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MR. MULCAIR HAS A BIT OF A LOYALTY PROBLEM

[Ottawa – April 16, 2013] Fidelity isn't one of the strong points of Canadian voters but Thomas Mulcair seems to be suffering a bit of a loyalty problem with his new party.

A year after assuming the leadership of the NDP and the office of the leader of opposition, he is experiencing significant difficulties. He hasn't seen anything in the polls which could be termed a disastrous or precipitous fall — but he has seen a slow slide which will become a disaster if it isn't corrected.

He remains what would have been unimaginable just two years ago: leader of the Official Opposition with a 100-strong caucus. He is also a seasoned and highly-capable politician with the funding and machinery that goes along with the NDP's new status.

But his party faithful aren't being all that faithful — and if this tepid connection continues he and his party could find themselves back in their third-place corner. As the chart below shows, the party has slid to third place in our most recent poll. Their 7-point fall is less serious than the Conservatives' 11-point fall (and they are now closer to the Conservatives than on election day 2011). The resurgent Liberal party is now ahead of them.

Federal vote intention

Q. If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

National Results



National Results – “Likely voter” model



2011 Election Results



Note: The data on federal vote intention are based on decided and leaning voters only. Our survey also finds that 11.0% of respondents are undecided and 2.3% are ineligible to vote.

*Our “likely voters” involves dropping those respondents who did not vote in the 2011 Federal Election and then weighting the remaining cases by how they voted.

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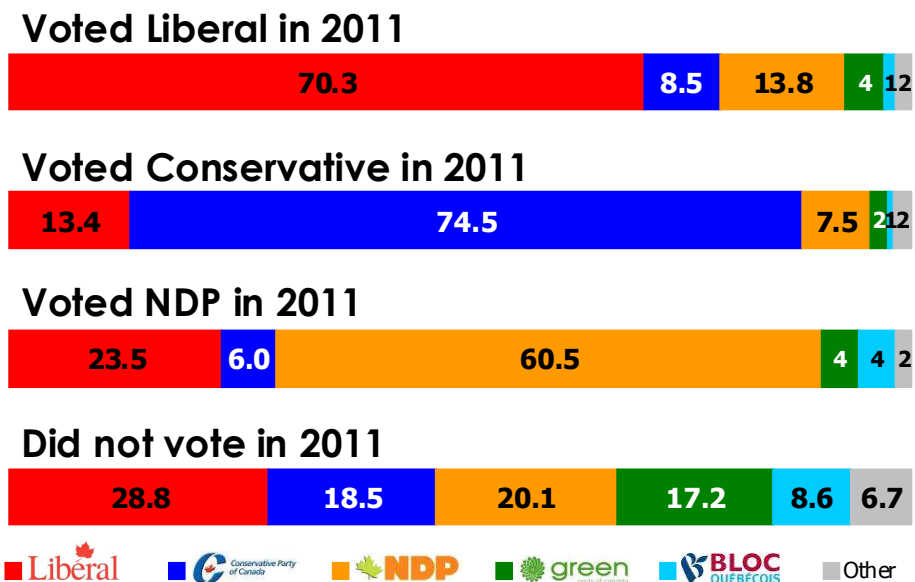
BASE: Canadians; April 3-10, 2013 (n=4,568)

When we adjust for most likely voters the New Democrats resume a tie for second — but this is still not a healthy pattern for the NDP. The modest decline obscures the fact that these numbers (particularly those from Quebec, where they are now third) could produce a much lower seat outcome. Obviously, speculation about seat outcomes more than two years from an election is highly hypothetical and these patterns are quite reversible.

Perhaps more troubling is the next chart, which focuses on what's happening to the 2011 vote and where new or returning voters are going. It shows a departure from a pattern we saw previously where non-Conservative voters were fairly evenly divided in their loyalties and were waffling back and forth between the Liberals and New Democrats.

Where are party supporters going?

Q. If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?



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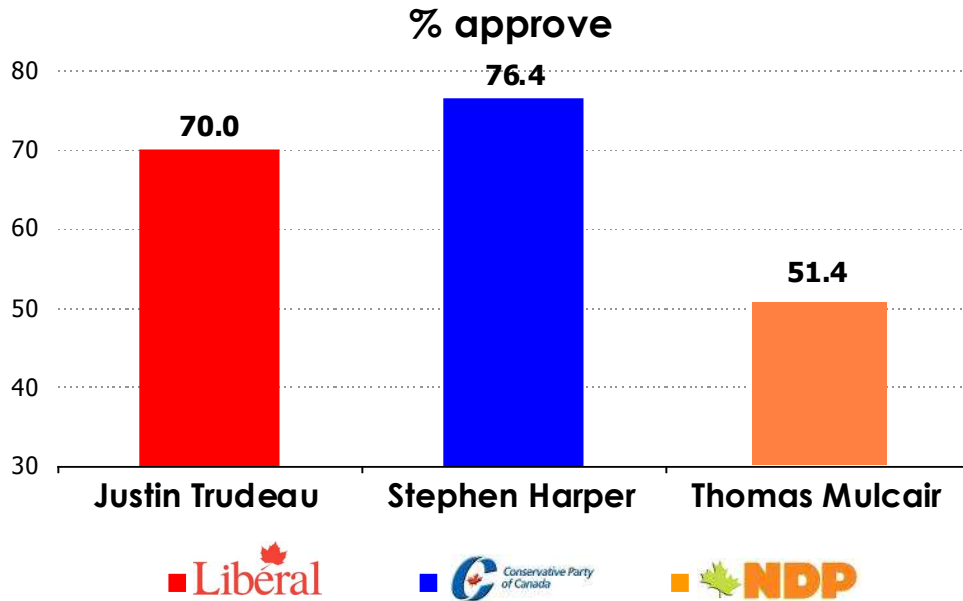
BASE: Canadians; April 3-10, 2013 (n=4,568)

Conservative supporters remain the most loyal, although the party's 75 per cent retention rate is actually down somewhat. The Liberals have hung onto about 70 per cent of their voters and are making sizable gains elsewhere. The NDP, however, has seen the greatest erosion, with only 61 per cent of past voters still with them. Nearly one-quarter of the NDP vote has gone to the Liberals.

The fealty problem continues when we examine the approval ratings of Thomas Mulcair compared to the other leaders:

Approval ratings of party leaders by party supporters

Q. If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?



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Where Stephen Harper and Justin Trudeau have the approval of the vast majority of their party faithful, Mulcair decidedly does not. Recalling that these are only the residual 60 per cent who have remained with the party, only about half of his constituency approve of him. So his party faithful aren't particularly faithful and the combination of defections and the tepid loyalty of the remaining constituency needs to be urgently addressed.

Nostalgia and continued affection for the late Jack Layton may be interfering with the party's need to forge a strong bond with its current leader. "Get over it" may be harsh advice but trying to compare the living with the almost sainted memory of Layton is not a trait of a healthy political party. Mr. Mulcair can fight Mr. Harper and Mr. Trudeau; he can't fight ghosts.

In analyzing the discrepancies between the party constituencies and the leader's constituency we see some areas of potential concern. While Mr. Mulcair's approval is modestly above his party's support levels, his strongest connections are with males and the university-educated. The NDP, however, does better with women and the less well-educated. Mr. Mulcair should seek to strengthen his connection with women and the economically vulnerable.

So how can the New Democrats turn this around while the situation is still fairly fluid? Ironically, the answer may not lie in focusing on the shrinking center of Canadian political landscape — they've tried that, and it didn't stop matters from getting worse. Rather, it may make sense for the NDP to acknowledge the new polarization of the political landscape and stake out ground of its own. Emotional resonance comes from strong value positions, as the Conservatives know, and

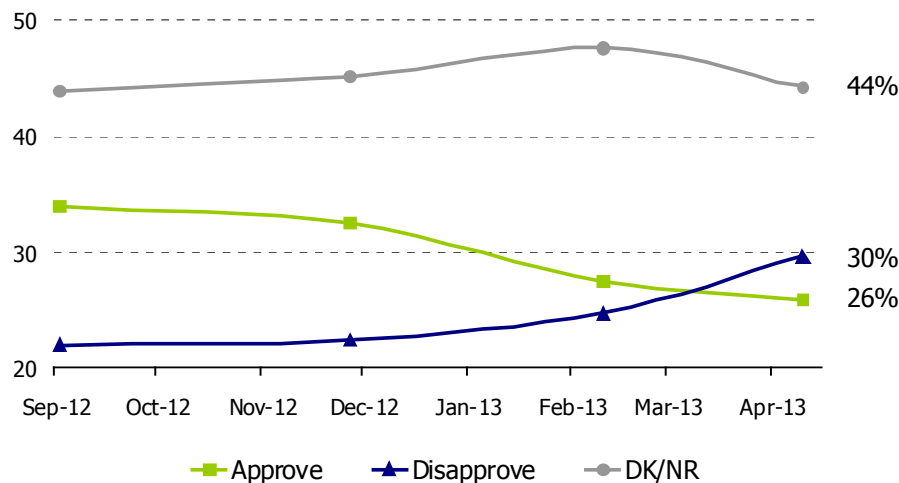
there may be more advantage to the NDP in being the yin to Harper's yang than in contesting the mushy middle.

This obviously requires clear economic narratives about how the country and the New Democrats' constituency would be concretely better off with Mr. Mulcair as PM. The party could make gains by building a narrative around greater economic fairness and prosperity-sharing, given that concerns about economic inequality have risen sharply in Canada.

Donning soft sweaters and kissing babies might seem the right antidote to an impression of Tom Mulcair as overly gruff — but we suspect a lack of volume and clarity about where he and the NDP stand is the real impediment to moving forward. Mr. Mulcair has been stalled in public awareness since last year. It's still possible voters can be brought back to the New Democrats in time for 2015 — but not if the leader and the party remain on their current trajectory.

Approval rating – Thomas Mulcair






Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Thomas Mulcair, leader of the Official Opposition and Leader of the New Democratic Party of Canada is handling his job?



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BASE: Canadians; most recent data point April 3-10, 2013 (n=4,568)


Detailed Tables:

| National Federal Vote Intention (decided and leaning voters only) | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|---|---|---|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Q. If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for? [If undecided] Even if you do not have a firm idea, are you leaning towards a party? [If yes] As it stands, towards which party are you leaning?</i> | | | | | | | | |
| |  Liberal |  Conservative Party of Canada |  NDP |  green |  BLOC QUEBÉCOIS | Other | Sample Size | Margin of Error (+/-) |
| NATIONALLY | 29.1% | 28.8% | 23.3% | 9.0% | 6.4% | 3.4% | 3695 | 1.6 |
| REGION | | | | | | | | |
| British Columbia | 23.1% | 28.0% | 31.1% | 14.2% | 0.0% | 3.6% | 777 | 3.5 |
| Alberta | 19.5% | 48.9% | 14.9% | 8.3% | 0.0% | 8.4% | 568 | 4.1 |
| Saskatchewan | 20.4% | 40.9% | 28.6% | 6.4% | 0.0% | 3.6% | 219 | 6.6 |
| Manitoba | 26.5% | 36.6% | 26.9% | 6.5% | 0.0% | 3.4% | 162 | 7.7 |
| Ontario | 31.9% | 33.3% | 22.4% | 9.7% | 0.0% | 2.6% | 903 | 3.3 |
| Quebec | 30.5% | 11.8% | 22.4% | 5.5% | 27.5% | 2.3% | 898 | 3.3 |
| Atlantic Canada | 41.7% | 21.8% | 23.8% | 10.1% | 0.0% | 2.7% | 162 | 7.7 |
| GENDER | | | | | | | | |
| Male | 28.1% | 33.4% | 20.6% | 7.7% | 6.1% | 4.1% | 1842 | 2.3 |
| Female | 30.1% | 24.1% | 26.1% | 10.2% | 6.8% | 2.6% | 1821 | 2.3 |
| AGE | | | | | | | | |
| <25 | 20.4% | 21.0% | 25.7% | 21.1% | 6.4% | 5.4% | 166 | 7.6 |
| 25-44 | 25.9% | 25.8% | 27.5% | 8.2% | 8.2% | 4.3% | 826 | 3.4 |
| 45-64 | 30.8% | 30.2% | 22.5% | 7.7% | 6.3% | 2.6% | 1575 | 2.5 |
| 65+ | 36.1% | 35.9% | 16.9% | 5.4% | 3.7% | 2.0% | 1090 | 3.0 |
| EDUCATION | | | | | | | | |
| High school or less | 27.0% | 30.2% | 20.8% | 9.5% | 9.0% | 3.7% | 1133 | 2.9 |
| College or CEGEP | 25.1% | 32.5% | 25.0% | 8.2% | 5.9% | 3.3% | 1150 | 2.9 |
| University or higher | 33.9% | 24.7% | 24.1% | 9.1% | 5.0% | 3.2% | 1378 | 2.6 |
| COUNTRY OF BIRTH | | | | | | | | |
| Canada | 27.8% | 28.8% | 23.6% | 9.1% | 7.4% | 3.3% | 3075 | 1.8 |
| Other | 35.5% | 28.9% | 21.9% | 7.9% | 1.9% | 3.9% | 604 | 4.0 |



Approval Rating – Stephen Harper

Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Stephen Harper, Prime Minister and leader of Conservative Party of Canada is handling his job?

| | Approve | Disapprove | Don't know | No response | Sample Size | Margin of Error (+/-) |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| NATIONALLY | 28.1% | 49.6% | 19.2% | 3.1% | 4568 | 1.5 |
| REGION | | | | | | |
| British Columbia | 27.6% | 52.7% | 17.7% | 2.0% | 917 | 3.2 |
| Alberta | 37.8% | 34.3% | 19.7% | 8.2% | 724 | 3.6 |
| Saskatchewan | 31.5% | 42.3% | 13.9% | 12.4% | 285 | 5.8 |
| Manitoba | 30.3% | 43.8% | 19.1% | 6.9% | 217 | 6.7 |
| Ontario | 33.4% | 48.0% | 17.9% | 0.7% | 1084 | 3.0 |
| Quebec | 15.9% | 57.4% | 23.0% | 3.7% | 1124 | 2.9 |
| Atlantic Canada | 23.1% | 57.7% | 17.7% | 1.5% | 207 | 6.8 |
| GENDER | | | | | | |
| Male | 34.7% | 50.5% | 13.8% | 1.1% | 2158 | 2.1 |
| Female | 22.9% | 50.5% | 25.0% | 1.5% | 2275 | 2.1 |
| AGE | | | | | | |
| <25 | 31.3% | 48.5% | 18.6% | 1.7% | 211 | 6.8 |
| 25-44 | 27.4% | 50.7% | 20.2% | 1.7% | 1036 | 3.0 |
| 45-64 | 27.5% | 53.1% | 18.4% | 1.0% | 1881 | 2.3 |
| 65+ | 31.5% | 46.3% | 21.1% | 1.1% | 1295 | 2.7 |
| EDUCATION | | | | | | |
| High school or less | 29.5% | 45.2% | 23.6% | 1.7% | 1437 | 2.6 |
| College or CEGEP | 32.3% | 46.4% | 20.2% | 1.2% | 1382 | 2.6 |
| University or higher | 25.0% | 58.5% | 15.2% | 1.3% | 1610 | 2.4 |
| COUNTRY OF BIRTH | | | | | | |
| Canada | 27.8% | 52.4% | 18.4% | 1.5% | 3722 | 1.6 |
| Other | 32.6% | 41.6% | 25.0% | 0.9% | 747 | 3.6 |
| CURRENT VOTE INTENTION | | | | | | |
| Conservative Party | 12.7% | 68.1% | 18.5% | 0.7% | 1063 | 3.0 |
| NDP | 76.4% | 9.2% | 13.7% | 0.7% | 1142 | 2.9 |
| Liberal Party | 11.8% | 74.4% | 13.7% | 0.1% | 835 | 3.4 |
| Green Party | 15.7% | 68.0% | 15.0% | 1.3% | 298 | 5.7 |
| Bloc Quebecois | 9.3% | 72.3% | 17.2% | 1.2% | 238 | 6.4 |
| Other | 18.6% | 60.4% | 19.7% | 1.3% | 119 | 9.0 |



Approval Rating – Thomas Mulcair

Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Thomas Mulcair, leader of the Official Opposition and Leader of the New Democratic Party of Canada is handling his job?

| | Approve | Disapprove | Don't know | No response | Sample Size | Margin of Error (+/-) |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| NATIONALLY | 26.0% | 29.7% | 40.7% | 3.7% | 4568 | 1.5 |
| REGION | | | | | | |
| British Columbia | 24.1% | 31.2% | 42.9% | 1.9% | 917 | 3.2 |
| Alberta | 16.6% | 41.3% | 32.8% | 9.4% | 724 | 3.6 |
| Saskatchewan | 18.7% | 38.8% | 30.3% | 12.2% | 285 | 5.8 |
| Manitoba | 27.0% | 31.5% | 33.9% | 7.6% | 217 | 6.7 |
| Ontario | 25.5% | 32.5% | 40.8% | 1.2% | 1084 | 3.0 |
| Quebec | 34.0% | 17.3% | 44.2% | 4.4% | 1124 | 2.9 |
| Atlantic Canada | 23.2% | 29.8% | 44.0% | 3.0% | 207 | 6.8 |
| GENDER | | | | | | |
| Male | 29.6% | 38.1% | 30.9% | 1.5% | 2158 | 2.1 |
| Female | 23.5% | 22.6% | 51.5% | 2.4% | 2275 | 2.1 |
| AGE | | | | | | |
| <25 | 27.5% | 30.0% | 38.5% | 4.0% | 211 | 6.8 |
| 25-44 | 26.0% | 29.0% | 42.2% | 2.9% | 1036 | 3.0 |
| 45-64 | 26.9% | 30.5% | 41.5% | 1.1% | 1881 | 2.3 |
| 65+ | 26.2% | 31.0% | 42.1% | 0.8% | 1295 | 2.7 |
| EDUCATION | | | | | | |
| High school or less | 21.1% | 29.4% | 47.9% | 1.6% | 1437 | 2.6 |
| College or CEGEP | 21.5% | 30.7% | 45.5% | 2.3% | 1382 | 2.6 |
| University or higher | 35.1% | 30.3% | 32.7% | 1.9% | 1610 | 2.4 |
| COUNTRY OF BIRTH | | | | | | |
| Canada | 26.2% | 31.5% | 40.4% | 2.0% | 3722 | 1.6 |
| Other | 27.6% | 24.1% | 46.1% | 2.2% | 747 | 3.6 |
| CURRENT VOTE INTENTION | | | | | | |
| Conservative Party | 27.8% | 32.1% | 39.7% | 0.5% | 1063 | 3.0 |
| NDP | 13.3% | 51.2% | 34.2% | 1.3% | 1142 | 2.9 |
| Liberal Party | 51.4% | 13.4% | 34.1% | 1.0% | 835 | 3.4 |
| Green Party | 30.3% | 24.0% | 43.2% | 2.5% | 298 | 5.7 |
| Bloc Quebecois | 32.6% | 19.2% | 47.9% | 0.3% | 238 | 6.4 |
| Other | 16.8% | 43.3% | 39.9% | 0.0% | 119 | 9.0 |



Approval Rating – Justin Trudeau

Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the way Justin Trudeau, Member of Parliament and candidate for leadership of the Liberal Party of Canada, is handling his job?

| | Approve | Disapprove | Don't know | No response | Sample Size | Margin of Error (+/-) |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| NATIONALLY | 36.0% | 25.8% | 34.6% | 3.6% | 4568 | 1.5 |
| REGION | | | | | | |
| British Columbia | 36.5% | 25.4% | 36.6% | 1.5% | 917 | 3.2 |
| Alberta | 23.3% | 35.9% | 31.8% | 8.9% | 724 | 3.6 |
| Saskatchewan | 27.9% | 27.3% | 34.6% | 10.3% | 285 | 5.8 |
| Manitoba | 42.4% | 23.5% | 26.0% | 8.1% | 217 | 6.7 |
| Ontario | 39.5% | 26.8% | 32.3% | 1.5% | 1084 | 3.0 |
| Quebec | 34.4% | 22.0% | 39.0% | 4.6% | 1124 | 2.9 |
| Atlantic Canada | 43.7% | 17.8% | 36.4% | 2.1% | 207 | 6.8 |
| GENDER | | | | | | |
| Male | 36.3% | 32.8% | 29.2% | 1.6% | 2158 | 2.1 |
| Female | 37.1% | 19.9% | 40.8% | 2.2% | 2275 | 2.1 |
| AGE | | | | | | |
| <25 | 32.5% | 28.2% | 34.2% | 5.2% | 211 | 6.8 |
| 25-44 | 32.6% | 27.0% | 37.9% | 2.6% | 1036 | 3.0 |
| 45-64 | 39.8% | 25.6% | 33.8% | 0.8% | 1881 | 2.3 |
| 65+ | 40.8% | 24.9% | 33.3% | 1.0% | 1295 | 2.7 |
| EDUCATION | | | | | | |
| High school or less | 35.4% | 26.6% | 36.5% | 1.5% | 1437 | 2.6 |
| College or CEGEP | 34.7% | 27.8% | 35.6% | 1.9% | 1382 | 2.6 |
| University or higher | 39.7% | 24.2% | 33.7% | 2.3% | 1610 | 2.4 |
| COUNTRY OF BIRTH | | | | | | |
| Canada | 35.9% | 27.3% | 34.8% | 2.0% | 3722 | 1.6 |
| Other | 40.3% | 21.1% | 36.7% | 1.9% | 747 | 3.6 |
| CURRENT VOTE INTENTION | | | | | | |
| Conservative Party | 70.0% | 8.5% | 20.9% | 0.6% | 1063 | 3.0 |
| NDP | 20.4% | 48.3% | 30.3% | 1.0% | 1142 | 2.9 |
| Liberal Party | 35.6% | 22.0% | 40.1% | 2.3% | 835 | 3.4 |
| Green Party | 34.3% | 27.1% | 36.3% | 2.3% | 298 | 5.7 |
| Bloc Quebecois | 17.4% | 41.5% | 41.1% | 0.0% | 238 | 6.4 |
| Other | 25.2% | 36.0% | 38.4% | 0.5% | 119 | 9.0 |

Methodology:

This study was conducted using Interactive Voice Response (IVR) technology, which allows respondents to enter their preferences by punching the keypad on their phone, rather than telling them to an operator.

In an effort to reduce the coverage bias of landline only RDD, we created a dual landline/cell phone RDD sampling frame for this research. As a result, we are able to reach those with a landline and cell phone, as well as cell phone only households and landline only households. This methodology is not to be confused with the increasing proliferation of non-probability opt-in online panels which have recently been incorrectly reported in major national media with inappropriate margin of error estimates.

The field dates for this survey are April 3-10, 2013. In total, a random sample of 4,568 Canadian adults aged 18 and over responded to the survey. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/-1.5 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

Please note that the margin of error increases when the results are sub-divided (i.e., error margins for sub-groups such as region, sex, age, education). All the data have been statistically weighted to ensure the sample's composition reflects that of the actual population of Canada according to Census data.