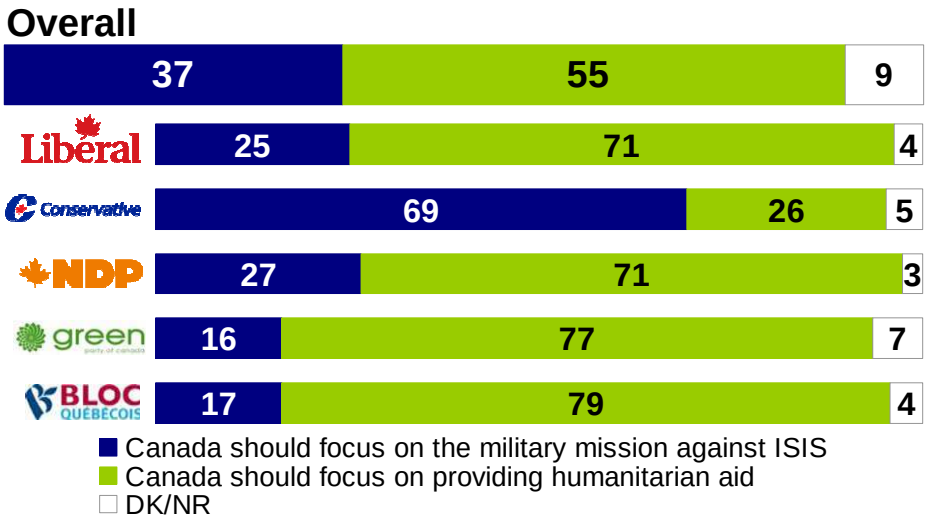
How the Yawning Chasm across Conservative and Progressive Canada Masks the Real Prospects for Harper's Conservatives:

Reconsidering the role of values and emotional engagement

[Ottawa – September 11, 2015] Over the past week there has been an outpouring of reactions to the Syrian refugee crisis that run from concern to horror. The searing image of the drowned three year old pushed the issue to the centre of media attention at a critical time – in the midst of a federal election campaign. The ensuing reaction to this has been a pretty broad sense that Stephen Harper's Conservatives were emphatically on the wrong side of this and that it would have a catastrophic impact on their election chances. Subsequent polls and changes to the top of the Conservative campaign have fed the notion that the Harper government had made a potentially fatal political error in misunderstanding the Canadian public.

Military intervention vs. humanitarian aid

Q. *Some people say that the crisis in Syria underscores the need for Canada to press the military mission against the Islamic State, or ISIS. Others say that military action will not solve the underlying problems and that the focus should be shifted to humanitarian aid. Which of these statements comes closest to your own point of view?*



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BASE: Canadians; September 4-8, 2015 (n=1,526), MOE +/- 2.5%, 19 times out of 20

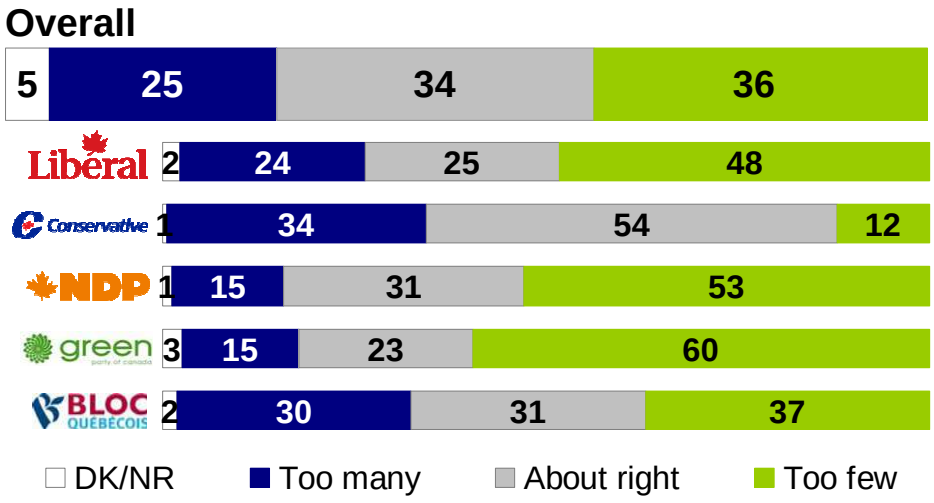
The apparently heartless response to this crisis and the continued insistence on the importance of bombing – rather than refocusing a humanitarian response – were seen as irredeemably in conflict with Canadian values. Humanitarianism and support for human rights have always been the pantheon of traditional Canadian foreign policy values and yet they seem so at odds with the current government. Our data shows that the values of the Canadian majority do indeed clash with those of the Conservative base; however, the assumption that the Conservatives have somehow made a mistake in reading these values is almost certainly not true.

Older, less educated and male Canada are much more attracted to the Conservative position than the residual majority. On this particular issue, a clear majority believe that more needs to be done with helping refugees and shifting attention from the military focus. Yet, in Conservative Canada, the reverse is true. Conservatives are more hawkish on the preferred focus of the ISIS mission (69 versus 26 per cent in favour of focusing on military efforts) whereas we see the exact opposite for centre-left supporters (72-25 in favour of humanitarian aid).

Also note the shocking difference between parties in terms of the incidences of those saying there are too few Syrian refuges. Conservatives are roughly four times less likely to agree that there are too few refugees coming from Syria. Only 12 per cent think that increases are the right thing, which is consistent with our past research that shows how Conservative supporters are consistently more likely to say that we are admitting both too many immigrants and too many visible minorities.[1]

Canada's refugee intake

Q. *As you may know, the crisis in Syria has displaced more than 11 million people. The Canadian government has pledged to take in 10,000 Syrian refugees over the next four years. Do you believe that Canada is taking in too few, too many, or about the right number of refugees?*



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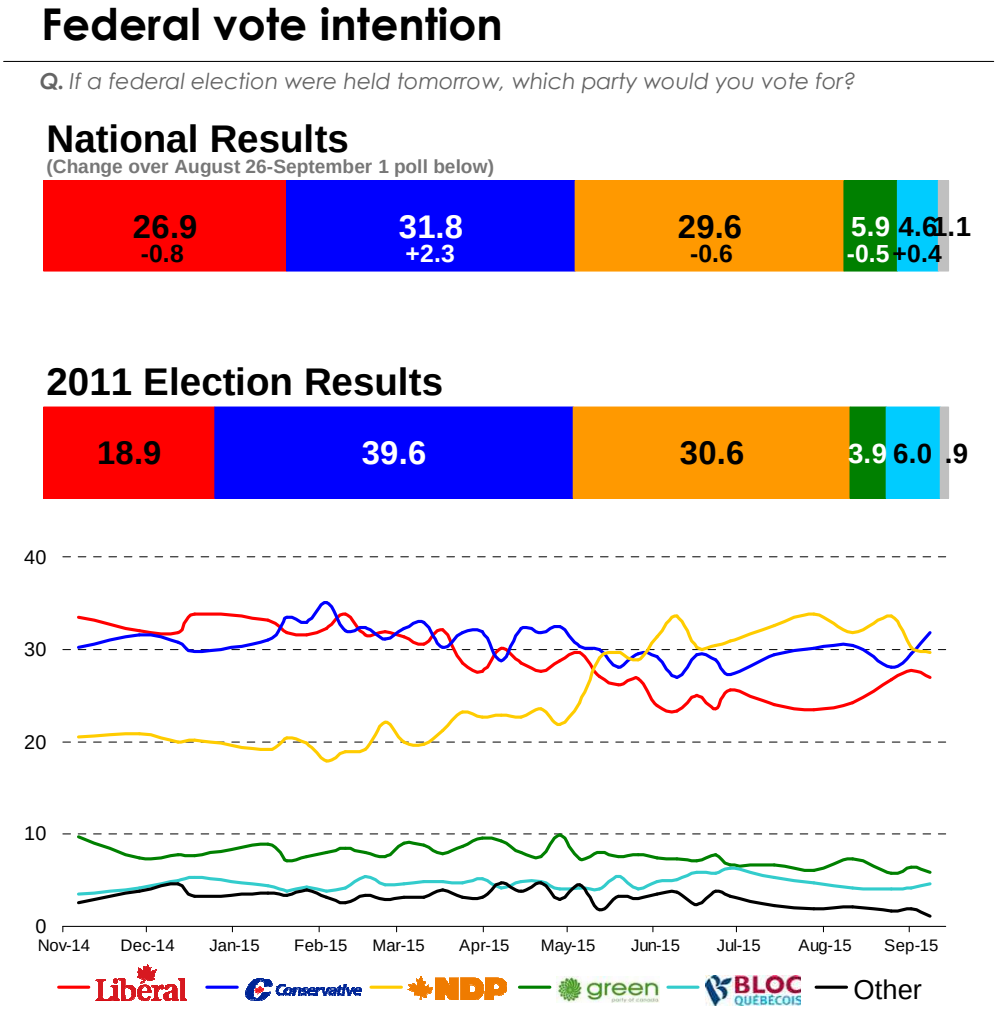
BASE: Canadians; September 4-8, 2015 (n=1,526), MOE +/- 2.5%, 19 times out of 20

[1] EKOS Research Associates, "Tolerance Under Pressure?", March 12, 2015. Available online at: http://goo.gl/xzygwN

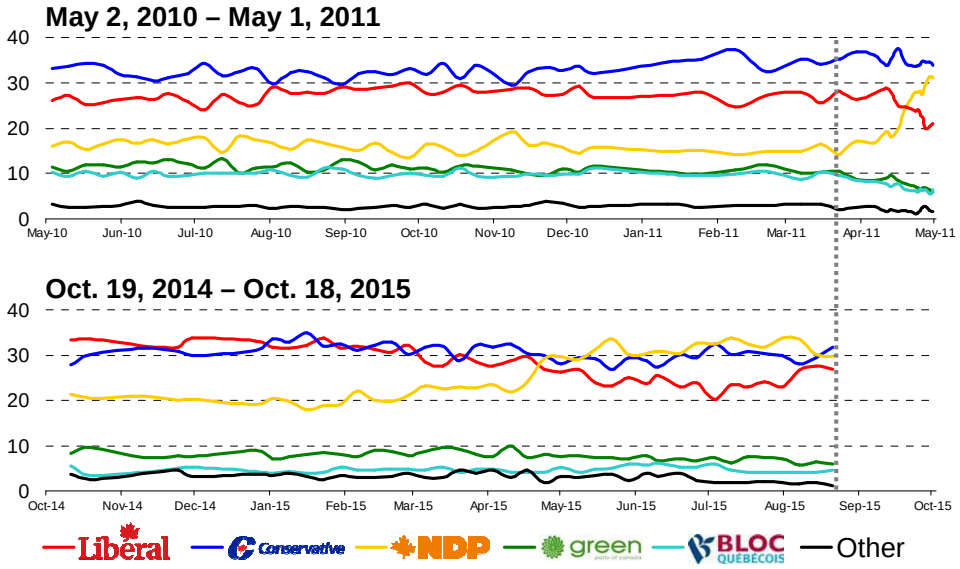
Syrian crisis helping Conservative Party

It would appear that debate over Canada's response to the crisis in Syria has not hurt – but rather helped – Mr. Harper. This may end up not being true, but to this point in time we see that Mr. Harper has consolidated – and possibly grown – his base. At the current numbers, the Conservatives could easily win a minority despite being at 32 points. Reading media accounts and media polling, this would seem to be paradoxical. However, both give a flawed impression of Conservative prospects. The party has serious challenges but they are more than hanging in. Students of electoral history should note from the graph below that the Conservatives are now just a few points from where they were in 2011 at this stage of the campaign, which resulted in a (surprising) majority victory.



Election 2015 versus Election 2011

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



Note: The data on federal vote intention are based on decided and leaning voters only.

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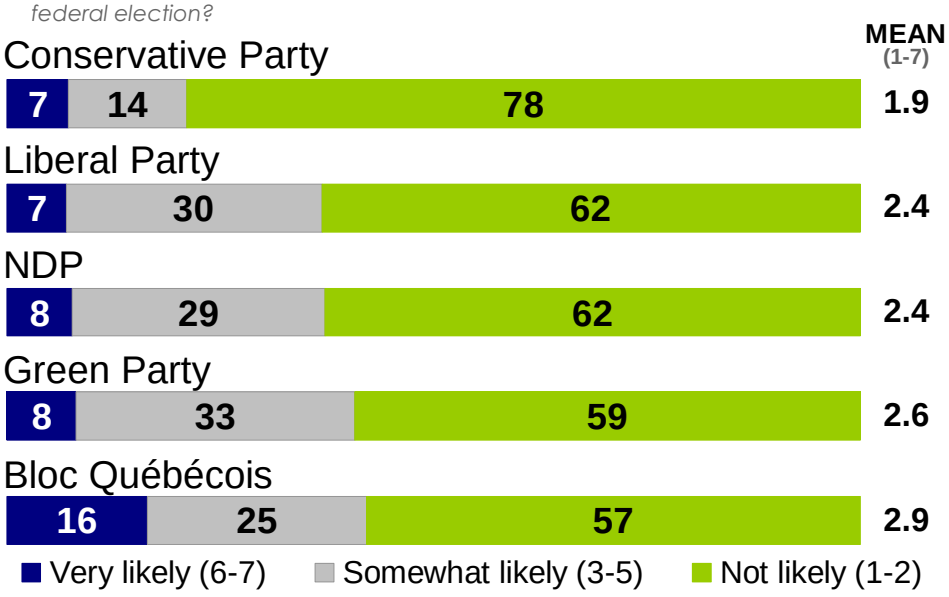
BASE: Canadians; September 2-8, 2015 (n=2,677), MOE +/- 1.9%, 19 times out of 20

Furthermore, the Conservatives are now showing the highest levels of engagement of all parts of the political spectrum (which was not the case a few weeks ago). Conservative voters are much less likely to say they might change their mind (although seven per cent say it's likely). There are no notable differences across other supporters. Overall, the 'firmest' votes are in the Prairie provinces while the most fluid are in Quebec.

Likelihood of changing mind

Q. *How likely it is that you will change your mind between now and the next federal election?*



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BASE: Decided and leaning voters; September 2-8, 2015 (n=2,352), MOE +/- 2.0%, 19 times out of 20

So the Earl Cowans of the Conservative base are angry and emotionally charged (*the Jihadist threat needs more bombing – not wussy increases to Islamic refugees!*). As this debate has gone on the base has grown and become more committed (just wait until Lynton Crosby applies full dog whistle coding!).

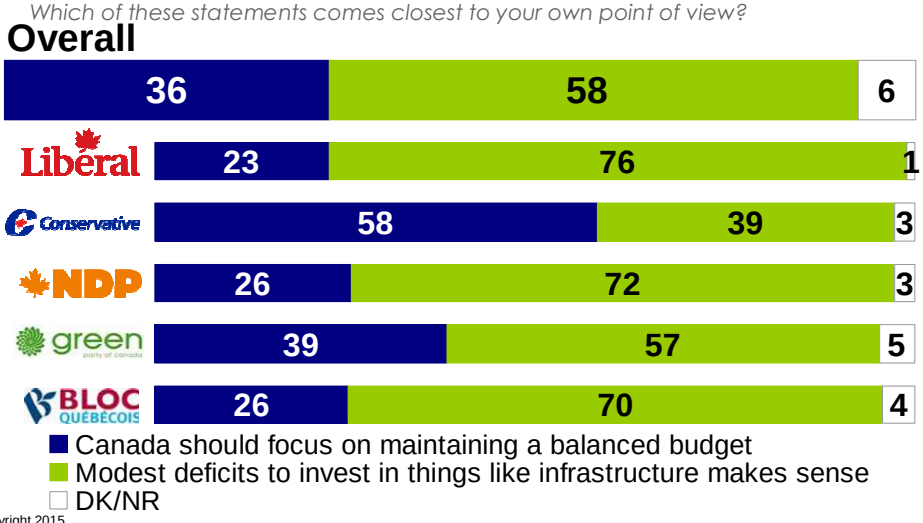
Partisan divide on fiscal issues further highlights differences between progressive and conservative Canada

Further cuts to public services are seen as far less attractive than running a deficit. Fully 76 per cent of Liberal supporters and 72 per cent of NDP supporters say modest deficits to invest in infrastructure make sense. These results may explain why some NDP supporters have shifted Liberal in recent weeks. Justin Trudeau has helped himself with his proposed deficit-funded infrastructure spending program while Thomas Mulcair has hurt himself with his promise of a balanced budget, since Canadians are leery of focusing on fiscal rectitude in an economy where middle class workers haven't seen a real wage increase in years.

Once again, however, we see that conservative Canada sits on the opposing side of the spectrum. While investment-over-balanced budgets may seem like a no-brainer to the centre-left, a clear majority of Conservative supporters feel that balancing the budget should be a top priority.

Importance of a balanced budget

Q. *Some people say that the Canada's federal debt is a burden on future generations and that balancing the budget should be a top priority. Others say that our national debt in Canada is comparatively low and short-term modest deficits to invest in things like infrastructure makes sense to grow the economy. Which of these statements comes closest to your own point of view?*



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BASE: Canadians; September 2-8, 2015 (n=2,677), MOE +/- 1.9%, 19 times out of 20

So how is it that Stephen Harper can stake out positions on issues such as the budget and the Syrian crisis that seem so diametrically contrary to the wishes of the majority of Canadians and still lead in the polls? This apparent paradox is at the heart of a continued failure of the progressive (or perhaps moderate) majority to understand that there really are two Canadas now and that they are largely incommensurable at the level of values.

It is a fundamental mistake for those people on the progressive side of the equation to assume that issues that are so clear to them – e.g., investments over balanced budgets (now), humanitarian aid over military intervention – are equally clear to conservatives. Indeed, these results suggest that these stances are completely alien in the Conservative camp. More generally, value shifts in Canadian society are moving away from small-c conservative values. [2]

There is a dangerous delusion among progressives that Mr. Harper has politically damaged himself by staking positions that are clearly in conflict with the views of the majority of Canadians. In fact, the opposite is true; he has re-invigorated his base by alloying the values of his supporters, even when this runs contrary to what two-thirds of Canadians believe. So *Earl* is really angry and then the younger, more educated, cosmopolitan *Zoës* (one of Patrick Muttart's progressive types[3]) is at first horrified and then most likely discouraged at the policy failure (and then stays home on Election Day).

Canada's two cultures are irreconcilable in many respects (e.g., you can't balance a budget *and* make large investments in infrastructure) and even through the progressive camp vastly outnumbers its conservative counterparts, the country may continue proceeding down a path that reflects the values and interests of a minority of its citizens (a sclerotic gerontocracy?[4]) unless progressive voters can find a way to re-arrange the political calculus of this country and elevate their emotional attachment to their more dominant values.

[2] Frank Graves, Jeff Smith, and Michael Valpy: "*Canada: The State of the Federation 2012: Regions, Resources, and Resiliency*", Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, School of Policy Studies, Queen's University, 2012.

[3] Patrick Muttart, a former Conservative strategist, was known for categorizing voters into ethnic and cultural segments and assigning them fictional names. A 'Zoë' – named after the president's daughter in *West Wing* – refers to a 20-something, female, apartment-dwelling central city inhabitant who often eats organic food and practices yoga.

[4] EKOS Research Associates, "*Genquake! The Looming Generational War*", December 9, 2014. Available online at: http://goo.gl/DH3uYp

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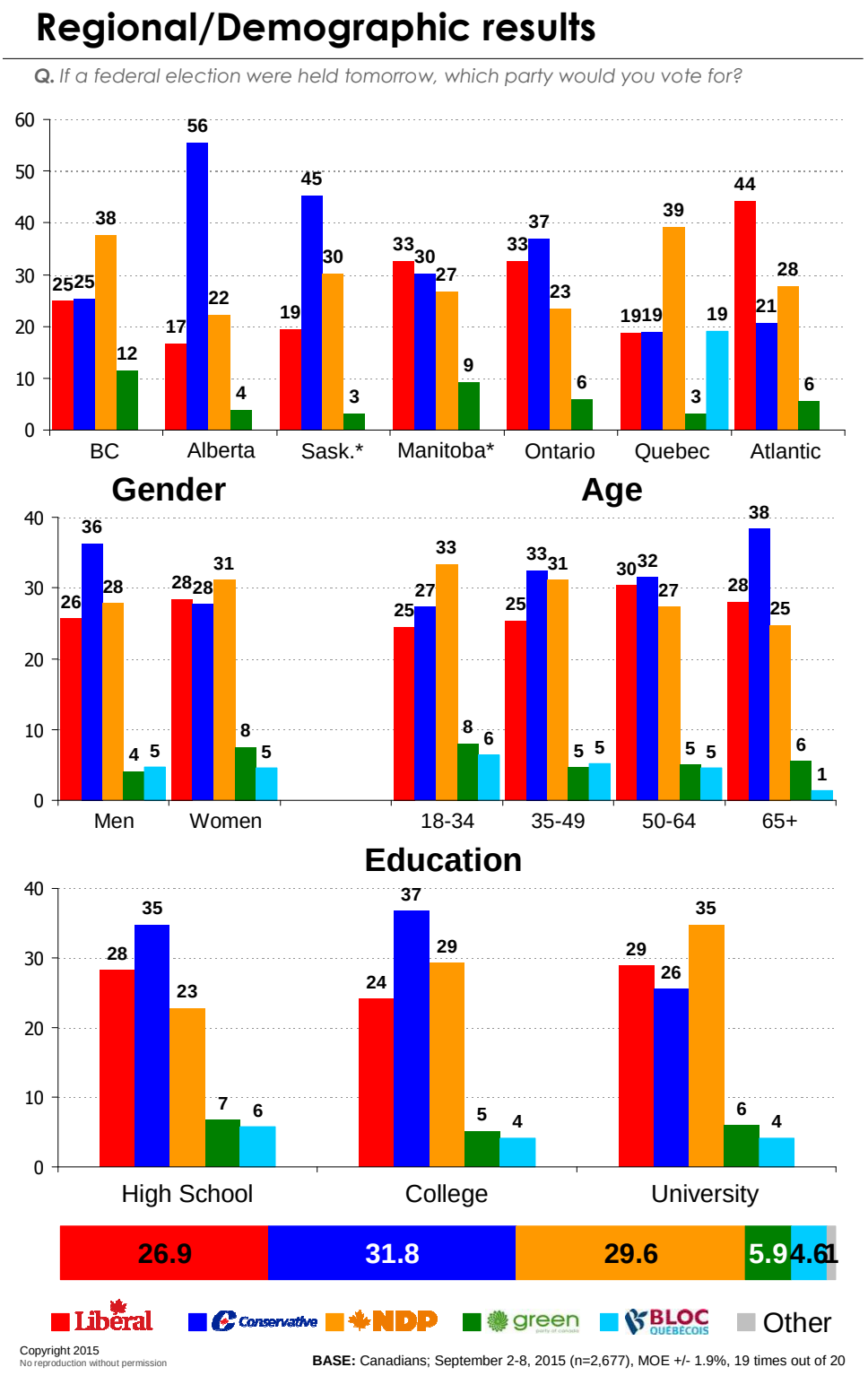
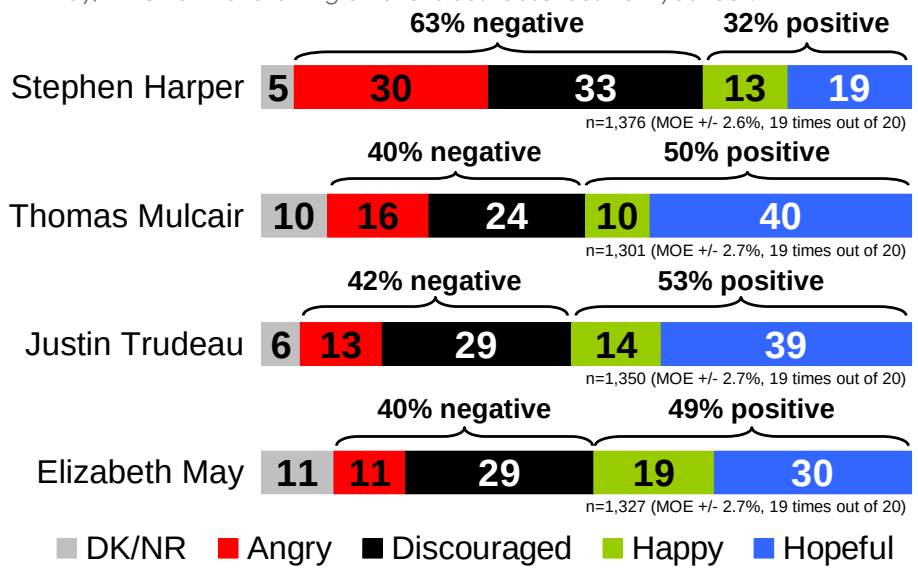
Annex 1: Regional and demographic results



Annex 2: Emotional resonance

Emotional response to party leaders

Q. When thinking about Stephen Harper/Thomas Mulcair/Justin Trudeau/Elizabeth May, which of the following emotions best describes how you feel?



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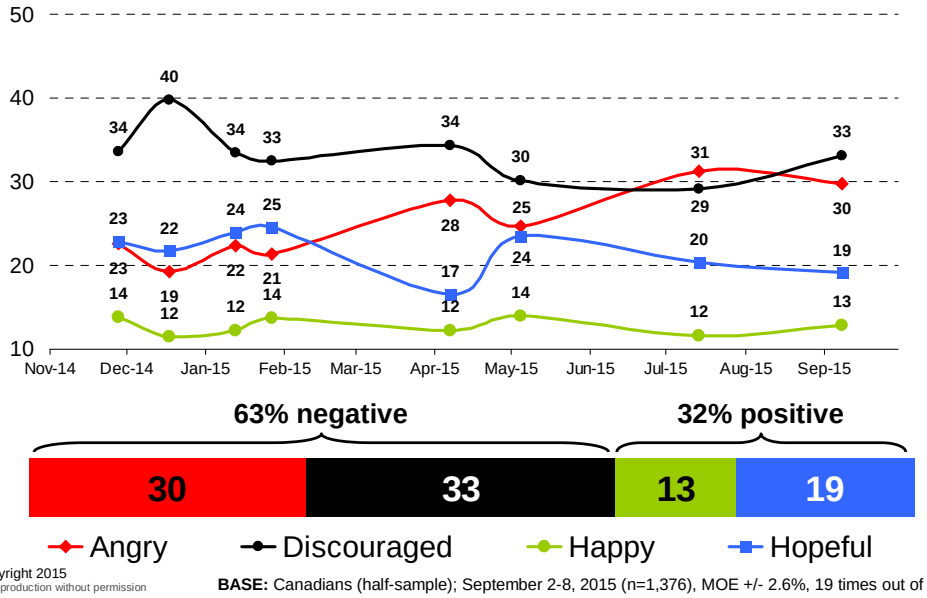
BASE: Canadians (half-sample each); September 2-8, 2015

Emotional response to Stephen Harper

Q. When thinking about Stephen Harper, which of the following emotions best describes how you feel?



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BASE: Canadians (half-sample); September 2-8, 2015 (n=1,376), MOE +/- 2.6%, 19 times out of 20

Detailed Tables:

National Federal Vote Intention (decided and leaning voters only)

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?

	Liberal Party	Conser-vative Party	NDP	Green Party	Bloc Québécois	Other	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**26.9%**	**31.8%**	**29.6%**	**5.9%**	**4.6%**	**1.1%**	**2352**	**2.0**
REGION								
British Columbia	25.0%	25.2%	37.6%	11.6%	–	0.6%	330	5.4
Alberta	16.6%	55.6%	22.2%	3.9%	–	1.7%	390	5.0
Saskatchewan	19.4%	45.2%	30.2%	3.1%	–	2.1%	75	11.3
Manitoba	32.7%	30.2%	26.6%	9.2%	–	1.2%	101	9.8
Ontario	32.6%	36.9%	23.3%	6.1%	–	1.0%	711	3.7
Quebec	18.8%	18.9%	39.2%	3.1%	19.0%	1.0%	571	4.1
Atlantic Canada	44.1%	20.7%	27.9%	5.7%	–	1.6%	173	7.5
GENDER								
Male	25.7%	36.3%	27.8%	4.1%	4.7%	1.3%	1164	2.9
Female	28.4%	27.7%	31.2%	7.5%	4.5%	0.7%	1168	2.9
AGE								
<35	24.5%	27.3%	33.4%	8.0%	6.4%	0.4%	218	6.6
35-49	25.4%	32.5%	31.2%	4.7%	5.2%	1.0%	438	4.7
50-64	30.4%	31.5%	27.3%	5.0%	4.5%	1.2%	813	3.4
65+	28.1%	38.4%	24.8%	5.6%	1.3%	1.9%	869	3.3
EDUCATION								
High school or less	28.3%	34.7%	22.8%	6.8%	5.7%	1.8%	533	4.2
College or CEGEP	24.1%	36.7%	29.3%	5.1%	4.1%	0.8%	743	3.6
University or higher	28.9%	25.5%	34.8%	6.0%	4.1%	0.7%	1050	3.0

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Likelihood of Changing Mind

Q. [DECIDED VOTERS ONLY] How likely it is that you will change your mind between now and the next federal election?

	Not likely (1-2)	Somewhat likely (3-5)	Very likely (6-7)	Don't know / No response	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**66.6%**	**24.3%**	**7.9%**	**1.2%**	**2352**	**2.0**
REGION						
British Columbia	70.7%	23.2%	4.2%	1.9%	330	5.4
Alberta	68.1%	20.9%	10.0%	1.0%	390	5.0
Saskatchewan	76.1%	20.8%	3.0%	0.0%	75	11.3
Manitoba	78.4%	15.8%	4.5%	1.2%	101	9.8
Ontario	67.9%	24.1%	7.5%	0.5%	711	3.7
Quebec	59.8%	27.4%	10.6%	2.3%	571	4.1
Atlantic Canada	62.0%	28.0%	9.1%	0.7%	173	7.5
GENDER						
Male	67.6%	23.6%	7.6%	1.1%	1164	2.9
Female	65.7%	25.0%	8.3%	1.0%	1168	2.9
AGE						
<35	64.1%	29.3%	6.7%	0.0%	218	6.6
35-49	69.2%	23.5%	6.6%	0.7%	438	4.7
50-64	64.9%	24.5%	8.7%	2.0%	813	3.4
65+	69.2%	17.8%	11.0%	2.1%	869	3.3
EDUCATION						
High school or less	64.7%	20.4%	13.5%	1.5%	533	4.2
College or CEGEP	69.7%	22.4%	6.8%	1.1%	743	3.6
University or higher	65.1%	29.2%	4.7%	0.9%	1050	3.0
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Liberal Party	62.4%	29.6%	6.9%	1.0%	622	3.9
Conservative Party	78.0%	13.7%	7.1%	1.2%	781	3.5
NDP	61.9%	29.3%	7.5%	1.3%	669	3.8
Green Party	59.2%	32.6%	8.1%	0.1%	123	8.8
Bloc Québécois	57.0%	25.2%	16.2%	1.6%	98	9.9

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Importance of a Balanced Budget

Q. Some people say that the Canada's federal debt is a burden on future generations and that balancing the budget should be a top priority. Others say that our national debt in Canada is comparatively low and short-term modest deficits to invest in things like infrastructure makes sense to grow the economy. Which of these statements comes closest to your own point of view?

	Canada should focus on maintaining a balanced budget	Modest deficits to invest in things like infrastructure makes sense	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**35.6%**	**58.1%**	**6.3%**	**2677**	**1.9**
REGION					
British Columbia	33.3%	64.1%	2.7%	363	5.1
Alberta	37.3%	56.0%	6.7%	447	4.6
Saskatchewan	39.6%	51.8%	8.7%	101	9.8
Manitoba	29.9%	64.8%	5.4%	119	9.0
Ontario	33.9%	58.7%	7.4%	805	3.5
Quebec	39.3%	53.9%	6.9%	632	3.9
Atlantic Canada	33.9%	61.3%	4.8%	208	6.8
GENDER					
Male	38.6%	58.8%	2.7%	1265	2.8
Female	34.8%	60.2%	5.0%	1318	2.7
AGE					
<35	37.1%	59.2%	3.7%	234	6.4
35-49	40.4%	55.6%	4.0%	500	4.4
50-64	33.9%	61.7%	4.4%	905	3.3
65+	34.2%	62.6%	3.2%	953	3.2
EDUCATION					
High school or less	42.1%	53.6%	4.4%	602	4.0
College or CEGEP	41.0%	55.1%	4.0%	830	3.4
University or higher	28.7%	68.3%	3.1%	1142	2.9
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION					
Liberal Party	23.0%	76.0%	1.0%	622	3.9
Conservative Party	58.2%	39.0%	2.7%	781	3.5
NDP	25.8%	71.5%	2.7%	669	3.8
Green Party	38.5%	56.9%	4.6%	123	8.8
Bloc Québécois	25.5%	70.3%	4.2%	98	9.9

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Canada's Refugee Intake

Q. As you may know, the crisis in Syria has displaced more than 11 million people. The Canadian government has pledged to take in 10,000 Syrian refugees over the next four years. Do you believe that Canada is taking in too few, too many, or about the right number of refugees?

	Too few	About right	Too many	Don't know / No response	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**36.2%**	**34.4%**	**24.6%**	**4.8%**	**1526**	**2.5**
REGION						
British Columbia	49.3%	33.8%	13.1%	3.8%	217	6.7
Alberta	29.3%	32.8%	32.2%	5.6%	265	6.0
Saskatchewan	26.9%	37.4%	32.6%	3.2%	62	12.5
Manitoba	35.9%	33.7%	21.2%	9.2%	67	12.0
Ontario	36.6%	34.3%	24.0%	5.1%	439	4.7
Quebec	33.8%	36.5%	25.5%	4.2%	351	5.2
Atlantic Canada	33.7%	32.2%	28.9%	5.2%	123	8.8
GENDER						
Male	37.1%	34.1%	26.6%	2.2%	707	3.7
Female	37.2%	36.5%	23.8%	2.5%	770	3.5
AGE						
<35	39.4%	39.1%	19.7%	1.8%	127	8.7
35-49	36.1%	30.1%	30.8%	3.1%	302	5.6
50-64	35.4%	33.1%	27.9%	3.6%	517	4.3
65+	36.7%	40.9%	20.5%	1.9%	535	4.2
EDUCATION						
High school or less	27.2%	36.0%	32.7%	4.2%	347	5.3
College or CEGEP	28.6%	39.0%	30.9%	1.4%	461	4.6
University or higher	51.8%	31.7%	14.7%	1.8%	665	3.8
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION						
Liberal Party	48.2%	25.4%	24.1%	2.2%	367	5.1
Conservative Party	12.1%	53.5%	33.9%	0.5%	445	4.7
NDP	52.9%	31.2%	14.6%	1.2%	374	5.1
Green Party	59.5%	22.7%	15.3%	2.5%	72	11.6
Bloc Québécois	37.0%	30.7%	30.4%	1.9%	62	12.5

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Military Intervention versus Humanitarian Aid

Q. Some people say that the crisis in Syria underscores the need for Canada to press the military mission against the Islamic State, or ISIS. Others say that military action will not solve the underlying problems and that the focus should be shifted to humanitarian aid. Which of these statements comes closest to your own point of view?

	Canada should focus on the military mission against ISIS	Canada should focus on providing humanitarian aid	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**36.8%**	**54.7%**	**8.5%**	**1526**	**2.5**
REGION					
British Columbia	32.7%	61.0%	6.3%	217	6.7
Alberta	49.6%	40.2%	10.2%	265	6.0
Saskatchewan	51.4%	44.3%	4.3%	62	12.5
Manitoba	26.6%	60.8%	12.5%	67	12.0
Ontario	36.4%	55.4%	8.2%	439	4.7
Quebec	32.1%	58.9%	9.0%	351	5.2
Atlantic Canada	42.5%	48.0%	9.5%	123	8.8
GENDER					
Male	42.9%	52.6%	4.5%	707	3.7
Female	33.5%	59.0%	7.4%	770	3.5
AGE					
<35	26.9%	66.8%	6.3%	127	8.7
35-49	41.7%	52.2%	6.1%	302	5.6
50-64	42.7%	51.2%	6.2%	517	4.3
65+	39.5%	53.9%	6.6%	535	4.2
EDUCATION					
High school or less	42.0%	50.8%	7.2%	347	5.3
College or CEGEP	43.5%	50.0%	6.6%	461	4.6
University or higher	29.8%	65.5%	4.8%	665	3.8
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION					
Liberal Party	25.3%	71.0%	3.7%	367	5.1
Conservative Party	69.2%	25.9%	4.8%	445	4.7
NDP	26.8%	70.5%	2.7%	374	5.1
Green Party	16.4%	77.1%	6.5%	72	11.6
Bloc Québécois	16.5%	79.2%	4.3%	62	12.5

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Emotional Resonance: Stephen Harper

Q. [HALF-SAMPLE] When thinking about Stephen Harper, which of the following emotions best describes how you feel?

	Angry	Discouraged	Happy	Hopeful	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**29.8%**	**33.1%**	**12.9%**	**19.1%**	**5.1%**	**1376**	**2.6**
REGION							
British Columbia	47.8%	26.2%	12.0%	12.1%	1.9%	201	6.9
Alberta	24.3%	22.0%	20.5%	27.7%	5.5%	243	6.3
Saskatchewan	25.3%	32.3%	11.8%	18.5%	12.1%	52	13.6
Manitoba	27.0%	33.7%	12.8%	21.2%	5.3%	60	12.7
Ontario	28.8%	29.5%	15.8%	21.6%	4.3%	396	4.9
Quebec	21.3%	46.8%	7.6%	17.2%	7.0%	330	5.4
Atlantic Canada	42.1%	36.2%	5.0%	12.4%	4.4%	94	10.1
GENDER							
Male	29.9%	29.1%	16.9%	21.3%	2.9%	666	3.8
Female	31.1%	38.7%	9.7%	18.2%	2.2%	669	3.8
AGE							
<35	33.7%	37.0%	13.0%	14.3%	2.1%	125	8.8
35-49	27.1%	33.7%	13.6%	21.2%	4.3%	260	6.1
50-64	29.4%	34.8%	11.6%	22.1%	2.2%	461	4.6
65+	32.0%	27.6%	15.4%	22.6%	2.4%	492	4.4
EDUCATION							
High school or less	26.3%	32.8%	16.0%	22.1%	2.7%	313	5.5
College or CEGEP	22.4%	38.2%	14.2%	22.5%	2.8%	412	4.8
University or higher	40.9%	30.6%	10.4%	15.7%	2.4%	599	4.0
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION							
Liberal Party	46.1%	44.2%	1.6%	5.4%	2.6%	312	5.6
Conservative Party	4.0%	7.3%	38.1%	49.5%	1.2%	410	4.8
NDP	46.7%	47.4%	0.8%	3.8%	1.3%	350	5.2
Green Party	44.0%	40.8%	9.6%	5.6%	0.0%	62	12.5
Bloc Québécois	29.8%	47.8%	12.8%	8.9%	0.7%	58	12.9

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Emotional Resonance: Thomas Mulcair

Q. [HALF-SAMPLE] When thinking about Thomas Mulcair, which of the following emotions best describes how you feel?

	Angry	Discouraged	Happy	Hopeful	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**15.6%**	**24.0%**	**9.9%**	**40.3%**	**10.2%**	**1301**	**2.7**
REGION							
British Columbia	20.0%	24.1%	9.9%	37.7%	8.3%	162	7.7
Alberta	24.6%	24.5%	5.9%	32.1%	12.9%	204	6.9
Saskatchewan	40.3%	26.0%	5.9%	17.4%	10.3%	49	14.0
Manitoba	11.8%	25.2%	6.0%	39.2%	17.7%	59	12.8
Ontario	13.1%	25.6%	10.9%	40.5%	9.8%	409	4.9
Quebec	9.8%	22.2%	11.6%	48.4%	8.0%	302	5.6
Atlantic Canada	16.6%	20.2%	10.1%	43.5%	9.5%	114	9.2
GENDER							
Male	19.3%	24.0%	8.9%	40.1%	7.7%	599	4.0
Female	12.6%	25.3%	11.7%	42.7%	7.7%	649	3.9
AGE							
<35	19.9%	21.4%	13.3%	39.1%	6.3%	109	9.4
35-49	12.6%	27.3%	8.2%	43.1%	8.8%	240	6.3
50-64	11.2%	27.5%	8.8%	42.8%	9.8%	444	4.7
65+	21.9%	21.3%	11.4%	40.1%	5.4%	461	4.6
EDUCATION							
High school or less	18.4%	31.7%	12.0%	30.8%	7.0%	289	5.8
College or CEGEP	18.5%	26.1%	8.2%	40.0%	7.3%	418	4.8
University or higher	11.7%	18.5%	11.0%	50.8%	8.0%	543	4.2
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION							
Liberal Party	10.6%	29.4%	8.3%	42.4%	9.2%	310	5.6
Conservative Party	35.5%	38.7%	5.4%	16.1%	4.3%	371	5.1
NDP	2.6%	6.0%	13.2%	73.2%	5.0%	319	5.5
Green Party	7.5%	16.7%	21.9%	47.0%	6.9%	61	12.6
Bloc Québécois	13.7%	23.6%	8.0%	47.0%	7.7%	40	15.5

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Emotional Resonance: Justin Trudeau

Q. [HALF-SAMPLE] When thinking about Justin Trudeau, which of the following emotions best describes how you feel?

	Angry	Discouraged	Happy	Hopeful	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**12.6%**	**29.2%**	**13.8%**	**38.5%**	**5.9%**	**1350**	**2.7**
REGION							
British Columbia	19.5%	20.0%	13.2%	43.2%	4.1%	169	7.5
Alberta	24.0%	27.5%	10.9%	31.8%	5.7%	224	6.6
Saskatchewan	15.1%	34.1%	17.7%	25.2%	7.9%	58	12.9
Manitoba	14.0%	16.6%	8.4%	53.3%	7.6%	54	13.3
Ontario	10.5%	30.6%	13.1%	41.1%	4.8%	407	4.9
Quebec	7.5%	35.6%	14.8%	34.0%	8.0%	331	5.4
Atlantic Canada	11.5%	20.6%	19.0%	43.4%	5.4%	107	9.5
GENDER							
Male	13.6%	30.3%	15.2%	38.3%	2.6%	632	3.9
Female	12.1%	30.1%	13.4%	40.7%	3.7%	669	3.8
AGE							
<35	13.9%	32.5%	12.3%	38.3%	3.0%	117	9.1
35-49	12.1%	29.3%	13.3%	40.7%	4.6%	262	6.1
50-64	11.8%	28.8%	15.5%	40.8%	3.0%	458	4.6
65+	14.6%	28.7%	16.6%	37.3%	2.9%	468	4.5
EDUCATION							
High school or less	16.6%	25.9%	14.0%	39.9%	3.6%	312	5.6
College or CEGEP	14.2%	32.8%	15.9%	34.6%	2.6%	409	4.9
University or higher	8.9%	30.9%	13.1%	44.0%	3.0%	579	4.1
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION							
Liberal Party	2.1%	5.5%	18.2%	73.2%	1.1%	302	5.6
Conservative Party	29.8%	48.1%	8.4%	10.0%	3.6%	390	5.0
NDP	7.4%	33.3%	20.7%	37.0%	1.5%	368	5.1
Green Party	6.2%	20.6%	6.1%	67.2%	0.0%	53	13.5
Bloc Québécois	5.4%	32.9%	15.7%	42.5%	3.6%	46	14.5

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Emotional Resonance: Elizabeth May

Q. [HALF-SAMPLE] When thinking about Elizabeth May, which of the following emotions best describes how you feel?

	Angry	Discouraged	Happy	Hopeful	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
NATIONALLY	**11.0%**	**28.9%**	**18.5%**	**30.4%**	**11.2%**	**1327**	**2.7**
REGION							
British Columbia	10.1%	24.6%	23.0%	36.0%	6.3%	194	7.0
Alberta	18.2%	33.5%	16.0%	18.0%	14.2%	223	6.6
Saskatchewan	10.8%	50.3%	6.5%	15.2%	17.1%	43	14.9
Manitoba	14.5%	14.9%	11.8%	38.0%	20.8%	65	12.2
Ontario	11.5%	28.4%	21.0%	29.6%	9.5%	398	4.9
Quebec	7.8%	32.9%	15.1%	31.6%	12.6%	301	5.7
Atlantic Canada	7.9%	21.4%	15.4%	41.4%	13.9%	101	9.8
GENDER							
Male	13.6%	32.0%	20.3%	26.3%	7.8%	633	3.9
Female	9.1%	27.6%	17.4%	36.2%	9.6%	649	3.9
AGE							
<35	8.0%	27.7%	24.8%	28.1%	11.4%	117	9.1
35-49	12.6%	31.6%	13.4%	33.3%	9.1%	238	6.4
50-64	11.3%	30.0%	16.8%	33.2%	8.7%	447	4.6
65+	14.6%	30.2%	20.4%	29.5%	5.3%	485	4.5
EDUCATION							
High school or less	12.3%	30.7%	16.1%	34.6%	6.3%	290	5.8
College or CEGEP	13.3%	34.6%	17.1%	25.7%	9.2%	421	4.8
University or higher	8.8%	24.9%	22.4%	34.1%	9.8%	563	4.1
CURRENT VOTE INTENTION							
Liberal Party	8.4%	24.2%	19.1%	39.2%	9.0%	320	5.5
Conservative Party	22.9%	43.0%	11.8%	15.7%	6.7%	391	5.0
NDP	5.4%	23.2%	28.4%	36.3%	6.6%	301	5.7
Green Party	0.3%	12.4%	25.5%	58.6%	3.2%	70	11.7
Bloc Québécois	7.4%	49.9%	4.1%	30.5%	8.1%	52	13.6

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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 September 2-8, 2015. In total, a random sample of 2,677 Canadian adults aged 18 and over responded to the survey. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/- 1.9 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.

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