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WISE CROWDS AND THE FUTURE

[Ottawa – April 26, 2016] We begin with a look back at the aftermath of the 2011 election. The Conservatives had just won a convincing majority government. The NDP, a party that had never garnered more than 20 per cent of the popular vote, made history by forming the Official Opposition for the first time. Meanwhile, the Liberals had been nearly annihilated and, after watching their seat tally decline for four consecutive elections, seemed to be spiralling into oblivion.

In the wake of the 2011 election, we saw mass confusion and misinterpretation of the future, with various authorities talking about the “blueing” of Canada, a “big shift”, and the death of the Liberal Party. It is of little surprise that we are hearing similar questions about the future of the NDP and the ability of the Conservatives to recover power. It is therefore interesting to look at what the Canadian public thought was going to happen. As we shall see, there is a “wisdom of crowds”¹² (at least in this case).

After the dust settled and the smoke cleared, we asked Canadians³ about their predictions for the future of each of the three main federalist parties. Experts and pundits may have been confused (and simply wrong), but the public nailed it on the big questions of where the three major federalist parties were headed. Indeed, with remarkable unanimity, the public confidently made three predictions:

- 1.) Stephen Harper had not, in fact, tilted the long-term game in his favour and the Conservative Party would lose its majority in the next federal election;
- 2.) The NDP’s success in the 2011 election was not a segue to forming government and the party would eventually fall back to historical levels; and
- 3.) The Liberals were not destined for the historical dustbin and the party would reform government.

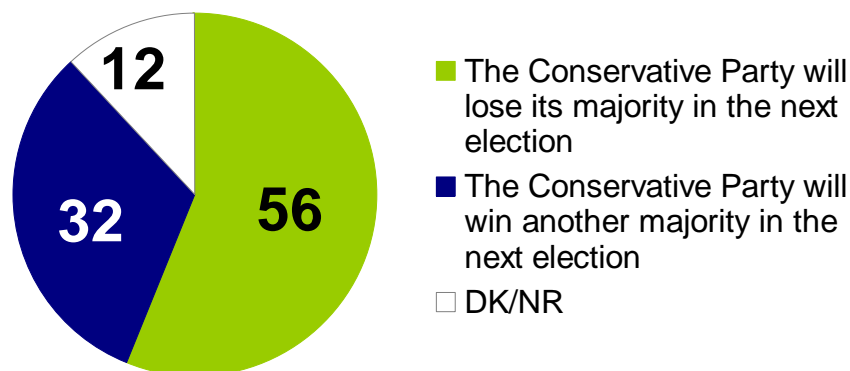
¹ Surowiecki, James. “*The Wisdom of Crowds*”. New York: Anchor Books, 2005. Print.

² Martin Boon, “*Predicting Elections: A ‘Wisdom of Crowds’ Approach*”, International Journal of Market Research Vol. 54 Issue 4, 2012. Available online at: <http://goo.gl/nKSsW3>

³ EKOS Research Associates, “The Future through a Public Lens”, January 13, 2012. Available online at: <http://goo.gl/UTxiGJ>

2011 Prediction: Conservative Party

Q. As you may know, in the May 2nd federal election, The Conservative Party of Canada won a majority of the seats in the House of Commons. Some people say that the Conservatives are holding all the cards and are a safe bet for another majority win in the next election. Others say that the victory was a one time deal and after four years more years, the Conservative Party will return to minority status or even lose power. Which of these statements comes closest to your own point of view?

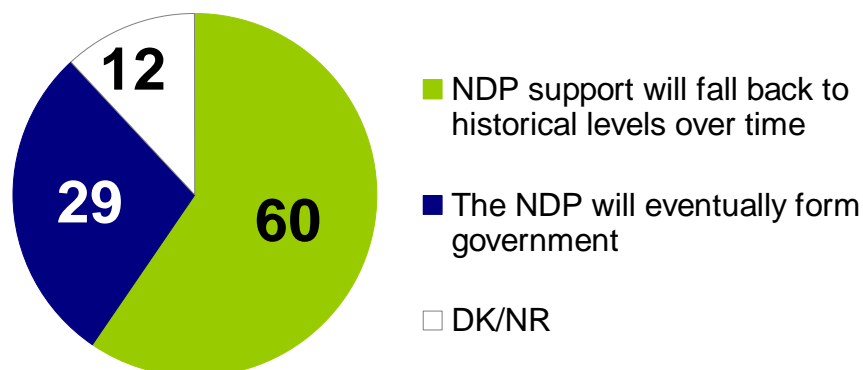


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BASE: Canadians; December 14-21, 2011 (n=2,005), MOE +/- 2.2%, 19 times out of 20

2011 Prediction: NDP

Q. As you may know, in the May 2nd federal election, The New Democratic Party won the largest number of seats in their history, enabling them to form the Official Opposition for the first time. Some people say that NDP support will continue to grow and they will one day form government. Others say that this surge in NDP support is merely a "blip" and it will soon fall back to historical levels. Which of these statements comes closest to your own point of view?

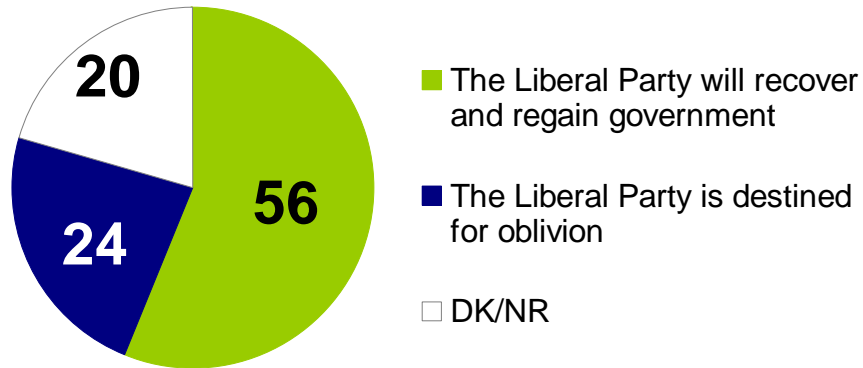


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BASE: Canadians; December 14-21, 2011 (n=2,005), MOE +/- 2.2%, 19 times out of 20

2011 Prediction: Liberal Party

Q. As you may know, in the May 2nd federal election, the Liberal Party of Canada had its worst showing in history, winning just 34 seats. Some people say this is a sign that support for the Liberal party is declining and that the party is ultimately destined for oblivion. Others say that the party has faced major defeats in the past and it will recover and will one day regain power. Which of these statements comes closest to your own point of view?



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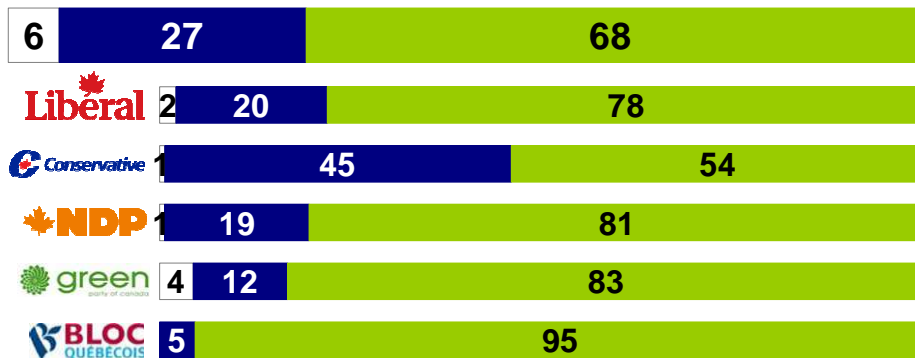
BASE: Canadians; December 14-21, 2011 (n=2,005), MOE +/- 2.2%, 19 times out of 20

Fast-forward to 2016 and, low and behold, the public was right on all three counts. Inspired by the public’s collective wisdom and noting what has been a horrific year for the NDP, we asked Canadians what they see in the NDP’s future now that they party has been relegated to third place. By a wide margin, the public still sees life in the party and believes that the NDP is still an essential force in Canadian democracy for the foreseeable future. Among Liberal, NDP, Green, and Bloc supporters, there is a virtual consensus that the NDP still has an important role to play. Even among the more skeptical Conservative supporters, a majority see a brighter future for the NDP.

Role of a diminished NDP

Q. The NDP lost most of its seats in the last federal election and was reduced to third place. Some people say the NDP has become irrelevant. Others point out that 44 seats is quite respectable and that the party still has an important role to play in Canadian democracy. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view?

Overall



- DK/NR
- The NDP has become irrelevant
- The NDP still has an important role to play

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BASE: Canadians; April 14-15, 2016, n=1,176, MOE +/- 2.9%, 19 times out of 20

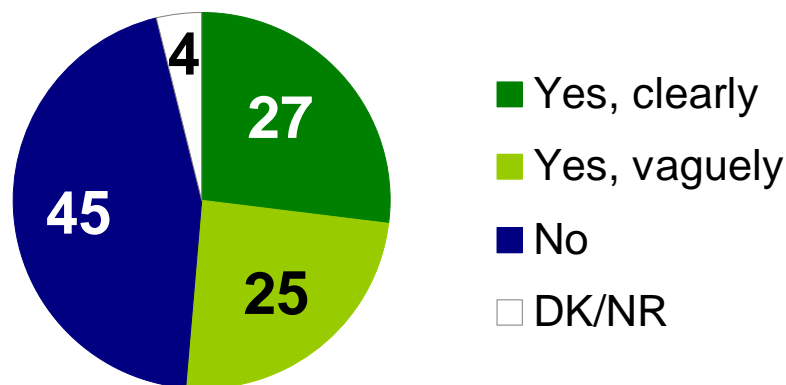
Canadians dead split on merits of Leap Manifesto

The bold and controversial Leap Manifesto produced a lively discussion and some stark divisions in the NDP constituency. In testing awareness and approval, we found there was moderate awareness of this manifesto. A little over half said they had heard of it, including 27 per cent who say they've clearly heard of it. Not surprisingly, awareness is highest in Alberta.

More importantly is whether the public approve of this. Before delving into the results, we note that these responses should be taken with caution given the low fluency about the actual proposal and the very limited description we were able to provide in the poll question. Nonetheless, the Leap Manifesto certainly split Canadians between those who support it and those who oppose it. Interestingly, support outweighs opposition by over 2-to-1 for all of the progressive party supporters. Conservatives are in a different place altogether with just 20 per cent feeling the ideas proposed under the Leap Manifesto are good ones. Support is highest in British Columbia and Quebec (i.e., the new progressive vanguards of Canada), as well as Ontario and among women and university graduates.

Awareness of Leap Manifesto

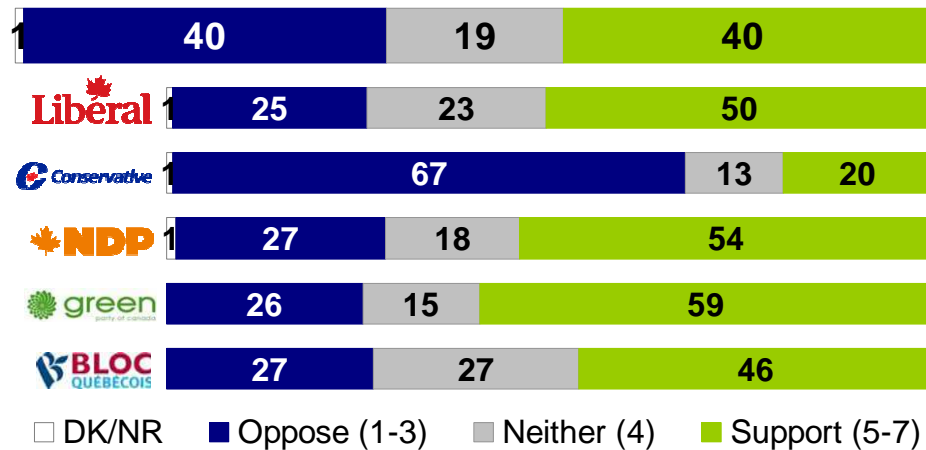
Q. As you may know, a group of Canadian authors, artists, national leaders, and activists have created the Leap Manifesto which, among other things, lays out a plan to transition Canada away from fossil fuels by 2050. Before this survey, had you heard of this manifesto?



Support for Leap Manifesto

Q. The Leap Manifesto proposes a number of ideas, including a ban on new pipelines, a debate on a national guaranteed income, increasing taxes on corporations and the wealthy, and major investments in education, care-giving, and the arts. To what extent do you support the Leap Manifesto?

Overall



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BASE: Those familiar of Leap Manifesto; April 14-15, 2016, n=687, MOE +/- 3.7%, 19 times out of 20

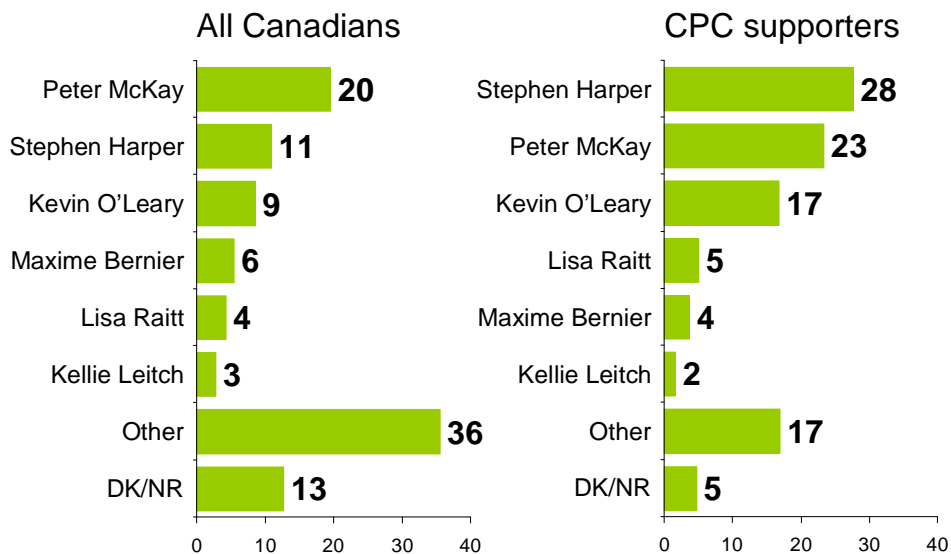
Stephen Harper, come on down!

In a little over a year, members of the Conservative Party will gather to choose a successor to Stephen Harper. While we would advise against reading too deeply into a survey conducted more than a year ahead of time and long before we even have a full roster of candidates, the results are highly interesting. It is also important to note that while there are no fewer than 10 credible candidates who have expressed interest in running for leadership, due to the limitations of IVR, we were only able to include six candidates in the survey.

Among all Canadians, Peter McKay is seen as (by far) the best choice to take over leadership. When we narrow our analysis to Conservative supporters, however, there is strong appetite for giving Stephen Harper another shot. Indeed, Mr. Harper comes out as the clear favourite, followed by Peter Mackay with Kevin O’Leary in third place. It is particularly interesting to note that the only two candidates who have officially entered the race (at the time this survey was conducted) – Maxime Bernier and Kellie Leitch – rank dead last among Conservative voters.

Preferred leader of the Conservative Party

Q. Which of the following individuals would you be most likely to support as the next leader of the Conservative Party of Canada?



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BASE: Canadians; April 14-15, 2016, n=1,176, MOE +/- 2.9%, 19 times out of 20

Detailed Tables:

Role of a Diminished NDP					
<i>Q. The NDP lost most of its seats in the last federal election and was reduced to third place. Some people say the NDP has become irrelevant. Others point out that 44 seats is quite respectable and that the party still has an important role to play in Canadian democracy. Which of these statements is closer to your point of view?</i>					
	The NDP has become irrelevant	The NDP still has an important role to play	Skip	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	26.9%	67.7%	5.5%	1176	2.9
REGION					
British Columbia	27.4%	63.4%	9.2%	202	6.9
Alberta	49.0%	46.5%	4.5%	153	7.9
Saskatchewan*	30.2%	69.8%	0.0%	55	13.2
Manitoba*	40.1%	57.4%	2.5%	50	13.9
Ontario	26.2%	69.4%	4.3%	437	4.7
Quebec	17.2%	78.1%	4.8%	176	7.4
Atlantic Canada	21.4%	66.7%	11.9%	94	10.1
GENDER					
Male	33.5%	63.8%	2.7%	590	4.0
Female	22.0%	74.0%	4.1%	558	4.2
AGE					
<35	28.4%	65.3%	6.3%	86	10.6
35-49	29.2%	67.1%	3.7%	210	6.8
50-64	20.8%	76.4%	2.8%	384	5.0
65+	32.6%	66.8%	0.6%	468	4.5
EDUCATION					
High school or less	33.3%	64.1%	2.6%	230	6.5
College or CEGEP	27.9%	67.8%	4.4%	388	5.0
University or higher	22.6%	74.6%	2.8%	524	4.3
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION					
Liberal Party	19.8%	78.1%	2.1%	486	4.5
Conservative Party	45.3%	54.1%	0.6%	349	5.3
NDP	18.9%	80.6%	0.6%	105	9.6
Green Party	12.3%	83.3%	4.4%	64	12.3
Bloc Québécois	4.7%	95.3%	0.0%	23	20.4

*Results for Saskatchewan and Manitoba should be interpreted with caution due to the small sample sizes.

Awareness of Leap Manifesto

Q. As you may know, a group of Canadian authors, artists, national leaders, and activists have created the Leap Manifesto which, among other things, lays out a plan to transition Canada away from fossil fuels by 2050. Before this survey, had you heard of this manifesto?

	Yes, clearly	Yes, vaguely	No	Skip	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	27.0%	24.5%	44.5%	4.0%	1176	2.9
REGION						
British Columbia	28.1%	22.7%	40.6%	8.5%	202	6.9
Alberta	39.9%	28.9%	27.3%	4.0%	153	7.9
Saskatchewan*	34.6%	30.2%	34.0%	1.1%	55	13.2
Manitoba*	33.2%	22.7%	41.6%	2.5%	50	13.9
Ontario	32.6%	27.5%	36.8%	3.1%	437	4.7
Quebec	10.5%	19.1%	65.8%	4.6%	176	7.4
Atlantic Canada	25.5%	23.5%	49.7%	1.2%	94	10.1
GENDER						
Male	29.8%	24.2%	43.6%	2.4%	590	4.0
Female	25.6%	25.8%	47.4%	1.2%	558	4.2
AGE						
<35	24.6%	19.8%	52.9%	2.7%	86	10.6
35-49	29.3%	26.5%	41.2%	3.0%	210	6.8
50-64	28.9%	23.8%	45.7%	1.7%	384	5.0
65+	27.4%	31.9%	40.2%	0.5%	468	4.5
EDUCATION						
High school or less	17.5%	25.5%	54.9%	2.0%	230	6.5
College or CEGEP	23.9%	28.0%	46.5%	1.7%	388	5.0
University or higher	39.1%	21.4%	37.4%	2.0%	524	4.3
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Liberal Party	28.3%	26.0%	45.0%	0.7%	486	4.5
Conservative Party	32.2%	25.5%	42.0%	0.3%	349	5.3
NDP	36.0%	25.0%	39.0%	0.0%	105	9.6
Green Party	19.5%	13.5%	63.2%	3.7%	64	12.3
Bloc Québécois	8.1%	16.0%	75.9%	0.0%	23	20.4

*Results for Saskatchewan and Manitoba should be interpreted with caution due to the small sample sizes.

Support for Leap Manifesto

Q. The Leap Manifesto proposes a number of ideas, including a ban on new pipelines, a debate on a national guaranteed income, increasing taxes on corporations and the wealthy, and major investments in education, care-giving, and the arts. To what extent do you support the Leap Manifesto? Please use a 7-point scale where 1 means strongly oppose, 7 means strongly support, and the midpoint, 4, means neither oppose nor support.

	Oppose (1-3)	Neither support not oppose (4)	Support (5-7)	Skip	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	39.5%	19.2%	40.4%	0.9%	687	3.7
REGION						
British Columbia	35.1%	17.9%	46.9%	0.0%	116	9.1
Alberta	69.2%	13.9%	16.6%	0.3%	96	10.0
Saskatchewan*	60.6%	19.5%	15.0%	4.8%	37	16.1
Manitoba*	42.1%	24.6%	33.3%	0.0%	30	17.9
Ontario	35.3%	15.6%	48.0%	1.1%	283	5.8
Quebec	27.7%	26.5%	45.1%	0.7%	66	12.1
Atlantic Canada	21.7%	39.6%	37.7%	1.0%	54	13.3
GENDER						
Male	52.2%	16.6%	31.1%	0.1%	354	5.2
Female	27.1%	21.9%	49.7%	1.3%	331	5.4
AGE						
<35	31.1%	19.0%	49.9%	0.0%	42	15.1
35-49	49.3%	11.7%	38.2%	0.8%	125	8.8
50-64	36.1%	21.1%	42.1%	0.7%	224	6.6
65+	39.7%	27.0%	31.9%	1.4%	292	5.7
EDUCATION						
High school or less	39.0%	24.2%	35.8%	1.0%	109	9.4
College or CEGEP	44.9%	22.3%	32.6%	0.3%	221	6.6
University or higher	35.5%	14.1%	49.5%	0.9%	350	5.2
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Liberal Party	25.4%	23.4%	50.4%	0.8%	298	5.7
Conservative Party	66.8%	12.8%	19.5%	0.8%	214	6.7
NDP	27.3%	17.6%	53.9%	1.2%	64	12.3
Green Party	25.6%	15.3%	59.0%	0.0%	34	16.8
Bloc Québécois	27.0%	26.8%	46.3%	0.0%	11	29.6

*Results for Saskatchewan and Manitoba should be interpreted with caution due to the small sample sizes.

Preferred Leader of the Conservative Party

Q. Which of the following individuals would you be most likely to support as the next leader of the Conservative Party of Canada?

	Maxime Bernier	Kellie Leitch	Peter McKay	Lisa Raitt	Kevin O'Leary	Stephen Harper	Other	Skip	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	5.5%	2.8%	19.5%	4.3%	8.6%	11.0%	35.5%	12.8%	1176	2.9
REGION										
British Columbia	1.7%	0.0%	14.2%	3.7%	9.5%	14.0%	41.1%	15.9%	202	6.9
Alberta	3.2%	1.7%	15.5%	3.2%	14.4%	22.3%	27.0%	12.6%	153	7.9
Saskatchewan*	1.4%	1.9%	16.6%	8.7%	17.8%	9.8%	32.5%	11.3%	55	13.2
Manitoba*	0.0%	0.0%	26.3%	2.4%	3.6%	11.2%	44.7%	11.8%	50	13.9
Ontario	2.6%	3.3%	22.7%	4.2%	9.6%	11.4%	35.2%	11.0%	437	4.7
Quebec	14.9%	2.8%	15.9%	5.5%	5.1%	6.3%	37.0%	12.6%	176	7.4
Atlantic Canada	3.3%	8.5%	30.2%	4.1%	4.2%	2.4%	31.9%	15.4%	94	10.1
GENDER										
Male	8.1%	1.9%	21.8%	4.4%	11.8%	8.8%	35.1%	8.1%	590	4.0
Female	3.3%	3.7%	18.0%	4.5%	6.0%	13.5%	37.6%	13.4%	558	4.2
AGE										
<35	2.9%	3.6%	14.8%	1.2%	6.9%	11.5%	40.6%	18.5%	86	10.6
35-49	7.0%	2.5%	19.6%	4.6%	11.7%	12.6%	33.0%	9.1%	210	6.8
50-64	7.2%	3.1%	22.2%	5.9%	8.1%	9.1%	35.3%	9.1%	384	5.0
65+	5.4%	1.7%	23.5%	7.0%	8.2%	12.1%	36.6%	5.3%	468	4.5
EDUCATION										
High school or less	6.9%	4.6%	17.4%	2.9%	5.1%	14.0%	42.1%	7.1%	230	6.5
College or CEGEP	5.8%	2.8%	17.3%	4.7%	11.2%	13.0%	32.1%	13.1%	388	5.0
University or higher	4.5%	1.5%	23.8%	5.3%	9.9%	7.7%	35.8%	11.5%	524	4.3
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION										
Liberal Party	5.6%	4.5%	24.1%	4.6%	6.3%	4.2%	40.9%	9.9%	486	4.5
Conservative Party	3.7%	1.7%	23.4%	5.1%	16.8%	27.6%	16.9%	4.7%	349	5.3
NDP	7.9%	3.6%	14.2%	5.2%	7.4%	8.3%	40.7%	12.8%	105	9.6
Green Party	9.0%	1.7%	10.8%	6.1%	3.3%	3.5%	53.4%	12.3%	64	12.3
Bloc Québécois	11.0%	0.0%	10.4%	2.6%	2.1%	5.5%	54.3%	14.1%	23	20.4

*Results for Saskatchewan and Manitoba should be interpreted with caution due to the small sample sizes.

Methodology:

This 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 this survey are April 14-15, 2016. In total, a random sample of 1,176 Canadian adults aged 18 and over responded to the survey. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/- 2.9 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.