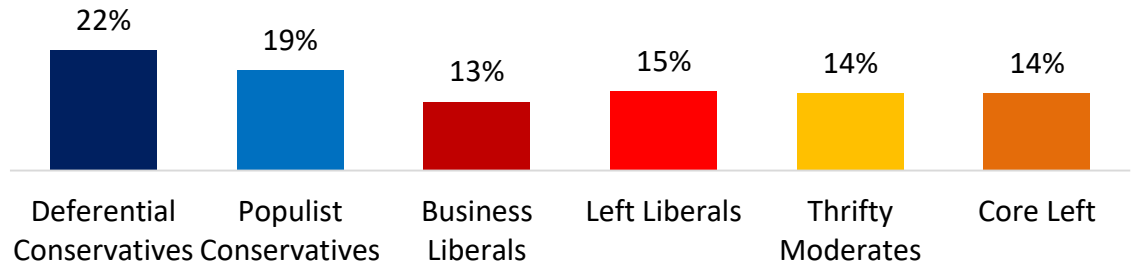
# Caroline Mulroney: Strongest on ability to beat Liberals; most popular among Deferentials and other conservatives



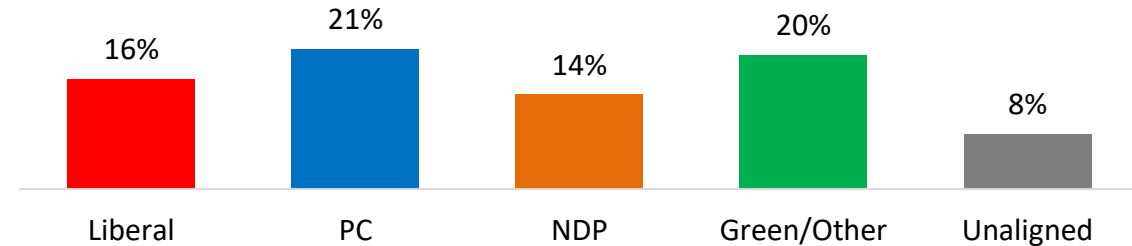
6% 1<sup>st</sup> Choice  
PC Leader

*% 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> Choice as PC Party Leader*

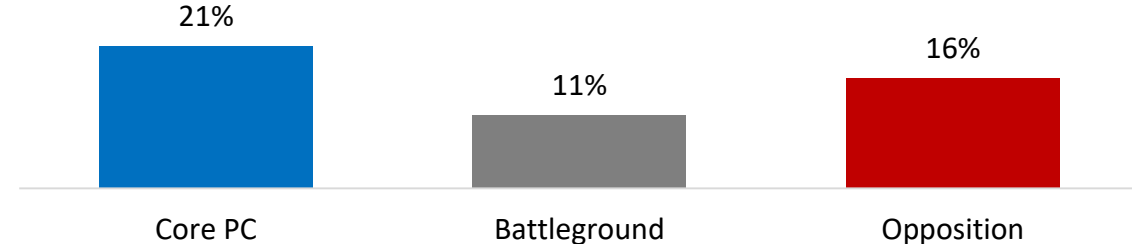
Values Clusters



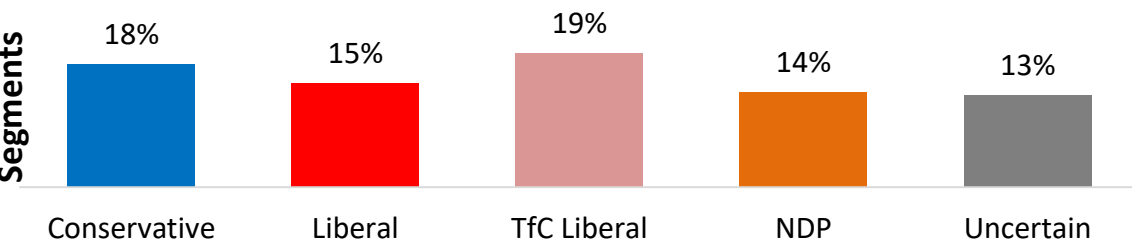
Party ID



Battleground

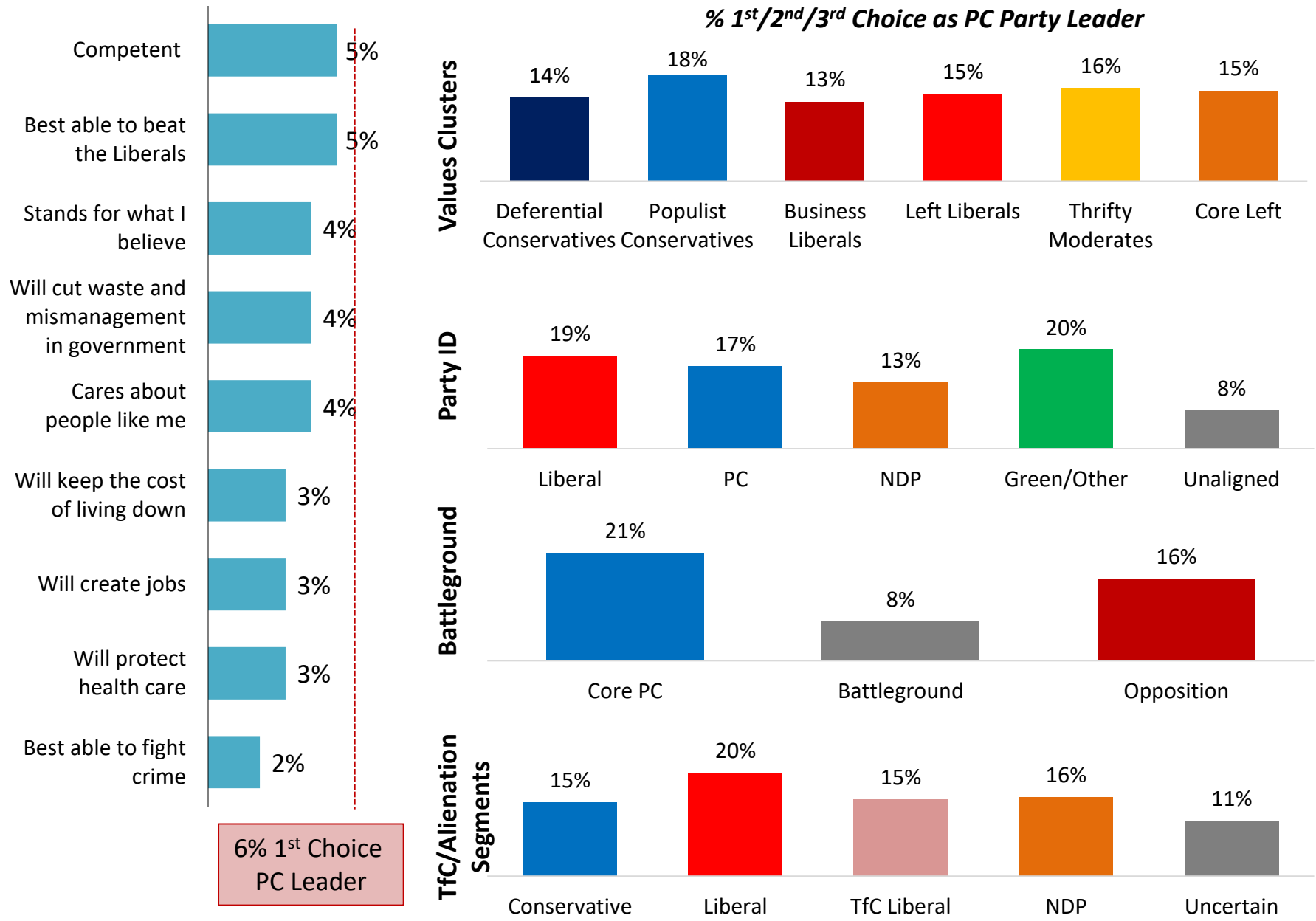


TfC/Alienation  
Segments

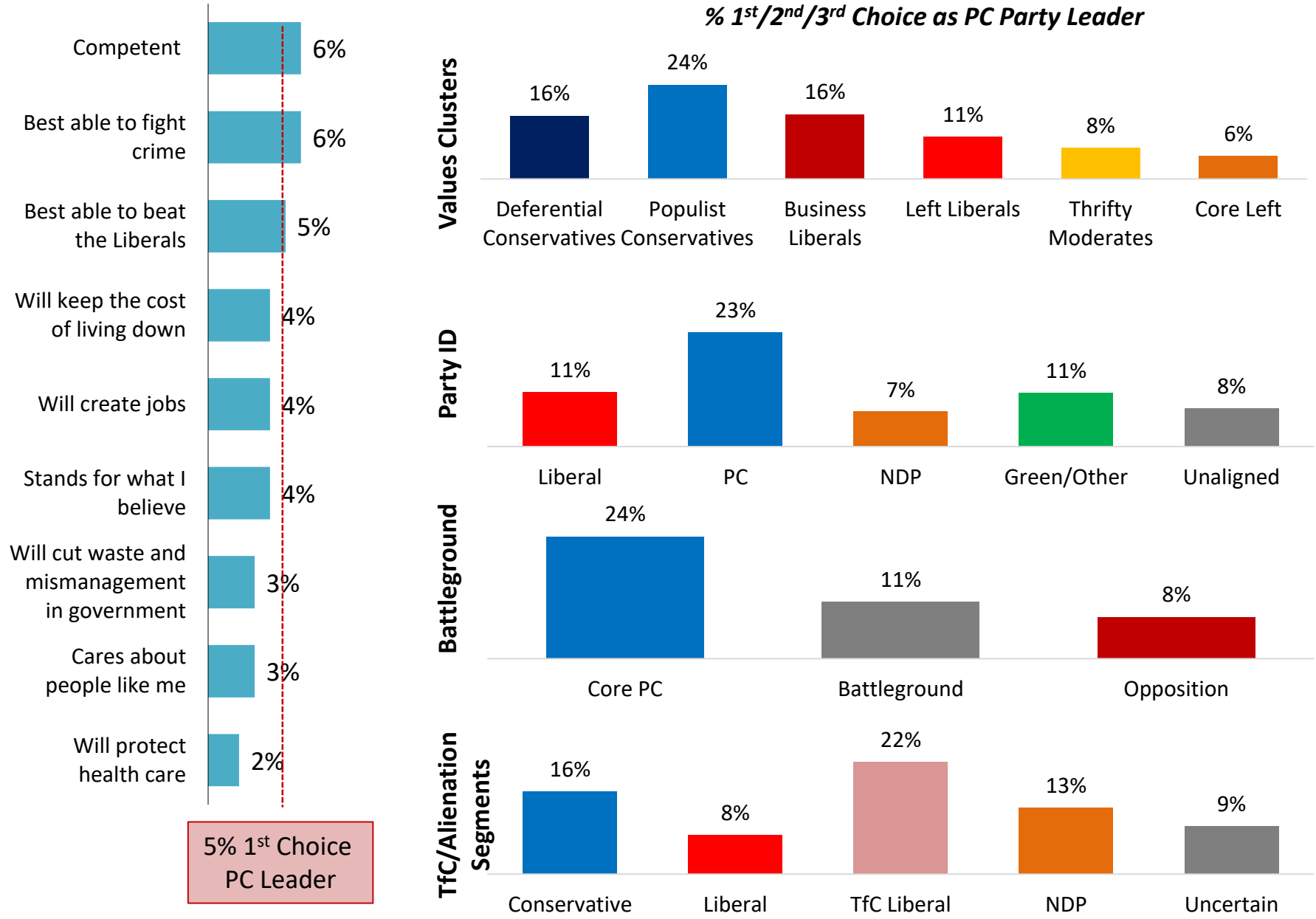




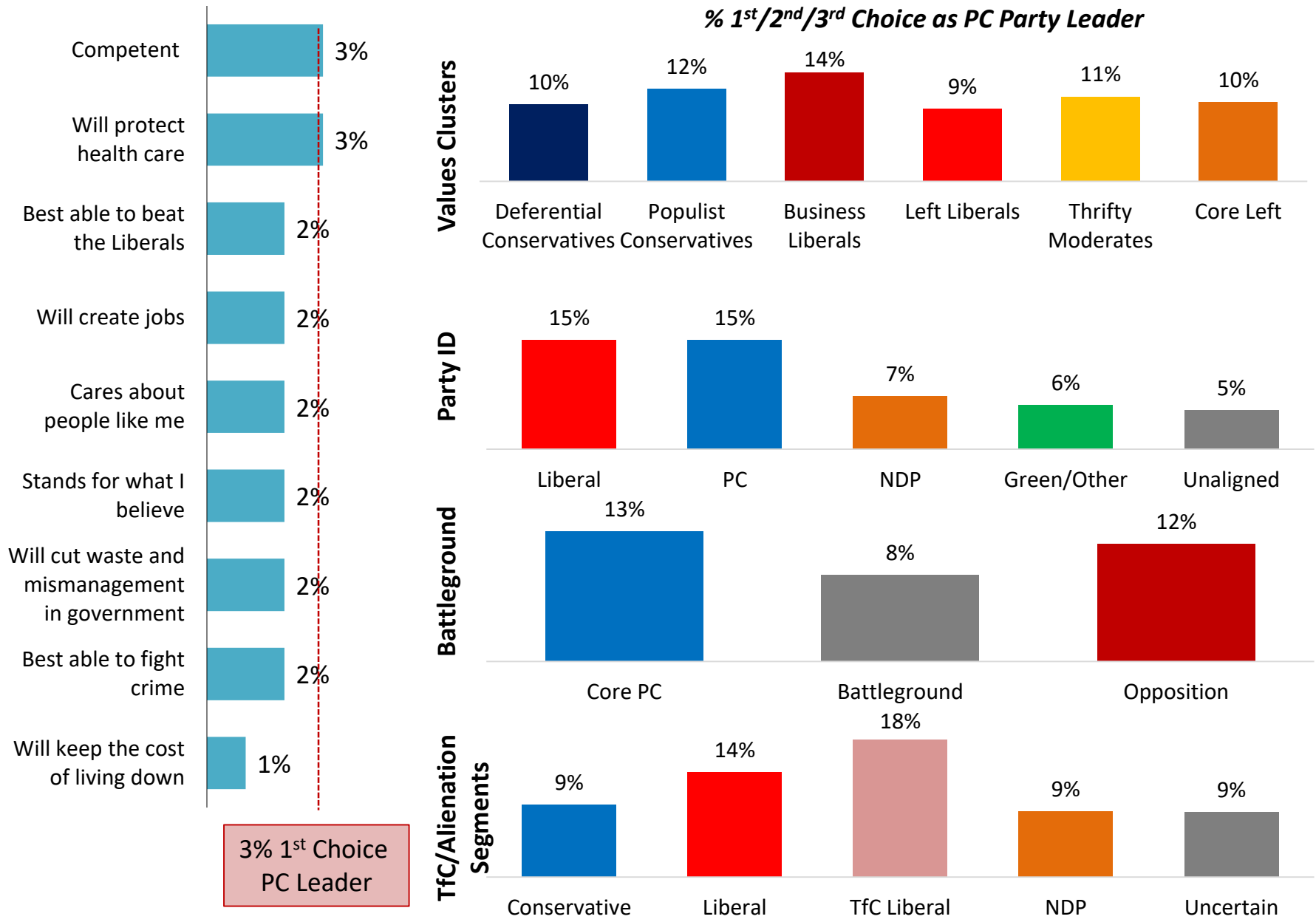
# Lisa Raitt: Strongest on competence and ability to beat Liberals; popularity spread across political spectrum



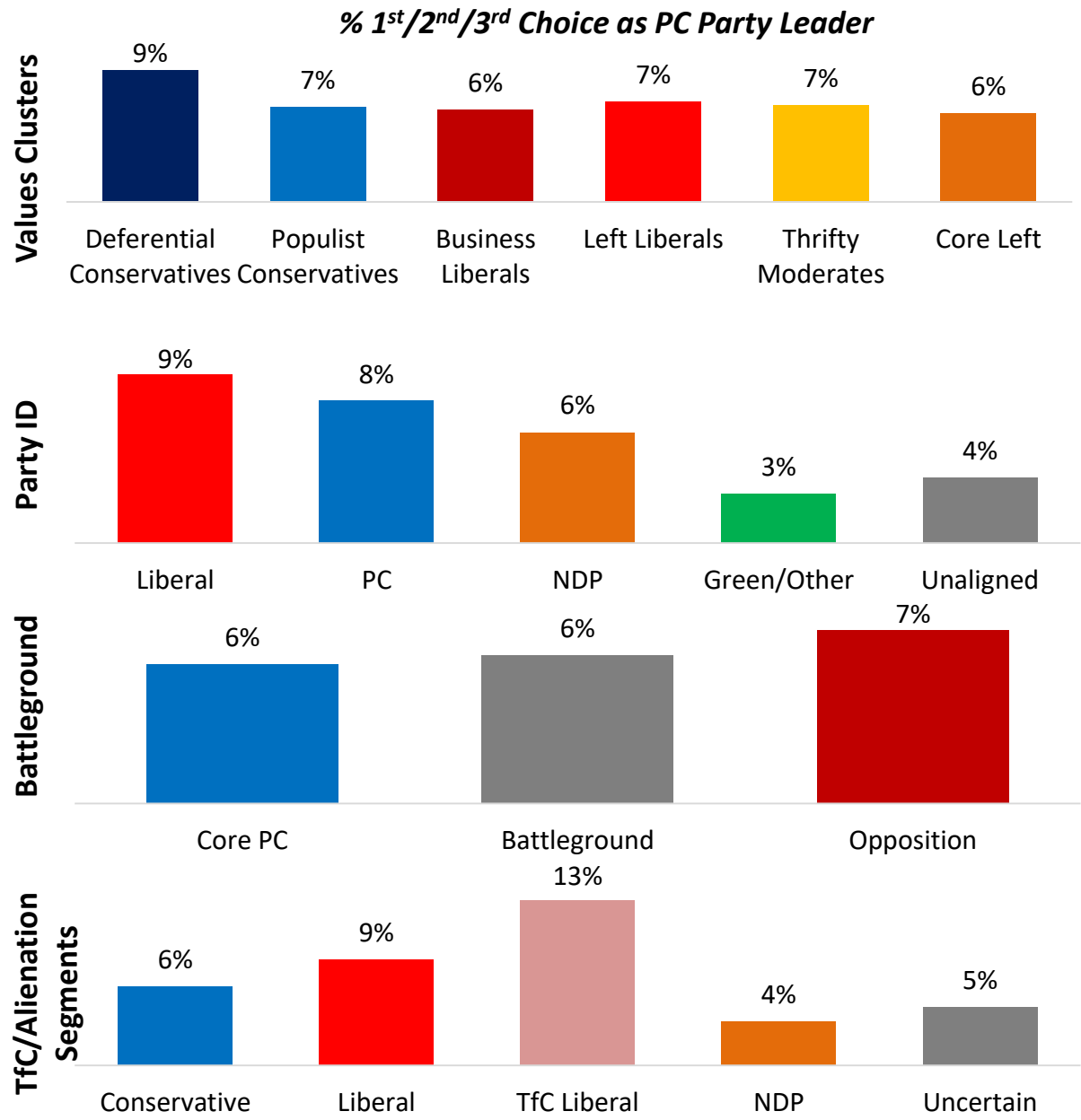
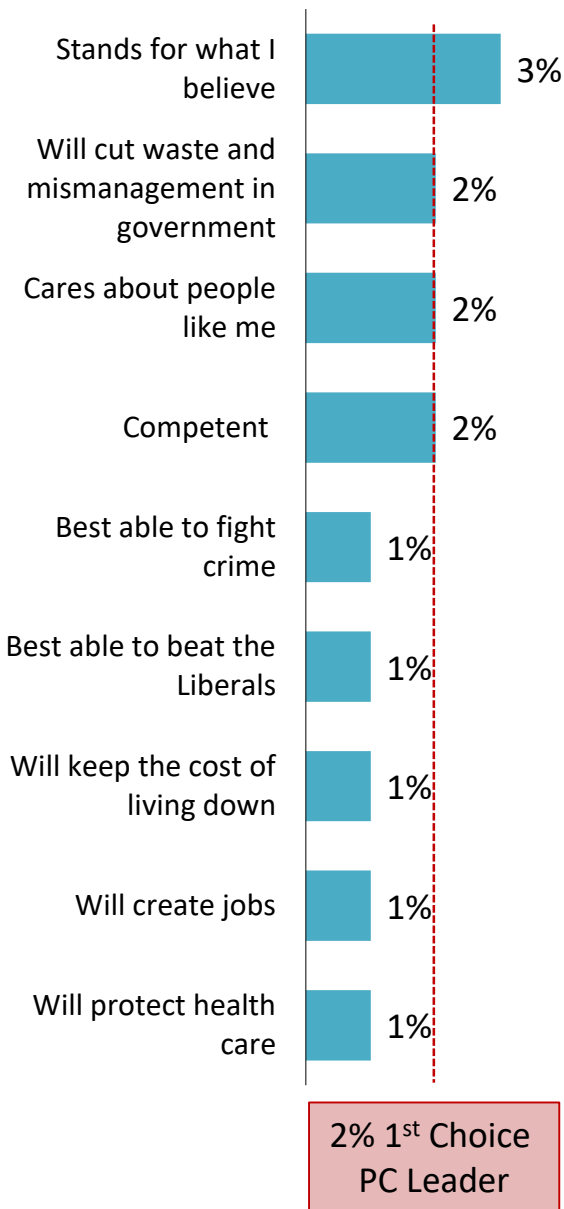
# John Baird: Strongest on competence and fighting crime; popularity highest among core Conservatives and TfC Liberals



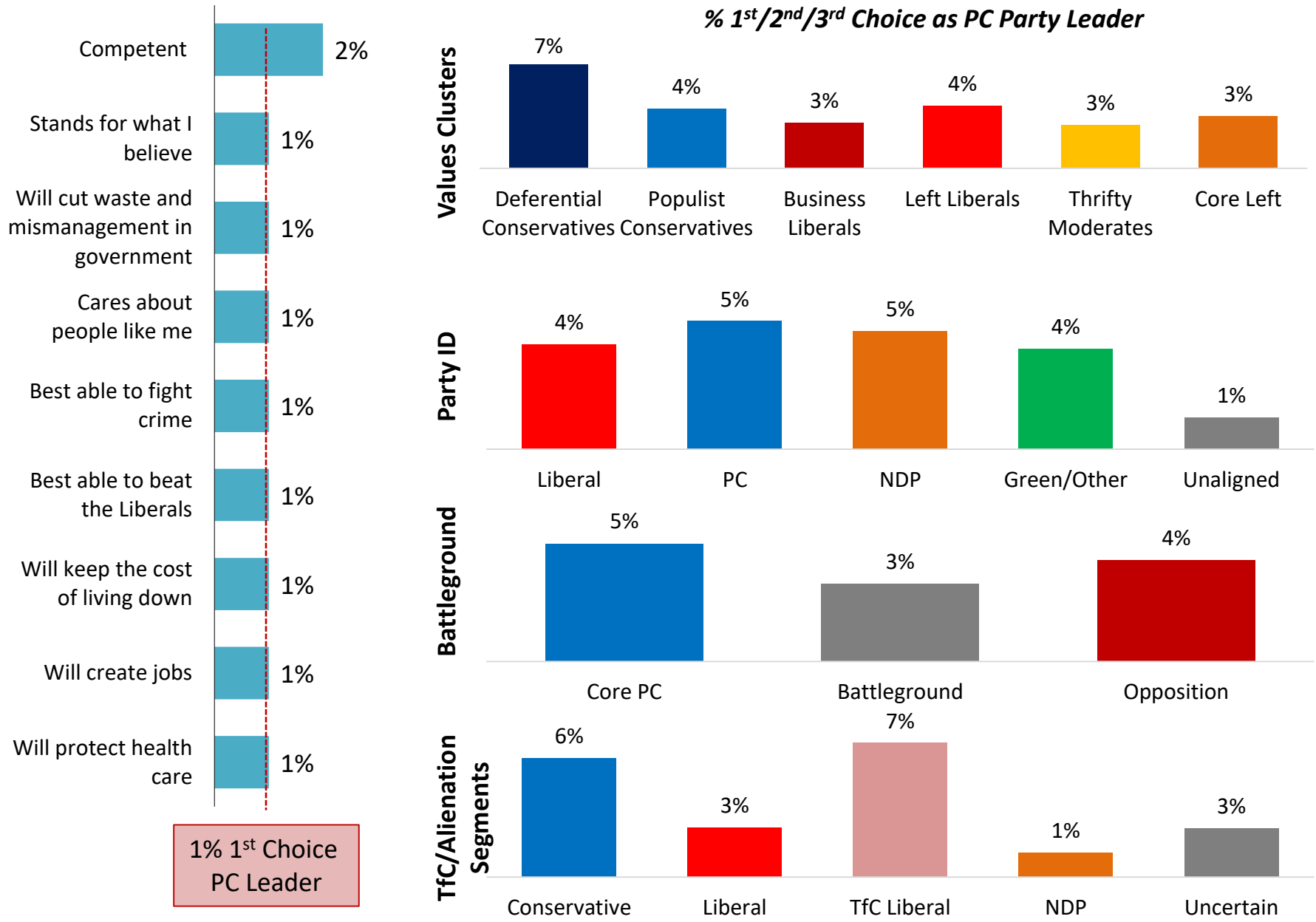
# Lisa MacLeod: Strongest on competence and healthcare; highest popularity found in Liberal segments



# Denzil Minnan-Wong: Strongest on relatability; most popular among Tfc Liberals



# Rod Phillips: Rated highest on competence; most popular among Deferential Conservatives and TfC Liberals

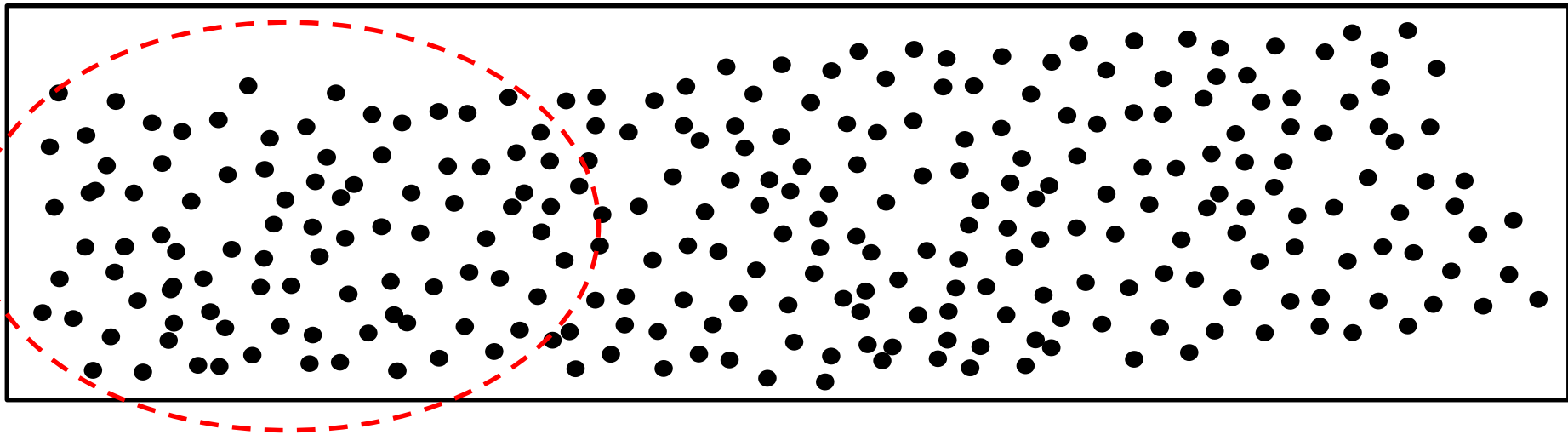
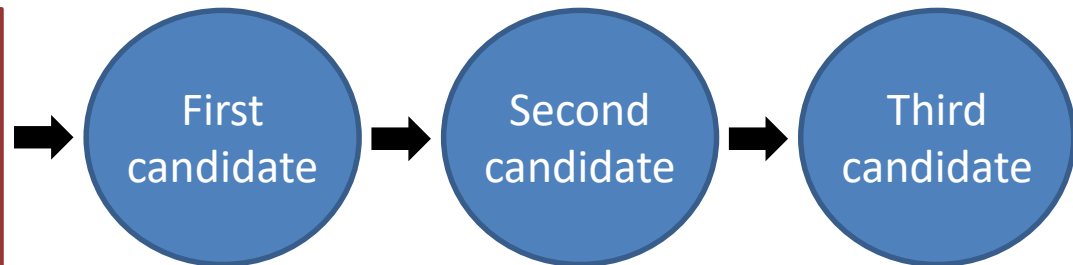


# PC Party Leadership – Vote Impact

# Voting Impact Test: We used a split sample to obtain data on the impact of every different candidate

In order to test the impact of each leadership candidate on potential voting, each respondent was asked how they would vote if a given candidate were selected as the leader. Each respondent was randomly shown 3 of the 9 candidates.

As we have been discussing, the Ontario PCs will have a new leader in the next election. It is expected that Kathleen Wynne will continue as leader of the Liberals and Andrea Horwath will continue as leader of the Ontario NDP. If (CANDIDATE) is leader of the Ontario PCs in the next election, which party would you be most likely to vote for?



The result is that we have asked about 1 in 3 people in the sample (randomly selected) about each leader. This gives us a split sample showing how, on average, 333 respondents would vote in each case

# Initial Vote vs Candidate Test Ballot: PCs maintain lead over Liberals in test ballot, but undecided doubles

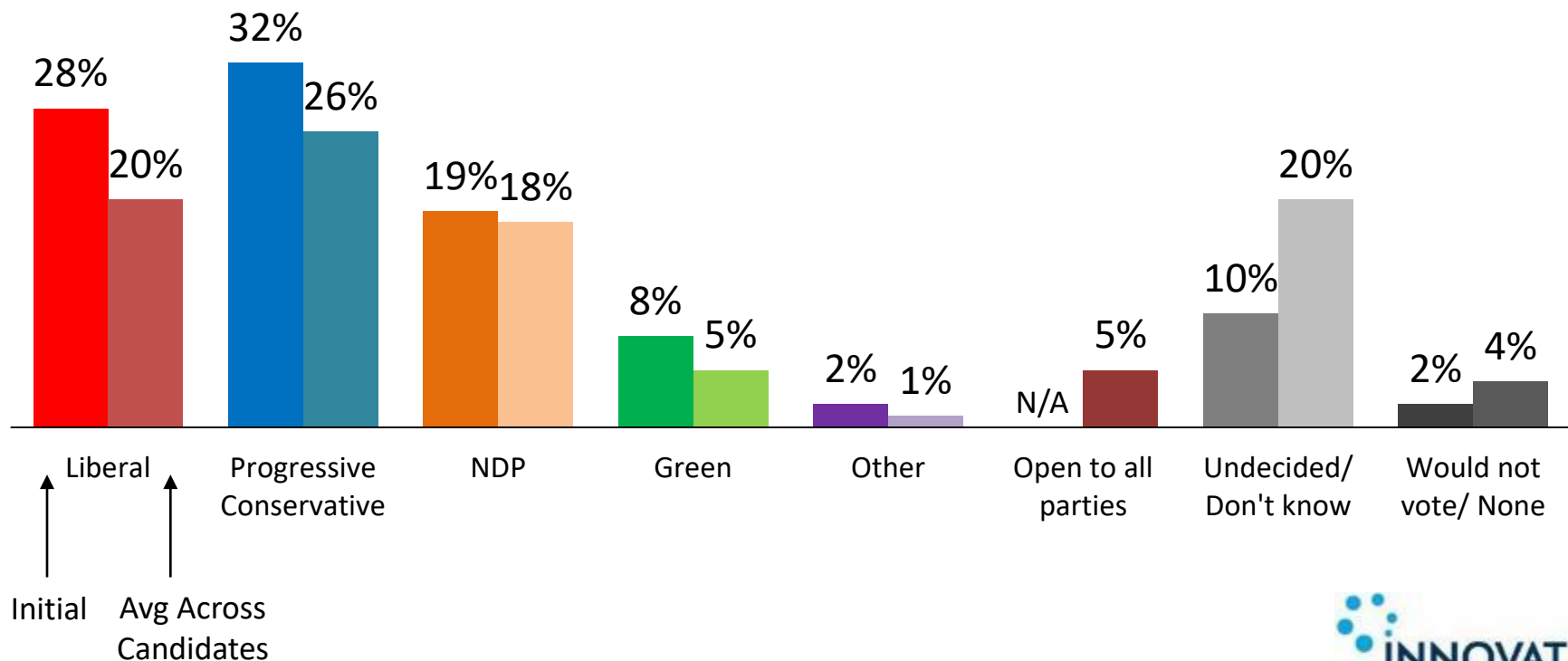


If a provincial election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly? [VOTE + LEAN]

COMPARED TO

If (RANDOMLY SELECT AND INSERT CANDIDATE NAME ) is leader of the Ontario PCs in the next election, which party would you be most likely to vote for?

[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]





# Initial Vote by Candidate Sub-Sample: To compare candidate<sup>25</sup> impact, note the initial PC support in the subsample



If a provincial election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly? [VOTE + LEAN]

[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]

	Ford (n=334)	Minnan- Wong (n=322)	Phillips (n=348)	Mulroney (n=338)	Elliott (n=339)	MacLeod (n=342)	Fedeli (n=322)	Baird (n=334)	Raitt (n=322)
PC Party	33%	28%	33%	33%	32%	32%	31%	35%	29%
Liberal Party	31%	30%	26%	26%	24%	28%	25%	26%	32%
NDP	14%	20%	19%	20%	21%	18%	19%	17%	18%
Green Party	6%	7%	8%	7%	7%	9%	7%	8%	8%
Another Party	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%
Undecided / Don't know	11%	10%	11%	10%	12%	8%	12%	10%	8%
Would not vote	2%	3%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	3%

# Leadership Impact: Liberal and PC votes decline for every candidate as voters re-consider options



As we have been discussing, the Ontario PCs will have a new leader in the next election. It is expected that Kathleen Wynne will continue as leader of the Liberals and Andrea Horwath will continue as leader of the Ontario NDP. If (CANDIDATE) is leader of the Ontario PCs in the next election, which party would you be most likely to vote for?

[asked of all respondents; split sample]

	Ford (n=334)	Minnan- Wong (n=322)	Phillips (n=348)	Mulroney (n=338)	Elliott (n=339)	MacLeod (n=342)	Fedeli (n=322)	Baird (n=334)	Raitt (n=322)
PC Party	22%	19%	21%	24%	26%	22%	25%	29%	22%
Liberal Party	24%	20%	18%	20%	17%	18%	17%	22%	22%
NDP	15%	23%	17%	19%	18%	19%	19%	16%	17%
Green Party	7%	4%	5%	5%	5%	6%	5%	6%	4%
Another Party	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	2%	2%	1%	0%
Open to all parties	4%	7%	5%	5%	5%	7%	4%	4%	6%
Undecided / Don't know	20%	20%	30%	22%	25%	22%	24%	19%	23%
Would not vote	6%	5%	3%	5%	4%	5%	4%	3%	6%

# Impact vs. Combined Vote: In all scenarios, undecideds jump (sig. at 95%); Baird and Elliott show smallest drop for PCs

**Percentage Point Impact:** Vote with candidate as leader for the Ontario PCs *minus* Combined Vote if election were held today (among sample split sample as asked about each leader).

	Ford (n=334)	Minnan- Wong (n=322)	Phillips (n=348)	Mulroney (n=338)	Elliott (n=339)	MacLeod (n=342)	Fedeli (n=322)	Baird (n=334)	Raitt (n=322)
PC Party	-11	-9	-11	-9	-6	-9	-7	-6	-7
Liberal Party	-8	-10	-9	-6	-8	-10	-8	-4	-10
NDP	+1	+3	-2	-1	-2	+1	-1	0	-2
Green	+1	-2	-3	-2	-2	-3	-2	-3	-3
Other	-1	-1	0	-1	-1	-1	0	0	-1
Undecided/DK /Open to all parties	+14	+17	+24	+16	+18	+20	+16	+12	+21
Would not vote	+4	+2	+1	+3	+1	+2	+2	+1	+3
NET impact on PC vs. LIB margin	-3	+1	-3	-3	+2	+1	+2	-3	+4

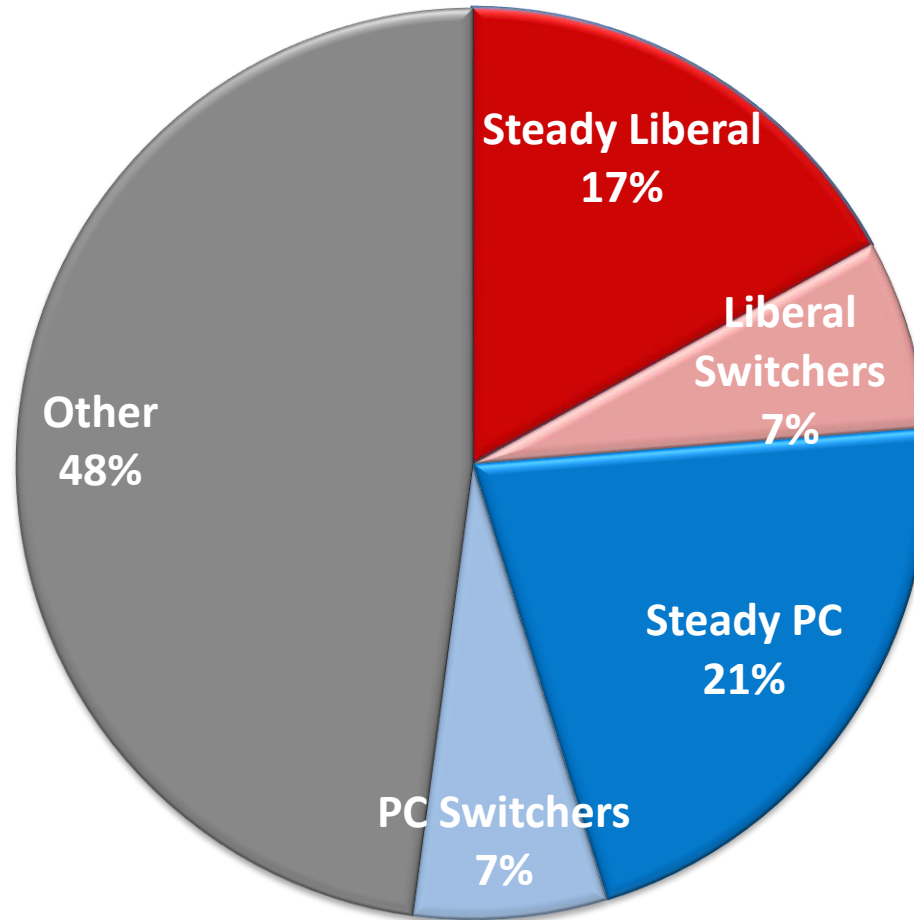
Note: Results **in red** are significantly different from 0 at a 95% confidence level.

Results **in blue** are significantly different from 0 at a 90% confidence level.

# Vote Switching

# Vote Loyalty Segmentation: Equal numbers of original Liberal and PC voters switch with new PC party leader

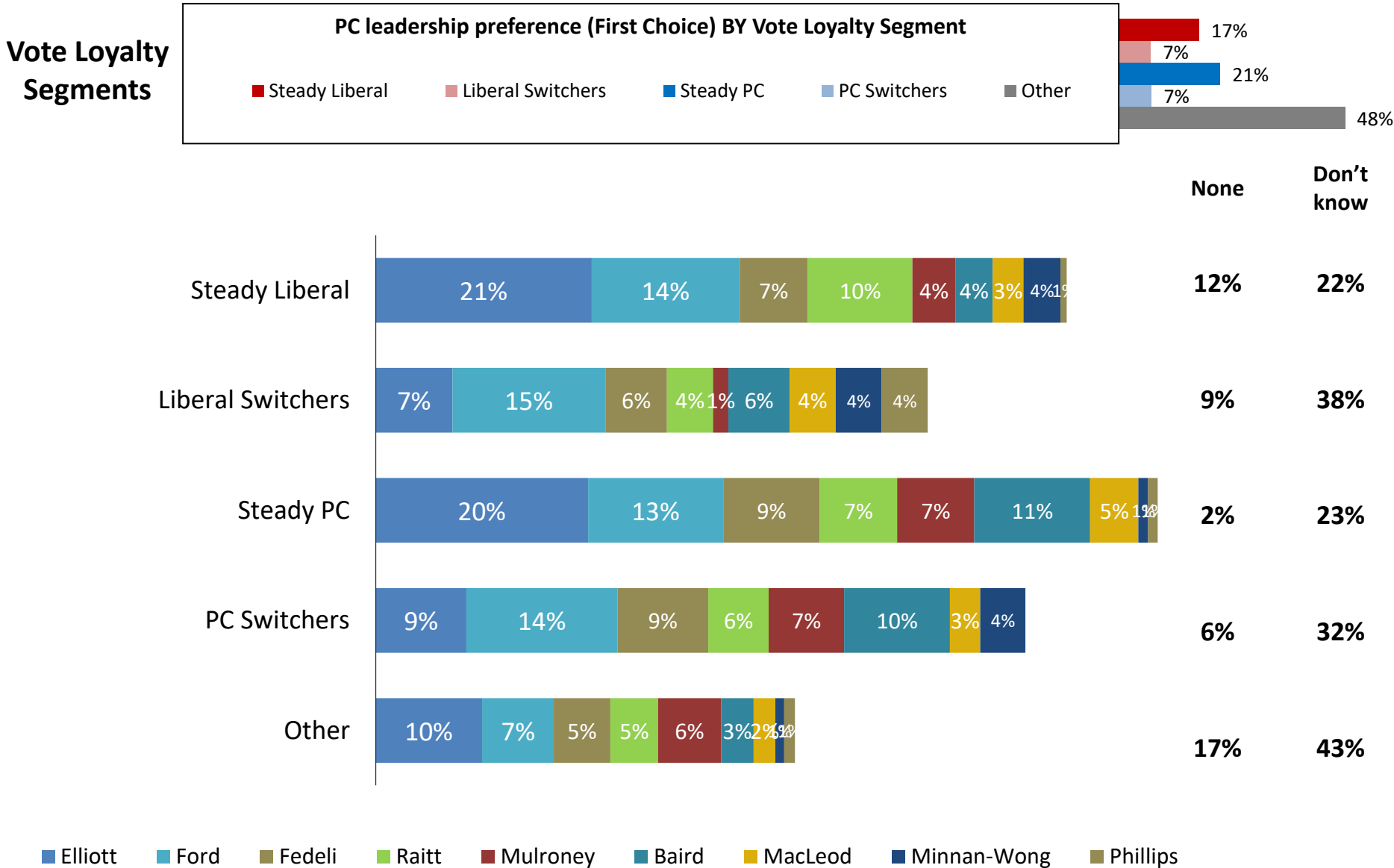
Original provincial vote intent vs Vote intent on test ballot with various potential candidates as PC party leader



# PC Switchers more favourable on Wynne, more feminist and marginally more interested in NDP than Steady PCs

	Steady Liberal	Liberal Switchers	Steady PC	PC Switchers	Other
Very/somewhat favourable opinion of Kathleen Wynne	72%	43%	1%	13%	13%
Agree: I personally would describe myself as a feminist	59%	52%	23%	39%	43%
<b>TfC/Alienation Segments</b>					
Conservative	1%	4%	63%	50%	21%
Core/Soft Liberal	76%	42%	1%	3%	10%
Time for Change Liberal	20%	42%	2%	14%	9%
NDP	1%	3%	9%	14%	29%
Uncertain	3%	9%	26%	19%	31%

# First Choice by Vote Loyalty: Ford chosen over Elliott among Liberal and PC Switchers



Elliott

Ford

Fedeli

Raitt

Mulroney

Baird

MacLeod

Minnan-Wong

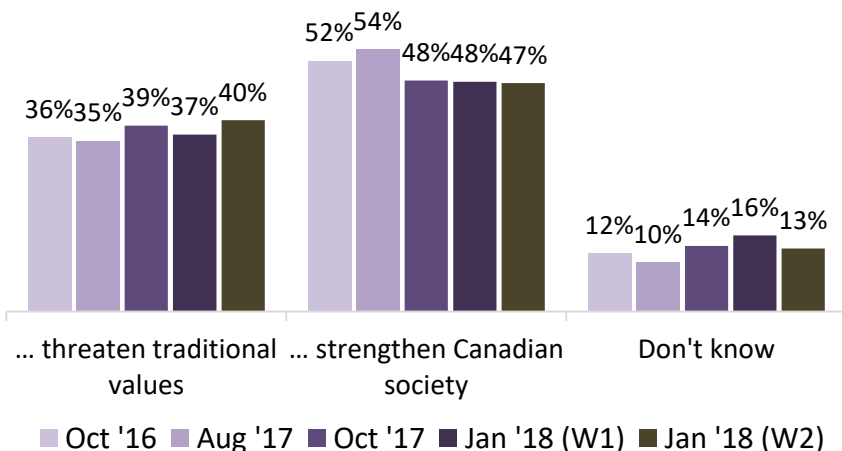
Phillips

# Values

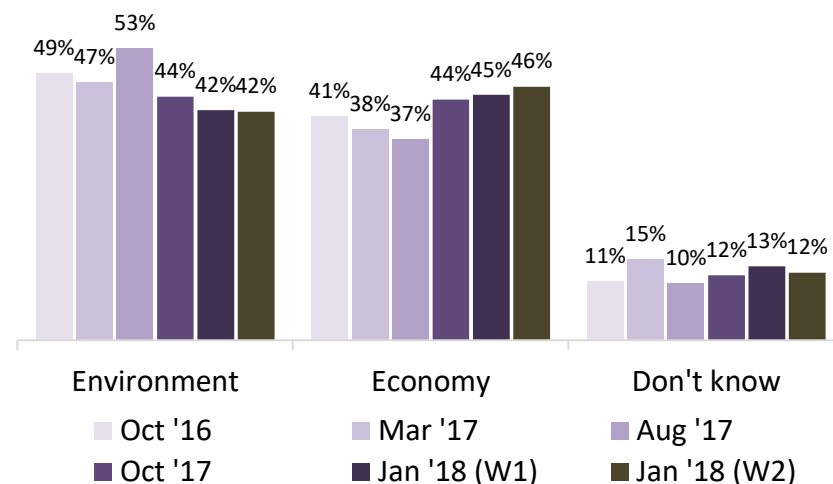


# Values Tracking (1 of 3): No significant changes since October '17

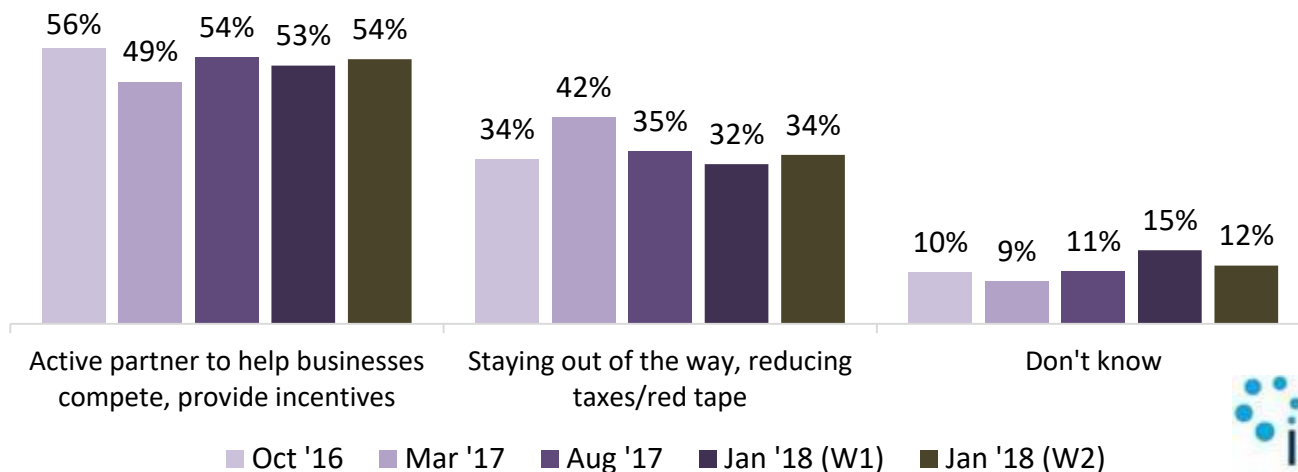
Q Which of the following statements best describes your personal point of view? *Newcomers...*



Q When it comes to trade-offs between the environment and the economy, which is more important to you?



Q Thinking about the role of the provincial government when it comes to the economy, which statement is closest to your point of view?

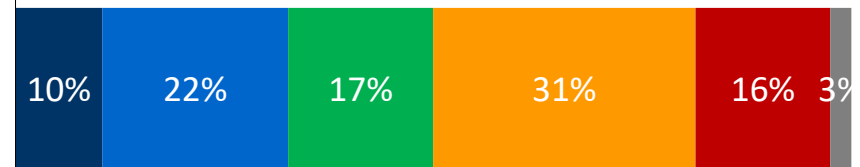


# Values Tracking (2 of 3): Perceptions of inequality remain unchanged

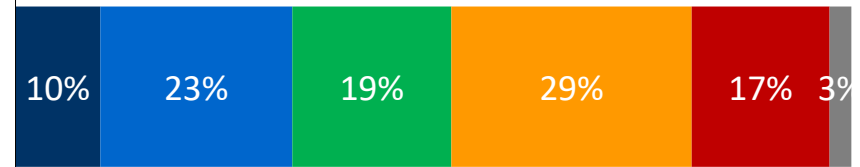
Q Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Equality between men and women has been achieved in Canada

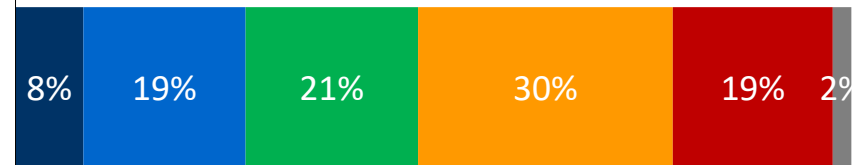
Jan '18 (W2)



Jan '18 (W1)



Oct '17

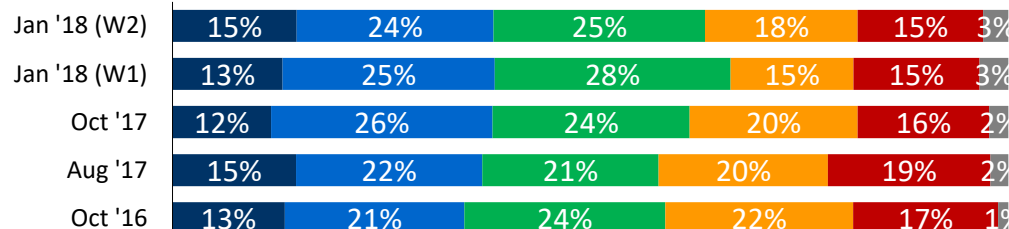


■ Strongly agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know

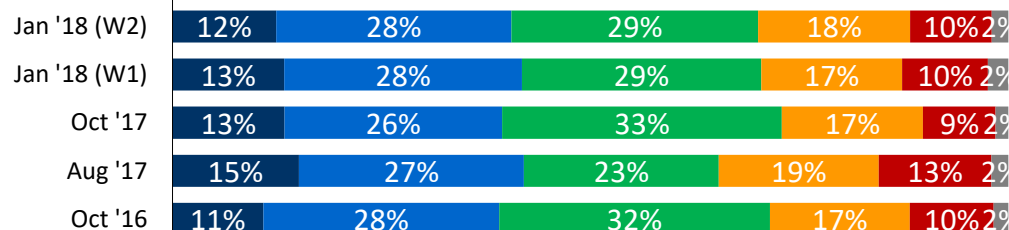
# Values Tracking (3 of 3): Marginal increase on need for strong leaders to destroy negative forces <sup>35</sup>

Q Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

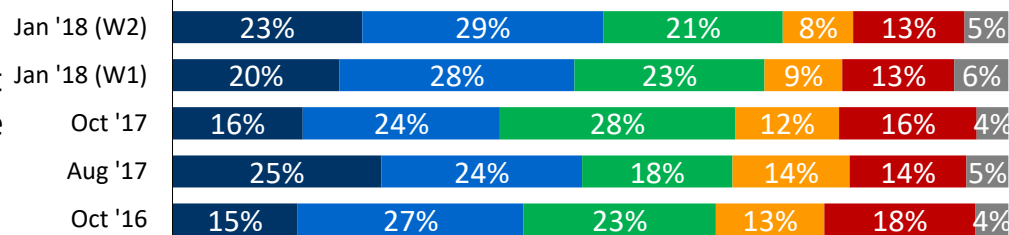
The 'old-fashioned ways' and 'old-fashioned values' still show the best way to live.



Everything is changing too fast today.



What this country needs is strong, determined leaders who will destroy the negative forces that have taken us from our true path and silence the trouble makers spreading bad ideas.



■ Strongly agree
■ Somewhat agree
■ Neither agree nor disagree
■ Somewhat disagree
■ Strongly disagree
■ Don't know

# Appendix: Telephone Methodology

# Telephone Methodology

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- For the January 2018 telephone results from slide 26, the survey was conducted by telephone among 670 randomly-selected Ontario residents, 18 years of age and older, from January 10<sup>th</sup> to January 16<sup>th</sup>, 2018.
- Only one respondent per household was eligible to complete this survey. The final sample includes both landline and cell phone respondents, so that individuals who don't have a landline are represented. Numbers are dialed from RDD telephone sample. A maximum of 8 call backs are attempted for each record.
- The sample has been weighted (n=600) by age, gender and region using the latest available. Census data to reflect the actual demographic composition of the population.
- The margin of error for a sample of n=600 is approximately  $\pm 4.0\%$ , 19 times out of 20.
- The vote intention questions reported here come at the beginning of the survey, preceded only by screening questions and questions asking whether the province is on the right or wrong track, how respondents feel about the economy, and what they believe is the most important issue facing the province.
- Screening questions are used to ensure respondents do not work in the market research, media, or advertising industries; and for cell phone respondents to ensure they are not driving at the time of the call.

**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.*

# Telephone Weighting: Region, age, gender

Results for Ontario are weighted by age, gender, and region to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual population according to Census data. Weighted and unweighted frequencies are reported below.

	Unweighted (n)	Unweighted (%)	Weighted (n)	Weighted (%)
Males 18-34	86	12.8%	83	13.8%
Males 35-54	110	16.4%	1100	16.6%
Males 55+	150	22.4%	106	17.7%
Females 18-34	54	8.1%	83	13.8%
Females 35-54	110	16.4%	107	17.9%
Females 55+	160	23.9%	122	20.3%
Toronto	123	18.4%	125	20.9%
Rest of GTA	150	22.4%	156	26.0%
South/West	161	24.0%	155	25.8%
North/East	236	35.2%	164	27.3%



# Building Understanding.

*Personalized research to connect you and your audiences.*

For more information, please contact:

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