

# NDP CONTINUES TO RISE AS LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES CONTINUE TO SLIDE:

OPPOSITION TO BILL C-51 NOW A CLEAR MAJORITY

[Ottawa – June 12, 2015] For five of our last six polls, the NDP has improved its standing with Canadian voters and the party now stands at 33.6 per cent, a 16-point improvement over its modern low just four months ago. The NDP have nearly double the support that they did this time out from the 2011 election. Support for the Conservatives and the Liberals, meanwhile, continues to languish with the two parties standing at 27 points and 23 points, respectively.

The NDP sits just three-points ahead of their 2011 election standing. The Liberals, while at their lowest point since Justin Trudeau became leader, are still four points ahead of where they were four years ago. It is the Conservatives who are down nearly 13 points.

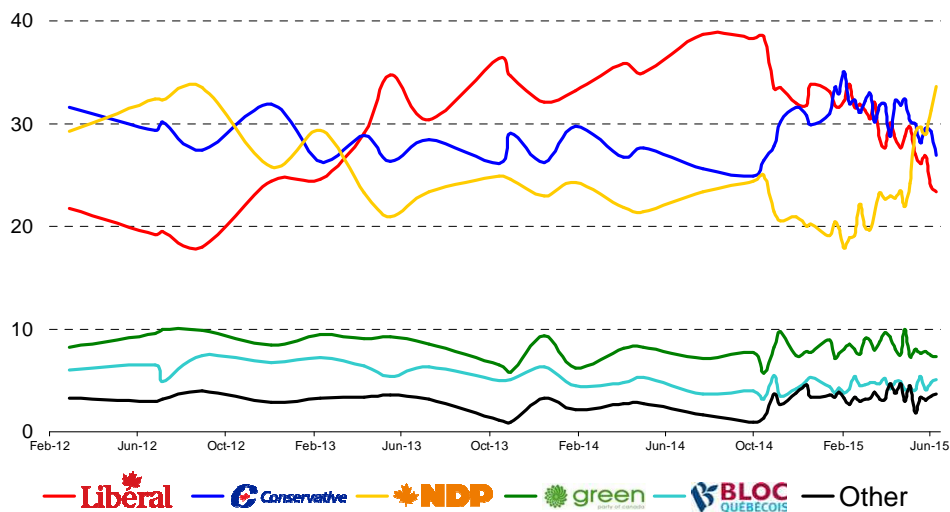
## Federal vote intention

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

### National Results



### 2011 Election Results



Note: The data on federal vote intention are based on decided and leaning voters only.  
 Copyright 2015  
 No reproduction without permission

BASE: Canadians; June 3-9, 2015 (n=2,491), MOE +/- 2.0%, 19 times out of 20

---

## The NDP's improbable rise continues as both the Conservatives and Liberals slide

The NDP are strong in every region of the country and the party leads in Ontario and Quebec. An important caveat, however, is that the huge NDP lead in Ontario is new and should be treated with caution until we see it confirmed. The large NDP lead in Quebec, in contrast, is more stable and we definitely feel the NDP are in very strong shape there. It will be interesting to see how Gilles Duceppe's surprise return to politics impacts the NDP's standing and we will be returning to this issue next week.

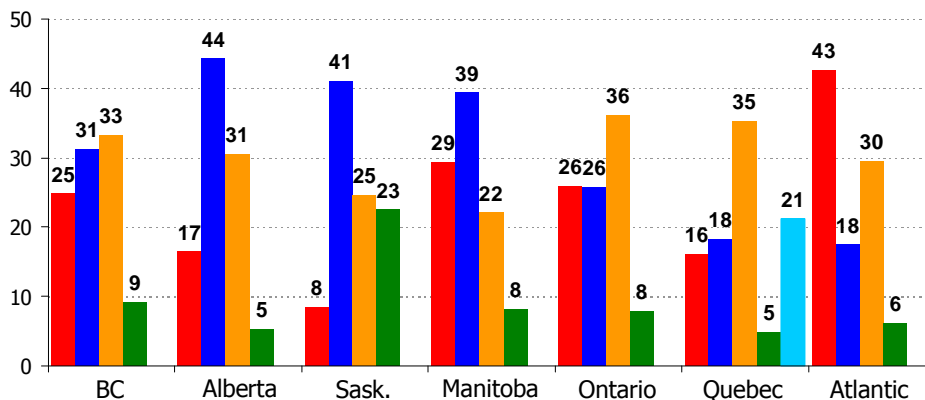
The most troubling feature of NDP support (for the NDP, that is) is their large tilt to younger voters. One-third of the party's constituency is under the age of 35. These voters typically don't vote in great numbers and they are a highly fluid group in terms of their proclivity to bounce between political affiliations. Furthermore, the NDP trails significantly among seniors, a group that reliably votes in large numbers. We would therefore advise exercising caution in interpreting the NDP strength.

On the other hand, the NDP vote is hugely concentrated with the university educated who do tend to vote, which may (at least partially) offset the party's age disadvantage. Also, Canada's young educated vote is not that far off from the national average in terms of voting levels. Indeed, the true deficiency in youth voting is the economically vulnerable, precariat portion of that segment.

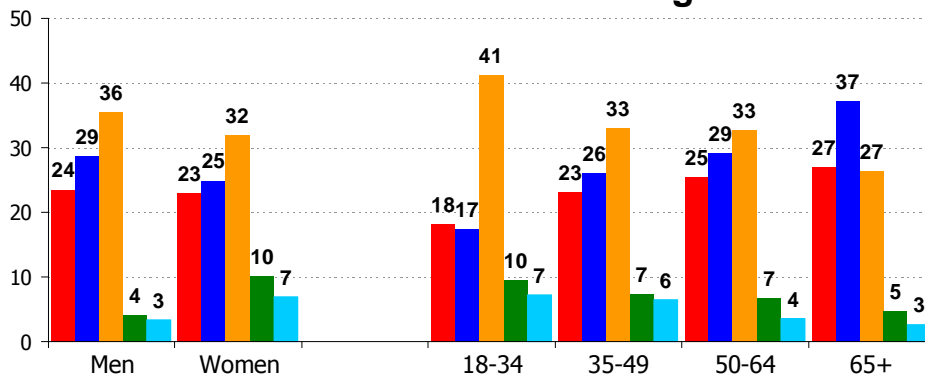
The Conservatives, meanwhile, must be concerned that while they lead with seniors, they have lost strength with the segment that is critical to their prospects for success.

## Vote intention by key demographics

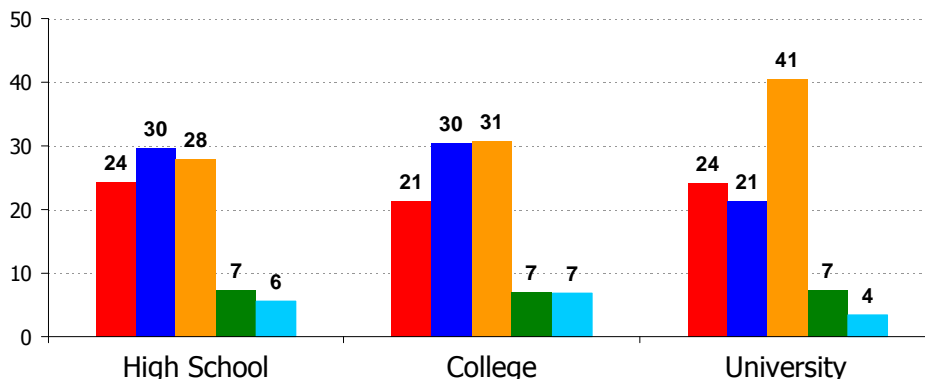
Q. If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?



### Gender



### Education



Liberal 
 Conservative 
 NDP 
 Green 
 BLOC 
 Other

Copyright 2015  
No reproduction without permission

BASE: Canadians; June 3-9, 2015 (n=2,491), MOE +/- 2.0%, 19 times out of 20

## So why are all of the educated voters flocking to the NDP?

*"If recent history and public judgements are any guide, the citizenry of the near future, who will have to live with their consequences, will rue any further emphasis on security over civil liberties, personal freedoms, and economic productivity."*

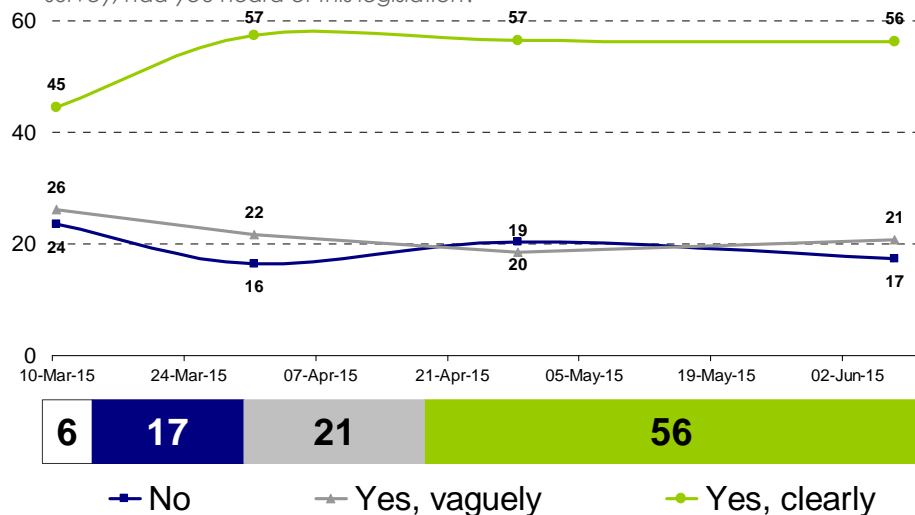
*-Frank Graves, October 28, 2014*

There are a lot of potential explanations as to why university educated voters have rallied around the NDP, but we are going to look at one possible angle. Some have speculated that the Liberal position on Bill C-51 is a factor. We offer some new data to test this hypothesis. While imperfect, it leaves the hypothesis in the realm of plausibility as one of the causes of the drift. And recall that the NDP rise is pretty commensurate with the Liberal decline and is most likely churning of the promiscuous progressive vote seeking the best home to defeat Stephen Harper's Conservative Party.

Awareness of C-51 is very high by the standards of this scale, and it has grown somewhat over the past few months. The majority of respondents claim to be 'clearly' aware. It therefore passes the test of having enough salience to be a game changer.

## Awareness of Bill C-51

Q. As you may have heard, the Government of Canada has recently proposed Bill C-51 which, among other things, grants police and intelligence agencies a broad range of new powers to disrupt suspected terrorist activities. Before this survey, had you heard of this legislation?



Copyright 2015  
No reproduction without permission

BASE: Canadians; June 3-9, 2015 (n=2,136), MOE +/- 2.1%, 19 times out of 20

Looking at the charts below, we see that support for C-51 has declined sharply and that there is now clear majority opposition compared to majority support a couple of months back (the period which coincides with the Liberals and NDP changing places). It is also notable that strong

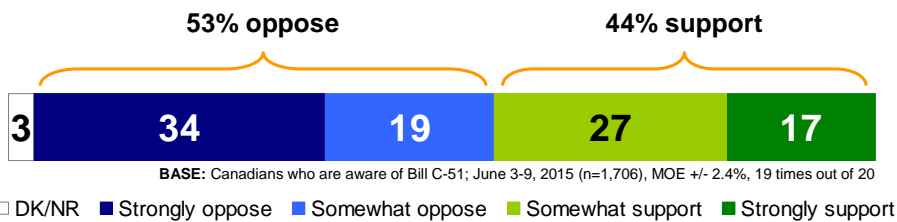
opposition is twice as high as strong support, which suggests that growing opposition is emotionally engaging.

## Support for Bill C-51

Q. As you may have heard, the Government of Canada has recently proposed Bill C-51 which, among other things, grants police and intelligence agencies a broad range of new powers to disrupt suspected terrorist activities. Before this survey, had you heard of this legislation?



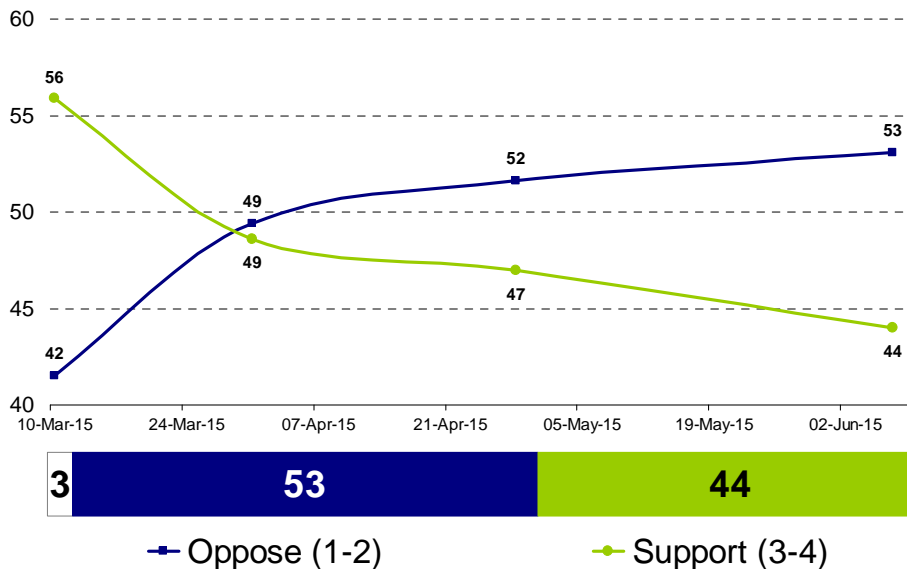
Q. [IF YES] To what extent to you support or oppose Bill C-51?



Copyright 2015  
No reproduction without permission

## Support for Bill C-51

Q. [IF YES] To what extent to you support or oppose Bill C-51?



Copyright 2015  
No reproduction without permission

These findings echo the trends noted in an essay we released in the wake of the Parliament Hill shootings<sup>1</sup> where we cautioned that while Canadians are often initially supportive of measures designed to protect ourselves at home, this support quickly tapers off. Virtually every response to the spectre and reality of terrorism over the past decade has ultimately been deemed to have failed in hindsight. The public downright reject the narrative that threats to our security can be resolved through further restrictions on personal freedoms and they will hold their leaders to account for any decisions which further erode civil liberties.

We believe that Conservative decline is linked to the declining salience of security. The moral panic associated with bringing in heightened security after the episodes in the fall has dissipated and Bill C-51 no longer appears reasonable, particularly in progressive Canada. Indeed, the Conservatives have now returned to the levels they were at in mid-October,<sup>2</sup> before the Parliament Hill incident and the security wave which propelled Stephen Harper into a clear lead.

### **Nobody holds distinct advantage on best plan**

Finally, it appears that no party holds a clear advantage on having the best plan for the future of the country as a whole. The NDP is doing slightly better and the Conservatives, while not necessarily down, have certainly not risen. In terms best plan for individual citizens, the trend lines are a bit clearer, but hardly substantive. The NDP has enjoyed a steady rise in terms of the perceived merits of their plan for the Canadians themselves. The party now enjoys a six-point advantage over both the Liberals and the Conservatives. The Conservative Party, meanwhile, has seen a gentle erosion in public confidence in their ability to present the best plan for Canadians.

Finally, no party has a distinct lead in terms of the clarity of their plan. While the NDP has seen a modest but sustained rise in terms of the perception that they offer the clearest plan, they still find themselves in statistical tie with both the Conservatives and the Liberals.

If there is a tentative winner in the battle for the best plan, it is the NDP, who have come out ahead in terms of offering the best ideas for individuals, but can not seem to make any real progress in terms of establishing themselves as the best party to lead the country. If there is a loser, it is the Conservative Party who, despite having passed a highly-publicized budget that was designed to cater to the personal needs of their constituents, have been unable to improve their standing in this area (quite the opposite, in fact). The Liberal Party is neither a winner nor a loser, as they have held their ground, but have so far failed to make any real headway.

---

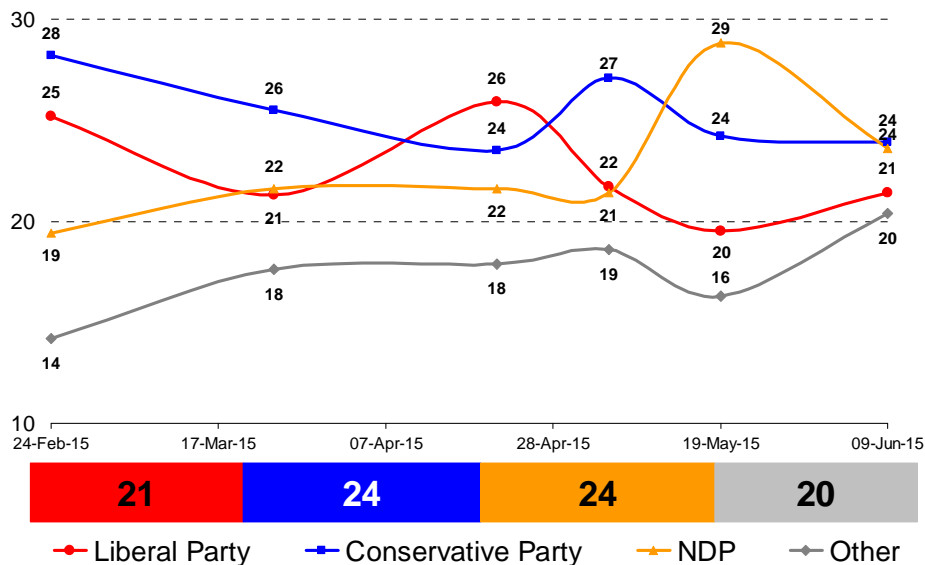
<sup>1</sup> Frank Graves, "A Memo from Citizens of the Near Future to the Leaders of Today", October 28, 2014. Available online at: <http://goo.gl/nxk9cv>

<sup>2</sup> EKOS Research Associates, "One Year Out: A New Normal with Considerable Room for Further Change", October 19, 2014. Available online at: <http://goo.gl/B6l68k>

There is nothing definite or clear in guiding us to understand what might happen in Ontario. What we do know is that we have a rising NDP, an incumbent in serious trouble, and a Liberal Party which appears to have switched places with the NPD as the “other” alternative. All of this has changed over the past month and it can all change again. We believe the critical ingredient for success will be who offers the best plan that most closely captures the broadest span of public values and interests.

## Best plan for improving the country

Q. Which party has the best plan or ideas for IMPROVING THE COUNTRY?

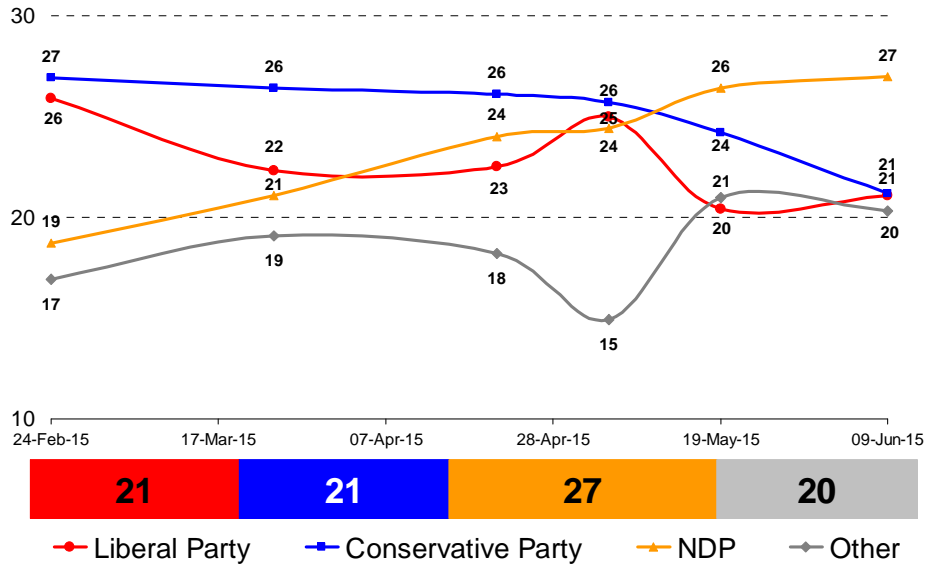


Copyright 2015  
No reproduction without permission

BASE: Canadians (third-sample); June 3-9, 2015 (n=704), MOE +/- 3.7%, 19 times out of 20

## Best plan for individual citizens

Q. Which party has the best plan or ideas for YOU PERSONALLY?

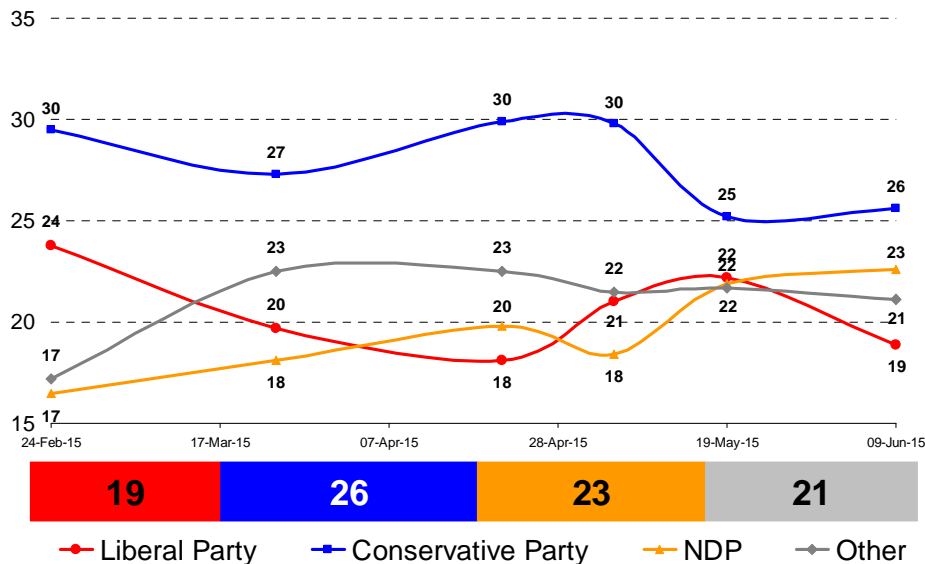


Copyright 2015  
No reproduction without permission

BASE: Canadians (third-sample); June 3-9, 2015 (n=738), MOE +/- 3.6%, 19 times out of 20

## Party that presents the clearest plan

Q. Which party has the clearest plan or ideas for the future?



Copyright 2015  
No reproduction without permission

BASE: Canadians (third-sample); June 3-9, 2015 (n=694), MOE +/- 3.7%, 19 times out of 20



## Detailed tables:

<b>National Federal Vote Intention (decided and leaning voters only)</b>								
<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 Party	Conser- vative Party	NDP	Green Party	Bloc Québécois	Other	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>23.3%</b>	<b>26.9%</b>	<b>33.6%</b>	<b>7.3%</b>	<b>5.1%</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>2092</b>	<b>2.1</b>
REGION								
British Columbia	24.8%	31.2%	33.3%	9.2%	–	1.6%	306	5.6
Alberta	16.5%	44.2%	30.5%	5.3%	–	3.6%	260	6.1
Saskatchewan	8.4%	41.0%	24.7%	22.5%	–	3.4%	99	9.9
Manitoba	29.4%	39.4%	22.1%	8.2%	–	0.9%	86	10.6
Ontario	26.0%	25.8%	36.1%	7.9%	–	4.1%	740	3.6
Quebec	16.1%	18.2%	35.2%	4.8%	21.2%	4.6%	381	5.0
Atlantic Canada	42.5%	17.5%	29.5%	6.2%	–	4.3%	213	6.7
GENDER								
Male	23.6%	28.7%	35.6%	4.2%	3.4%	4.4%	1007	3.1
Female	23.0%	25.0%	32.0%	10.2%	6.9%	2.9%	1053	3.0
AGE								
<35	18.2%	17.4%	41.3%	9.6%	7.3%	6.2%	148	8.1
35-49	23.1%	26.0%	33.1%	7.4%	6.4%	3.9%	326	5.4
50-64	25.4%	29.2%	32.7%	6.7%	3.6%	2.3%	736	3.6
65+	26.9%	37.3%	26.5%	4.7%	2.6%	2.0%	853	3.4
EDUCATION								
High school or less	24.4%	29.7%	28.0%	7.3%	5.6%	5.0%	520	4.3
College or CEGEP	21.2%	30.4%	30.8%	7.1%	6.9%	3.6%	681	3.8
University or higher	24.2%	21.3%	40.5%	7.4%	3.5%	3.1%	853	3.4

### **Awareness of Bill C-51**

*Q. As you may have heard, the Government of Canada has recently proposed Bill C-51 which, among other things, grants police and intelligence agencies a broad range of new powers to disrupt suspected terrorist activities. Before this survey, had you heard of this legislation?*

	Yes, clearly	Yes, vaguely	No, not at all	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>56.3%</b>	<b>20.7%</b>	<b>17.3%</b>	<b>5.7%</b>	<b>2136</b>	<b>2.1</b>
<b>REGION</b>						
British Columbia	65.2%	16.8%	10.4%	7.6%	304	5.6
Alberta	57.7%	22.3%	14.7%	5.3%	263	6.0
Saskatchewan	60.6%	22.1%	4.6%	12.6%	96	10.0
Manitoba	43.9%	25.9%	22.1%	8.1%	98	9.9
Ontario	57.3%	20.3%	17.3%	5.1%	757	3.6
Quebec	51.1%	20.9%	24.1%	3.9%	385	5.0
Atlantic Canada	53.7%	23.6%	14.7%	8.0%	228	6.5
<b>GENDER</b>						
Male	65.8%	19.7%	13.0%	1.5%	989	3.1
Female	51.6%	23.4%	23.3%	1.7%	1030	3.1
<b>AGE</b>						
<35	58.7%	19.9%	19.5%	1.9%	155	7.9
35-49	56.2%	21.0%	21.2%	1.7%	316	5.5
50-64	60.6%	22.1%	15.5%	1.8%	728	3.6
65+	58.5%	23.8%	15.2%	2.5%	826	3.4
<b>EDUCATION</b>						
High school or less	47.2%	24.8%	25.5%	2.5%	538	4.2
College or CEGEP	56.3%	23.5%	19.4%	0.8%	660	3.8
University or higher	71.6%	16.6%	10.5%	1.3%	809	3.5
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>						
Liberal Party	62.3%	23.1%	13.8%	0.8%	463	4.6
Conservative Party	59.6%	25.6%	13.4%	1.5%	564	4.1
NDP	70.7%	16.1%	12.2%	1.1%	545	4.2
Green Party	60.9%	17.7%	19.3%	2.1%	104	9.6
Bloc Québécois	41.1%	22.4%	36.5%	0.0%	64	12.3

### **Support for Bill C-51**

*Q. To what extent to you support or oppose Bill C-51?*

	Strongly oppose	Somewhat oppose	Somewhat support	Strongly support	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>33.7%</b>	<b>19.4%</b>	<b>27.0%</b>	<b>17.0%</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	<b>1706</b>	<b>2.4</b>
<b>REGION</b>							
British Columbia	46.3%	17.2%	20.9%	12.4%	3.2%	251	6.2
Alberta	31.4%	10.5%	32.5%	21.6%	4.0%	219	6.6
Saskatchewan	35.9%	14.1%	33.4%	16.2%	0.5%	81	10.9
Manitoba	16.3%	36.1%	27.8%	18.5%	1.2%	82	10.8
Ontario	35.1%	20.8%	27.6%	13.9%	2.5%	603	4.0
Quebec	25.1%	20.4%	28.0%	23.6%	3.0%	286	5.8
Atlantic Canada	37.0%	23.6%	20.8%	14.7%	3.9%	180	7.3
<b>GENDER</b>							
Male	39.3%	18.1%	24.4%	16.2%	2.0%	866	3.3
Female	27.1%	20.9%	30.5%	17.9%	3.6%	814	3.4
<b>AGE</b>							
<35	44.6%	20.2%	20.6%	12.1%	2.4%	122	8.9
35-49	34.4%	16.9%	32.6%	13.0%	3.1%	249	6.2
50-64	28.4%	20.5%	29.8%	18.9%	2.5%	610	4.0
65+	23.6%	20.7%	25.8%	26.9%	3.0%	700	3.7
<b>EDUCATION</b>							
High school or less	31.9%	19.3%	27.9%	18.8%	2.0%	401	4.9
College or CEGEP	30.2%	17.3%	29.4%	18.5%	4.7%	542	4.2
University or higher	37.6%	21.5%	24.7%	14.7%	1.6%	733	3.6
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>							
Liberal Party	35.6%	21.7%	28.5%	11.9%	2.3%	397	4.9
Conservative Party	9.9%	8.1%	37.4%	39.9%	4.7%	492	4.4
NDP	48.4%	25.9%	20.6%	4.5%	0.6%	479	4.5
Green Party	49.9%	20.1%	14.5%	14.0%	1.4%	80	11.0
Bloc Québécois	26.3%	28.8%	18.3%	18.0%	8.6%	49	14.0

### **Best Plan for Improving the Country**

*Q. [THIRD-SAMPLE ONLY] Which party has the best plan or ideas for IMPROVING THE COUNTRY?*

	Liberal Party	Conservative Party	NDP	Other	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>21.4%</b>	<b>23.9%</b>	<b>23.6%</b>	<b>20.4%</b>	<b>10.8%</b>	<b>704</b>	<b>3.7</b>
<b>REGION</b>							
British Columbia	13.6%	25.3%	21.9%	29.1%	10.1%	102	9.7
Alberta	22.2%	36.8%	10.6%	18.4%	12.1%	86	10.6
Saskatchewan	7.5%	43.9%	16.3%	27.6%	4.8%	27	18.9
Manitoba	16.9%	11.3%	15.3%	46.9%	9.6%	29	18.2
Ontario	25.9%	25.2%	23.5%	13.1%	12.3%	268	6.0
Quebec	12.7%	17.6%	35.1%	26.9%	7.7%	111	9.3
Atlantic Canada	41.4%	11.0%	21.7%	11.5%	14.4%	78	11.1
<b>GENDER</b>							
Male	20.9%	29.8%	23.7%	19.3%	6.3%	338	5.3
Female	22.4%	19.8%	25.9%	23.1%	8.8%	334	5.4
<b>AGE</b>							
<35	25.5%	20.5%	19.8%	26.7%	7.5%	51	13.7
35-49	19.1%	24.3%	24.7%	25.2%	6.7%	105	9.6
50-64	18.4%	27.4%	29.0%	16.8%	8.4%	227	6.5
65+	24.5%	28.4%	25.6%	14.1%	7.3%	289	5.8
<b>EDUCATION</b>							
High school or less	30.6%	25.3%	20.0%	20.8%	3.3%	164	7.7
College or CEGEP	17.0%	28.6%	20.7%	25.3%	8.3%	223	6.6
University or higher	21.0%	20.7%	31.7%	17.6%	9.1%	282	5.8
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>							
Liberal Party	70.3%	10.0%	3.7%	10.6%	5.5%	158	7.8
Conservative Party	10.6%	76.0%	4.5%	5.1%	3.8%	198	7.0
NDP	1.5%	5.6%	71.3%	16.4%	5.3%	172	7.5
Green Party	21.6%	0.0%	28.0%	42.5%	7.9%	29	18.2
Bloc Québécois	2.8%	2.8%	41.0%	53.4%	0.0%	16	24.5

### **Best Plan for Individual Citizens**

*Q. [THIRD-SAMPLE ONLY] Which party has the best plan or ideas for YOU PERSONALLY?*

	Liberal Party	Conservative Party	NDP	Other	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>21.1%</b>	<b>21.2%</b>	<b>27.0%</b>	<b>20.3%</b>	<b>10.5%</b>	<b>738</b>	<b>3.6</b>
<b>REGION</b>							
British Columbia	20.8%	13.9%	31.5%	17.6%	16.1%	94	10.1
Alberta	10.9%	34.2%	27.9%	10.9%	16.1%	95	10.1
Saskatchewan	6.5%	32.9%	15.9%	22.9%	21.9%	35	16.6
Manitoba	8.4%	18.9%	20.9%	27.5%	24.3%	37	16.1
Ontario	26.2%	20.8%	21.2%	22.5%	9.2%	267	6.0
Quebec	17.8%	16.5%	35.6%	26.4%	3.8%	126	8.7
Atlantic Canada	31.1%	27.1%	27.9%	6.1%	7.8%	82	10.8
<b>GENDER</b>							
Male	24.8%	26.8%	26.1%	19.1%	3.1%	329	5.4
Female	19.2%	17.2%	29.8%	23.3%	10.5%	373	5.1
<b>AGE</b>							
<35	24.9%	19.3%	23.5%	25.2%	7.1%	50	13.9
35-49	17.4%	17.9%	34.4%	23.0%	7.4%	109	9.4
50-64	23.7%	20.1%	29.7%	19.0%	7.5%	281	5.9
65+	22.3%	34.7%	22.9%	14.9%	5.2%	262	6.1
<b>EDUCATION</b>							
High school or less	22.9%	24.7%	20.8%	21.8%	9.7%	202	6.9
College or CEGEP	20.2%	19.5%	31.7%	23.3%	5.3%	212	6.7
University or higher	23.0%	20.7%	32.0%	18.3%	6.0%	283	5.8
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>							
Liberal Party	71.0%	5.1%	12.9%	9.8%	1.2%	158	7.8
Conservative Party	8.8%	77.8%	4.6%	6.7%	2.2%	184	7.2
NDP	9.7%	6.8%	67.4%	13.8%	2.3%	186	7.2
Green Party	5.4%	6.7%	20.3%	58.0%	9.6%	40	15.5
Bloc Québécois	9.8%	13.1%	19.5%	54.7%	2.9%	30	17.9

### **Clearest Plan**

*Q. [THIRD-SAMPLE ONLY] Which party has the **CLEAREST** plan or ideas for the future?*

	Liberal Party	Conservative Party	NDP	Other	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>18.9%</b>	<b>25.6%</b>	<b>22.6%</b>	<b>21.1%</b>	<b>11.8%</b>	<b>694</b>	<b>3.7</b>
<b>REGION</b>							
British Columbia	19.0%	29.1%	19.8%	17.5%	14.7%	108	9.4
Alberta	15.7%	30.6%	24.8%	21.3%	7.6%	82	10.8
Saskatchewan	10.9%	15.5%	29.0%	32.2%	12.4%	34	16.8
Manitoba	18.3%	44.9%	22.8%	9.8%	4.3%	32	17.3
Ontario	23.6%	23.6%	20.9%	17.2%	14.7%	222	6.6
Quebec	14.8%	23.4%	23.4%	27.6%	10.7%	148	8.1
Atlantic Canada	20.8%	24.6%	26.4%	21.8%	6.4%	68	11.9
<b>GENDER</b>							
Male	23.3%	28.8%	22.9%	19.9%	5.1%	322	5.5
Female	16.8%	25.2%	24.9%	25.2%	7.9%	323	5.5
<b>AGE</b>							
<35	26.1%	19.3%	21.5%	25.1%	8.0%	54	13.3
35-49	16.8%	28.2%	17.1%	30.9%	6.9%	102	9.7
50-64	15.3%	30.7%	28.5%	17.8%	7.8%	220	6.6
65+	20.4%	30.4%	30.9%	13.4%	5.0%	275	5.9
<b>EDUCATION</b>							
High school or less	22.8%	26.5%	15.1%	28.2%	7.4%	172	7.5
College or CEGEP	19.1%	29.3%	22.6%	20.7%	8.4%	225	6.5
University or higher	17.0%	25.7%	34.6%	18.9%	3.8%	244	6.3
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>							
Liberal Party	58.5%	10.6%	13.8%	13.6%	3.5%	147	8.1
Conservative Party	11.4%	79.2%	1.2%	4.3%	3.9%	182	7.3
NDP	11.5%	14.2%	59.8%	9.0%	5.4%	187	7.2
Green Party	11.2%	12.1%	7.7%	54.3%	14.8%	35	16.6
Bloc Québécois	7.2%	7.2%	12.4%	73.2%	0.0%	18	23.1

---

## Methodology:

This study was conducted using High Definition Interactive Voice Response (HD-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.

The field dates for this survey are June 3-9, 2015. In total, a random sample of 2,491 Canadian adults aged 18 and over responded to the survey. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/-2.0 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 by **age, gender, region, and educational attainment** to ensure the sample's composition reflects that of the actual population of Canada according to Census data.