



Canada This Month Ontario Riding Clusters: May 2022

Public Opinion Research
May 2022
Online Survey

Overview

In Canada, we count seats, not votes. Just like in American Presidential elections, you can win the popular vote and lose the election. In fact, that happened to Justin Trudeau's father in 1979.

The general way analysts address that is to look at seats by region. However, seats in the same region can move differently. This release tries to get closer to reality in the seat-by-seat contest. Our analysis combines:

- An analysis of provincial electoral districts (“seats”) that groups them into 9 clusters based on a combination of which parties are most competitive in those seats across the last 2 elections.
- A merge of the most recent three provincial surveys that include Ontario vote, creating an unweighted total of 3,054 respondents and a weighted total of 2,600.
- A merge of two provincial surveys that include Ontario vote from April 2022, creating an unweighted total of 2,983 respondents and a weighted total of 2,200.

In each of our surveys, we collect postal codes. That allows us to assign almost all respondents into ridings and to group their responses by riding.

The deck to follow shows the output from the analysis, summarizing where provincial vote intention stands in these clusters today, compared to the past two elections.

Decided Vote by Likelihood to Vote: The PCs enjoy a stronger lead among the most likely voters

Decided vote by Likelihood to Vote

| | | Likelihood to Vote | |
|--------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | | Definite Voters (N=306) | Probable Voters (N=108) |
| Decided Vote | Liberal | 30% | 30% |
| | Progressive Conservative | 37% | 31% |
| | NDP | 23% | 24% |
| | Green | 7% | 12% |
| | Other | 4% | 3% |

Ontario Vote Seat Clusters

The Seat Clusters

In Ontarian elections, we count *seats* not *votes*.

For this analysis, we have grouped seats together into **9 clusters** where ridings are similar to one another according to which parties have historically been successful there.

These seat clusters can help us better understand changes in support for parties in ridings which have typically had similar voting behaviour. Each of these clusters is listed along with the pooled sample size of respondents from each cluster.

The core analysis that drives the groups is based on the results in each seat across the last two elections. This gives us a picture of the range of possible outcomes in each seat based on recent elections.

It is important to understand the large amount of seat level volatility we saw in those elections. In three of the clusters, every single seat shifted the same way. Another 2 clusters had most of their seats shift. Only two clusters had no change at all.

See the Appendix for detailed definitions of each cluster and which ridings they contain.

| <i>Seat Clusters</i> | Seats | Weighted Sample Size |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>Consistent NDP</i> | 18 | 292 |
| <i>Consistent PC</i> | 28 | 432 |
| <i>OLP Holds/ NDP Targets</i> | 14 | 230 |
| <i>OLP Targets from PCs</i> | 13 | 270 |
| <i>OLP to NDP Pickup</i> | 7 | 160 |
| <i>OLP to PC Pickup</i> | 17 | 307 |
| <i>Other</i> | 1 | 18 |
| <i>PC-NDP Battlegrounds</i> | 5 | 82 |
| <i>Swing Battlegrounds</i> | 21 | 385 |

Caution: Some clusters have small samples. Those results should be considered directional

Seat modelling methodology

Seat models

- Our seat models are each based on a simulation of 1,000 possible outcomes of the election, assuming the results matched our latest polling.
- Our main model groups the seats – and the polling results – by our seat clusters. For comparison we also ran a model based on regional results.
- The model is **not** a prediction of what could happen accounting for the potential for the polls to shift over the course of the campaign. It is only a snapshot of how the current polling results would be likely to translate into seat results in a real election.
- Each simulation generates a projected result in each seat, assuming that the result could vary from the polling based on the margin of error for a poll of that sample size and also for potential differences from the overall polling trend in each individual seat.

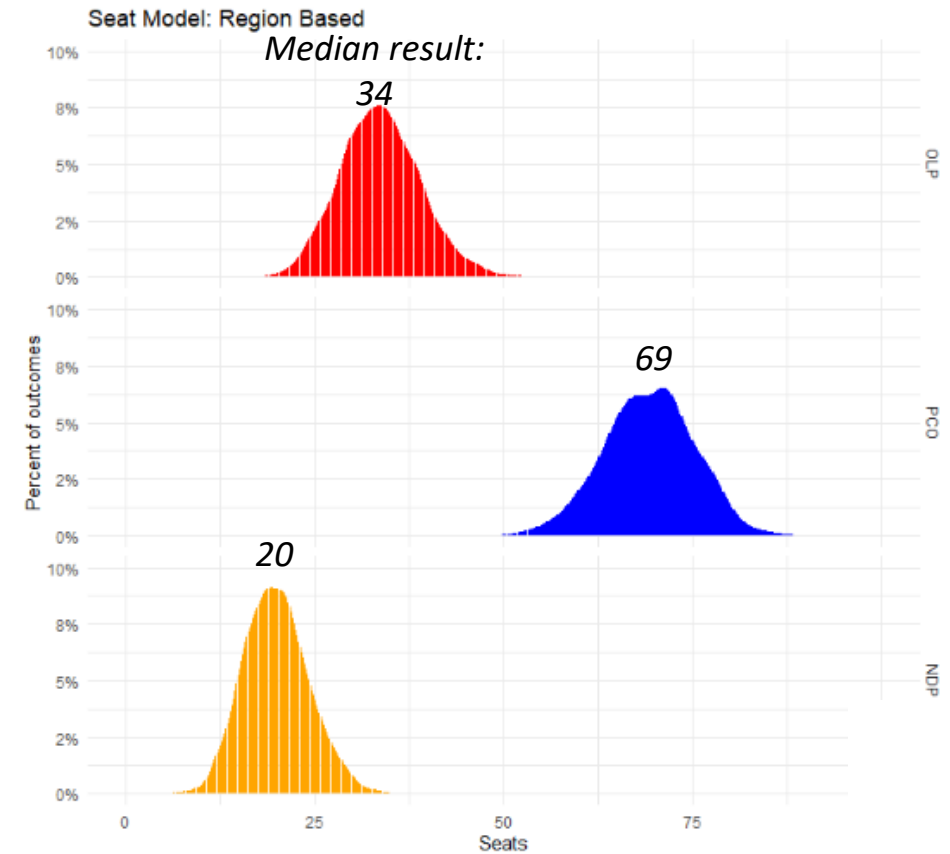
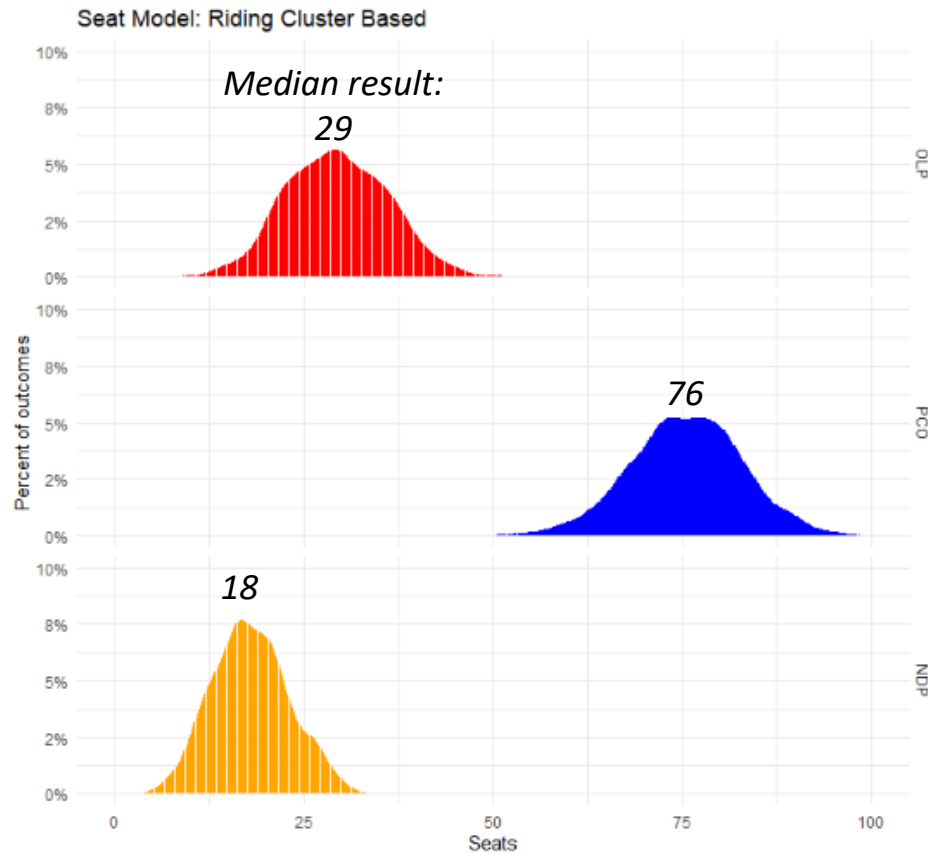
Detailed approach

- Each simulated election outcome is generated in three steps:
 - First we account for how the polling results could vary due to regular sampling error. In each simulation, we randomly generate sampling error for each party in each group of seats (i.e. cluster or region). These random errors are negatively correlated so that if one simulation guesses the Progressive Conservatives could do better, that means other parties are likely to be doing a bit worse.
 - Then we use those adjusted polling results to run a basic proportional swing model, giving a projected outcome for each riding. If the adjusted polling says the Ontario Liberals have doubled their vote in a group of seats, then the proportionate swing we apply to their 2018 results in that group is 2x.
 - Last, some additional random error is generated in every seat to account for the possibility of riding by riding discrepancies that a swing model can't pick up. This error is slightly correlated at the group level, to account for the fact that if a party is beating their poll in one seat, they're slightly more likely to be beating their polls in other similar seats.

When we do this over and over again, it gives us distributions of the possible outcomes of the election riding by riding, given the polling swings in the groups of seats we want to look at and also accounting for the likely riding-level variation in polling trends that we cannot predict in advance.

Election Implications: Modelling seat counts

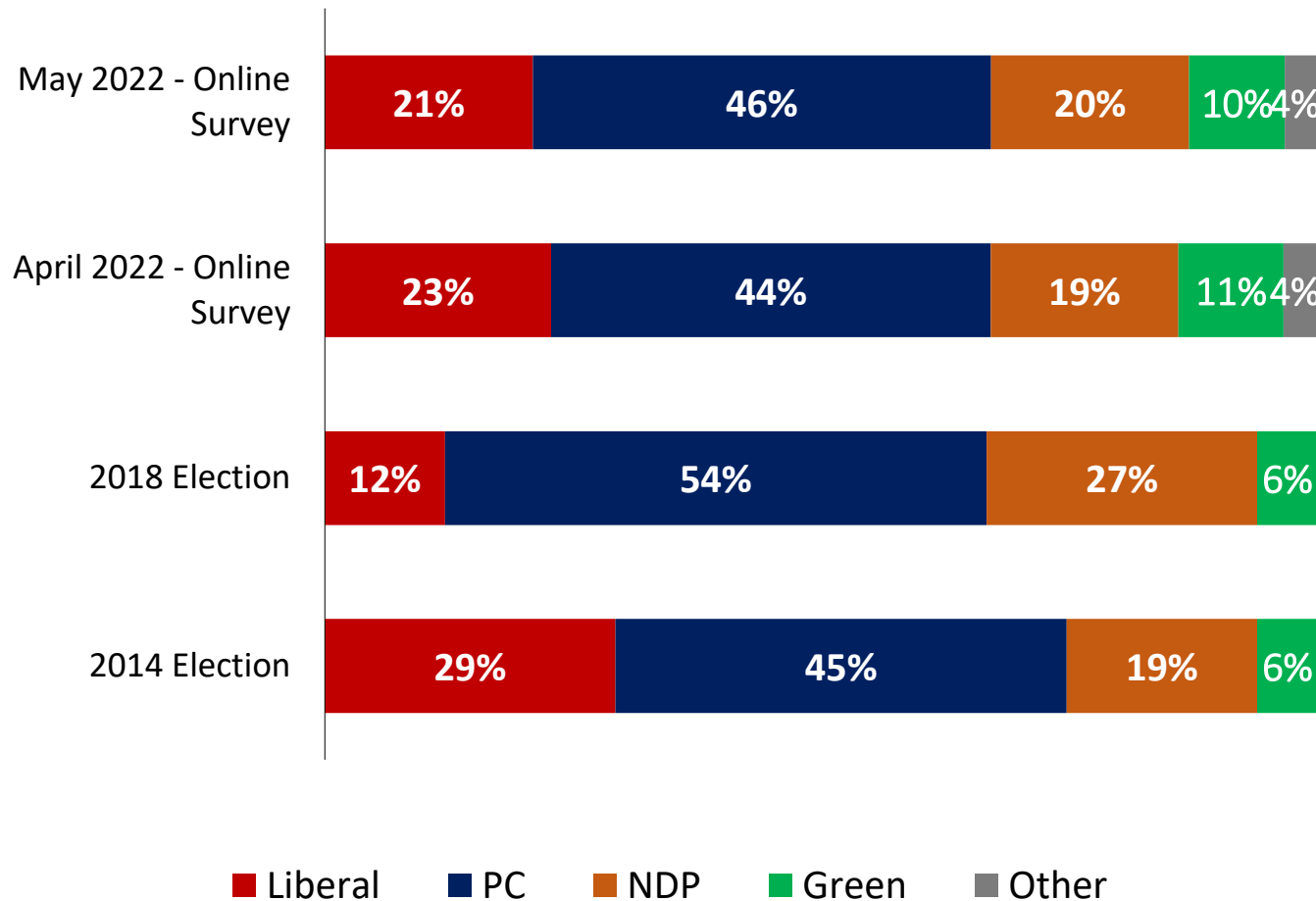
When we look at the results by seat clusters, the inevitable question is: ***What does this mean for the seat counts?*** We can model out these results based on our seat clusters, and also compare that to a more typical region-based model. With the lead the PC Party currently has, they are extremely likely to win the plurality of seats. The median result for both the riding cluster and regional models suggest the PC Party are likely to win a majority government, although the riding cluster model suggests it will be a larger majority government than the regional model.



Consistent PC: The number of PC voters has dropped 8% since the 2018 election; returning to the 2014 election levels

Decided Vote from combined surveys in May 2022 compared to actual election results in 2014 and 2018

[showing decided voters only; n=432]



The 28 seats the PCs won in both 2014 and 2018, and the 2018 win was by more than 15%.

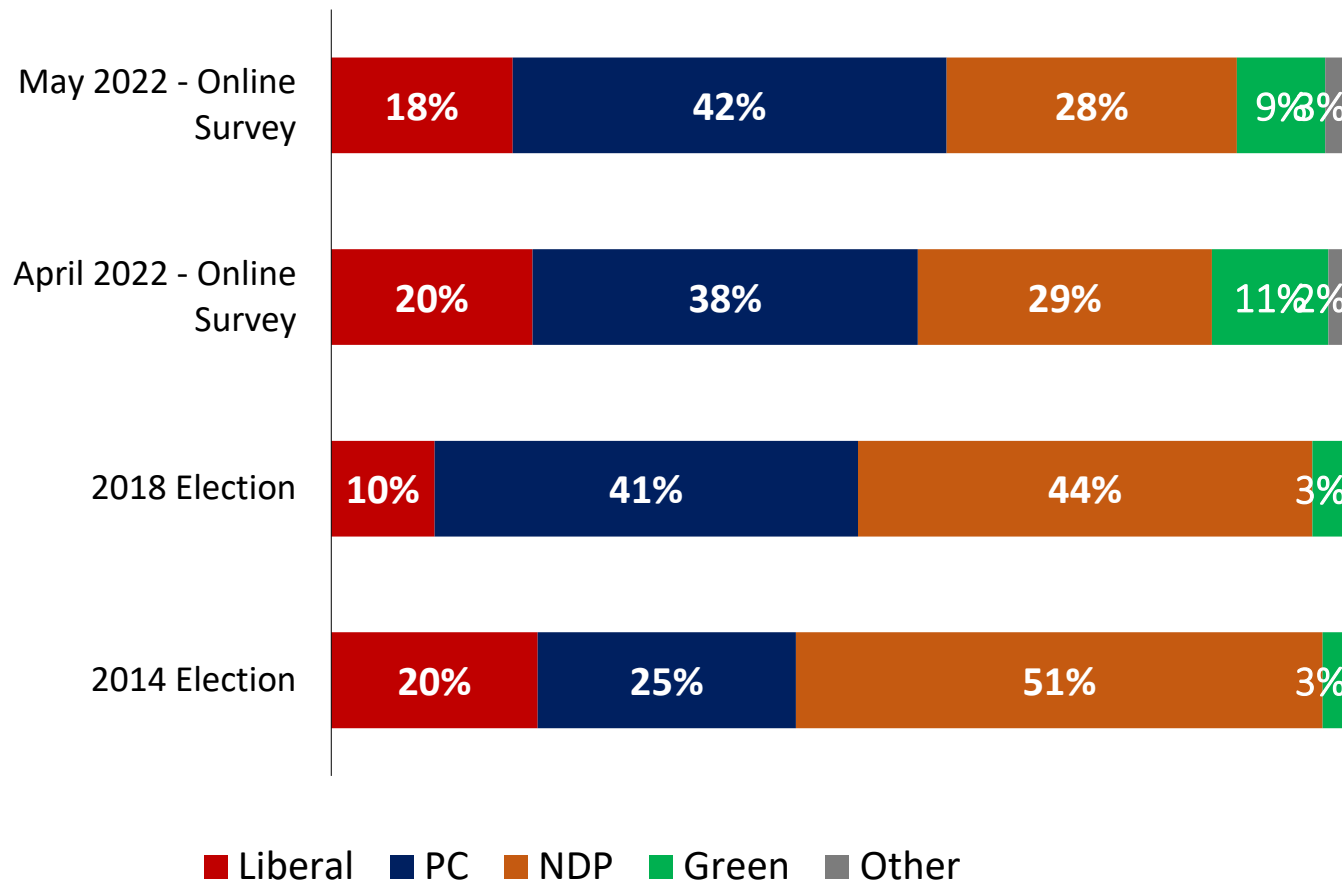
| Party | Projected ⁺ | Seats Won 2018 | Seats Won 2014 |
|---------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Liberal | 0 (0-3) | 0 | 0 |
| PC | 27 (25-28) | 28 | 28 |
| NDP | 0 (0-1) | 0 | 0 |

⁺Projected seat counts show the median prediction and the 90% confidence band around that outcome. Median projections may not add to the total number of seats.

PC-NDP Battlegrounds: The NDP are down 16pts since 2018 while the PC are steady at 42%, PCs set for gains

Decided Vote from combined surveys in May 2022 compared to actual election results in 2014 and 2018

[showing decided voters only; n=82]



The 5 seats either the PCs or NDP won in 2018 where the margin was less than 15% and Liberals weren't within 20% of the winner.

| Party | Projected ⁺ | Seats Won 2018 | Seats Won 2014 |
|---------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Liberal | 0 (0-1) | 0 | 0 |
| PC | 4 (2-5) | 1 | 0 |
| NDP | 0 (0-3) | 4 | 5 |

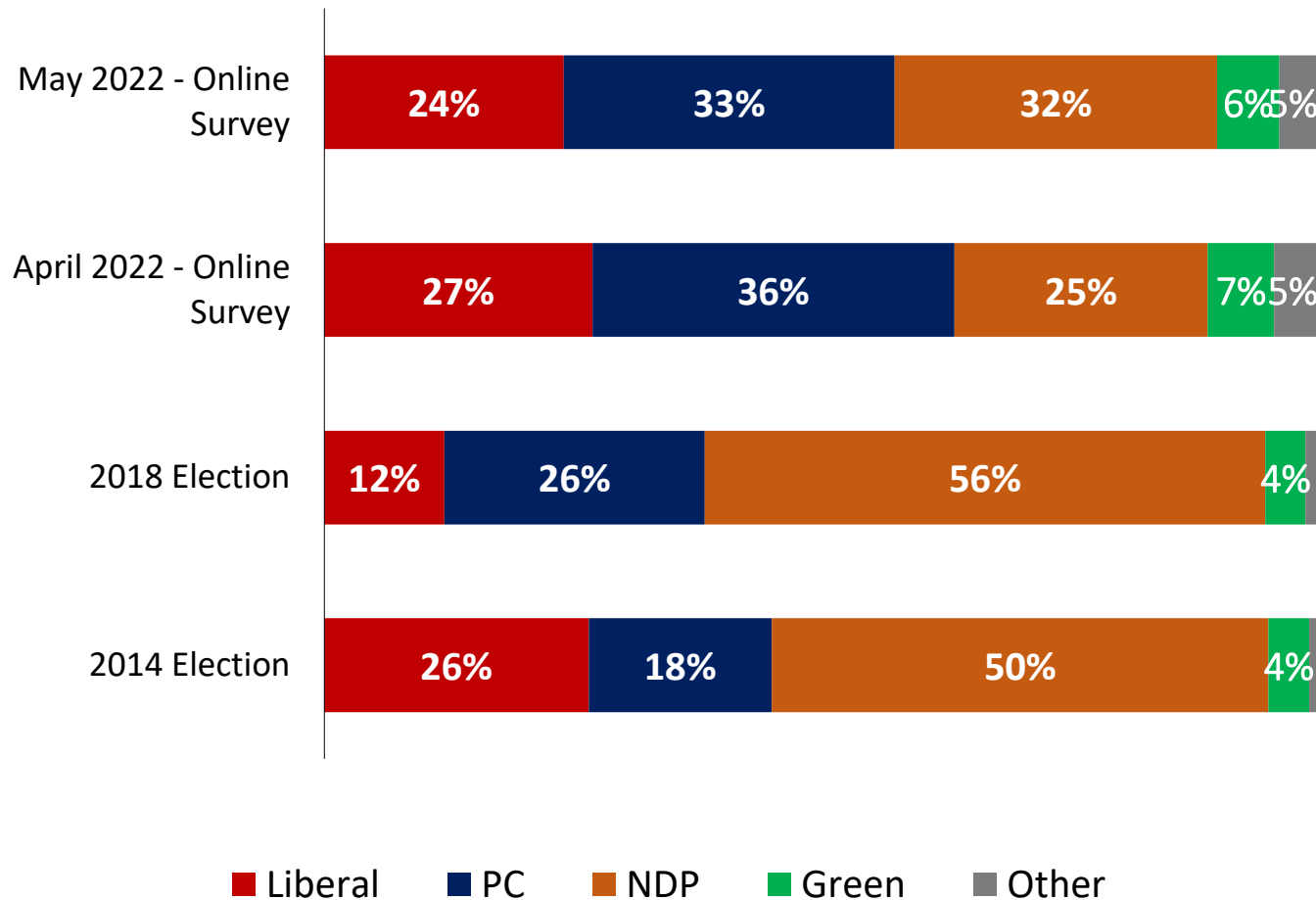
⁺Projected seat counts show the median prediction and the 90% confidence band around that outcome. Median projections may not add to the total number of seats.

Caution: This cluster has a small sample. The results should be considered directional

Consistent NDP: NDP are down 24% while the Liberals are up 12 pts and the PCs are up 7 pts, PCs poised for gains

Decided Vote from combined surveys in May 2022 compared to actual election results in 2014 and 2018

[showing decided voters only; n=292]



The 18 seats the NDP won in both 2014 and 2018, 2018 win was by more than 15%.

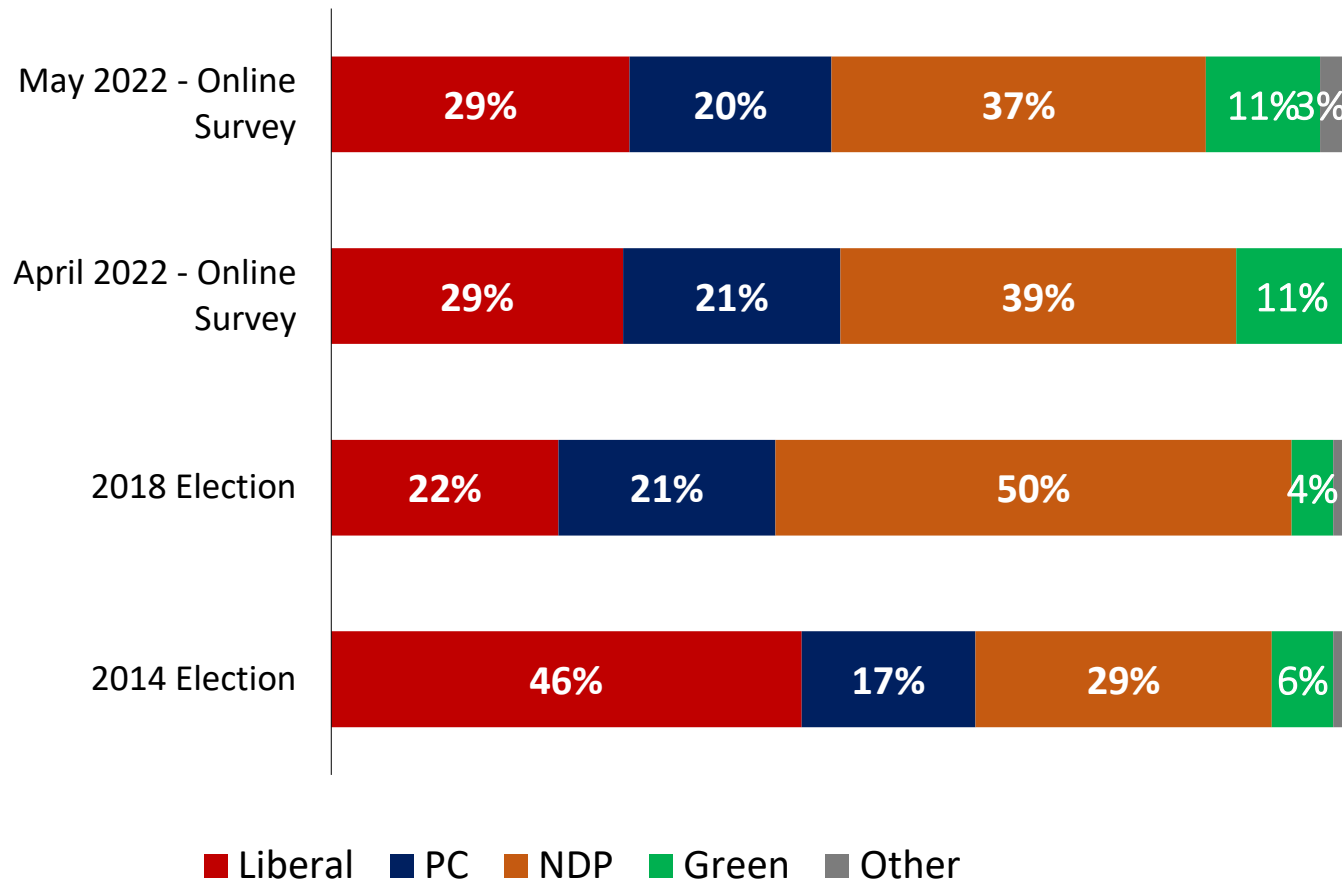
| Party | Projected ⁺ | Seats Won 2018 | Seats Won 2014 |
|----------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Liberal | 2 (0-5) | 0 | 0 |
| PC | 10 (3-14) | 0 | 0 |
| NDP | 6 (2-13) | 18 | 18 |

⁺Projected seat counts show the median prediction and the 90% confidence band around that outcome. Median projections may not add to the total number of seats.

OLP to NDP Pickup: The NDP are down 13% from 2018 with the Liberals and Greens up, NDP still likely to hold most gains

Decided Vote from combined surveys in May 2022 compared to actual election results in 2014 and 2018

[showing decided voters only; n=160]



The 7 seats the OLP won in 2014, then the NDP won in 2018 by more than 15%.

| Party | Projected ⁺ | Seats Won 2018 | Seats Won 2014 |
|----------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Liberal | 1 (0-5) | 0 | 7 |
| PC | 0 (0-2) | 0 | 0 |
| NDP | 5 (1-7) | 7 | 0 |

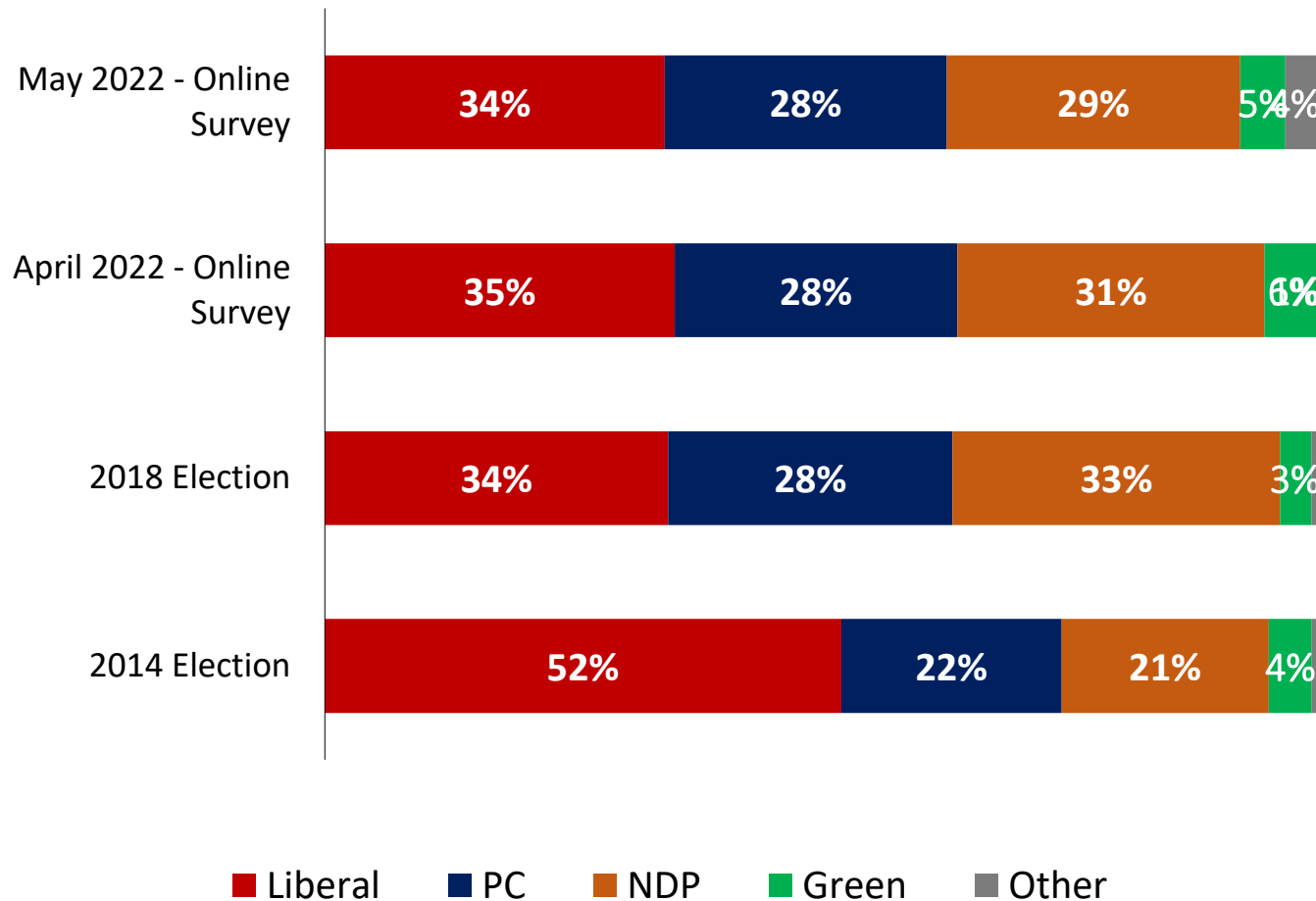
⁺Projected seat counts show the median prediction and the 90% confidence band around that outcome. Median projections may not add to the total number of seats.

Caution: This cluster has a small sample. The results should be considered directional

OLP Holds/Targets from NDP: The number of Liberal voters is consistent with 2018, NDP slightly lower, PCs benefit

Decided Vote from combined surveys in May 2022 compared to actual election results in 2014 and 2018

[showing decided voters only; n=230]



The 14 seats the OLP won in 2014, and either won again in 2018 or stayed within 15% of the NDP in 2018

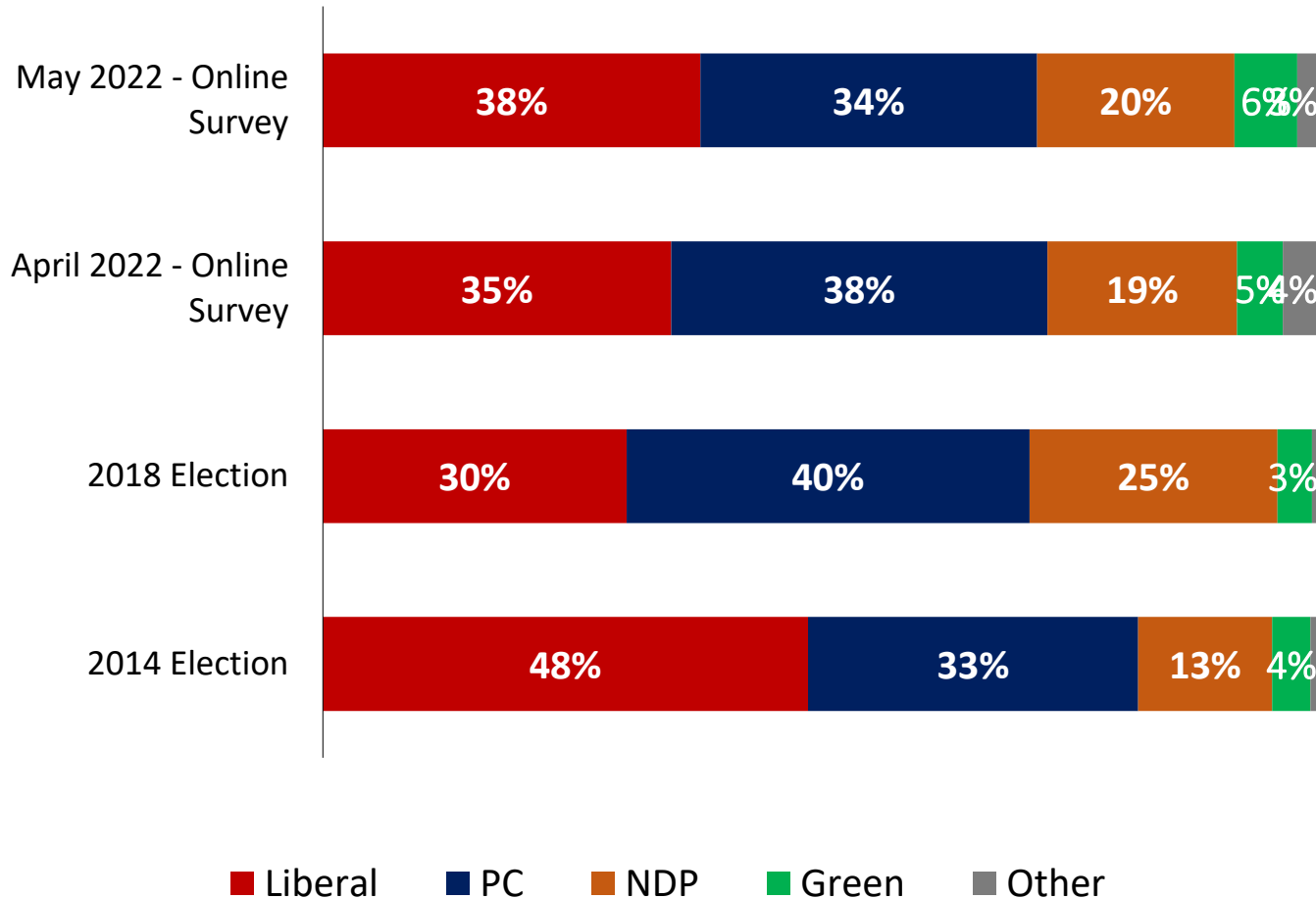
| Party | Projected ⁺ | Seats Won 2018 | Seats Won 2014 |
|----------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Liberal | 7 (2-11) | 7 | 14 |
| PC | 3 (0-8) | 0 | 0 |
| NDP | 4 (0-8) | 7 | 0 |

⁺Projected seat counts show the median prediction and the 90% confidence band around that outcome. Median projections may not add to the total number of seats.

OLP Targets from PCs: The number of Liberal voters has increased 8pts since the 2018 election, likely to regain seats from PCs

Decided Vote from combined surveys in May 2022 compared to actual election results in 2014 and 2018

[showing decided voters only; n=270]



The 13 seats the OLP won in 2014 and stayed within 15% of the PCs in 2018

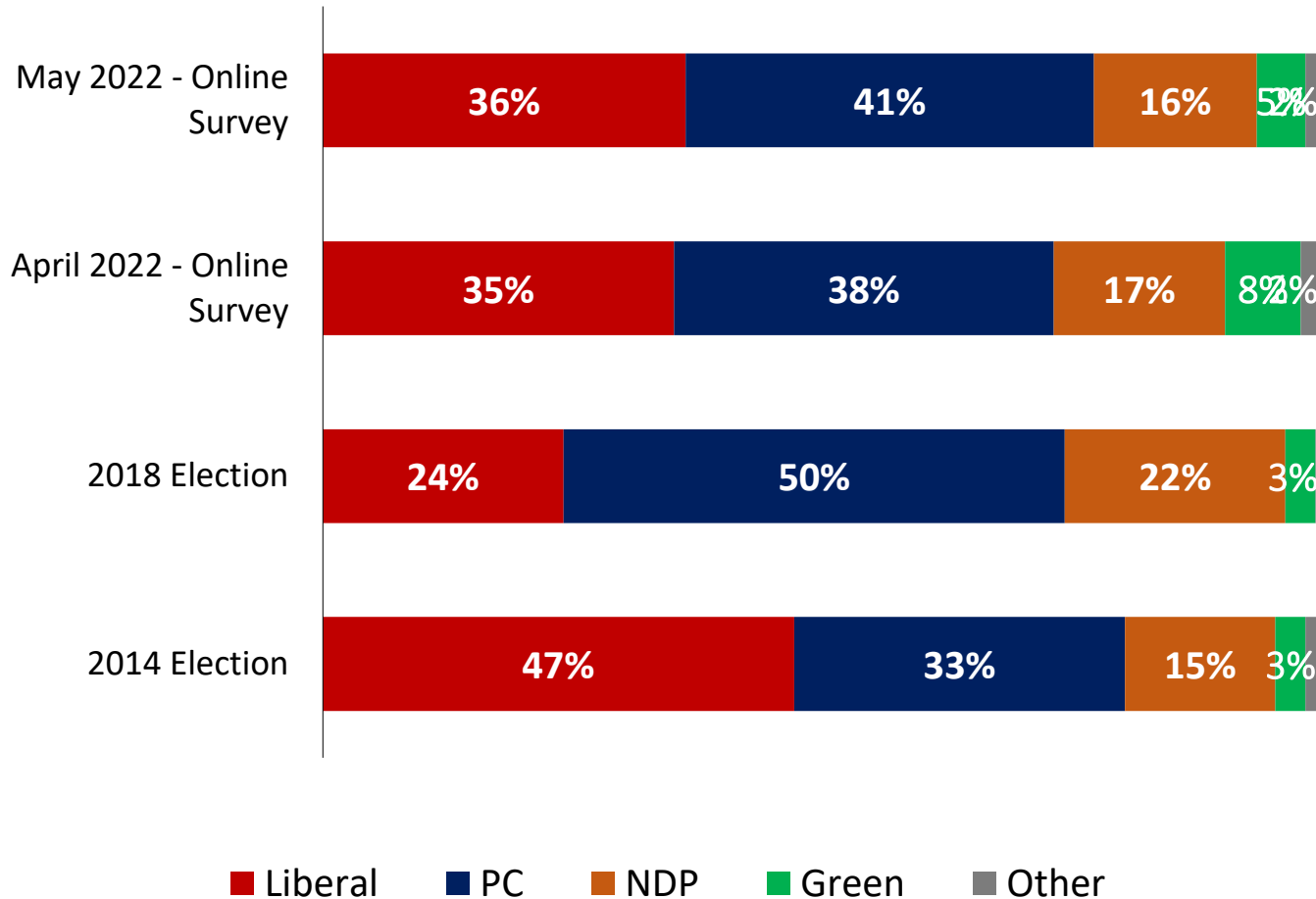
| Party | Projection | Seats Won 2018 | Seats Won 2014 |
|----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| Liberal | 8 (2-12) | 0 | 13 |
| PC | 4 (0-10) | 13 | 0 |
| NDP | 0 (0-3) | 0 | 0 |

*Projected seat counts show the median prediction and the 90% confidence band around that outcome. Median projections may not add to the total number of seats.

OLP to PC Pickup: PCs losing 9% of their voter share from the 2018 election while the Liberals are up 12 pts, Liberals to regain some seats

Decided Vote from combined surveys in May 2022 compared to actual election results in 2014 and 2018

[showing decided voters only; n=307]



The 17 seats the OLP won in 2014, then the PCs won in 2018 by more than 15%.

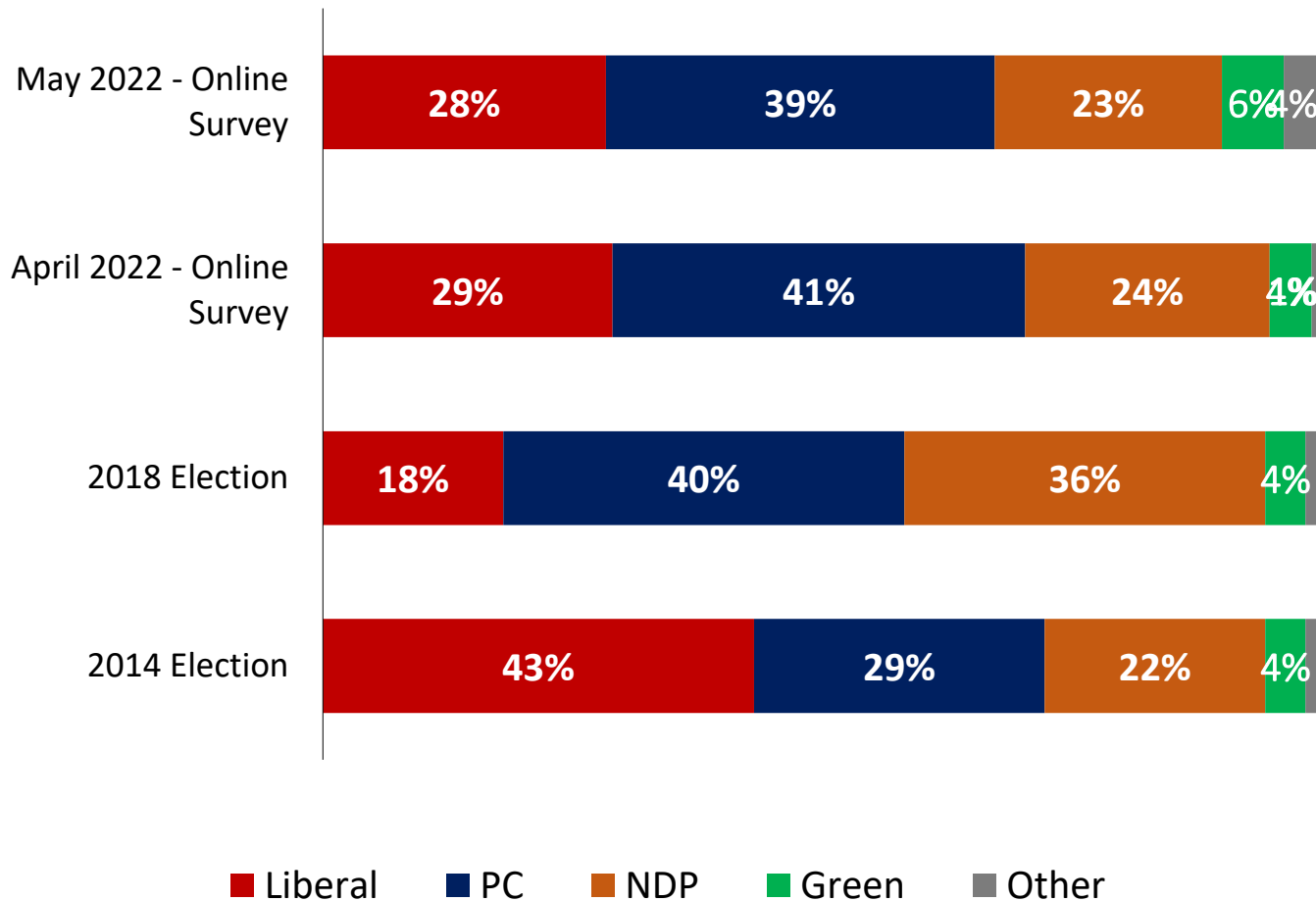
| Party | Projected ⁺ | Seats Won 2018 | Seats Won 2014 |
|----------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Liberal | 6 (1-12) | 0 | 17 |
| PC | 11 (5-16) | 17 | 0 |
| NDP | 0 (0-1) | 0 | 0 |

⁺Projected seat counts show the median prediction and the 90% confidence band around that outcome. Median projections may not add to the total number of seats.

Swing Battlegrounds: NDP are down 13% since the 2018 election, while the Liberals are up 10pts; Green votes up 2% during campaign

Decided Vote from combined surveys in May 2022 compared to actual election results in 2014 and 2018

[showing decided voters only; n=385]



Potential 3-way races. The 21 races where all three parties have been competitive historically.

| Party | Projected ⁺ | Seats Won 2018 | Seats Won 2014 |
|----------------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Liberal | 4 (0-10) | 0 | 17 |
| PC | 17 (10-21) | 17 | 4 |
| NDP | 0 (0-4) | 4 | 0 |

⁺Projected seat counts show the median prediction and the 90% confidence band around that outcome. Median projections may not add to the total number of seats.

Appendix 1: Survey Methodology

Online Sample Methodology: May 2022



- This report combines the results of three online surveys conducted in May 2022.
- In total, the dataset contains a representative sample of n=3,054 Ontarians, 18 years or older. The online samples of these surveys were conducted through INNOVATIVE's Canada 20/20 national research panel with additional respondents were provided from Dynata, a leading provider of online samples. The dates and sample sizes for each survey were:
 - *Wave 1: Conducted from May 5th to 9th, 2022 with an unweighted sample size of 801 (weighted to 700)*
 - *Wave 2: Conducted from May 12th to 16th, 2022 with an unweighted sample size of 818 (weighted to 700)*
 - *Wave 3: Conducted from May 17th to 23rd, 2022 with an unweighted sample size of 1,435 (weighted to 1,200)*
- The combined sample is weighted to n=2,600 by age, gender and provincial sub-regions using the latest Statistics Canada Census data. Results are additionally weighted by party ID to match a six-month rolling average from live caller telephone surveys (both landline and cellphone). Results are weighted to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual population to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample. Results for the latter three surveys were weighted to match the reported past vote from the first survey to avoid any biases across panels.
- Respondents were grouped together into their electoral districts based on their postal code. A weighted total of 88 respondents could not be grouped into a provincial electoral district because they did not provide a postal code or their postal code matched multiple districts.
- 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. Sub-regional quotas are set within regions to ensure there is a representative sample of respondents from across the entire region.
- This is a representative sample. However, since the online survey was not a random probability-based sample, a margin of error cannot be calculated. Statements about margins of sampling error or population estimates do not apply to most online panels.

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

Online Sample Methodology: April 2022



- This report combines the results of two online surveys conducted in April 2022.
- In total, the dataset contains a representative sample of n=2,982 Ontarians, 18 years or older. The online samples of these surveys were conducted through INNOVATIVE's Canada 20/20 national research panel with additional respondents were provided from Dynata & Asking Canadians, leading providers of online samples. The dates and sample sizes for each survey were:
 - *Wave 1: Conducted from April 4th to May 3rd, 2022 with an unweighted sample size of 1,569 (weighted to 1,200)*
 - *Wave 2: Conducted from April 27th to May 2nd, 2022 with an unweighted sample size of 1,414 (weighted to 1,000)*
- The combined sample is weighted to n=2,200 by age, gender and provincial sub-regions using the latest Statistics Canada Census data. Results are additionally weighted by party ID to match a six-month rolling average from live caller telephone surveys (both landline and cellphone). Results are weighted to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual population to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample. Results for the latter three surveys were weighted to match the reported past vote from the first survey to avoid any biases across panels.
- Respondents were grouped together into their electoral districts based on their postal code. A weighted total of 59 respondents could not be grouped into a provincial electoral district because they did not provide a postal code or their postal code matched multiple districts.
- 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. Sub-regional quotas are set within regions to ensure there is a representative sample of respondents from across the entire region.
- This is a representative sample. However, since the online survey was not a random probability-based sample, a margin of error cannot be calculated. Statements about margins of sampling error or population estimates do not apply to most online panels.

Online Sample Methodology

April 2022

May 2022

| | Unweighted (n) | Unweighted (%) | Weighted (n) | Weighted (%) |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Men 18-34 | 305 | 10.3% | 304 | 13.8% |
| Men 35-54 | 483 | 16.3% | 365 | 16.6% |
| Men 55+ | 718 | 24.2% | 388 | 17.7% |
| Women 18-34 | 355 | 12.0% | 305 | 13.9% |
| Women 35-54 | 518 | 17.5% | 391 | 17.8% |
| Women 55+ | 589 | 19.8% | 444 | 20.2% |
| Toronto | | | | |
| | 630 | 21.1% | 459 | 20.8% |
| Rest of GTA | | | | |
| | 709 | 23.8% | 579 | 26.2% |
| South/West | | | | |
| | 685 | 23.0% | 565 | 25.6% |
| North/East | | | | |
| | 958 | 32.1% | 604 | 27.4% |

| | Unweighted (n) | Unweighted (%) | Weighted (n) | Weighted (%) |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Men 18-34 | 304 | 10.0% | 358 | 13.8% |
| Men 35-54 | 452 | 14.9% | 432 | 16.7% |
| Men 55+ | 630 | 20.8% | 459 | 17.7% |
| Women 18-34 | 414 | 13.6% | 357 | 13.8% |
| Women 35-54 | 537 | 17.7% | 461 | 17.8% |
| Women 55+ | 699 | 23.0% | 524 | 20.2% |
| Toronto | | | | |
| | 691 | 22.6% | 545 | 20.9% |
| Rest of GTA | | | | |
| | 756 | 24.8% | 680 | 26.1% |
| South/West | | | | |
| | 787 | 25.8% | 674 | 25.9% |
| North/East | | | | |
| | 820 | 26.9% | 705 | 27.1% |

Appendix 2: Seat Cluster Definitions

Seat Cluster Distribution by Region

| | Centre Toronto | Outer Toronto | West Metro Belt | North/East Metro Belt | South West | South Central | Central | East | North |
|-------------------------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|---------------|---------|------|-------|
| Consistent NDP | 2 | | | | 4 | 5 | | | 7 |
| Consistent PC | | | | 1 | 8 | 3 | 9 | 6 | 1 |
| OLP Holds/ NDP Targets | 3 | 3 | | | | 1 | | 5 | 2 |
| OLP Targets from PCs | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 2 | |
| OLP to NDP Pickup | 5 | | | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| OLP to PC Pickup | 2 | 3 | 2 | 9 | | | 1 | | |
| Other | | | | | | 1 | | | |
| PC-NDP Battlegrounds | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | | 1 |
| Swing Battlegrounds | | 3 | 8 | 2 | | 5 | | 1 | 2 |

Consistent NDP

Seats the NDP won in both 2014 and 2018, 2018 win was by more than 15%.

| Riding Name | Region |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Algoma--Manitoulin | North |
| Hamilton Centre | South Central |
| Hamilton East--Stoney Creek | South Central |
| Hamilton Mountain | South Central |
| Kiiwetinoong | North |
| London West | South West |
| London--Fanshawe | South West |
| Mushkegowuk | North |
| Niagara Falls | South Central |
| Nickel Belt | North |
| Parkdale--High Park | Centre Toronto |
| Sudbury | North |
| Timiskaming--Cochrane | North |
| Timmins | North |
| Toronto--Danforth | Centre Toronto |
| Waterloo | South Central |
| Windsor West | South West |
| Windsor--Tecumseh | South West |

Consistent PC

Seats the PCs won in both 2014 and 2018, and the 2018 win was by more than 15%.

| Riding Name | Region |
|---|---------------|
| Barrie--Innisfil | Central |
| Barrie--Springwater--Oro-Medonte | Central |
| Bay of Quinte | Central |
| Bruce--Grey--Owen Sound | South West |
| Carleton | East |
| Chatham-Kent--Leamington | South West |
| Dufferin--Caledon | Central |
| Elgin--Middlesex--London | South West |
| Haldimand--Norfolk | South Central |
| Haliburton--Kawartha Lakes--Brock | Central |
| Hastings--Lennox and Addington | Central |
| Huron--Bruce | South West |
| Lambton--Kent--Middlesex | South West |
| Lanark--Frontenac--Kingston | East |
| Leeds--Grenville--Thousand Islands and Rideau Lakes | East |
| Nepean | East |
| Niagara West | South Central |
| Oxford | South West |

| Riding Name | Region |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Parry Sound--Muskoka | North |
| Perth--Wellington | South West |
| Renfrew--Nipissing--Pembroke | East |
| Sarnia--Lambton | South West |
| Simcoe North | Central |
| Simcoe--Grey | Central |
| Stormont--Dundas--South Glengarry | East |
| Thornhill | North/East Metro Belt |
| Wellington--Halton Hills | South Central |
| York--Simcoe | Central |

OLP Holds/Targets from NDP

Seats the OLP won in 2014, and either won again in 2018 or stayed within 15% of the NDP in 2018

| Riding Name | Region |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Don Valley East | Outer Toronto |
| Don Valley West | Outer Toronto |
| Orléans | East |
| Ottawa South | East |
| Ottawa--Vanier | East |
| Scarborough--Guildwood | Outer Toronto |
| Thunder Bay--Superior North | North |
| Humber River--Black Creek | Centre Toronto |
| Kingston and the Islands | East |
| Ottawa Centre | East |
| St. Catharines | South Central |
| Thunder Bay--Atikokan | North |
| Toronto--St. Paul's | Centre Toronto |
| York South--Weston | Centre Toronto |

OLP Targets from PCs

Seats the OLP won in 2014 and stayed within 15% of the PCs in 2018

| Riding Name | Region |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Ajax | North/East Metro Belt |
| Cambridge | South Central |
| Don Valley North | Outer Toronto |
| Eglinton--Lawrence | Centre Toronto |
| Etobicoke Centre | Outer Toronto |
| Etobicoke--Lakeshore | Outer Toronto |
| Glengarry--Prescott--Russell | East |
| Milton | West Metro Belt |
| Mississauga East--Cooksville | West Metro Belt |
| Mississauga--Lakeshore | West Metro Belt |
| Oakville | West Metro Belt |
| Ottawa West--Nepean | East |
| Peterborough--Kawartha | Central |

OLP to NDP Pickup

Seats the OLP won in 2014, then the NDP won in 2018 by more than 15%.

| Riding Name | Region |
|----------------------|----------------|
| Beaches--East York | Centre Toronto |
| Davenport | Centre Toronto |
| Kitchener Centre | South Central |
| London North Centre | South West |
| Spadina--Fort York | Centre Toronto |
| Toronto Centre | Centre Toronto |
| University--Rosedale | Centre Toronto |

OLP to PC Pickup

Seats the OLP won in 2014, then the PCs won in 2018 by more than 15%.

| Riding Name | Region |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Aurora--Oak Ridges--Richmond Hill | North/East Metro Belt |
| Durham | North/East Metro Belt |
| Etobicoke North | Outer Toronto |
| King--Vaughan | North/East Metro Belt |
| Markham--Stouffville | North/East Metro Belt |
| Markham--Thornhill | North/East Metro Belt |
| Markham--Unionville | North/East Metro Belt |
| Mississauga--Streetsville | West Metro Belt |
| Newmarket--Aurora | North/East Metro Belt |
| Northumberland--Peterborough South | Central |
| Oakville North--Burlington | West Metro Belt |
| Richmond Hill | North/East Metro Belt |
| Scarborough North | Outer Toronto |
| Scarborough--Agincourt | Outer Toronto |
| Vaughan--Woodbridge | North/East Metro Belt |
| Willowdale | Centre Toronto |
| York Centre | Centre Toronto |

PC-NDP Battlegrounds

Seats either the PCs or NDP won in 2018 where the margin was less than 15% and Liberals weren't within 20% of the winner.

| Riding Name | Region |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Brampton East | West Metro Belt |
| Essex | South West |
| Niagara Centre | South Central |
| Oshawa | North/East Metro Belt |
| Kenora--Rainy River | North |

Swing Battlegrounds

Potential 3-way races. Races where all three parties have been competitive historically.

| Riding Name | Region |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| Brampton Centre | West Metro Belt |
| Brampton North | West Metro Belt |
| Hamilton West--Ancaster--Dundas | South Central |
| Scarborough Southwest | Outer Toronto |
| Brampton South | West Metro Belt |
| Brampton West | West Metro Belt |
| Brantford--Brant | South Central |
| Burlington | West Metro Belt |
| Flamborough--Glanbrook | South Central |
| Kanata--Carleton | East |

| Riding Name | Region |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| Kitchener South--Hespeler | South Central |
| Kitchener--Conestoga | South Central |
| Mississauga Centre | West Metro Belt |
| Mississauga--Erin Mills | West Metro Belt |
| Mississauga--Malton | West Metro Belt |
| Nipissing | North |
| Pickering--Uxbridge | North/East Metro Belt |
| Sault Ste. Marie | North |
| Scarborough Centre | Outer Toronto |
| Scarborough--Rouge Park | Outer Toronto |
| Whitby | North/East Metro Belt |



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Greg Lyle

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www.innovativeresearch.ca