

Assessing the Alberta Election Campaign

Public Opinion Research
Field Dates: May 29th to May 31st, 2023

Survey Methodology

These are the results of an online survey conducted between May 29th and May 31st, 2023.

Method: This online survey was conducted using Lucid and Dynata, leading providers of online samples. 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 Albertan population according to Census data to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample.

Sample Size: n=1,006 Albertan residents, 18 years or older. The results are weighted to n=1,000 based on Census data from Statistics Canada.

Field Dates: May 29th to May 31st, 2023.

Weighting: Results are weighted by age, gender, region, and education to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual population according to census. The results are also weighted by reported vote in the election to match preliminary vote totals in each region from Elections Alberta. The weighting is intended to provide results that approximate a probability sample. Weighted and unweighted frequencies are reported in the table.

Margin of Error: 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.

	Unweighted (n)	Unweighted (%)	Weighted (n)	Weighted (%)
Men 18-34	131	13.1%	147	14.9%
Men 35-54	146	14.6%	179	18.1%
Men 55+	170	17.0%	163	16.5%
Women 18-34	176	17.6%	144	14.6%
Women 35-54	181	18.1%	179	18.1%
Women 55+	196	19.6%	175	17.8%
Calgary CMA	342	34.0%	320	32.0%
Edmonton CMA	335	33.3%	324	32.4%
Rest of Alberta	329	32.7%	356	35.6%

About This Report

This report focused on the impact of the UCP and NDP election campaigns. We want to know who moved and why. We focus on attitudinal groups, not demographics, to better understand the motives of voters.

This is a report of key highlights from an online survey conducted between May 29th and May 31st, 2023. We will release the full results at a later date.

This report builds on our pre-election survey which was released in these two posts:

- [NDP Gains Centered in UCP Strongholds – Innovative Research Group](#)
- [A Deep Dive into the Alberta Election – Innovative Research Group](#)

There is also an article that provides a little more insight into some of the specific findings in this deck which can be found here: [Public Affairs Research – Innovative Research Group](#)

Throughout this report we use NET SCORES to summarise key results. There are two ways we use NET SCORES.

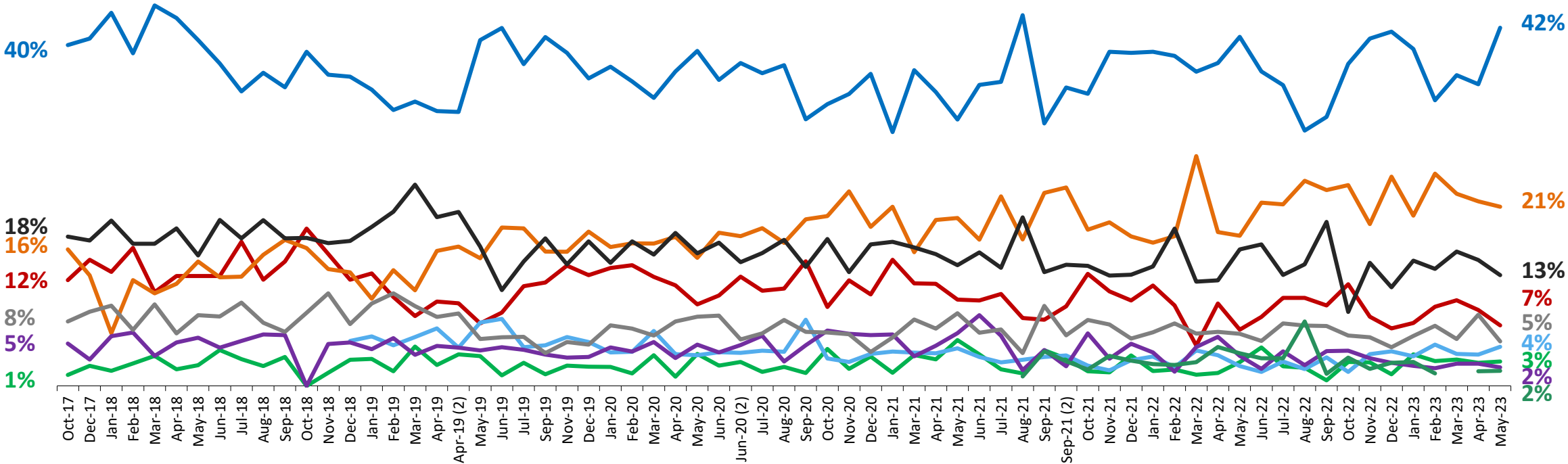
- **Change from the pre-election study.** When you look at slides like slide 6 and see that Business Liberals have a +10 for the UCP on health care, it means that Business Liberals rated the UCP 10 points higher as the best party on health care in the post-election study than in the pre-election. This means the UCP improved its brand image with that group of voters on that dimension.
- **Change in the vote margin between the NDP and the UCP.** When you look at slides like slide 24 and see that Soft UCP supporters have a +32 on the UCP lead change, it means that the UCP lead over the NDP grew by 32 points between the pre-election study and the post-election survey. This means the UCP rallied their soft supporters dramatically.

It Isn't Easy Being Orange

The UCP Always Enjoyed a Brand Advantage and Grew It During the Campaign



Thinking about politics in Alberta, generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a...
[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]

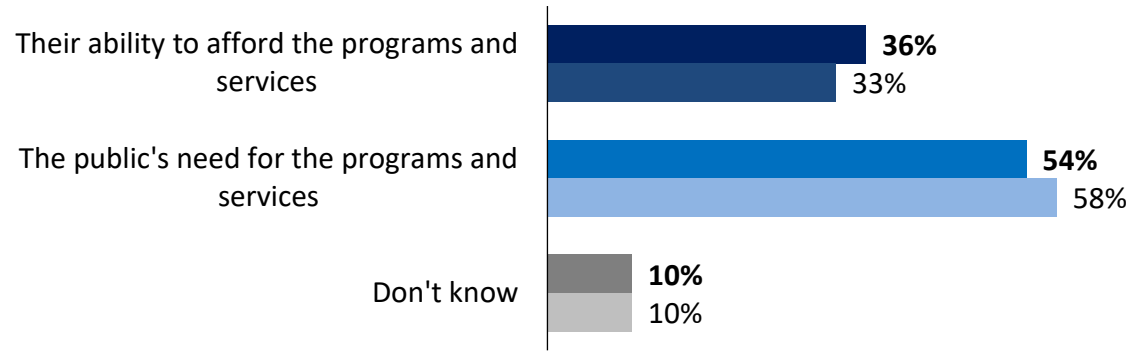


- Liberal
- United Conservative
- NDP
- Green
- Alberta Party
- Other
- Don't know
- None/Independent
- Wildrose Independent

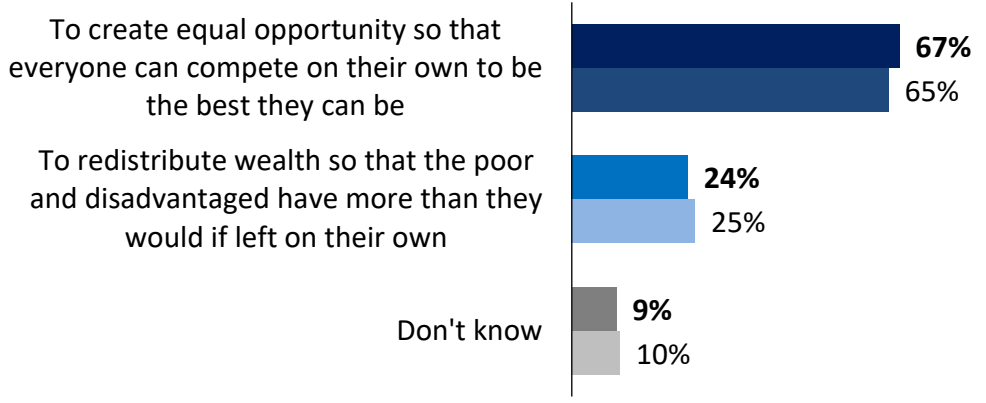
The UCP Brand Advantage Is Not About Traditional Conservatives Values

Core Political Values: Nearly 7-in-10 (67%) think the main role of government is to create equal opportunity

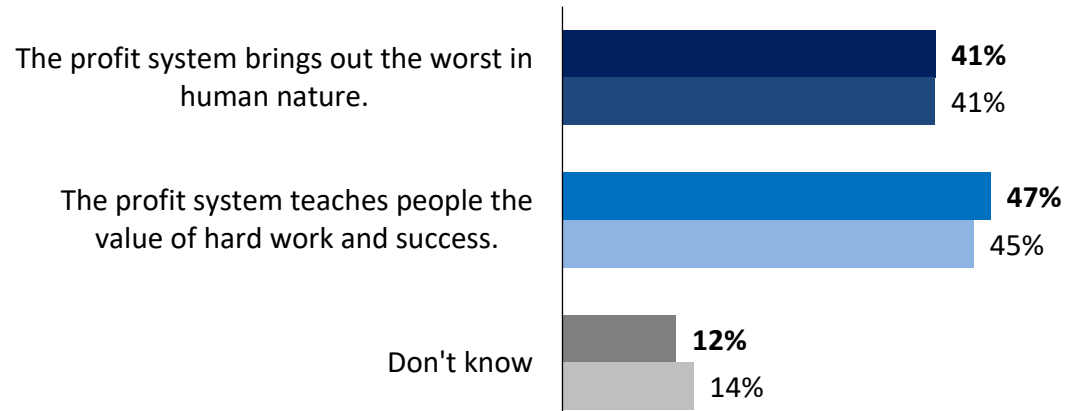
Q When governments make major decisions concerning spending on programs and services, do you think they should be basing their decisions mainly on...?
[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]



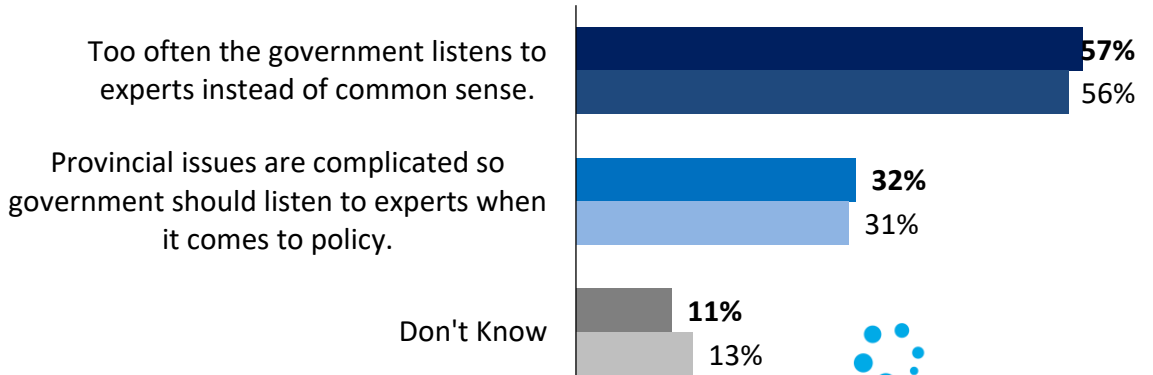
Q Is the main role of government to...?
[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]



Q Which of the following statements comes closest to your view?
[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]



Q When it comes to government decision making, which of the following statements is closest to your view?
[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]



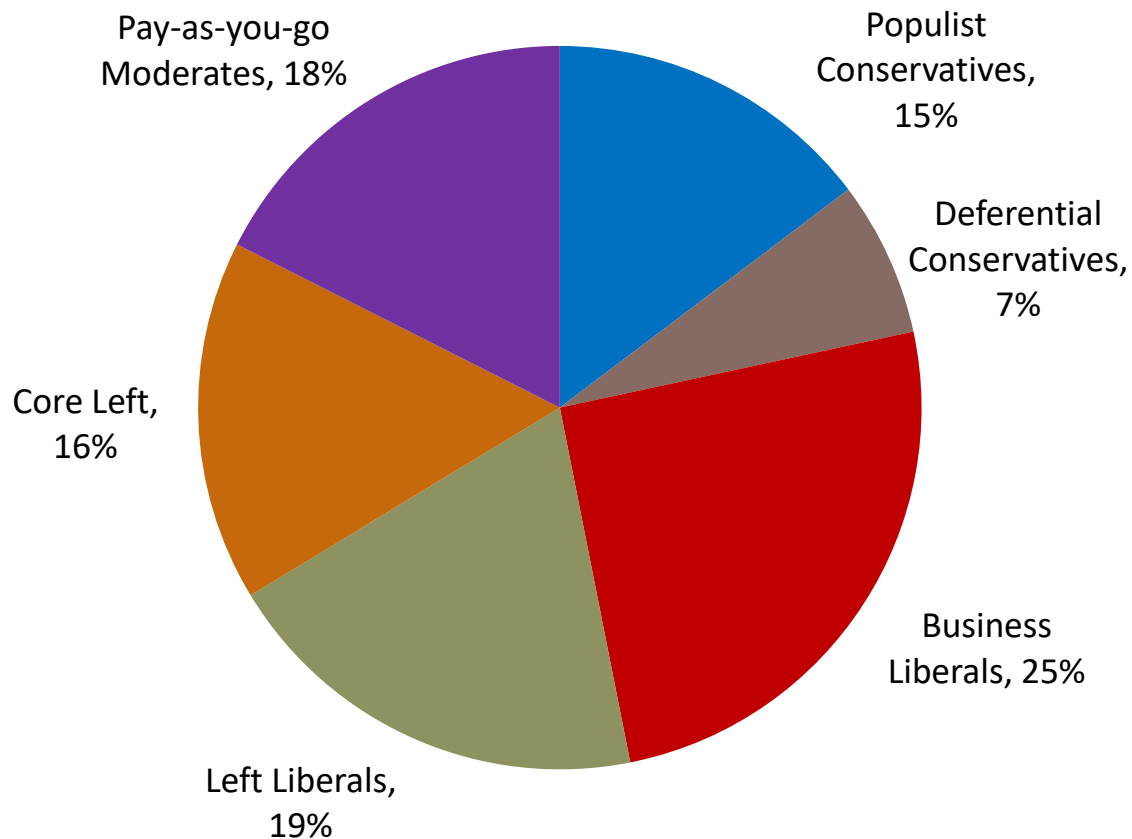
■ Post Election – May 2023 ■ Pre Election – April 2023

In Terms of Values, Both the UCP and NDP have Limited Bases. Each Must Attract Voters With Diverse Values to Win

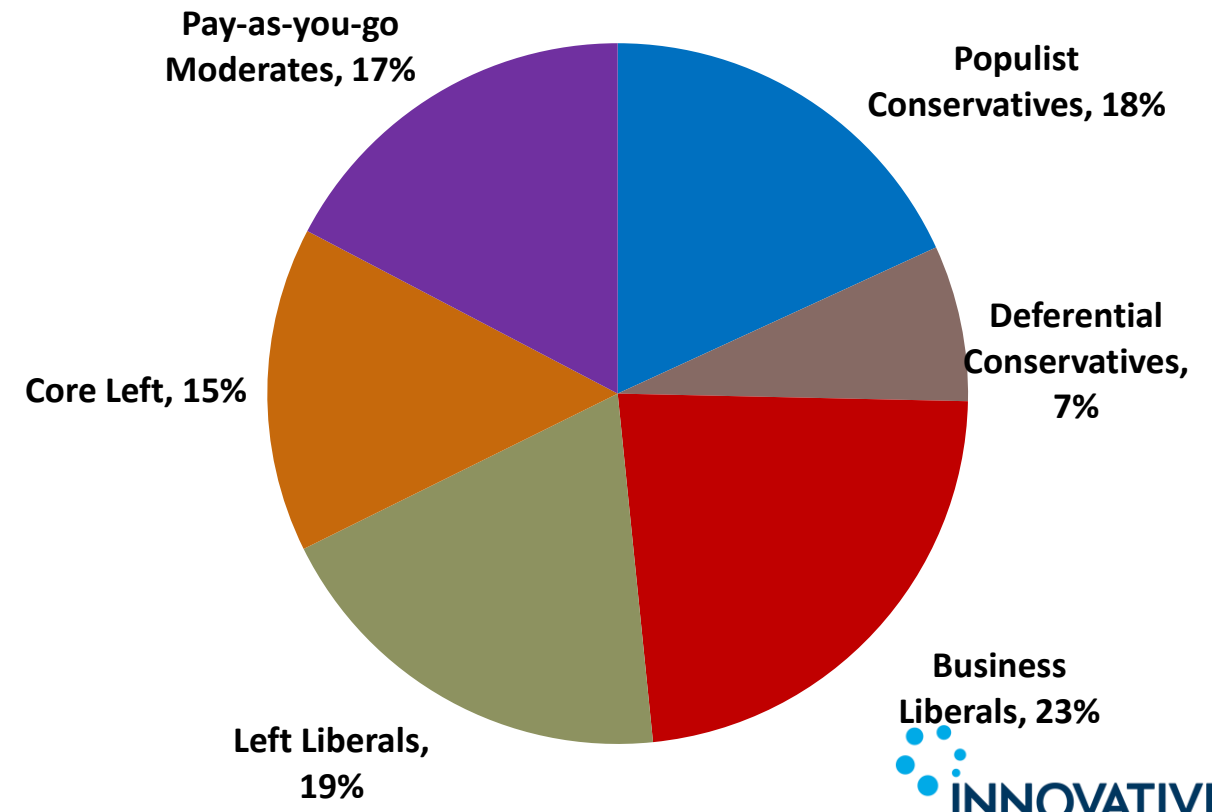
Clusters are based on 4 basic values: equal opportunity versus redistribution; trust in the profit system; whether spending should be based on ability to afford or public need; and whether government should listen to experts or common sense.

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

Pre-Election (April 2023)



Post-Election (May 2023)



Change in UCP-NDP Margin by Values: UCP grew lead among Pay-as-go Moderates and Bus Libs, slipped with Def Cons and Core Left

	Populist Conservatives	Deferential Conservatives	Business Liberals	Left Liberals	Core Left	Pay-as-you-go Moderates
UCP Margin Pre Election – April 2023	+66%	+9%	+6%	-21%	-53%	+7%
UCP Margin Post Election – May 2023	+66%	+1%	+16%	-16%	-64%	+21%
Swing	±0pts	-9pts	+9pts	+5pts	-12pts	+14pts

UCP Margin/Swing. The top two rows show the UCP margin vs the NDP by cluster in the pre and post election surveys. A positive score is an UCP lead. A negative score is a NDP lead. The bottom row shows the swing over the course of the campaign. A positive score is a swing towards the UCP. A negative score is a swing towards the NDP.

**Conservatives are the Party
Albertans can Count On to Protect
Them**

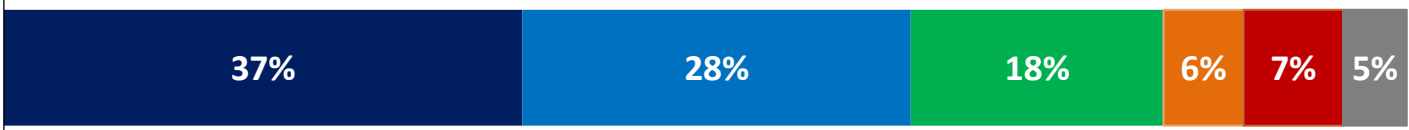
Tracking Alienation Attitudes: More people post-election somewhat or strongly agree with the statements



Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]

After years of giving more to Canada than we took, when Alberta needed help, Canada let us down

Post-Election - May 2023



Pre-Election - April 2023



It is time for Alberta to stand up to rest of Canada and say we are not going to take it anymore

Post-Election - May 2023



Pre-Election - April 2023



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



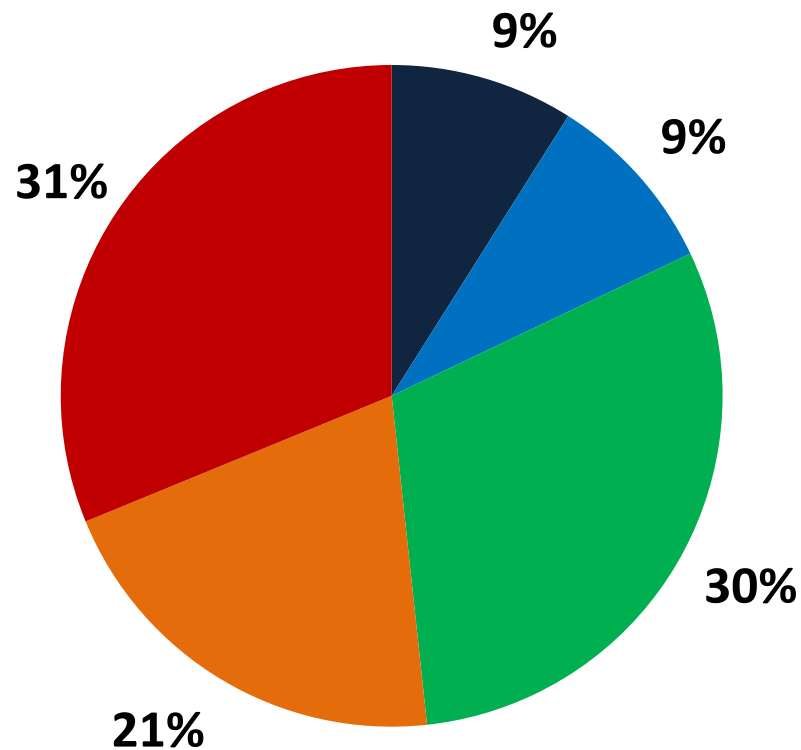
The Pool of Regionally Alienated Voters Grew During the Campaign



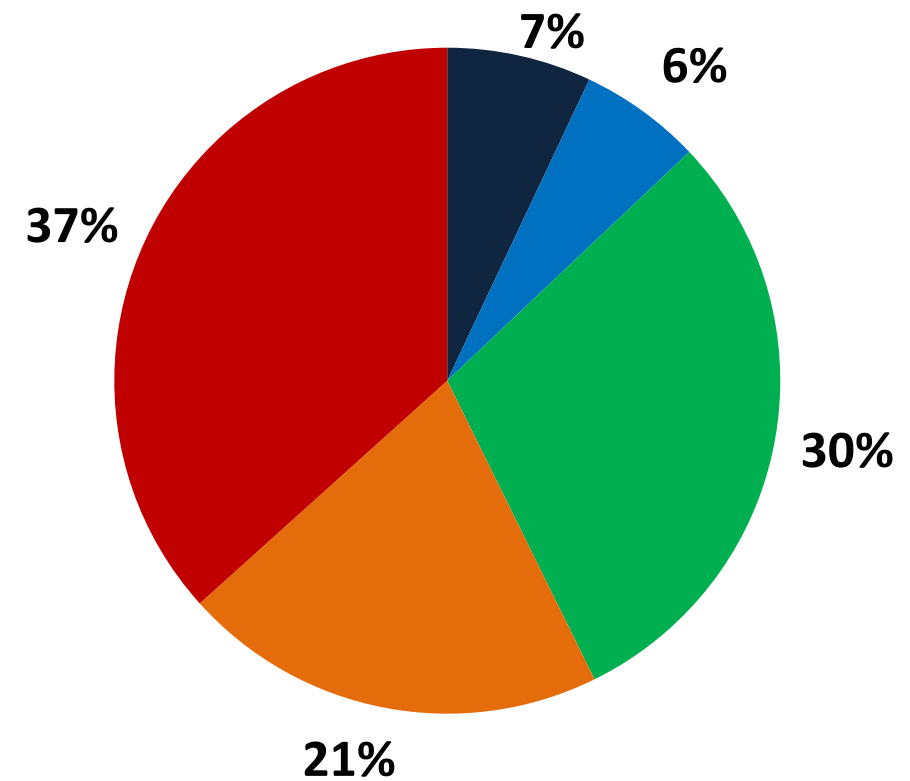
Alienation segmentation: We combined the following two questions into an index measuring the amount of alienation Albertans feel from Canada

- Agree/Disagree: *After years of giving more to Canada than we took, when Alberta needed help, Canada let us down.*
- Agree/Disagree: *It is time for Alberta to stand up to rest of Canada and say we are not going to take it anymore.*

Pre-Election (April 2023)



Post-Election (May 2023)



■ Strongly not alienated
 ■ Somewhat not alienated
 ■ Neutral
 ■ Somewhat alienated
 ■ Strongly alienated

Change in UCP-NDP Margin BY Western Alienation: Those who experience western alienation were more likely to vote UCP in May

	Strongly not alienated	Somewhat not alienated	Neutral	Somewhat not alienated	Strongly alienated
UCP Margin Pre Election – April 2023	-90%	-55%	-19%	+3%	+60%
UCP Margin Post Election – May 2023	-93%	-80%	-23%	+5%	+71%
Swing	-3pts	-25pts	-4pts	+2pts	+11pts

UCP Margin/Swing. The top two rows show the UCP margin vs the NDP by cluster in the pre and post election surveys. A positive score is an UCP lead. A negative score is a NDP lead. The bottom row shows the swing over the course of the campaign. A positive score is a swing towards the UCP. A negative score is a swing towards the NDP.

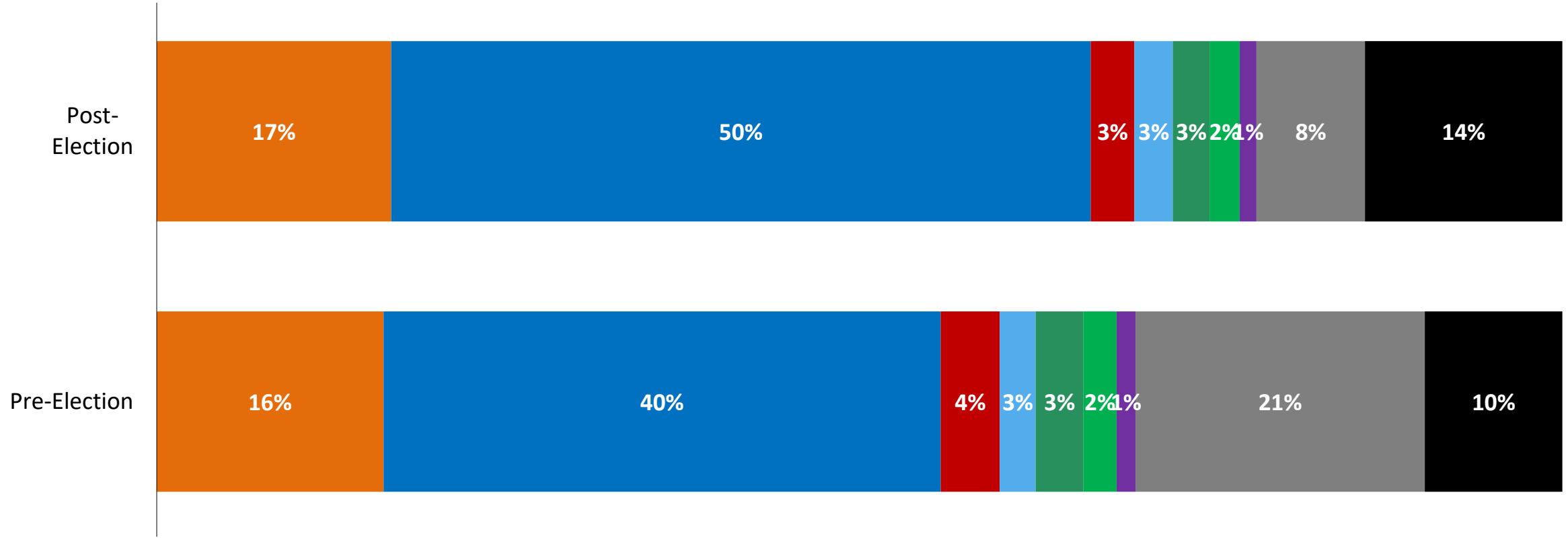
Half of All Albertans Feel the UCP Will Do a Better Job of Standing Up to the Federal Gov't than the NDP



For each of the following issues, please indicate which party you think would do the best job of dealing with that issue or if you think none of the parties would do a good job on that issue.

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

Standing up to the federal government



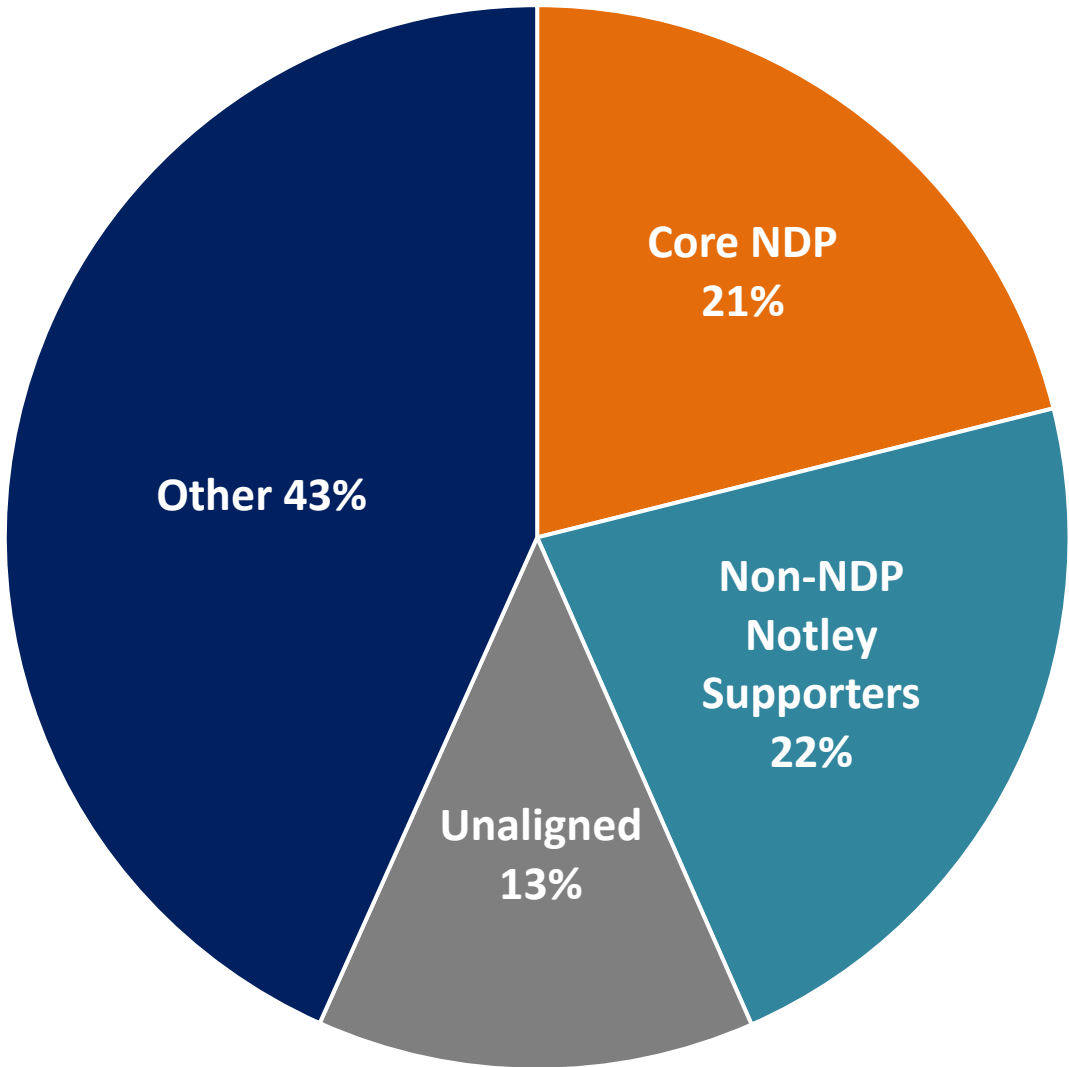
NDP UCP Liberal Alberta Party Wildrose Independence Green Other Don't know None



**Rachel Notley Provides a Bridge
that Allows Moderate Voters to
Vote NDP**

Notley Political Segmentation: There are just as many Non-NDP Notley supporters as there are Core NDP

Impression of Rachel Notley BY Party ID



Segment	Description
Core NDP	Identify as NDP
Non-NDP Notley Supporters	Positive impression of Rachel Notley and DO NOT identify as NDP
Unaligned	Unaligned and neutral or negative impression of Rachel Notley
Other	Neutral or negative impression of Rachel Notley and identify as a partisan for another party

Reported Vote by Party Vote Certainty: Nearly 7-in-10 (67%) of non-NDP Notley supporters report voting for the NDP

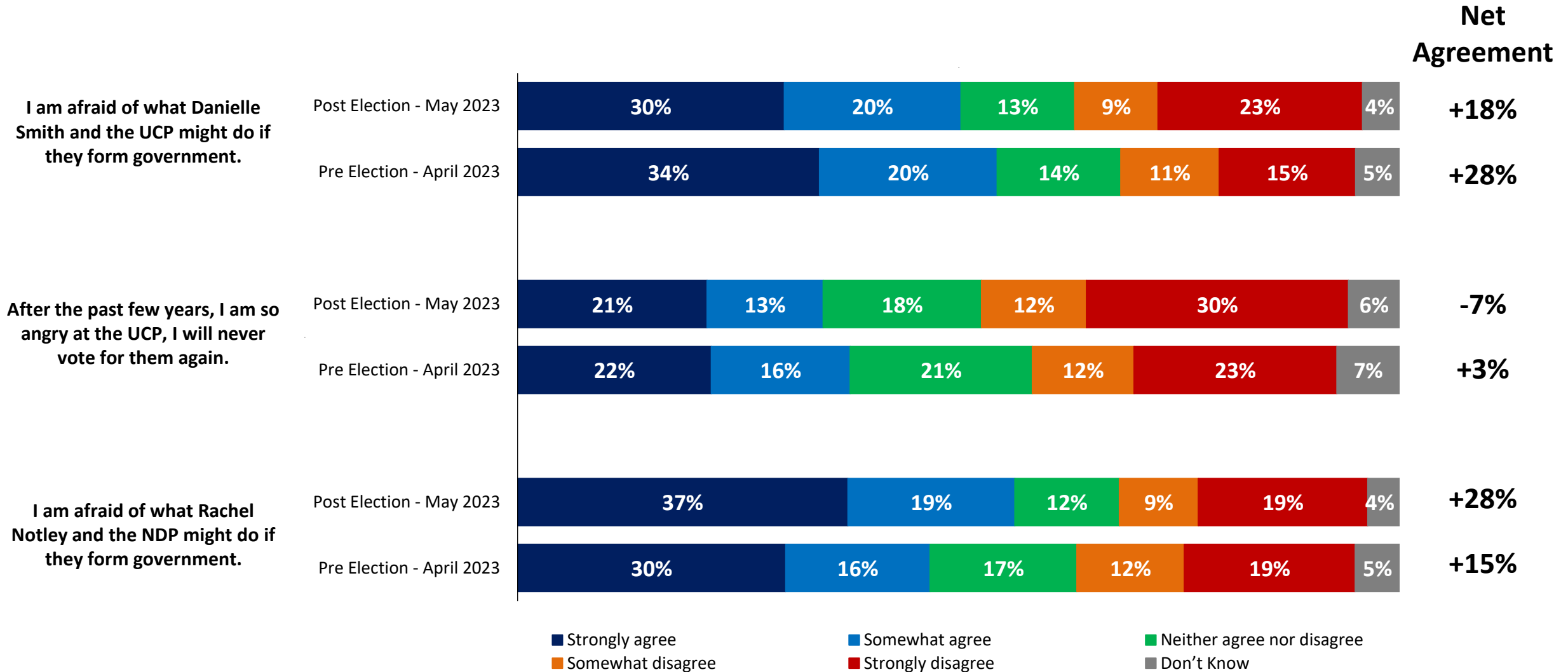
Reported Vote By Notley Political Segmentation
(Column %)

	Core NDP	Non-NDP Notley Supporters	Unaligned	Other
	(N=179)	(N=180)	(N=59)	(N=351)
Reported Vote				
NDP	98%	67%	30%	7%
UCP	2%	32%	55%	89%
Other	0%	2%	15%	4%

Winning as Lesser of Evils

Albertans Became Less Afraid of Danielle Smith and the UCP and Ended Up More Fearful of Rachel Notley and the NDP

Q Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements
 [asked of all respondents; n=1,000]



Time for Change: Agreement with the UCP still being the best party to form government increased by 11 points since April 2023

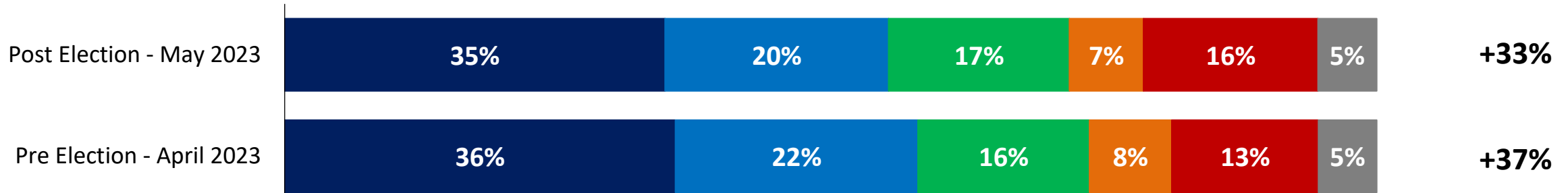


Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

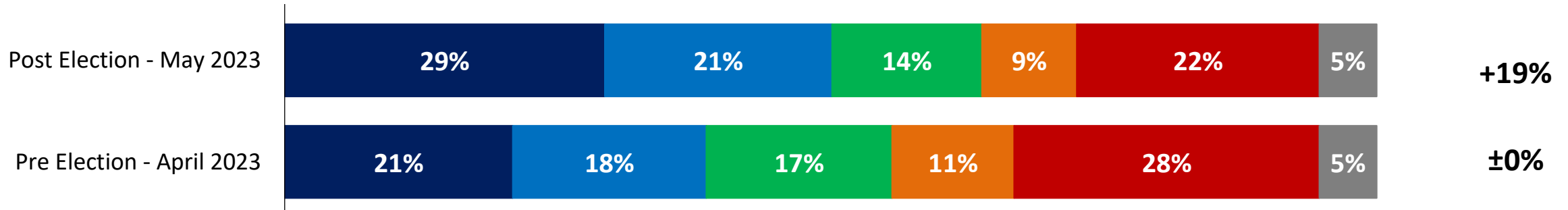
[asked of all respondents; n=1,000]

It's time for a change in government here in Alberta.

Net Agreement



The United Conservative Party has their problems, but they are still the best party to form government.



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

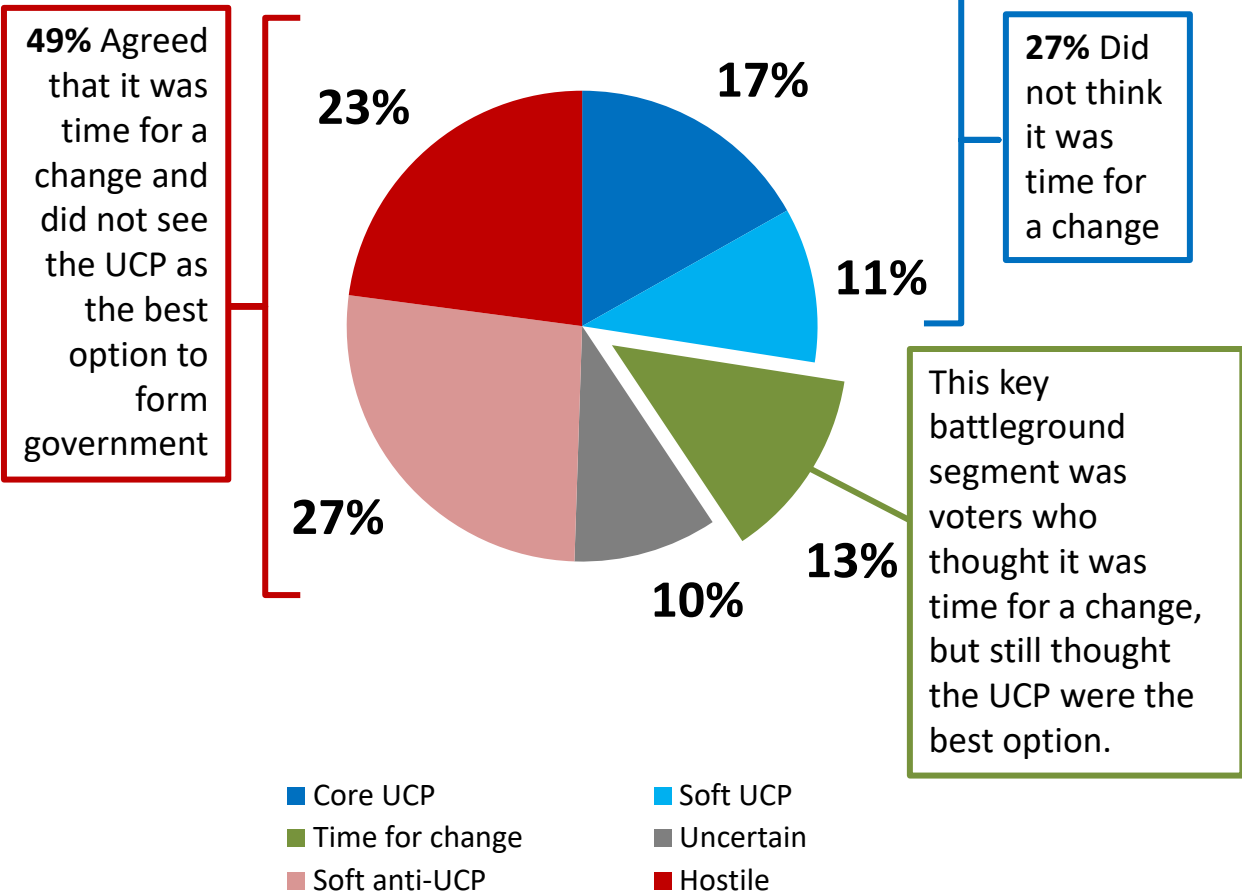
The UCP Expanded Their Voter Poll and Shrunk the NDP's



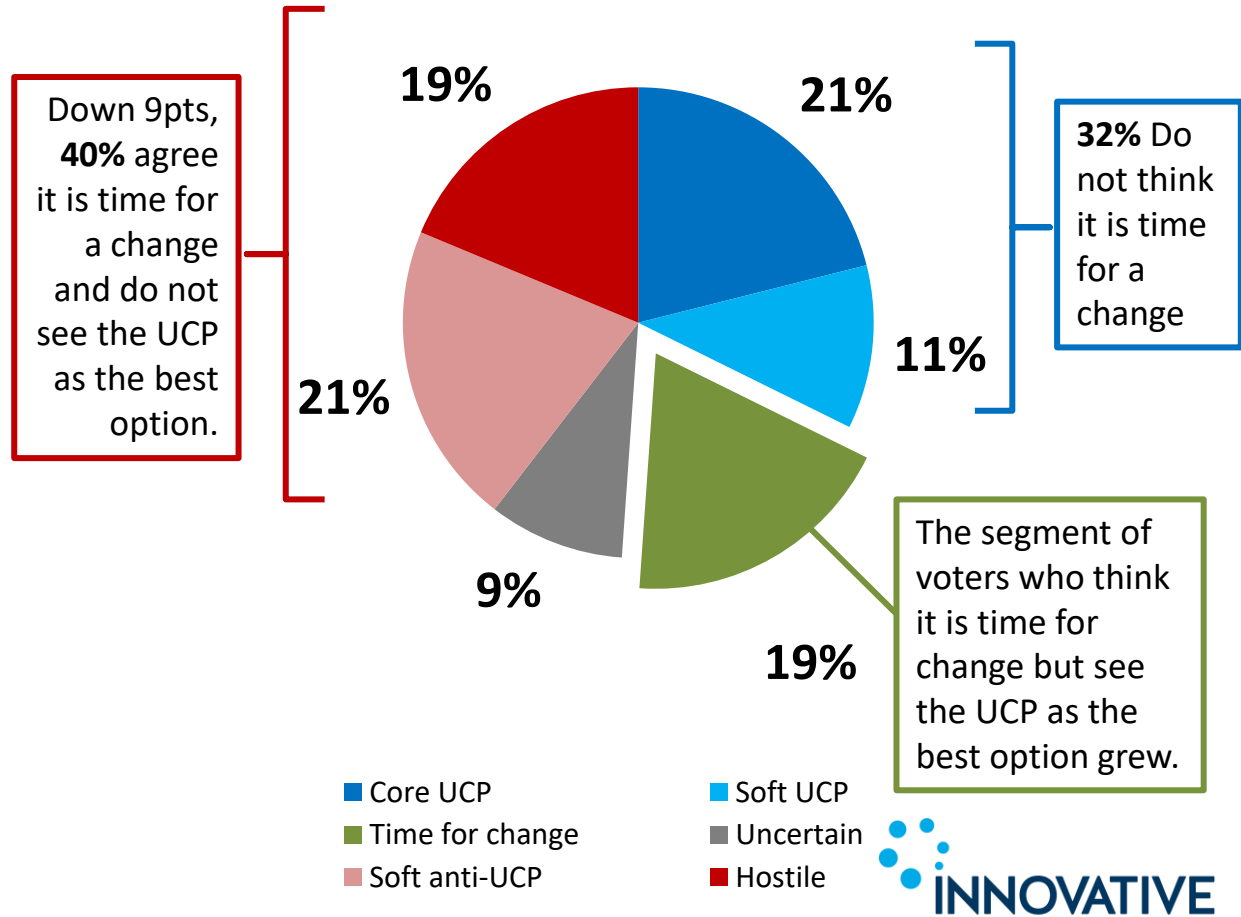
Time for Change segmentation: Agree with 'The UCP may have their problems but they are still the best party to form government' BY Agree with 'It is time for a change in government here in Alberta'.

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

Pre-Election (April 2023)



Post-Election (May 2023)



Change in UCP-NDP Margin BY Time for Change: The segments favouring some change grew less supportive of the UCP

	Core UCP	Soft UCP	Time for Change	Uncertain	Soft anti-UCP	Hostile
UCP Margin Pre Election – April 2023	+96%	+52%	+42%	+20%	-35%	-85%
UCP Margin Post Election – May 2023	+97%	+84%	+29%	-2%	-59%	-99%
Swing	+2pts	+32pts	-14pts	-22pts	-24pts	-13pts

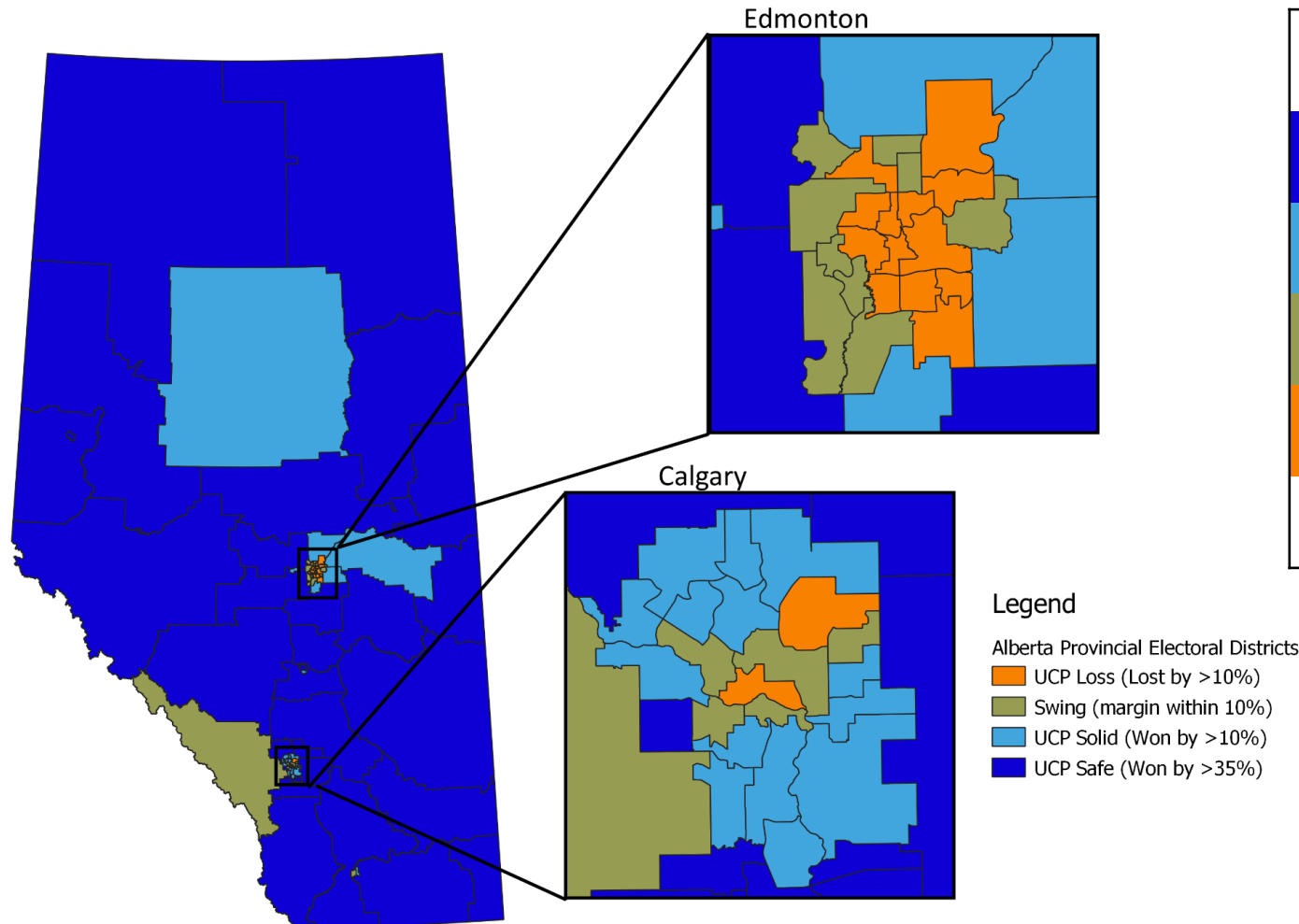
UCP Margin/Swing. The top two rows show the UCP margin vs the NDP by cluster in the pre and post election surveys. A positive score is an UCP lead. A negative score is a NDP lead. The bottom row shows the swing over the course of the campaign. A positive score is a swing towards the UCP. A negative score is a swing towards the NDP.

The Mystery of Calgary

Alberta Riding Segmentation

We have also grouped respondents by provincial electoral district.

Districts are grouped into 4 clusters based on how the governing United Conservative Party performed in the 2019 Alberta Election. Each of these clusters is listed below with the sample size of respondents in each. As of the last election, the UCP had 63 seats, and the NDP had 24.



	Unweighted (n)	Weighted (n)	Weighted %
UCP Safe	326	348	34.8%
UCP Solid	272	276	27.6%
Swing	201	182	18.2%
UCP Loss	207	195	19.5%
Total	n=1,006	n=1,000	100%

A Mystery: Did the NDP (or Their Allies) Do Something To Cause Such a Disproportionate Swing in Calgary?

In Canadian elections, we count seats, not votes. To understand the race to secure a majority of seats, we have grouped the results in seat clusters based on the closeness of the 2019 results. There is an unusual swing in Calgary where the NDP gained far more in key UCP seats than anywhere else in Alberta.

		UCP	NDP	AP	Other	UCP-NDP Margin	Rest Swing	Calgary Swing
Overall	2019 Result	55%	33%	9%	3%	+22%	-9	-20
	2023 Result	53%	44%	1%	3%	+9%		
UCP Safe (2019 Margin > 35%) 34 seats	2019 Result	70%	19%	8%	4%	+51%	-8	-25
	2023 Result	67%	28%	1%	4%	+39%		
UCP Solid (2019 Margin 10-35%) 22 seats	2019 Result	55%	32%	10%	3%	+23%	-9	-20
	2023 Result	51%	46%	1%	2%	+6%		
Swing (2019 Margin within 10%) 16 seats	2019 Result	43%	44%	10%	3%	-2%	-12	-17
	2023 Result	41%	56%	1%	2%	-15%		
UCP Loss (2019 Loss by >10%) 15 seats	2019 Result	32%	55%	8%	4%	-23%	-10	-12
	2023 Result	32%	66%	0%	2%	-33%		

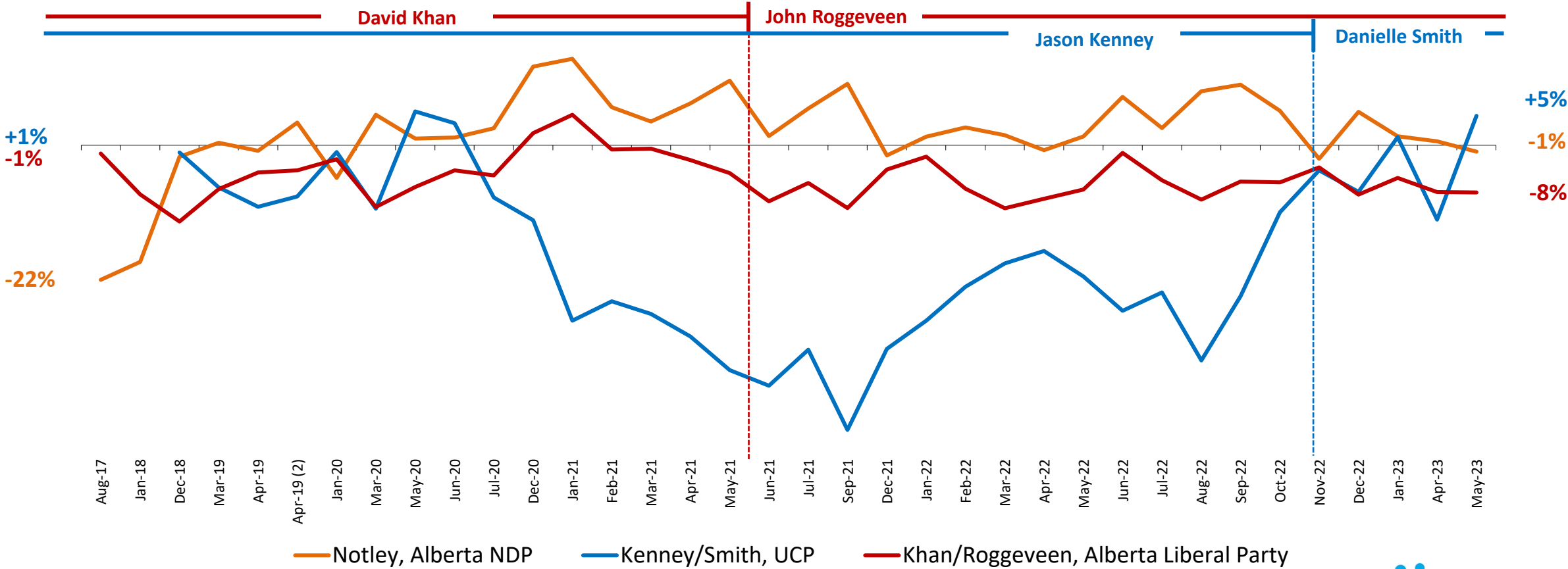
Danielle Smith Rebounds on Leadership

Alberta Party Leader NET Favourables Tracking: Danielle Smith's net favourables have increased 17 points since April



Below are the names of several individuals who have been mentioned in the news recently. For each one, please indicate whether you have heard of that person and, if so, whether you have a very favourable, somewhat favourable, neither favourable or unfavourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable impression of that person. If you do not recognize the name, just indicate.

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



Notley Treaded Water in the Campaign with a Mix of Gains and Losses across Positive Attributes, While Negative Attributes Tended to Rise

NDP Change (Post-Pre)		Value Clusters					
		Populist Conservatives (N=181)	Deferential Conservatives (N=72)	Business Liberals (N=230)	Left Liberals (N=193)	Core Left (N=150)	Pay-as-you-go Moderates (N=173)
Leadership Attributes	Has the best plan for the future	+2%	0%	-1%	+2%	+4%	-6%
	Strong leadership	-4%	+6%	-5%	+2%	+4%	-5%
	Stands for what I believe	-3%	+5%	-5%	-2%	+10%	-8%
	Cares about people like me	0%	-5%	+3%	+1%	+1%	-7%
	Competent	-8%	+6%	-4%	0%	+4%	-7%
	Honest	-3%	+11%	-3%	+3%	+1%	-6%
	Will deliver practical changes that will benefit me	-2%	+7%	-6%	0%	+4%	-8%
	Flip flops	-1%	+1%	+3%	-1%	-4%	+10%
	Too negative	+2%	-7%	+9%	+1%	-5%	+6%
	Scary	+5%	+2%	+3%	+1%	-1%	+8%
	Makes unrealistic promises	+4%	+11%	+10%	0%	-6%	+10%

NDP Change: A positive score means the NDP increased its score on that attribute over the campaign. A negative score means that attribute fell

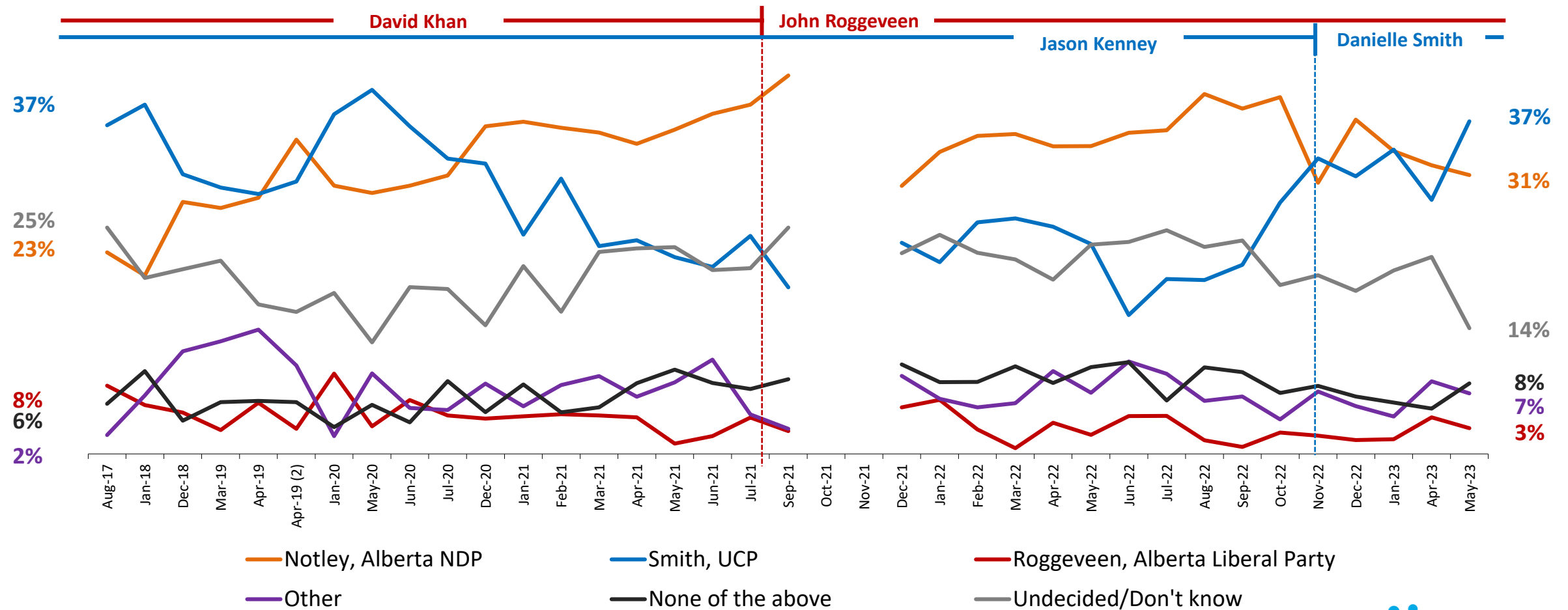
Smith Gained Significant Ground Among Business Liberals and Pay-as-you-go Moderates

UCP Change (Post-Pre)		Value Clusters					
		Populist Conservatives (N=181)	Deferential Conservatives (N=72)	Business Liberals (N=230)	Left Liberals (N=193)	Core Left (N=150)	Pay-as-you-go Moderates (N=173)
Leadership Attributes	Has the best plan for the future	+3%	+13%	+10%	+5%	-1%	+18%
	Stands for what I believe	+9%	+2%	+13%	+6%	-3%	+15%
	Cares about people like me	+3%	+11%	+9%	+7%	-2%	+14%
	Will deliver practical changes that will benefit me	+7%	-3%	+13%	+3%	-1%	+16%
	Competent	+2%	-1%	+10%	+3%	-3%	+13%
	Strong leadership	+1%	-7%	12%	+4%	-6%	+8%
	Honest	0%	-2%	+5%	0%	-3%	+8%
	Scary	-2%	+5%	0%	-2%	-2%	+3%
	Makes unrealistic promises	-3%	0%	-3%	-1%	0%	-3%
	Too negative	+2%	+10%	0%	+2%	+3%	+6%
	Flip flops	+5%	+13%	-7%	+7%	-2%	+4%

UCP Change: A positive score means the UCP increased its score on that attribute over the campaign. A negative score means that attribute fell

Best Premier Tracking: Similarly, Smith saw a 9-point increase in 'best premier' since April, while Notley's numbers remained the same

Q Which of the following leaders would make the best Premier of Alberta?
 [asked of all respondents; n=1,000]



Campaign Dynamics:

Two Strong Campaigns Well
Received By Key Targets

Campaign Impacts by Value Clusters: Among Core Left, the UCP campaign left them feeling least favourable with net favourable at -39%



Thinking about your impression of [Leader and Party], would you say your impression is more favourable or less favourable at this point, or did their campaign not make a difference to your impression of them?

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

Net Favourable Impact By Value Clusters

	Populist Conservatives	Deferential Conservatives	Business Liberals	Left Liberals	Core Left	Pay-as-you-go Moderates
Net Favourable	(N=181)	(N=72)	(N=230)	(N=193)	(N=150)	(N=173)
Rachel Notley and the NDP	-34%	+10%	+2%	+7%	+15%	-11%
Danielle Smith and the UCP	+35%	-7%	+12%	-19%	-39%	+4%

The NDP Beat the UCP Campaign Among Deferential Conservatives and Left Liberals



Thinking about your impression of [Leader and Party], would you say your impression is more favourable or less favourable at this point, or did their campaign not make a difference to your impression of them?

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

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Danielle Smith and the UCP	+35%	-7%	+12%	-19%	-39%	+4%

NDP Policies Were Particularly Appealing to Their Universe

NDP Net Likely

Positive scores mean the item left voters more favourable overall
 Negatives scores mean the item left voters less favourable overall

Value Clusters

Event	Populist Conservatives	Deferential Conservatives	Business Liberals	Left Liberals	Core Left	Pay-as-you-go Moderates
	(N=181)	(N=72)	(N=230)	(N=193)	(N=150)	(N=173)
	The NDP promise to cap electricity prices at 12 cents/kwh	+2%	+24%	+31%	+32%	+57%
The NDP promise to raise taxes on large corporations	-34%	+17%	+5%	+31%	+58%	+7%
The New Democratic Party's platform in this campaign	-35%	+9%	+4%	+19%	+40%	+1%
Your local Alberta New Democratic Party candidate	-24%	+13%	+10%	+15%	+34%	+7%
Rachel Notley's performance during the election campaign	-37%	+18%	-2%	+14%	+28%	+6%
News stories about NDP candidates	-27%	+14%	-1%	+8%	+24%	+5%
Rachel Notley's performance during the leaders debate	-34%	+10%	1%	+5%	+20%	0%
Advertisements run by the Alberta New Democratic Party	-35%	+12%	-2%	+11%	+16%	-6%
Rachel Notley's record as Premier of Alberta from 2015 to 2019	-51%	-2%	-16%	+1%	+37%	-11%

NDP Party Image Gains Were Centered Among Core Left Voters

NDP Change (Post-Pre)		Value Clusters					
		Populist Conservatives	Deferential Conservatives	Business Liberals	Left Liberals	Core Left	Pay-as-you-go Moderates
		(N=181)	(N=72)	(N=230)	(N=193)	(N=150)	(N=173)
Party Attributes	Health care	0%	+5%	+2%	+5%	+11%	+1%
	Education	-35%	+5%	+2%	+5%	+11%	+1%
	Jobs	-2%	+10%	-1%	+1%	+9%	0%
	Oil and gas	-4%	+1%	-4%	+3%	+10%	+3%
	Debt and the deficit	-4%	+3%	+1%	+6%	+9%	-1%
	Crime	-2%	+2%	-5%	-1%	+10%	0%
	The environment	-3%	+2%	0%	+2%	+6%	+1%
	Social Issues	-1%	-2%	0%	+4%	+6%	+2%
	Electricity	+1%	+5%	+1%	+1%	+12%	0%
	The cost of living	+1%	+11%	-1%	-3%	+11%	-1%
	Indigenous Issues	-2%	-8%	+3%	0%	+7%	+3%
	Standing up to the federal government	0%	+3%	-3%	0%	+8%	+3%

NDP Change: A positive score means the NDP increased its score on that attribute over the campaign. A negative score means that attribute fell

The UCP Campaign Beat the NDP Among Business Liberals and Pay-as-you-go Moderates



Thinking about your impression of [Leader and Party], would you say your impression is more favourable or less favourable at this point, or did their campaign not make a difference to your impression of them?

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

Net Favourable Impact By Value Clusters

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Rachel Notley and the NDP	-34%	+10%	+2%	+7%	+15%	-11%
Danielle Smith and the UCP	+35%	-7%	+12%	-19%	-39%	+4%

Fighting the Feds Over the Cost of Reaching Net-Zero Electricity By 2035 Tops The List of Positive Campaign Initiatives

UCP Net Likely

Positive scores mean the item left voters more favourable overall
Negatives scores mean the item left voters less favourable overall

Value Clusters

	Populist Conservatives	Deferential Conservatives	Business Liberals	Left Liberals	Core Left	Pay-as-you-go Moderates
	(N=181)	(N=72)	(N=230)	(N=193)	(N=150)	(N=173)
The UCP promise to fight the federal government to create an electricity system with net zero by 2035	+55%	+19%	+33%	+7%	-34%	+22%
Your local Alberta United Conservative Party candidate	+32%	+20%	+27%	-2%	-31%	+23%
The United Conservative Party's platform in this campaign	+45%	+15%	+27%	-9%	-36%	+23%
Danielle Smith's performance during the leaders debate	+42%	+15%	+19%	-6%	-30%	+18%
Danielle Smith's performance during the election campaign	+39%	+20%	+18%	-13%	-35%	+17%
The budget they tabled before the election	+46%	+12%	+25%	+1%	-28%	+12%
Advertisements run by the United Conservative Party	+22%	+8%	+8%	-6%	-37%	+10%
The United Conservative Party's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic	+10%	+4%	-2%	-15%	-43%	+8%
News stories about UCP candidates	+9%	-7%	-2%	-20%	-49%	+4%
Danielle Smith's policy comments before she became UCP leader	+11%	-8%	-1%	-27%	-53%	+3%
The findings from Alberta's ethics commissioner ...	+2%	-1%	-13%	-22%	-54%	+4%

Event

UCP Improved Its Party Image Significantly Among Moderate Clusters

UCP Change (Post-Pre)		Value Clusters					
		Populist Conservatives	Deferential Conservatives	Business Liberals	Left Liberals	Core Left	Pay-as-you-go Moderates
		(N=181)	(N=72)	(N=230)	(N=193)	(N=150)	(N=173)
Party Attributes	Health care	+6%	+2%	+10%	+6%	-5%	+11%
	Education	+12%	+2%	+6%	+5%	-4%	+10%
	Jobs	+7%	+9%	+11%	+8%	0%	+13%
	Oil and gas	+8%	+3%	+14%	+6%	-4%	+16%
	Debt and the deficit	+4%	+4%	+14%	+5%	-6%	+13%
	Crime	+8%	+10%	+14%	+13%	+1%	+15%
	The environment	+6%	+4%	+9%	+5%	-2%	+9%
	Social Issues	+8%	+4%	+10%	+3%	0%	+9%
	Electricity	+7%	+11%	+11%	+7%	0%	+17%
	The cost of living	+7%	+12%	+10%	+9%	-2%	+11%
	Indigenous Issues	+9%	+6%	+11%	+3%	-1%	+11%
	Standing up to the federal government	+6%	+2%	+16%	+12%	0%	+10%

UCP Change: A positive score means the UCP increased its score on that attribute over the campaign. A negative score means that attribute fell

Summary

1

Both the UCP and NDP ran strong campaigns that were well received by their target audiences.

2

The NDP have a huge uphill battle in any Alberta election. Rachel Notley's personal appeal was critical in making it competitive.

3

The UCP campaign effectively appealed to moderate voters as well as focusing on standing up to Ottawa – a key element of Alberta Conservative brand.

4

Danielle Smith made a significant rebound in her popularity – again particularly among key groups of moderates.

5

Calgary remains something of a mystery. The swing in competitive seats was far larger in Calgary than elsewhere. Was it organization, or something deeper? Could that swing be replicated in the Edmonton Horseshoe?

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Building Understanding.

