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A Report To The Globe and Mail and CTV

Federal Election – Federal Leader
Popularity, Vote Intention, and Key
Issues

December 1, 2005

Introduction and Methodology

- ◆ Gregg, Kelly, Sullivan & Woolstencroft: *The Strategic Counsel* is pleased to present findings of The Globe and Mail/CTV Polling Program for January 2006 Election.
- ◆ Results are based on tracking among a proportionate national sample of Canadians 18 years of age or older.
- ◆ Where necessary to report on sufficient sample sizes, findings have been rolled up and analyzed over a two day period and combined with November 24-27th benchmark data. Nightly interviews were conducted on November 29th and November 30th.
- ◆ The following table outlines the sample distribution and associated margin of error to date.

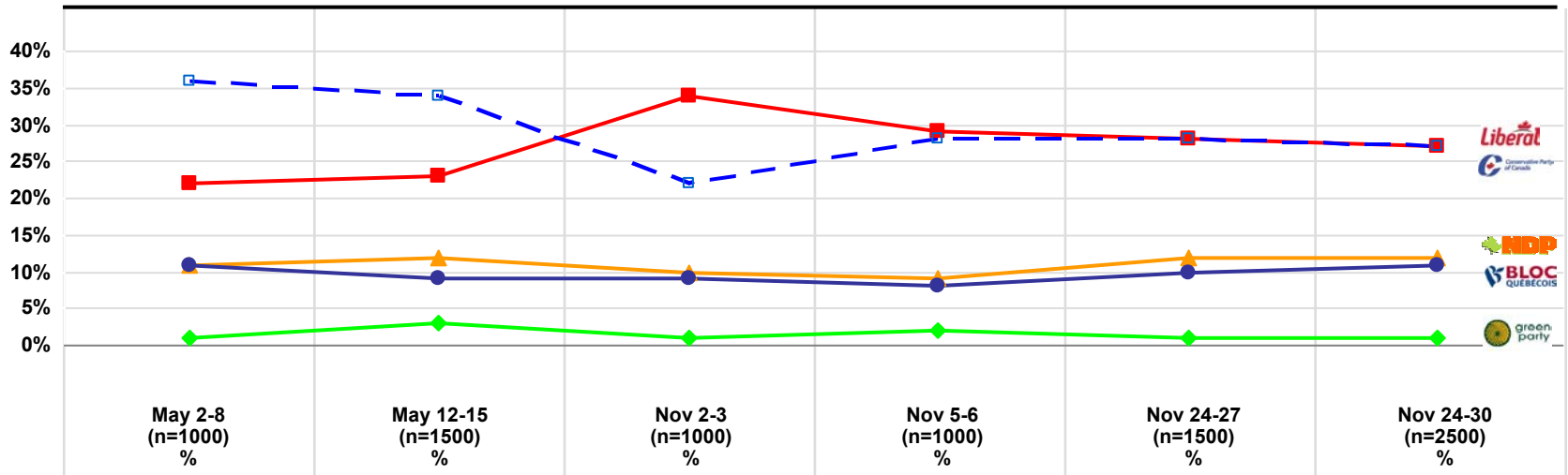
Sample Distribution and Margin of Error

	Nov 24 – 30		Nov 29 – 30	
Region	Sample Size	Margin of Error (±)	Sample Size	Margin of Error (±)
Canada	2500	2.0	1000	3.1
Ontario	948	3.2	379	5.0
416 (CMA)	212	6.8	n/a	n/a
Outside Toronto CMA (includes 519/613)	547	4.2	n/a	n/a
Quebec	617	4.0	247	6.3
Montreal (CMA)	294	5.7	n/a	n/a
Rest of Quebec	323	5.5	n/a	n/a
West	742	3.6	297	5.7
British Columbia	333	5.4	n/a	n/a
Prairies	410	4.9	n/a	n/a
Manitoba/Saskatchewan	168	7.6	n/a	n/a
Alberta	242	6.3	n/a	n/a
Atlantic	192	7.1	n/a	n/a
Rest of Canada	1882	2.3	753	3.6

Detailed Tables

Which Party has the most momentum towards a federal election?

Canada



	May 2-8 (n=1000) %	May 12-15 (n=1500) %	Nov 2-3 (n=1000) %	Nov 5-6 (n=1000) %	Nov 24-27 (n=1500) %	Nov 24-30 (n=2500) %
Liberal	22	23	34	29	28	27
Conservative	36	34	22	28	28	27
NDP	11	12	10	9	12	12
Green	1	3	1	2	1	1
BQ	11	9	9	8	10	11
None	11	8	8	6	9	9
Other	2	1	1	1	1	1
DK/NA/Ref	6	10	14	17	10	12

Q. From what you can tell, which party, if any, is gaining the most popularity and momentum leading up to the election. Is it the ...?

Base: Total Sample

Which Party has the most momentum towards a federal election?

	Region					
	Quebec					
	May 2-8 (n=247) %	May 12-15 (n=370) %	Nov 2-3 (n=247) %	Nov 5-6 (n=247) %	Nov 24-27 (n=370) %	Nov 24-30 (n=617) %
Liberal	14	17	24	32	27	26
Conservative	26	23	13	11	13	12
NDP	8	6	7	5	6	6
Green	<1	2	1	2	1	1
BQ	43	36	36	31	42	43
None	6	8	8	3	5	5
Other	<1	2	1	2	1	1
DK/NA/Ref	2	6	11	14	6	6

	Rest of Canada*					
	May 2-8 (n=753) %	May 12-15 (n=1130) %	Nov 2-3 (n=753) %	Nov 5-6 (n=753) %	Nov 24-27 (n=1130) %	Nov 24-30 (n=1882) %
	Liberal	24	24	38	29	29
Conservative	39	38	24	33	32	31
NDP	13	14	12	10	15	14
Green	1	3	1	2	2	1
BQ	-	-	-	-	-	-
None	13	8	9	7	10	10
Other	2	1	1	-	1	1
DK/NA/Ref	8	12	15	19	12	14

*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q. From what you can tell, which party, if any, is gaining the most popularity and momentum leading up to the election. Is it the ...?

Base: Total Sample

Which Party has the most momentum towards a federal election?

Region (cont'd)						
Ontario						
	May 2-8 (n=379) %	May 12-15 (n=569) %	Nov 2-3 (n=379) %	Nov 5-6 (n=379) %	Nov 24-27 (n=569) %	Nov 24-30 (n=948) %
Liberal	25	25	39	29	31	30
Conservative	35	38	24	35	31	29
NDP	14	14	12	9	14	15
Green	2	2	1	1	1	2
BQ	-	-	-	-	-	-
None	13	9	7	9	11	10
Other	1	1	1	-	2	2
DK/NA/Ref	9	11	15	17	10	13

Atlantic		Nov 24-30 (n=192) %
Liberal		35
Conservative		31
NDP	Base too small to report	12
Green		2
BQ		-
None		9
Other		1
DK/NA/Ref		11

Q. From what you can tell, which party, if any, is gaining the most popularity and momentum leading up to the election. Is it the ...?

Base: Total Sample

Which Party has the most momentum towards a federal election?

Region (cont'd)						
Prairies						
	May 2-8 (n=165) %	May 12-15 (n=247) %	Nov 2-3 (n=155) %	Nov 5-6 (n=164) %	Nov 24-27 (n=247) %	Nov 24-30 (n=410) %
Liberal	15	15	28	18	23	22
Conservative	53	49	31	40	42	42
NDP	8	11	10	8	12	11
Green	1	3	-	5	1	1
BQ	-	-	-	-	-	-
None	14	6	14	6	10	11
Other	5	1	1	-	1	1
DK/NA/Ref	4	15	16	24	11	12

B.C.						
	May 2-8 (n=132) %	May 12-15 (n=198) %	Nov 2-3 (n=124) %	Nov 5-6 (n=133) %	Nov 24-27 (n=273) %	Nov 24-30 (n=333) %
Liberal	24	31	45	36	23	24
Conservative	32	23	17	26	26	26
NDP	17	19	15	14	20	18
Green	1	6	3	1	2	1
BQ	-	-	-	-	-	-
None	14	6	5	5	10	9
Other	2	-	-	-	2	1
DK/NA/Ref	10	14	15	17	18	22

Q. From what you can tell, which party, if any, is gaining the most popularity and momentum leading up to the election. Is it the ...?

Base: Total Sample

Do Canadians believe it is the right time for a new government?

	Region																	
	Canada			Quebec			R.O.C.*			Ontario			Prairies			B.C.		
	May 15 (n=1500) %	Nov 28 (n=1500) %	Nov 24-30 (n=2500) %	May 15 (n=370) %	Nov 28 (n=370) %	Nov 24-30 (n=617) %	May 15 (n=1130) %	Nov 28 (n=1130) %	Nov 24-30 (n=1882) %	May 15 (n=569) %	Nov 28 (n=569) %	Nov 24-30 (n=948) %	May 15 (n=247) %	Nov 28 (n=247) %	Nov 24-30 (n=410) %	May 15 (n=198) %	Nov 28 (n=273) %	Nov 24-30 (n=333) %
It's time for a change and a new government should be voted in	48	54	55	55	59	61	47	52	53	42	49	49	60	64	64	42	51	53
Now would be the wrong time to make a change	44	39	38	39	37	34	45	40	39	49	43	42	33	31	30	50	41	39
DK/NA/Ref	8	7	7	6	4	4	8	8	8	9	8	9	7	5	6	8	8	8

*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q. Some people have been saying it's time for a change and that a new government should be voted in. Other people have said that now would be the wrong time to make a change and we should return the Liberals to power. Which one of these two views best represents your own?

Base: Total sample

Overall Impression of Party Leaders

Canada

	May 2-8 (n=1000)			Jun 6-9 (n=1000)			Oct 6-13 (n=1000)			Nov 29-30 (n=1000)			Shift in Favour-ability (since May) %	Shift in Favour-ability (since Oct) %
	Favour-able %	Not Favour-able %	NET %	Favour-able %	Not Favour-able %	NET %	Favour-able %	Not Favour-able %	NET %	Favour-able %	Not Favour-able %	NET %		
Paul Martin	42	58	-16	44	56	-12	49	51	-2	46	54	-8	+4	-3
Stephen Harper	50	50	0	40	60	-20	42	58	-16	42	59	-17	-8	-
Jack Layton	63	37	+26	61	39	+22	60	40	+20	58	42	+16	-5	-2
Gilles Duceppe*	72	28	+44	70	30	+40	68	32	+36	76	24	+52	+4	+8

Q. Generally speaking, would you say your overall impression of (READ AND ROTATE) is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable?

Note: Percentages shown are the sum of the “very” and “somewhat” for each category.

Base: Excludes “don’t know, refused” responses.

* Quebec only

What is Your Overall Impression of Paul Martin?

	Canada				Quebec				R.O.C.*			
	May 2-8 (n=1000) %	Jun 6-9 (n=1000) %	Oct 6-13 (n=1000) %	Nov 29-30 (n=1000) %	May 2-8 (n=247) %	Jun 6-9 (n=247) %	Oct 6-13 (n=500) %	Nov 29-30 (n=247) %	May 2-8 (n=753) %	Jun 6-9 (n=753) %	Oct 6-13 (n=753) %	Nov 29-30 (n=753) %
NET Favourable	42	44	49	46	26	33	38	29	47	47	51	52
Very Favourable	7	6	9	11	5	4	7	7	8	6	9	12
Somewhat Favourable	35	38	40	35	21	29	31	22	39	41	42	40
Somewhat Unfavourable	31	28	28	26	34	28	35	34	30	28	26	24
Very Unfavourable	27	28	23	28	40	39	27	37	24	25	23	24
NET Unfavourable	58	56	51	54	74	67	62	71	53	53	49	48

	Ontario				West			
	May 2-8 (n=379) %	Jun 6-9 (n=379) %	Oct 6-13 (n=379) %	Nov 29-30 (n=379) %	May 2-8 (n=297) %	Jun 6-9 (n=297) %	Oct 6-13 (n=297) %	Nov 29-30 (n=297) %
NET Favourable	48	51	54	57	42	42	46	43
Very Favourable	8	8	10	13	7	5	9	11
Somewhat Favourable	40	43	44	44	35	37	37	32
Somewhat Unfavourable	31	27	27	22	29	30	26	27
Very Unfavourable	21	22	19	21	29	28	28	30
NET Unfavourable	52	49	46	43	58	58	54	57

*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q. Generally speaking, would you say your overall impression of (READ AND ROTATE) is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable?

Note: Percentages shown are the sum of the "very" and "somewhat" for each category.

Base: Excludes "don't know, refused" responses.

What is Your Overall Impression of Stephen Harper?

	Canada				Quebec				R.O.C.*			
	May 2-8 (n=1000) %	Jun 6-9 (n=1000) %	Oct 6-13 (n=1000) %	Nov 29-30 (n=1000) %	May 2-8 (n=247) %	Jun 6-9 (n=247) %	Oct 6-13 (n=500) %	Nov 29-30 (n=247) %	May 2-8 (n=753) %	Jun 6-9 (n=753) %	Oct 6-13 (n=753) %	Nov 29-30 (n=753) %
NET Favourable	50	40	42	42	44	38	38	37	51	40	43	43
Very Favourable	12	7	9	10	5	3	5	3	14	8	9	12
Somewhat Favourable	38	33	33	32	39	35	33	34	37	32	34	31
Somewhat Unfavourable	30	27	29	28	36	32	31	33	27	26	29	26
Very Unfavourable	21	33	29	31	21	29	31	30	21	34	28	31
NET Unfavourable	50	60	58	59	57	61	62	63	49	60	57	57

	Ontario				West			
	May 2-8 (n=379) %	Jun 6-9 (n=379) %	Oct 6-13 (n=379) %	Nov 29-30 (n=379) %	May 2-8 (n=297) %	Jun 6-9 (n=297) %	Oct 6-13 (n=297) %	Nov 29-30 (n=297) %
NET Favourable	47	40	38	39	57	42	49	50
Very Favourable	13	7	6	10	17	10	13	15
Somewhat Favourable	33	33	32	29	40	32	36	35
Somewhat Unfavourable	31	24	31	26	24	28	24	23
Very Unfavourable	23	35	31	35	19	30	27	27
NET Unfavourable	53	60	62	61	43	58	51	50

*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q. Generally speaking, would you say your overall impression of (READ AND ROTATE) is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable?

Note: Percentages shown are the sum of the “very” and “somewhat” for each category.

Base: Excludes “don’t know, refused” responses.

What is Your Overall Impression of Jack Layton?

	Canada				Quebec				R.O.C.*			
	May 2-8 (n=1000) %	Jun 6-9 (n=1000) %	Oct 6-13 (n=1000) %	Nov 29-30 (n=1000) %	May 2-8 (n=247) %	Jun 6-9 (n=247) %	Oct 6-13 (n=500) %	Nov 29-30 (n=247) %	May 2-8 (n=753) %	Jun 6-9 (n=753) %	Oct 6-13 (n=753) %	Nov 29-30 (n=753) %
NET Favourable	63	61	60	58	65	60	55	55	62	62	61	59
Very Favourable	12	13	11	13	10	9	8	7	12	14	12	14
Somewhat Favourable	51	48	49	45	56	51	47	48	50	47	49	45
Somewhat Unfavourable	26	26	26	25	27	26	32	30	25	26	24	24
Very Unfavourable	12	13	14	17	8	14	13	15	13	12	15	17
NET Unfavourable	37	39	40	42	35	40	45	45	38	38	39	41

	Ontario				West			
	May 2-8 (n=379) %	Jun 6-9 (n=379) %	Oct 6-13 (n=379) %	Nov 29-30 (n=379) %	May 2-8 (n=297) %	Jun 6-9 (n=297) %	Oct 6-13 (n=297) %	Nov 29-30 (n=297) %
NET Favourable	66	66	64	64	56	56	54	53
Very Favourable	14	17	12	17	10	12	10	12
Somewhat Favourable	52	49	52	47	46	44	44	41
Somewhat Unfavourable	23	23	22	20	29	30	29	28
Very Unfavourable	11	11	14	16	15	14	17	19
NET Unfavourable	34	34	36	36	44	44	46	47

*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q. Generally speaking, would you say your overall impression of (READ AND ROTATE) is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable?

Note: Percentages shown are the sum of the "very" and "somewhat" for each category.

Base: Excludes "don't know, refused" responses.

What is Your Overall Impression of Gilles Duceppe?

	Quebec			
	May 2-8 (n=247) %	Jun 6-9 (n=247) %	Oct 6-13 (n=500) %	Nov 29-30 (n=247) %
NET Somewhat/Very Favourable	72	70	68	76
Very Favourable	28	30	23	31
Somewhat Favourable	45	40	45	45
Somewhat Unfavourable	18	15	18	9
Very Unfavourable	10	15	14	15
NET Somewhat/Very Unfavourable	28	30	32	24

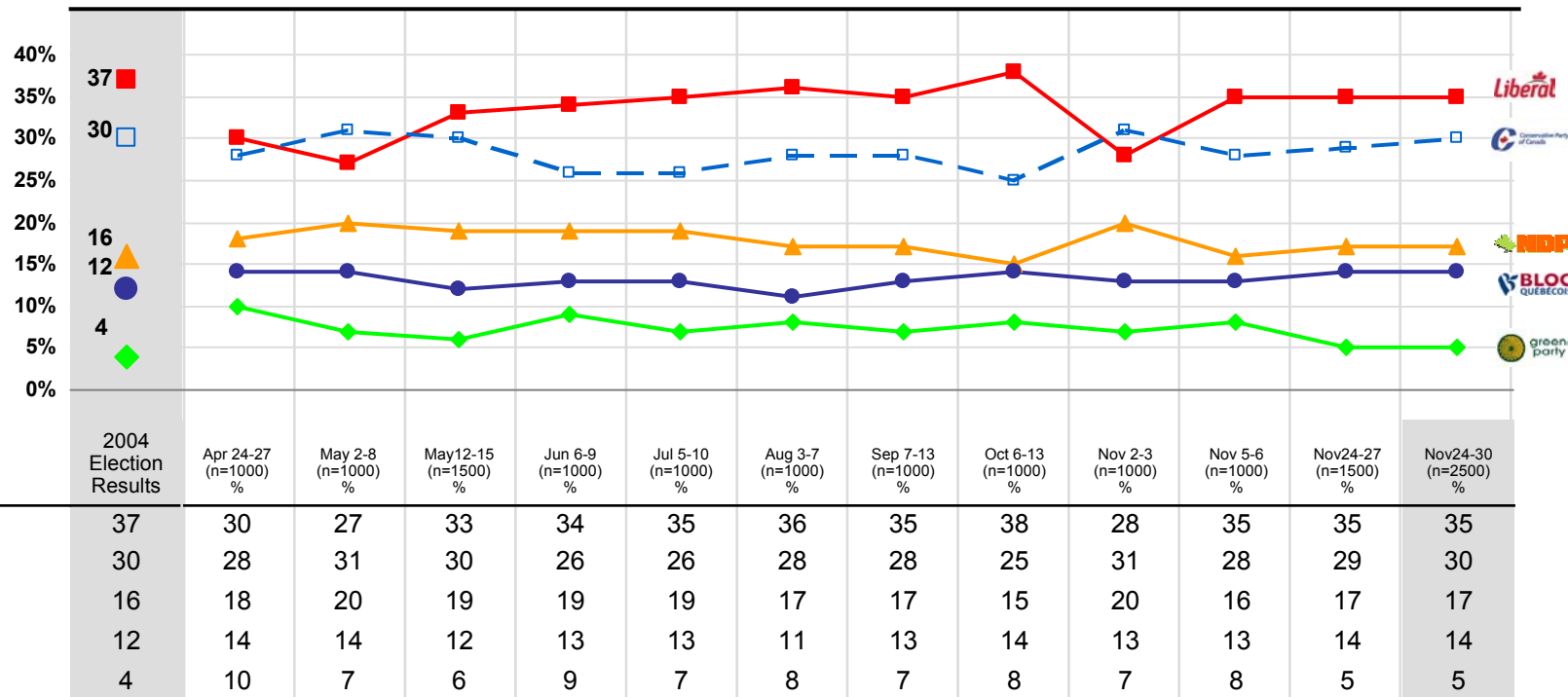
Q. Generally speaking, would you say your overall impression of (READ AND ROTATE) is very favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable?

Note: Percentages shown are the sum of the “very” and “somewhat” for each category.

Base: Excludes “don’t know, refused” responses.

How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

Canada



- Q. If the election was being held tomorrow, do you think you'd be supporting the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?
- Q. In that case, which party's candidate in your local area would you be leaning towards at this time? Would it be the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Base: Decided voters

How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

Region

	Quebec												
2004 Election Results %	Apr 24-27 (n=219) %	May 2-8 (n=224) %	May 12-15 (n=337) %	Jun 6-9 (n=203) %	Jul 5-10 (n=247) %	Aug 3-7 (n=247) %	Sep 7-13 (n=247) %	Oct 6-13 (n=500) %	Nov 2-3 (n=247) %	Nov 5-6 (n=247) %	Nov 24-27 (n=370) %	Nov 24-30 (n=617) %	
Liberal	34	16	16	25	22	28	31	25	25	22	30	30	28
Conservative	9	9	8	14	8	6	7	12	7	7	5	8	8
NDP	5	8	11	9	12	11	10	7	6	10	9	7	7
Bloc Quebecois	49	55	56	48	51	51	46	51	57	57	50	54	55
Green Party	3	12	8	4	8	5	6	6	6	5	6	2	3

	Rest of Canada*												
2004 Election Results %	Apr 24-27 (n=687) %	May 2-8 (n=776) %	May 12-15 (n=1002) %	Jun 6-9 (n=777) %	Jul 5-10 (n=753) %	Aug 3-7 (n=753) %	Sep 7-13 (n=753) %	Oct 6-13 (n=753) %	Nov 2-3 (n=753) %	Nov 5-6 (n=753) %	Nov 24-27 (n=1130) %	Nov 24-30 (n=1882) %	
Liberal	38	35	31	36	37	37	34	38	42	30	37	37	37
Conservative	37	34	39	36	32	34	37	34	31	38	36	37	37
NDP	19	21	23	22	21	22	21	21	18	23	18	21	20
Green Party	5	10	7	6	9	8	8	7	9	8	8	5	6

*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

- Q. If the election was being held tomorrow, do you think you'd be supporting the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?
- Q. In that case, which party's candidate in your local area would you be leaning towards at this time? Would it be the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Base: Decided voters

How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

	Region											
	Ontario											
2004 Election Results %	Apr 24-27 (n=329) %	May 2-8 (n=338) %	May 12-15 (n=509) %	Jun 6-9 (n=304) %	Jul 5-10 (n=379) %	Aug 3-7 (n=380) %	Sep 7-13 (n=380) %	Oct 6-13 (n=379) %	Nov 2-3 (n=379) %	Nov 5-6 (n=379) %	Nov 24-27 (n=569) %	Nov 24-30 (n=948) %
Liberal	45	38	34	43	41	41	41	50	37	44	40	41
Conservative	32	30	35	30	31	31	33	30	35	31	35	33
NDP	18	23	25	21	19	22	17	12	20	18	20	20
Green Party	4	9	7	6	10	6	9	8	8	7	5	6

Q. If the election was being held tomorrow, do you think you'd be supporting the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Q. In that case, which party's candidate in your local area would you be leaning towards at this time? Would it be the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Base: Decided voters

How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

Region

	Prairies			
	2004 Election Results %	May 12-15 (n=247) %	Nov 24-27 (n=247) %	Nov 24-30 (n=410) %
Liberal	25	19	27	28
Conservative	53	56	50	52
NDP	15	21	18	16
Green Party	5	4	6	4

	B.C.			
	2004 Election Results %	May 12-15 (n=1987) %	Nov 24-27 (n=273) %	Nov 24-30 (n=333) %
Liberal	29	37	35	34
Conservative	36	23	30	32
NDP	27	28	29	26
Green Party	6	12	6	9

- Q. If the election was being held tomorrow, do you think you'd be supporting the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?
- Q. In that case, which party's candidate in your local area would you be leaning towards at this time? Would it be the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Base: Decided voters

Are the party leaders' messages believable?

% Very/Somewhat Believable

	Nov 29-30				
	Canada (n=1000) %	Region			
		Quebec (n=247) %	Rest of Canada* (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	West (n=297) %
Paul Martin and the Liberals say the election is about maintaining the strength of the Canadian economy. They say that only the Liberals can ensure the right kind of economic management to keep the economy strong	44	33	48	52	40
Stephen Harper and the Conservatives say the election is about the need for change. They say that the Liberals have been in power for too long and have lost all accountability.	66	71	65	60	69
Jack Layton and the NDP say the election is about finding a strong and effective voice for people in Parliament. They say that neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives have the trust of Canadians any more.	60	62	59	60	58

*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q. As you may know, the different leaders and parties have given different reasons for this federal election. For each of the following, please tell me how believable you think they are as the main issue for the federal election.

Base: All respondents

Is Paul Martin’s “economy” message believable?

Paul Martin and the Liberals say the election is about maintaining the strength of the Canadian economy. They say that only the Liberals can ensure the right kind of economic management to keep the economy strong.	Nov 29-30				
	Canada (n=1000) %	Region			
		Quebec (n=247) %	Rest of Canada* (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	West (n=297) %
NET Believable	44	33	48	52	40
Very believable	10	8	10	10	11
Somewhat believable	34	25	38	42	29
Not too believable	26	27	26	24	28
Not believable at all	28	38	24	21	30
NET Not Believable	54	65	50	45	58
DK/NA/Ref	3	2	3	3	2

*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q. As you may know, the different leaders and parties have given different reasons for this federal election. For each of the following, please tell me how believable you think they are as the main issue for the federal election.

Base: All respondents

Is Stephen Harper’s “change” message believable?

Stephen Harper and the Conservatives say the election is about the need for change. They say that the Liberals have been in power for too long and have lost all accountability.	Nov 29-30				
	Canada (n=1000) %	Region			
		Quebec (n=247) %	Rest of Canada* (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	West (n=297) %
NET Believable	66	71	65	60	69
Very believable	29	27	30	27	33
Somewhat believable	37	44	35	33	36
Not too believable	17	15	17	20	16
Not believable at all	14	13	15	17	11
NET Not Believable	31	28	32	37	27
DK/NA/Ref	3	1	3	3	4

*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q. As you may know, the different leaders and parties have given different reasons for this federal election. For each of the following, please tell me how believable you think they are as the main issue for the federal election.

Base: All respondents

Is Jack Layton’s “trust” message believable?

Jack Layton and the NDP say the election is about finding a strong and effective voice for people in Parliament. They say that neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives have the trust of Canadians any more.	Nov 29-30				
	Canada (n=1000) %	Region			
		Quebec (n=247) %	Rest of Canada* (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	West (n=297) %
NET Believable	60	62	59	60	58
Very believable	18	21	17	16	18
Somewhat believable	42	41	42	44	40
Not too believable	22	22	22	21	22
Not believable at all	16	13	16	16	18
NET Not Believable	38	37	38	37	40
DK/NA/Ref	2	2	3	3	2

*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q. As you may know, the different leaders and parties have given different reasons for this federal election. For each of the following, please tell me how believable you think they are as the main issue for the federal election.

Base: All respondents