Great Expectations:
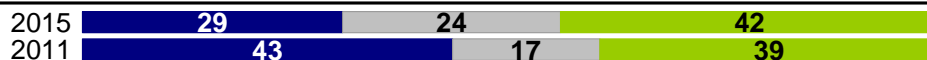
A MIXED BLESSING FOR JUSTIN TRUDEAU?

[Ottawa – November 11, 2015] The 42nd federal election produced a result that seemed extremely unlikely at the outset of the campaign. In this brief note, we look at two fairly simple indicators of how the election was received and what perceived impacts the election will have on the country. We will look at basic satisfaction with the election and how it compares with the previous one. We will then turn from the rear view mirror to the future. What are the expectations about the future? How do citizens hope or imagine the reinstatement of progressive Canada will affect their lives and the country?

Interestingly, the overall satisfaction levels with this election are only marginally higher than in 2011. What is different is much lower the levels of dissatisfaction are this time. Unsurprisingly, Conservatives were not very happy, while Liberal supporters were ecstatic. What is really remarkable is how other party supporters rated the outcome in each of these two elections.

Satisfaction with 2015 election results

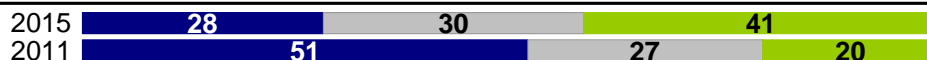*Q. Overall, how satisfied are you with the results of this election?*

National
2015	29 / 24 / 42
2011	43 / 17 / 39

Liberal Party
2015	10 / 9 / 81
2011	71 / 18 / 10

Conservative Party
2015	66 / 25 / 7
2011	14 / 9 / 76

NDP
2015	28 / 30 / 41
2011	51 / 27 / 20

Green Party
2015	32 / 35 / 33
2011	65 / 14 / 20

■ Dissatisfied (1-2) ▢ Neither (3) ■ Satisfied (4-5)

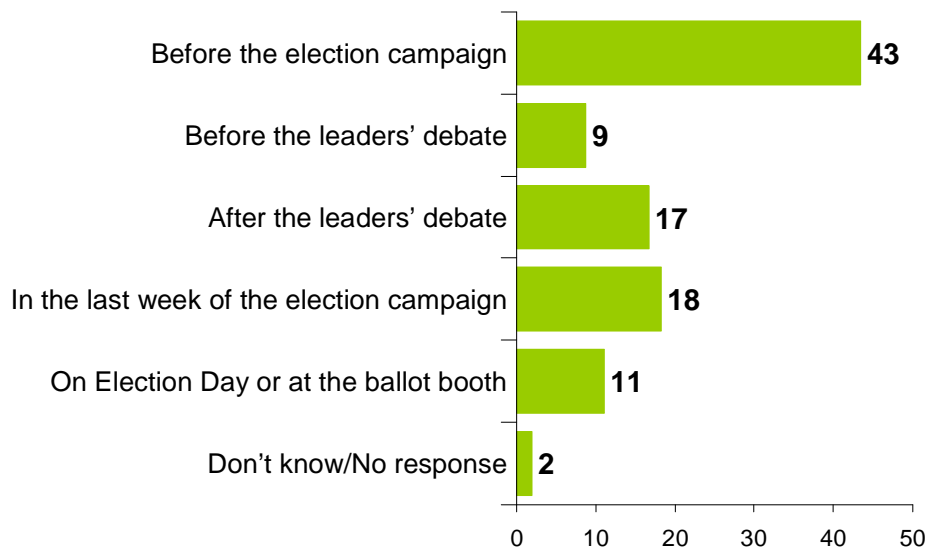**BASE:** Canadians; October 20-23, 2015, n=1,973, MOE +/- 2.2%, 19 times out of 20

In 2011, the NDP reached a historic 103 seats and formed official opposition. These were heady achievements for a party which had never come close to that level of success. Yet they fell short of denying Stephen Harper his strong, stable majority. In 2015, the NDP suffered one of the biggest political pratfalls in Canadian history. They lost more than half their seats and were reduced to third party status once again. It is therefore both ironic and important that their

dwindled constituency were much happier than they were with the heady achievement of 2011. This vividly illustrates a key finding.

Throughout the last four years, promiscuous progressive voters have oscillated back and forth across the NDP and the Liberals. A year before the election, it was clearly Justin Trudeau in the driver seat; then it was Tom Mulcair. Some voters would have been happy with a blend of some sort because there were two overriding objectives for progressive Canada. One was to have Mr. Harper defeated. The second was to install some form of progressive government. Affection and fealty to individual parties were subordinate to those twin objectives. That is why NDP voters were much happier with such a diminished outcome for their party. We will hazard a strong guess that Liberal voters would have also been much happier with an NDP victory instead of continued Harper rule.

Sequencing of decision making

Q. When did you make your final decision regarding how you were going to vote?

Category	Value
Before the election campaign	43
Before the leaders' debate	9
After the leaders' debate	17
In the last week of the election campaign	18
On Election Day or at the ballot booth	11
Don't know/No response	2

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BASE: Canadians who voted; October 20-23, 2015, n=1,636, MOE +/- 2.4%, 19 times out of 20

At the end of the day, it was the Liberals that progressive voters turned to decisively in the final stages of the campaign. Almost 30 per cent of voters decided in the last week (11 per cent on Election Day). The combined forces of ensuring the two dominant goals of the progressive majority (viz. to defeat Stephen Harper and to install a truly progressive government) drove voters to the Liberals and this was strategically informed by the polls to an extent we have not seen so clearly before. Overwhelmingly, Justin Trudeau's Liberals emerged in the late stages of the campaign as the safest route to achieving these objectives. Notably, late switchers – erstwhile supporters of the NDP and the Green Party – defected in droves in the final week. Nearly 60 per cent of these voters changed in the final stage of the campaign and they overwhelmingly went to the Liberals.
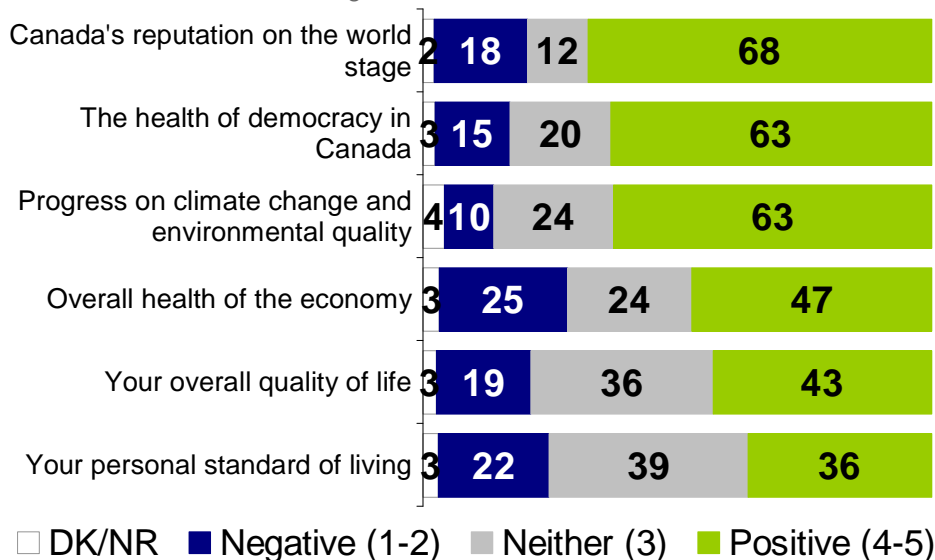
If the 2011 campaign was all about inertia, 2015 was all about movement and change. Voters told us that this was an enormously high stakes election. Voter turnout provided behavioural validation of these claims.

Canadians optimistic new government will profoundly reshape the country

We thought it useful to ask Canadians if and how they thought the world would be any different because of this electoral choice. The answer is that the public see this as the beginnings of a sea change, a profound shift in the very character of the country. While it is undoubtedly encouraging to note just how much confidence the country has invested in the new leader which had been in third place at the outset of the campaign. If one of the keys to success was exceeding the low expectations set by the Conservative Party, it is notable that that period has been replaced with Canada freighting Justin Trudeau with huge, quite likely unrealistic expectations. Undoubtedly, Liberals will welcome this challenge.

Future impacts of 2015 election?

Q. Overall, what impact do you believe the most recent federal election result will have on each of the following?

	DK/NR	Negative (1-2)	Neither (3)	Positive (4-5)
Canada's reputation on the world stage	2	18	12	68
The health of democracy in Canada	3	15	20	63
Progress on climate change and environmental quality	4	10	24	63
Overall health of the economy	3	25	24	47
Your overall quality of life	3	19	36	43
Your personal standard of living	3	22	39	36

☐ DK/NR ■ Negative (1-2) ▉ Neither (3) ▉ Positive (4-5)

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BASE: Canadians; October 27-November 2, 2015 (n=1,227), MOE +/- 2.8%, 19 times out of 20

Results suggest that the reinstatement of a progressive government comes with large expectations about change. Notably, the expectations are highest when it comes to restoring the core values that progressive Canada had seen compromised in the Harper era. Fully two-thirds of Canadians believe that the new government will improve Canada's reputation on the world stage

(while only 18 per cent think Justin Trudeau will have a negative impact on our international standing). A similar proportion holds a positive outlook on the health of democracy which may reflect just how far basic barometers of trust in government and democracy had descended under Harper's watch. Similar high levels of expectation are attached to moving forward on climate change. What is remarkable about these three indicators is how this newfound optimism is shared by Canadians of every region, gender, age group, and educational cohort.

Canadians are a little bit more circumspect about the impacts on the economy and their quality of life, but there is a clear plurality who thinks these areas of Canadian life will be improved. About half of Canadians are hopeful that the Liberals will strengthen and grow the economy. In terms of their personal quality of life and standard of living, a large portion of the Canadian electorate looks at the 2015 election results with more of a "just business as usual" attitude in this area.

Results here are more split along party lines, with pessimism focussed among the traditionally Conservative demographics, namely Albertans and high school graduates. What is remarkable is that apart from the two clearly economic impacts, the incidence of those seeing an erosion of Canada is between 10 and 20 per cent. Justin Trudeau has the clear confidence of the country and even skeptics are well below the numbers supporting other parties.

Concluding remarks

The public receptivity to the new government is very positive but not unqualified. Recall the Liberals went from third to decisive first in an extremely dynamic and surprising election. The citizenry have yet to fully catch up with this result but it does reflect a clear public judgement rooted in values and a belief that the new government had a more compelling narrative on how to restart economic and middle class progress. The new government should savour this profound mandate while being mindful of the longer term advantage of under-promising and over-delivering.

Detailed tables:

Satisfaction with 2015 Election Results
October 20-23, 2015

Q. Overall, how satisfied are you with the results of this election?

	Dissatisfied (1-2)	Neither (3)	Satisfied (4-5)	Skip	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**29.1%**	**24.3%**	**42.2%**	**4.3%**	**1973**	**2.2**
REGION						
British Columbia	25.4%	21.0%	44.8%	8.8%	351	5.2
Alberta	42.6%	23.2%	30.3%	3.8%	237	6.4
Saskatchewan/Manitoba	33.9%	26.9%	31.6%	7.5%	189	7.1
Ontario	32.5%	23.3%	41.4%	2.9%	655	3.8
Quebec	22.3%	29.1%	45.6%	2.9%	359	5.2
Atlantic Canada	16.7%	20.6%	58.5%	4.2%	173	7.5
GENDER						
Male	32.7%	21.0%	45.3%	0.9%	828	3.4
Female	27.7%	28.7%	42.0%	1.5%	1063	3.0
AGE						
<35	25.4%	29.5%	43.6%	1.5%	199	7.0
35-49	32.4%	23.6%	42.6%	1.4%	343	5.3
50-64	32.3%	21.6%	44.5%	1.6%	636	3.9
65+	30.5%	25.6%	43.4%	0.5%	725	3.6
EDUCATION						
High school or less	36.8%	25.8%	36.0%	1.4%	502	4.4
College or CEGEP	31.9%	25.8%	41.7%	0.6%	615	4.0
University or higher	22.5%	24.1%	51.5%	1.9%	768	3.5
2015 VOTE						
Liberal Party	10.2%	8.8%	81.0%	0.0%	592	4.0
Conservative Party	66.3%	25.1%	7.0%	1.6%	418	4.8
NDP	28.0%	30.3%	41.2%	0.4%	238	6.4
Green Party	32.1%	34.7%	33.2%	0.0%	74	11.4
Bloc Québécois	39.6%	50.0%	10.4%	0.0%	39	15.7

Sequencing of Decision Making
October 20-23, 2015

Q. When did you make your final decision regarding how you were going to vote?

	Before the election campaign	Before the leader's debates	After the leader's debates	In the last week of the election campaign	On Election Day or at the ballot booth	Skip	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**43.4%**	**8.7%**	**16.7%**	**18.3%**	**11.0%**	**1.9%**	**1636**	**2.4**
REGION								
British Columbia	49.3%	7.4%	13.9%	13.5%	13.0%	2.8%	283	5.8
Alberta	39.8%	5.9%	15.1%	22.8%	14.0%	2.5%	205	6.8
Saskatchewan/Manitoba	47.0%	10.4%	9.4%	26.9%	3.0%	3.4%	147	8.1
Ontario	43.7%	9.9%	19.4%	16.4%	9.6%	0.9%	540	4.2
Quebec	37.9%	8.2%	16.6%	20.3%	14.0%	2.9%	308	5.6
Atlantic Canada	50.0%	9.1%	17.3%	16.3%	6.5%	0.9%	145	8.1
GENDER								
Male	48.3%	8.2%	16.9%	17.2%	8.2%	1.3%	697	3.7
Female	38.9%	9.3%	17.2%	19.5%	13.5%	1.5%	907	3.3
AGE								
<35	35.8%	7.5%	17.5%	24.0%	12.6%	2.7%	154	7.9
35-49	39.5%	7.4%	17.8%	18.7%	14.3%	2.2%	299	5.7
50-64	50.0%	10.5%	15.3%	15.5%	8.0%	0.7%	558	4.2
65+	49.8%	9.6%	17.3%	14.5%	8.3%	0.6%	604	4.0
EDUCATION								
High school or less	46.7%	8.9%	16.8%	16.6%	10.1%	0.9%	392	5.0
College or CEGEP	42.5%	9.9%	15.7%	17.5%	13.0%	1.4%	530	4.3
University or higher	41.3%	7.7%	18.1%	20.8%	9.7%	2.4%	677	3.8
2015 VOTE								
Liberal Party	36.6%	10.3%	25.4%	19.8%	7.3%	0.6%	592	4.0
Conservative Party	58.6%	9.6%	10.4%	12.3%	7.4%	1.7%	418	4.8
NDP	49.7%	7.8%	11.6%	16.5%	14.4%	0.0%	238	6.4
Green Party	47.1%	7.0%	17.1%	11.1%	15.4%	2.3%	74	11.4
Bloc Québécois	40.4%	6.0%	23.1%	16.6%	13.9%	0.0%	39	15.7

Impact of Election on Overall Health of the Economy

October 27-November 2, 2015

Q. Overall, what impact do you believe the most recent federal election result will have on each of the following?

Overall health of the economy

	Negative (1-2)	Neither (3)	Positive (4-5)	Don't know / No response	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**25.3%**	**24.4%**	**47.3%**	**3.2%**	**1227**	**2.8**
REGION						
British Columbia	22.4%	20.1%	53.5%	4.0%	152	8.0
Alberta	43.9%	20.9%	34.7%	0.4%	115	9.1
Saskatchewan/Manitoba	39.9%	20.1%	39.5%	0.5%	90	10.3
Ontario	25.1%	23.2%	48.2%	3.5%	385	5.0
Quebec	17.3%	32.5%	45.5%	4.7%	403	4.9
Atlantic Canada	16.3%	20.9%	61.9%	0.9%	77	11.2
GENDER						
Male	27.5%	24.6%	45.1%	2.8%	566	4.1
Female	23.0%	24.3%	49.2%	3.5%	659	3.8
AGE						
<35	20.8%	28.9%	46.6%	3.6%	221	6.6
35-44	26.4%	26.0%	44.9%	2.7%	166	7.6
45-54	28.8%	23.1%	44.7%	3.4%	207	6.8
55-64	24.3%	24.5%	47.6%	3.6%	332	5.4
65+	25.0%	17.8%	54.2%	3.0%	240	6.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	31.0%	20.1%	43.1%	5.6%	182	7.3
College or CEGEP	28.0%	26.5%	43.2%	2.3%	360	5.2
University or higher	18.2%	26.1%	53.6%	2.1%	675	3.8

Impact of Election on Individual Standards of Living
October 27-November 2, 2015

Q. Overall, what impact do you believe the most recent federal election result will have on each of the following?

Your personal standard of living

	Negative (1-2)	Neither (3)	Positive (4-5)	Don't know / No response	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**21.8%**	**39.1%**	**36.0%**	**3.0%**	**1227**	**2.8**
REGION						
British Columbia	20.9%	38.3%	35.6%	5.2%	152	8.0
Alberta	39.5%	32.3%	27.7%	0.4%	115	9.1
Saskatchewan/Manitoba	31.2%	34.0%	34.9%	0.0%	90	10.3
Ontario	22.9%	33.1%	41.8%	2.2%	385	5.0
Quebec	13.0%	54.2%	27.3%	5.5%	403	4.9
Atlantic Canada	12.1%	35.2%	50.7%	2.0%	77	11.2
GENDER						
Male	23.5%	38.0%	36.6%	1.9%	566	4.1
Female	20.3%	40.0%	35.5%	4.2%	659	3.8
AGE						
<35	17.0%	39.0%	42.8%	1.2%	221	6.6
35-44	19.3%	42.2%	36.9%	1.7%	166	7.6
45-54	32.1%	31.0%	31.9%	4.9%	207	6.8
55-64	18.9%	47.0%	30.1%	4.0%	332	5.4
65+	21.5%	37.5%	37.3%	3.6%	240	6.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	29.2%	31.6%	33.9%	5.4%	182	7.3
College or CEGEP	24.3%	40.8%	32.6%	2.4%	360	5.2
University or higher	14.3%	43.2%	40.6%	1.9%	675	3.8

Impact of Election on Individual Quality of Life

October 27-November 2, 2015

Q. Overall, what impact do you believe the most recent federal election result will have on each of the following?

Your overall quality of life

	Negative (1-2)	Neither (3)	Positive (4-5)	Don't know / No response	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**18.6%**	**35.9%**	**42.9%**	**2.6%**	**1227**	**2.8**
REGION						
British Columbia	17.0%	34.1%	43.0%	5.9%	152	8.0
Alberta	27.1%	36.1%	36.3%	0.4%	115	9.1
Saskatchewan/Manitoba	27.0%	35.0%	38.0%	0.0%	90	10.3
Ontario	20.4%	27.5%	50.4%	1.8%	385	5.0
Quebec	11.6%	52.7%	31.2%	4.5%	403	4.9
Atlantic Canada	14.3%	29.3%	55.5%	1.0%	77	11.2
GENDER						
Male	20.9%	35.1%	42.5%	1.5%	566	4.1
Female	16.3%	36.9%	43.1%	3.7%	659	3.8
AGE						
<35	16.0%	35.5%	47.3%	1.2%	221	6.6
35-44	19.5%	37.5%	41.4%	1.7%	166	7.6
45-54	22.3%	31.7%	42.1%	3.8%	207	6.8
55-64	15.1%	42.5%	37.6%	4.7%	332	5.4
65+	19.7%	33.4%	44.9%	2.0%	240	6.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	26.6%	36.2%	32.8%	4.6%	182	7.3
College or CEGEP	22.1%	38.3%	37.9%	1.7%	360	5.2
University or higher	9.1%	34.0%	54.9%	2.0%	675	3.8

Impact of Election on the Health of Democracy in Canada

October 27-November 2, 2015

Q. Overall, what impact do you believe the most recent federal election result will have on each of the following?

The health of democracy in Canada

	Negative (1-2)	Neither (3)	Positive (4-5)	Don't know / No response	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**14.6%**	**19.8%**	**63.0%**	**2.5%**	**1227**	**2.8**
REGION						
British Columbia	9.2%	19.1%	66.9%	4.6%	152	8.0
Alberta	17.9%	21.6%	58.0%	2.5%	115	9.1
Saskatchewan/Manitoba	20.6%	27.3%	51.8%	0.3%	90	10.3
Ontario	16.8%	17.7%	63.4%	2.2%	385	5.0
Quebec	10.9%	24.4%	61.9%	2.9%	403	4.9
Atlantic Canada	14.1%	7.5%	76.6%	1.7%	77	11.2
GENDER						
Male	17.3%	16.6%	64.9%	1.1%	566	4.1
Female	11.9%	22.8%	61.4%	3.8%	659	3.8
AGE						
<35	9.4%	18.7%	70.4%	1.6%	221	6.6
35-44	14.7%	20.6%	62.7%	2.1%	166	7.6
45-54	20.9%	20.4%	54.2%	4.5%	207	6.8
55-64	12.2%	21.9%	63.0%	3.0%	332	5.4
65+	15.4%	19.4%	64.5%	0.7%	240	6.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	20.0%	24.8%	52.4%	2.7%	182	7.3
College or CEGEP	15.1%	24.4%	58.7%	1.9%	360	5.2
University or higher	9.7%	12.2%	75.5%	2.7%	675	3.8

Impact of Election on Canada's International Reputation

October 27-November 2, 2015

Q. Overall, what impact do you believe the most recent federal election result will have on each of the following?

Canada's reputation on the world stage

	Negative (1-2)	Neither (3)	Positive (4-5)	Don't know / No response	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**18.3%**	**11.8%**	**67.6%**	**2.3%**	**1227**	**2.8**
REGION						
British Columbia	16.0%	12.1%	65.9%	6.0%	152	8.0
Alberta	33.3%	12.3%	51.6%	2.9%	115	9.1
Saskatchewan/Manitoba	31.6%	17.3%	49.0%	2.0%	90	10.3
Ontario	20.0%	7.8%	70.9%	1.4%	385	5.0
Quebec	9.4%	15.9%	72.7%	2.0%	403	4.9
Atlantic Canada	10.0%	12.3%	77.1%	0.6%	77	11.2
GENDER						
Male	18.6%	11.3%	69.4%	0.8%	566	4.1
Female	18.1%	12.3%	66.0%	3.7%	659	3.8
AGE						
<35	14.7%	13.1%	71.2%	1.0%	221	6.6
35-44	14.9%	12.6%	71.1%	1.5%	166	7.6
45-54	25.0%	9.3%	62.1%	3.6%	207	6.8
55-64	16.0%	16.1%	64.4%	3.4%	332	5.4
65+	20.1%	9.1%	69.6%	1.3%	240	6.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	25.6%	11.6%	59.7%	3.1%	182	7.3
College or CEGEP	19.2%	15.8%	62.6%	2.3%	360	5.2
University or higher	11.6%	8.7%	78.0%	1.7%	675	3.8

Impact of Election on Climate Change and Environmental Quality

October 27-November 2, 2015

Q. Overall, what impact do you believe the most recent federal election result will have on each of the following?

Progress on climate change and environmental quality

	Negative (1-2)	Neither (3)	Positive (4-5)	Don't know / No response	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**9.7%**	**23.5%**	**62.5%**	**4.3%**	**1227**	**2.8**
REGION						
British Columbia	6.7%	26.8%	61.6%	5.0%	152	8.0
Alberta	13.0%	30.1%	51.6%	5.2%	115	9.1
Saskatchewan/Manitoba	14.7%	28.5%	50.1%	6.7%	90	10.3
Ontario	10.3%	18.8%	66.0%	4.9%	385	5.0
Quebec	7.3%	22.0%	67.9%	2.9%	403	4.9
Atlantic Canada	11.0%	31.3%	56.3%	1.6%	77	11.2
GENDER						
Male	11.0%	22.3%	63.8%	2.9%	566	4.1
Female	8.5%	24.6%	61.3%	5.7%	659	3.8
AGE						
<35	8.2%	21.2%	67.3%	3.4%	221	6.6
35-44	4.7%	32.8%	58.7%	3.9%	166	7.6
45-54	14.2%	26.0%	53.9%	5.9%	207	6.8
55-64	9.2%	24.0%	63.4%	3.5%	332	5.4
65+	11.7%	17.1%	67.6%	3.6%	240	6.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	14.7%	27.7%	53.2%	4.3%	182	7.3
College or CEGEP	8.6%	28.8%	57.7%	4.9%	360	5.2
University or higher	6.3%	16.2%	73.5%	3.9%	675	3.8

Methodology:

This study draws on data from two separate surveys. The **first** survey 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 the first survey are October 20-23, 2015. In total, a random sample of 1,973 Canadian adults aged 18 and over responded to the survey. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/- 2.2 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

The **second** survey was conducted using EKOS' unique, hybrid online/telephone research panel, Prob*it*. Our panel offers exhaustive coverage of the Canadian population (i.e., Internet, phone, cell phone), random recruitment (in other words, participants are recruited randomly, they do not opt themselves into our panel), and equal probability sampling. All respondents to our panel are recruited by telephone using random digit dialling and are confirmed by live interviewers. Unlike opt-in online panels, Prob*it* supports margin of error estimates. We believe this to be the only probability-based online panel in Canada.

The field dates for the second survey are October 27-November 2, 2015. In total, a random sample of 1,227 Canadian adults aged 18 and over responded to the survey (1,114 online, 113 by phone). The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/- 2.8 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.