**INNOVATIVE** RESEARCH GROUP

# Public Affairs Association of Canada
# The Final Lap

Public Opinion Research
Release Date: September 14, 2021
Field Dates: September 10 to September 12, 2021

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# Survey Methodology

**These are the results of an online survey conducted between September 10th 2021 and September 12th, 2021, consisting of two samples merged together.**

**Method:** The main sample was conducted using INNOVATIVE's Canada 20/20 national research panel with additional respondents from Dynata, a leading provider of online sample. All of INNOVATIVE's core tracking questions were asked of the main sample. The secondary sample was conducted with sample from Lucid. Respondents in this sample, were asked a portion of the core tracking survey, including vote intention, and then received a series of questions on additional, separate topics. Each survey is administered to a series of randomly selected samples from the panel and weighted to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual Canadian population according to Census data to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample.

**Sample Size:** n=1,831 Adult Canadians, 18 years or older are in the core sample and 1,372 are in the secondary sample. The combined results are weighted to n=2,400 based on Census data from Statistics Canada.

**Field Dates:** September 10th 2021 to September 12th 2021.

**Weighting:** Results in both samples are weighted by age, gender, region, and education to ensure that the overall sample's composition reflects that of the actual population according to Census data; in order to provide results that are intended to approximate a probability sample. Additionally, both samples are weighted by the distribution of reported 2019 vote to match previous samples in the 2021 election to ensure that the tracking on vote intention is not influenced by a change in online panel providers. Weighted and unweighted frequencies are reported below.

**Margin of Error:** This is a representative sample. However, since the online survey was not a random probability based sample, a margin of error cannot be calculated. Statements about margins of sampling error or population estimates do not apply to most online panels.

**Note:** Graphs may not always total 100% due to rounding values rather than any error in data. Sums are added before rounding numbers.

| | Unweighted (n) | Unweighted (%) | Weighted (n) | Weighted (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Men 18-34** | 356 | 11.1% | 351 | 14.7% |
| **Men 35-54** | 468 | 14.6% | 394 | 16.4% |
| **Men 55+** | 615 | 19.2% | 416 | 17.4% |
| **Women 18-34** | 670 | 21.0% | 352 | 14.7% |
| **Women 35-54** | 486 | 15.2% | 409 | 17.1% |
| **Women 55+** | 600 | 18.8% | 471 | 19.7% |
| | | | | |
| **BC** | 416 | 13.0% | 321 | 13.4% |
| **AB** | 387 | 12.1% | 271 | 11.3% |
| **Prairies** | 202 | 6.3% | 157 | 6.5% |
| **ON** | 1077 | 33.6% | 924 | 38.5% |
| **QC** | 777 | 24.3% | 563 | 23.5% |
| **Atlantic** | 344 | 10.7% | 164 | 6.8% |

# How Opinions Form and Change 1

High Engagement

**The Little Red Boat** is affected by the winds of public debate and the current of underlying change.

it's affected by the winds
= Public Debate
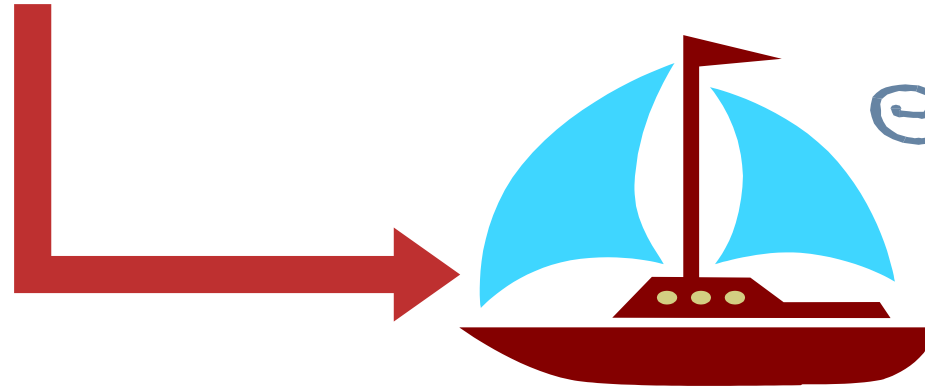
Anchors
= Values

Low Engagement

# Attitudinal Anchors: Party ID

# Federal Party ID Tracking: The Liberals still maintain their lead among partisanship; 1-in-4 (24%) Canadians are unaligned

**Q** Thinking about politics in Canada, generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a...
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]



Legend: Conservative — Liberal — NDP — Other — Unaligned

Starting values: 32%, 27%, 17%, 13%, 11%
Ending values: 26%, 24%, 21%, 15%, 14%

Current data: September 2021

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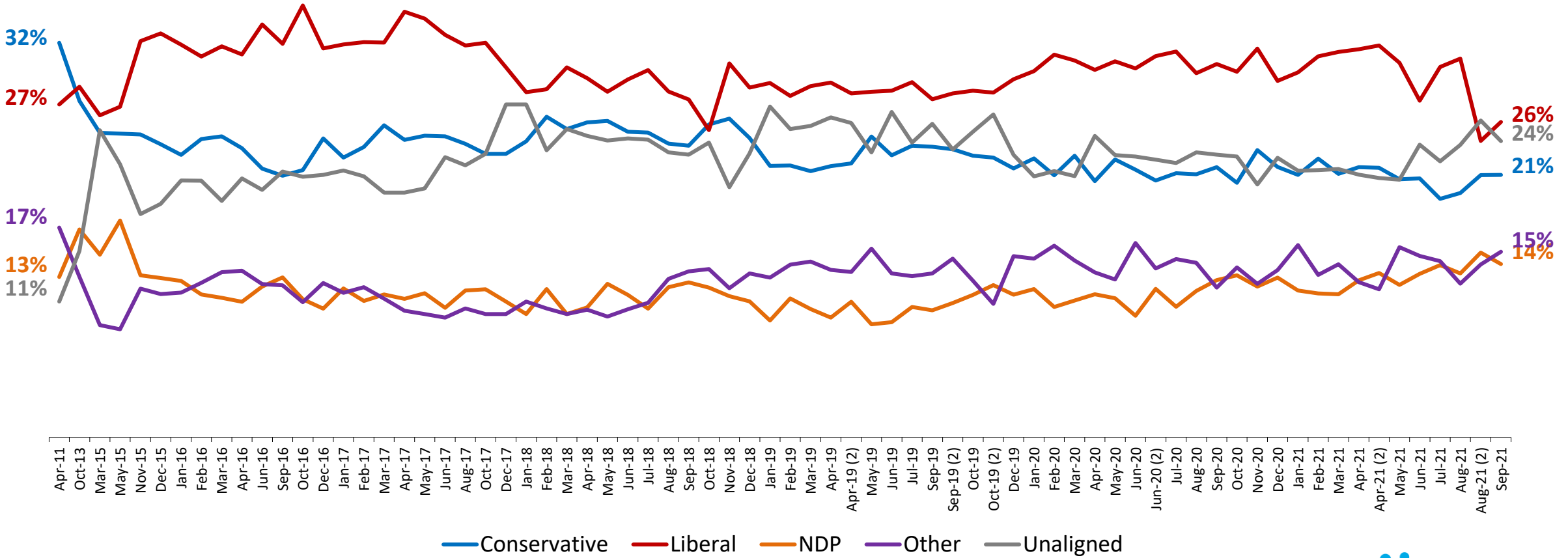
# Federal Party ID (Quebec vs. ROC): In Quebec, the Liberals are second on Party ID after the Bloc

## Party ID: Quebec

[Respondents in Quebec; n=563]

Conservative: 8%
Liberal: 19%
NDP: 5%
Bloc: 31%
Other: 9%
Unaligned: 28%
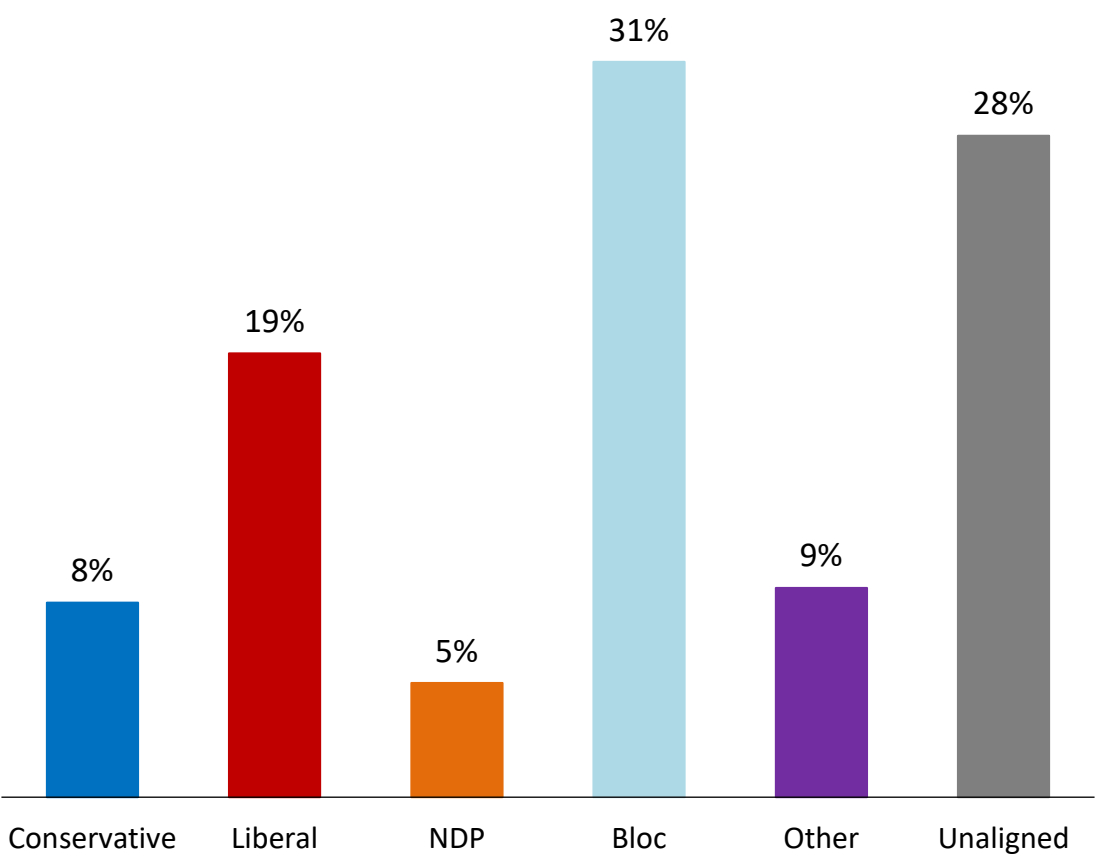
## Party ID: Rest of Canada

[Respondents in the rest of Canada; n=1837]

Conservative: 25%
Liberal: 28%
NDP: 17%
Other: 7%
Unaligned: 23%

Current data: September 2021

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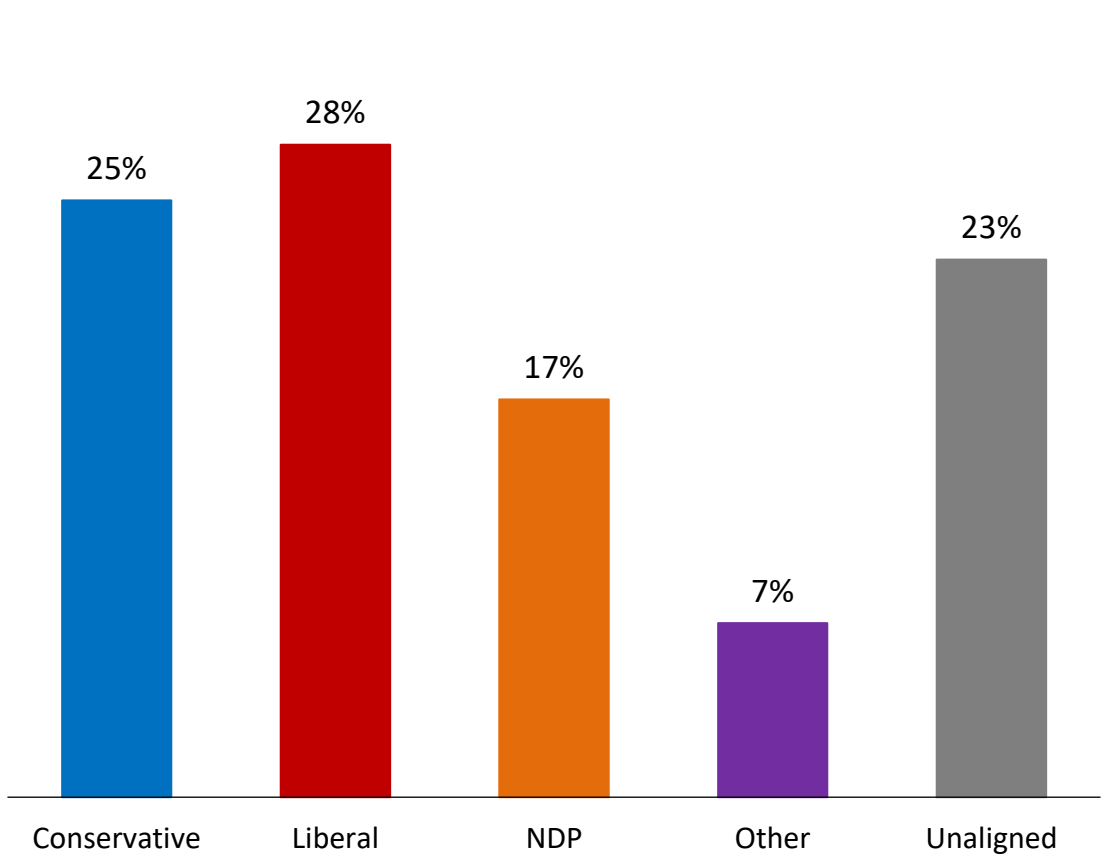
# Attitudinal Anchors: Value Clusters

# Core Political Values: Over half (55%) believe that the government should make their decisions based on the public's needs

**Q** Now we would like to ask a few questions about basic values and society...When governments make major decisions concerning spending on programs and services, do you think they should be basing their decisions mainly on...?
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

- Their ability to afford the programs and services — 33%
- The public's need for the programs and services — 55%
- Don't know — 11%

**Q** Is the main role of government to...?
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

- To create equal opportunity so that everyone can compete on their own to be the best they can be — 57%
- To redistribute wealth so that the poor and disadvantaged have more than they would if left on their own — 33%
- Don't know — 11%

**Q** Which of the following statements comes closest to your view?
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

- The profit system brings out the worst in human nature. — 40%
- The profit system teaches people the value of hard work and success. — 43%
- Don't know — 17%

**Q** When it comes to government decision making, which of the following statements is closest to your view?
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

- Too often the government listens to experts instead of common sense. — 45%
- Provincial issues are complicated so government should listen to experts when it comes to policy. — 40%
- Don't Know — 15%

Current data: September 2021

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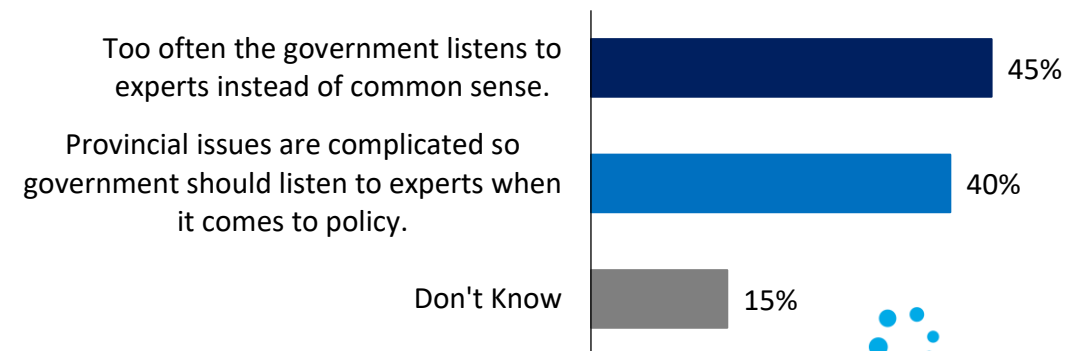
# Value Clusters: 1-in-4 (24%) Canadians are Business Liberals, followed by Core Left (19%)

**Q** Clusters are based on 4 basic values: equal opportunity versus redistribution; trust in the profit system; whether spending should be based on ability to afford or public need; and whether government should listen to experts or common sense.
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]



Thrifty Moderates, 18%

Populist Conservatives, 11%

Deferential Conservatives, 11%

Core Left, 19%

Business Liberals, 24%

Left Liberals, 16%

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Current data: September 2021
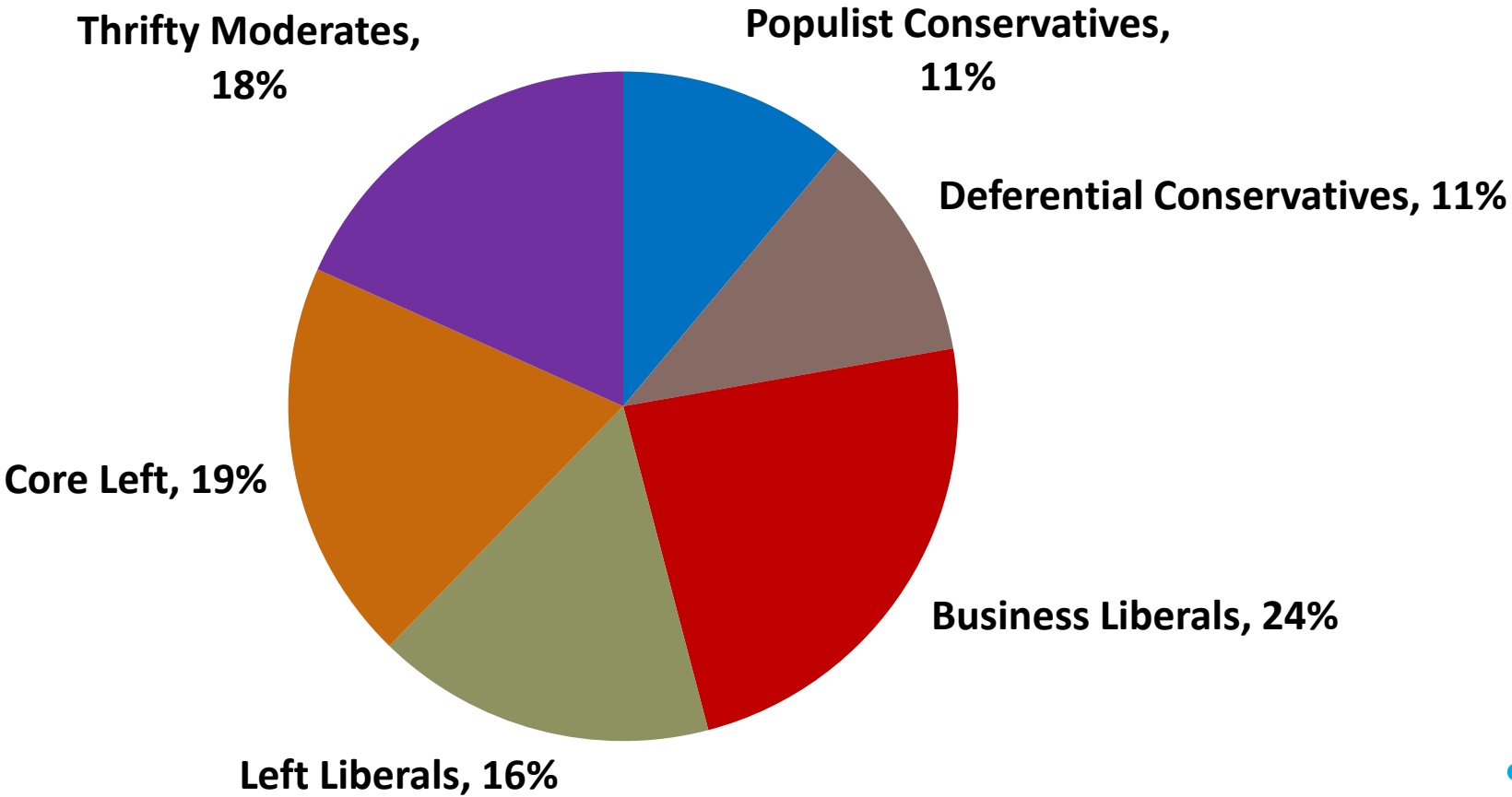
# Attitudinal Anchors: Economic Gap

# Segmentation Attitudes: Most Canadians (57%) agree they can be anything they want if they are willing to work for it

**Q** Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? -
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]



| Statement | Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Here in [PROV] you can be anything you want if you are willing to work for it | 22% | 35% | 19% | 12% | 9% | 3% |
| No matter how hard I work, every year it seems more difficult to get by | 26% | 30% | 24% | 11% | 6% | 3% |

■ Strongly agree  ■ Somewhat agree  ■ Neither agree nor disagree  ■ Somewhat disagree  ■ Strongly disagree  ■ Don't know

Current data: September 2021

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# **Economic Gap Segmentation:** Most Canadians are Strugglers (31%), followed by Achievers (26%)

**Q** Gap segmentation: Agree with 'Here in [PROVINCE] you can be anything you want if you are willing to work for it' BY Agree with 'No matter how hard I work, every year it seems more difficult to get by'.
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

Don't believe in *"Canadian Dream"*

**Alienated, 21%**

**Achievers, 26%**

Believe in *"Canadian Dream"*, not struggling to get by

**Ambivalent, 22%**

**Strugglers, 31%**

Neutral or don't know on *"Canadian Dream"*

Believe in *"Canadian Dream"*, but find it difficult to get by

Current data: August 2021

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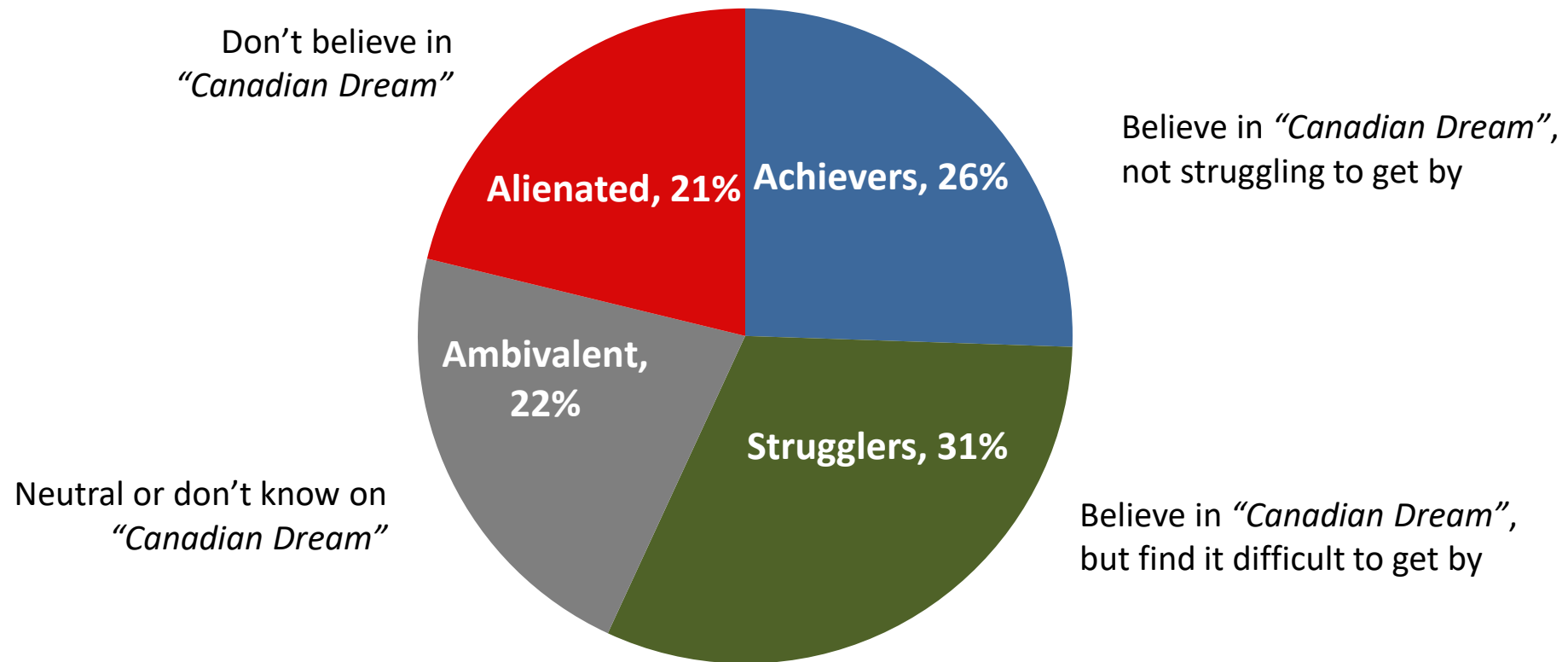
# Attitudinal Anchors: Time for Change

# Disappointed by Liberals: A majority of every group, except Business Liberals, say they have been disappointed by the Liberal government

**Q** *I've been disappointed by Justin Trudeau and the Liberal government.* By **Value Clusters**
[asked of all respondents; n=2,400]
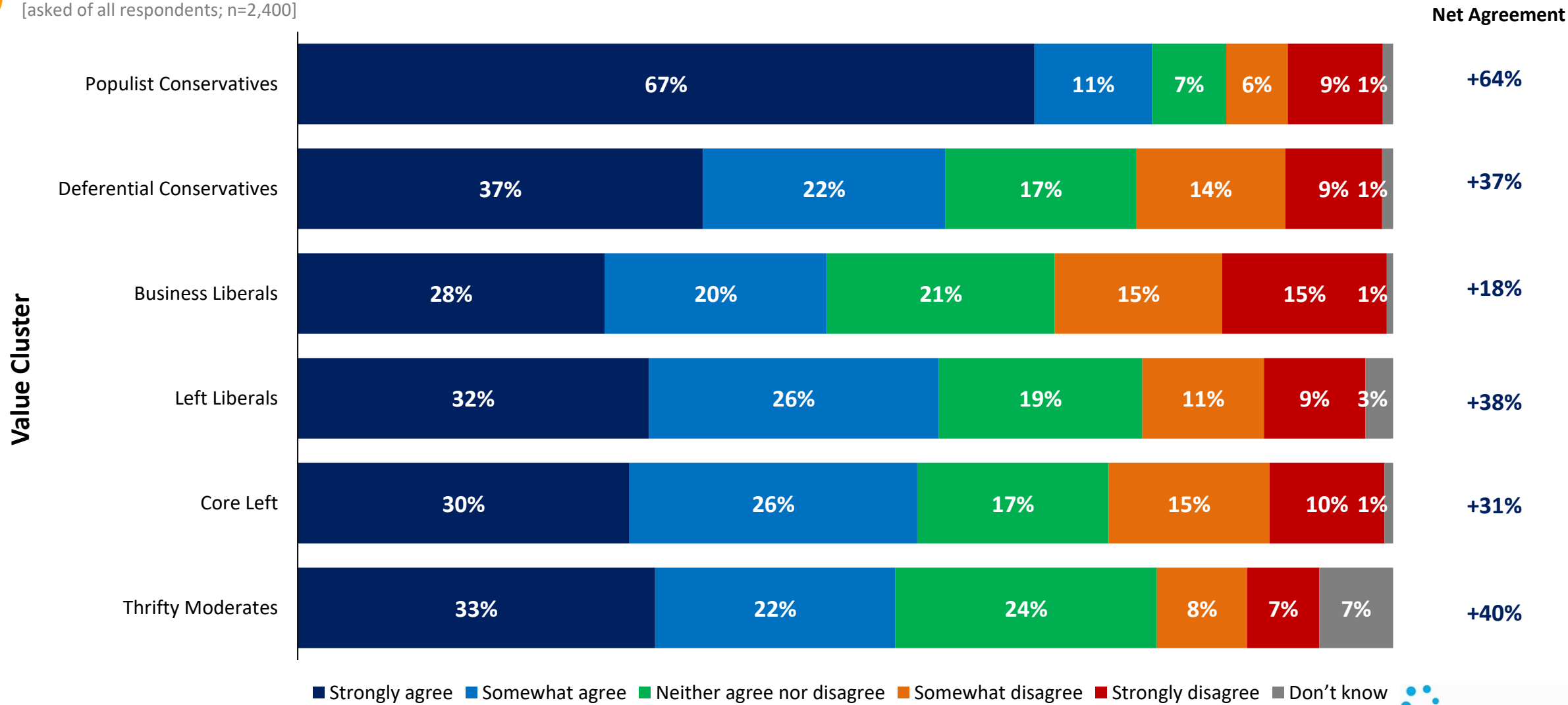
**Net Agreement**

| Value Cluster | Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know | Net Agreement |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Populist Conservatives | 67% | 11% | 7% | 6% | 9% | 1% | +64% |
| Deferential Conservatives | 37% | 22% | 17% | 14% | 9% | 1% | +37% |
| Business Liberals | 28% | 20% | 21% | 15% | 15% | 1% | +18% |
| Left Liberals | 32% | 26% | 19% | 11% | 9% | 3% | +38% |
| Core Left | 30% | 26% | 17% | 15% | 10% | 1% | +31% |
| Thrifty Moderates | 33% | 22% | 24% | 8% | 7% | 7% | +40% |

■ Strongly agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know

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# Time for Change Tracking: Agreement that it is time for change in Canada is at 58%, 3-points above 2019

**Q** Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? - It is time for a change in government here in Canada
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]
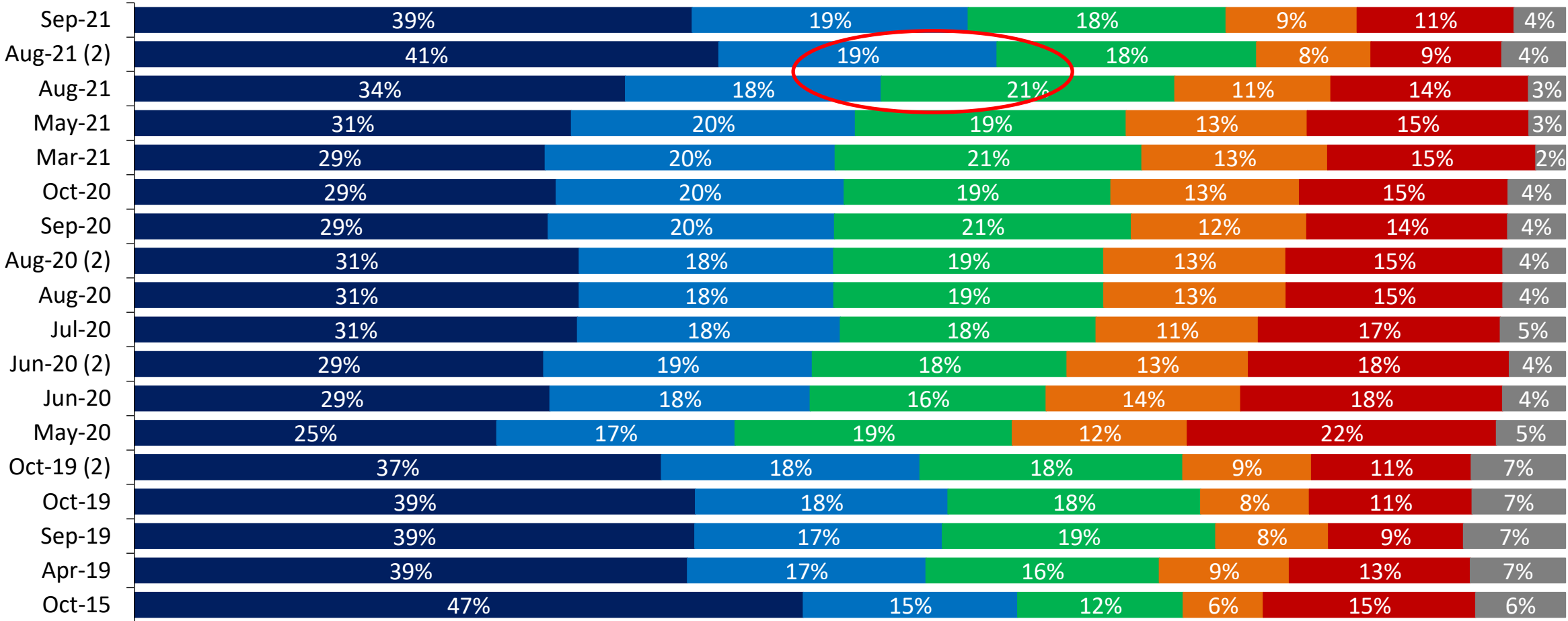
| | Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sep-21 | 39% | 19% | 18% | 9% | 11% | 4% |
| Aug-21 (2) | 41% | 19% | 18% | 8% | 9% | 4% |
| Aug-21 | 34% | 18% | 21% | 11% | 14% | 3% |
| May-21 | 31% | 20% | 19% | 13% | 15% | 3% |
| Mar-21 | 29% | 20% | 21% | 13% | 15% | 2% |
| Oct-20 | 29% | 20% | 19% | 13% | 15% | 4% |
| Sep-20 | 29% | 20% | 21% | 12% | 14% | 4% |
| Aug-20 (2) | 31% | 18% | 19% | 13% | 15% | 4% |
| Aug-20 | 31% | 18% | 19% | 13% | 15% | 4% |
| Jul-20 | 31% | 18% | 18% | 11% | 17% | 5% |
| Jun-20 (2) | 29% | 19% | 18% | 13% | 18% | 4% |
| Jun-20 | 29% | 18% | 16% | 14% | 18% | 4% |
| May-20 | 25% | 17% | 19% | 12% | 22% | 5% |
| Oct-19 (2) | 37% | 18% | 18% | 9% | 11% | 7% |
| Oct-19 | 39% | 18% | 18% | 8% | 11% | 7% |
| Sep-19 | 39% | 17% | 19% | 8% | 9% | 7% |
| Apr-19 | 39% | 17% | 16% | 9% | 13% | 7% |
| Oct-15 | 47% | 15% | 12% | 6% | 15% | 6% |

**Legend:** ■ Strongly agree ■ Somewhat agree ■ Neither agree nor disagree ■ Somewhat disagree ■ Strongly disagree ■ Don't know

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# Time for Change Tracking: 36% of Canadians agree that the Liberals are the best party to form government, up 2-points

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? - The Liberals may have their problems but they are still the best party to form government
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

| | Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sep-21 | 17% | 19% | 18% | 12% | 29% | 4% |
| Aug-21 (2) | 16% | 18% | 18% | 13% | 30% | 5% |
| Aug-21 | 20% | 21% | 17% | 11% | 28% | 3% |
| May-21 | 18% | 23% | 19% | 12% | 25% | 3% |
| Mar-21 | 18% | 25% | 19% | 11% | 25% | 3% |
| Oct-20 | 18% | 24% | 18% | 13% | 23% | 4% |
| Sep-20 | 16% | 25% | 17% | 13% | 24% | 5% |
| Aug-20 (2) | 18% | 26% | 15% | 11% | 25% | 5% |
| Aug-20 | 18% | 26% | 15% | 11% | 25% | 5% |
| Jul-20 | 20% | 22% | 17% | 11% | 25% | 6% |
| Jun-20 (2) | 22% | 24% | 16% | 11% | 24% | 4% |
| Jun-20 | 23% | 21% | 16% | 12% | 23% | 6% |
| May-20 | 22% | 22% | 18% | 11% | 21% | 5% |
| Oct-19 (2) | 19% | 18% | 16% | 12% | 27% | 8% |
| Oct-19 | 19% | 17% | 17% | 12% | 28% | 7% |
| Sep-19 | 18% | 19% | 16% | 11% | 28% | 8% |
| Apr-19 | 20% | 18% | 14% | 10% | 31% | 8% |
| Oct-15 | 20% | 12% | 12% | 10% | 39% | 7% |
| Jun-13 | 17% | 14% | 16% | 11% | 37% | 5% |

**Legend:** ■ Strongly agree  ■ Somewhat agree  ■ Neither agree nor disagree  ■ Somewhat disagree  ■ Strongly disagree  ■ Don't know

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# Time for Change Segmentation: A key 9% of voters think the Liberals are the best option to form government but also say it's time for change

**Q** Time for Change segmentation: Agree with 'The Liberals may have their problems but they are still the best party to form government' BY Agree with 'It is time for a change in government here in Canada'.
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

27% **Do not think it is time for a change**

51% **Agree that it is time for a change and do not see Liberals as the best option to form government**

This key battleground segment is voters who think it is time for a change, but still think the Liberals are the best option to form a government

19%

27%

9%

25%

12%

9%
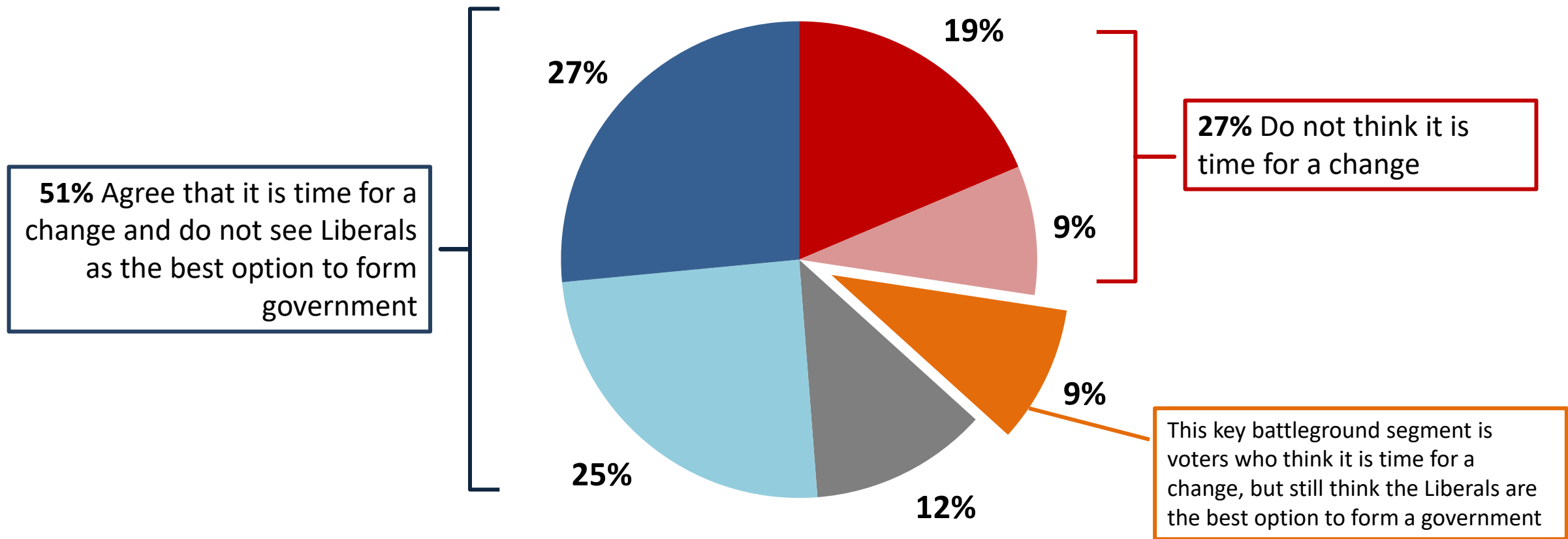
■ Core LPC   ■ Soft LPC   ■ Time for change   ■ Uncertain   ■ Soft anti-LPC   ■ Hostile

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Current data: September 2021

# The Election Call

# Election Call: 3-in-10 (31%) of respondents say that they are fine with the decision of Trudeau to call the election early

**Q** Thinking about the decision by Justin Trudeau and the Liberal Party to call the current election early, which of the following comes closest to your point of view?
[asked of all respondents; n=2,400]

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **31%** | **25%** | **12%** | **22%** | **9%** |
| I am fine with it | I am upset with the decision but it made no difference to my vote | I am upset with the decision and it left me less likely to vote for the Liberals | I am upset with it but I would never have voted Liberal anyway | Don't know |

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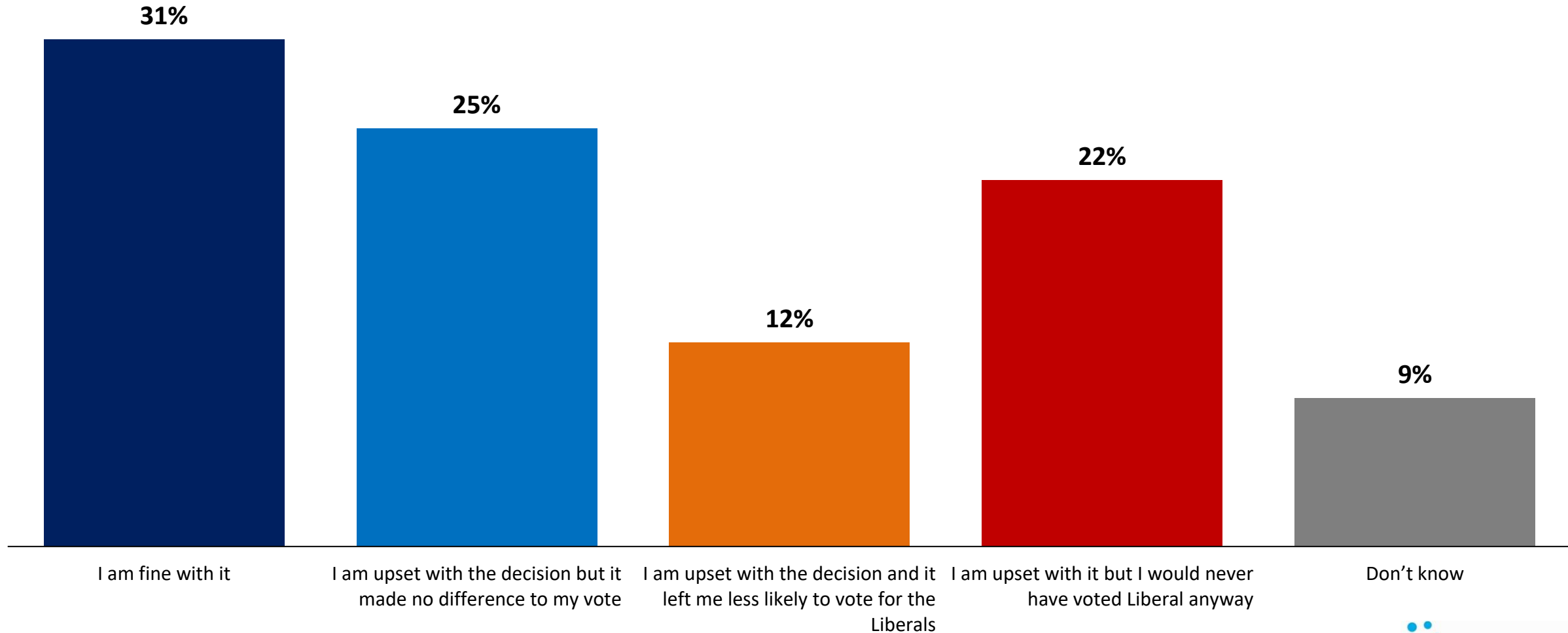
# Vote by Election Call: 30% of those who were left less likely to vote Liberal are now voting NDP

**Q** Combined Vote BY Thinking about the decision by Justin Trudeau and the Liberal Party to call the current election early, which of the following comes closest to your point of view?

[asked of all respondents; n=2,400]



| | Conservative | Liberal | NDP | Bloc | Green | Peoples Party | Maverick Party | Other | Undecided | Would not vote |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I am fine with it | 16% | 47% | 21% | 3% | 3% | 5% | | | | 4% |
| I am upset with the decision but it made no difference to my vote | 14% | 48% | 20% | 7% | 2% | | | | | 7% |
| I am upset with the decision and it left me less likely to vote for the Liberals | 34% | 10% | 30% | 9% | 2% | | | | | 11% |
| I am upset with it but I would never have voted Liberal anyway | 53% | 2% | 17% | 11% | 4% | 6% | | 2% | | |
| Don't know | 10% | 18% | 10% | 4% | 5% | 2% | | | 34% | 17% |

**Legend:** ■ Conservative ■ Liberal ■ NDP ■ Bloc ■ Green ■ Peoples Party ■ Maverick Party ■ Other ■ Undecided ■ Would not vote

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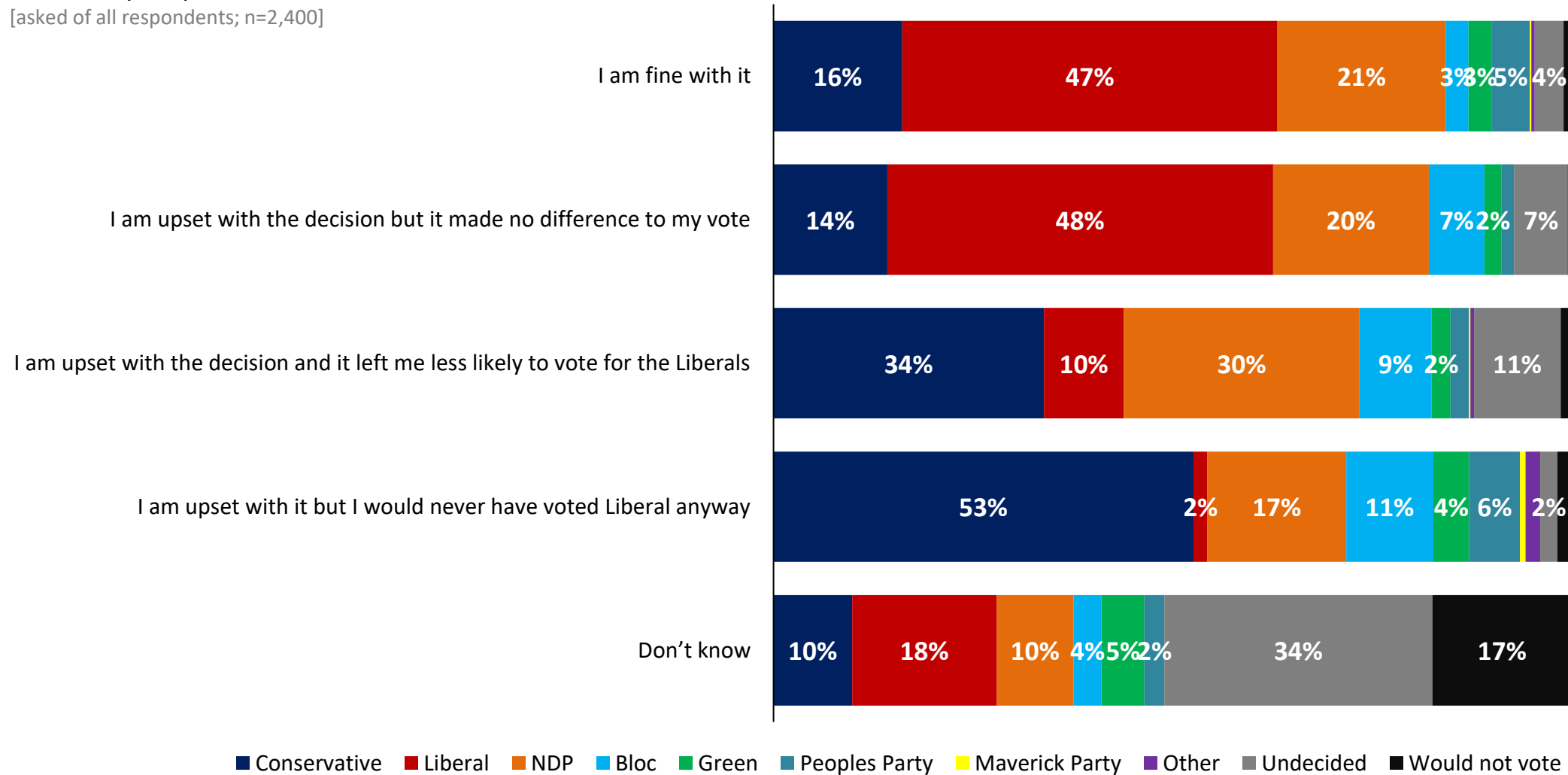
# The Debates

# Debate Attention – Rest of Canada: Attention to the English Debate is on par with the previous English Debates in 2019 and 2015

**Q** Over the past week there have been three leaders debates in this election, two in French and one in English. Please indicate if you have read, seen or heard anything about each of the following debates? AND please indicate whether you happened to watch any of that/those debates yourself.
[Only asked respondents in rest of Canada, n=1,837]

**Watched at least some**

## Rest of Canada
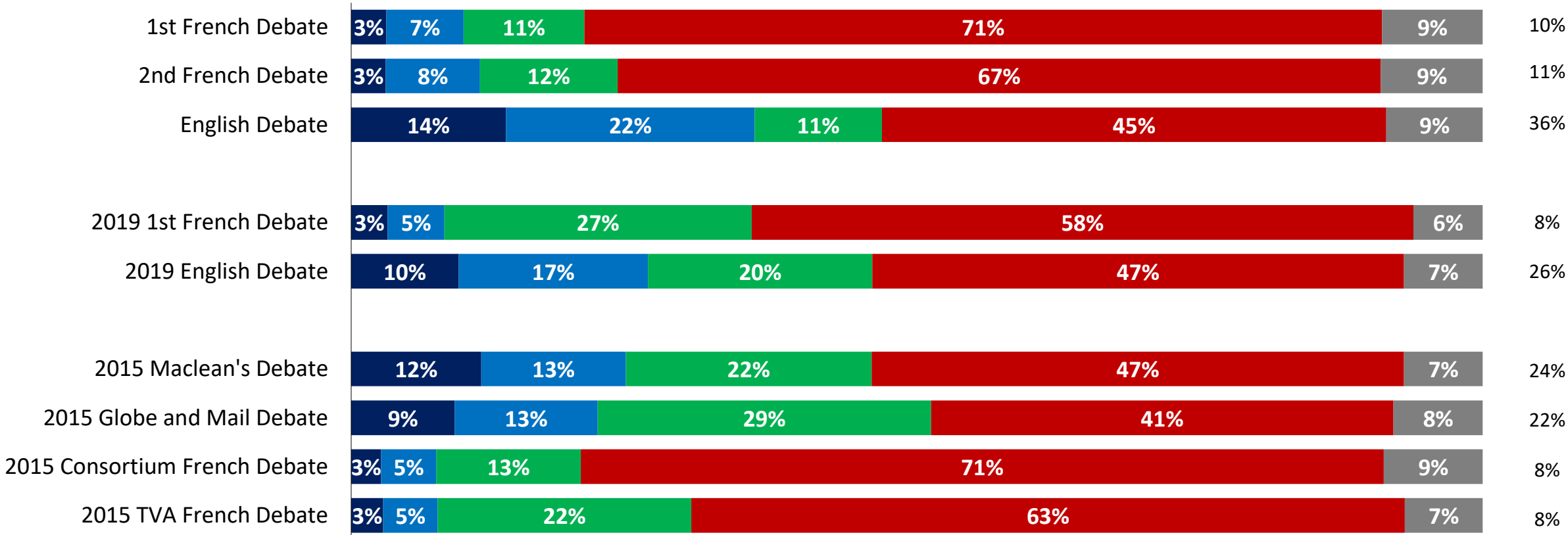
| Debate | Watched all | Watched some | Only heard about it | Did not hear about it | Don't know | Watched at least some |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st French Debate | 3% | 7% | 11% | 71% | 9% | 10% |
| 2nd French Debate | 3% | 8% | 12% | 67% | 9% | 11% |
| English Debate | 14% | 22% | 11% | 45% | 9% | 36% |
| 2019 1st French Debate | 3% | 5% | 27% | 58% | 6% | 8% |
| 2019 English Debate | 10% | 17% | 20% | 47% | 7% | 26% |
| 2015 Maclean's Debate | 12% | 13% | 22% | 47% | 7% | 24% |
| 2015 Globe and Mail Debate | 9% | 13% | 29% | 41% | 8% | 22% |
| 2015 Consortium French Debate | 3% | 5% | 13% | 71% | 9% | 8% |
| 2015 TVA French Debate | 3% | 5% | 22% | 63% | 7% | 8% |

■ Watched all  ■ Watched some  ■ Only heard about it  ■ Did not hear about it  ■ Don't know

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# Who won the French debates in Quebec depends on whether you saw them yourself or just heard about them

**Q** Thinking specifically about the English debate held on September 9th by the Leader's Debate Commission, in your opinion which leader did the best in that debate?

[asked of all respondents who recall at least something about the debate; n=239]

## *Quebec Only*

Justin Trudeau

| Watched | Total | Only Heard About It |
|---------|-------|---------------------|
| 22% | 25% | 31% |

Erin O'Toole

| Only Heard About It | Total | Watched |
|---------------------|-------|---------|
| 6% | 9% | 12% |

Jagmeet Singh

| Only Heard About It | Total | Watched |
|---------------------|-------|---------|
| 4% | 5% | 5% |

Annamie Paul

| Only Heard About It | Total | Watched |
|---------------------|-------|---------|
| 1% | 1% | 1% |

Yves-Francois Blanchet

| Only Heard About It | Total | Watched |
|---------------------|-------|---------|
| 21% | 30% | 35% |

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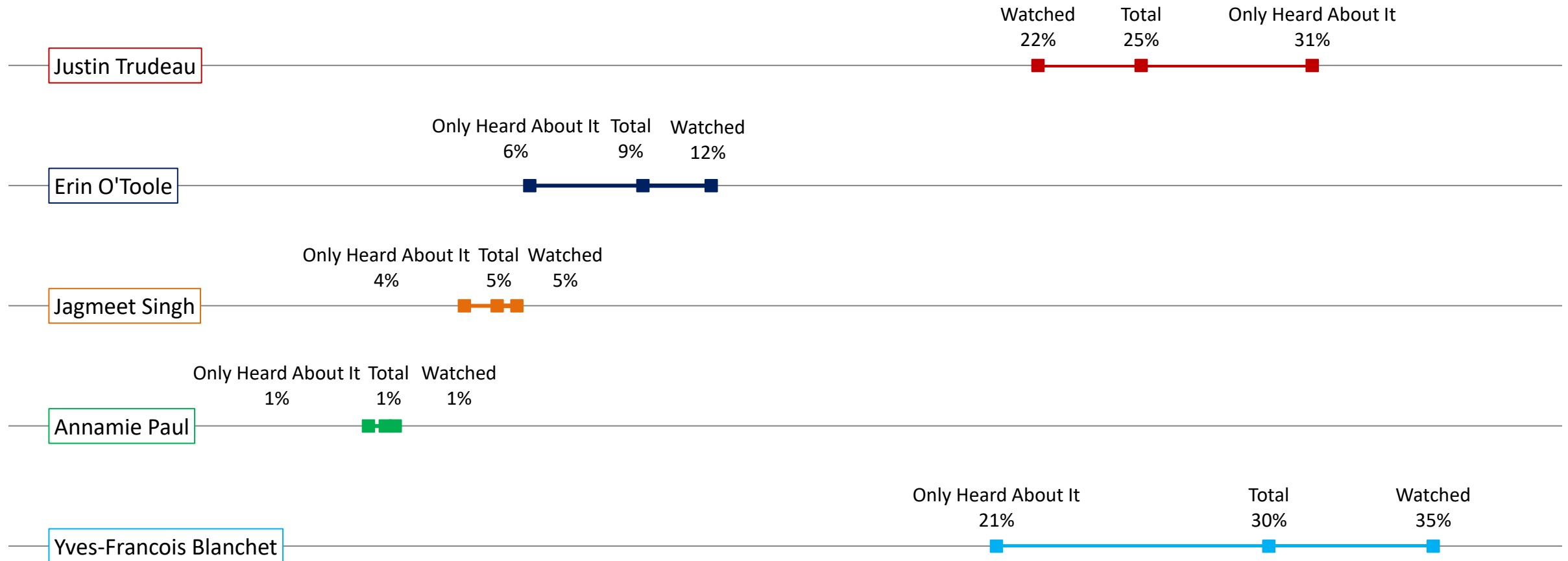
# Leader Performance: Within Quebec, Blanchet's performance was better than expected, followed by Trudeau

**Q** For each leader, did they perform better than you expected, less well than you expected, or about as you expected in the leaders' debates?
[asked of all respondents; n=563]

## Quebec Only

| Leader | Better than expected | About as expected | Less well than expected | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jagmeet Singh | 11% | 24% | 27% | 38% |
| Erin O'Toole | 9% | 26% | 27% | 37% |
| Annamie Paul | 8% | 18% | 25% | 49% |
| Yves-Francois Blanchet | 21% | 26% | 17% | 36% |
| Justin Trudeau | 13% | 34% | 20% | 33% |

■ Better than expected  ■ About as expected  ■ Less well than expected  ■ Don't know

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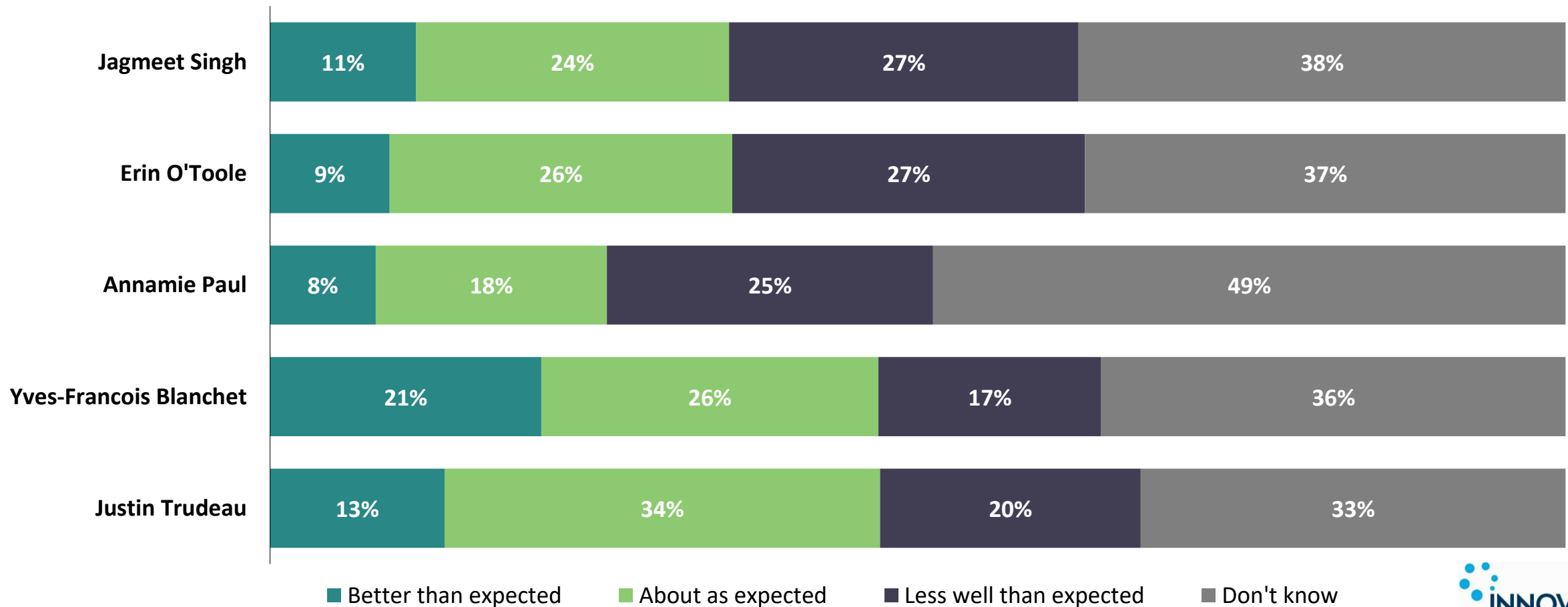
# Leader Performance: Singh & O'Toole's performance were better than expected while Trudeau's performance was less than expected

**Q** For each leader, did they perform better than you expected, less well than you expected, or about as you expected in the leaders' debate?
[asked of all respondents; n=1837]

## Rest of Canada



| Leader | Better than expected | About as expected | Less well than expected | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jagmeet Singh | 16% | 33% | 11% | 41% |
| Erin O'Toole | 17% | 28% | 15% | 39% |
| Annamie Paul | 14% | 25% | 14% | 47% |
| Yves-Francois Blanchet | 6% | 28% | 17% | 49% |
| Justin Trudeau | 10% | 32% | 21% | 36% |

■ Better than expected  ■ About as expected  ■ Less well than expected  ■ Don't know

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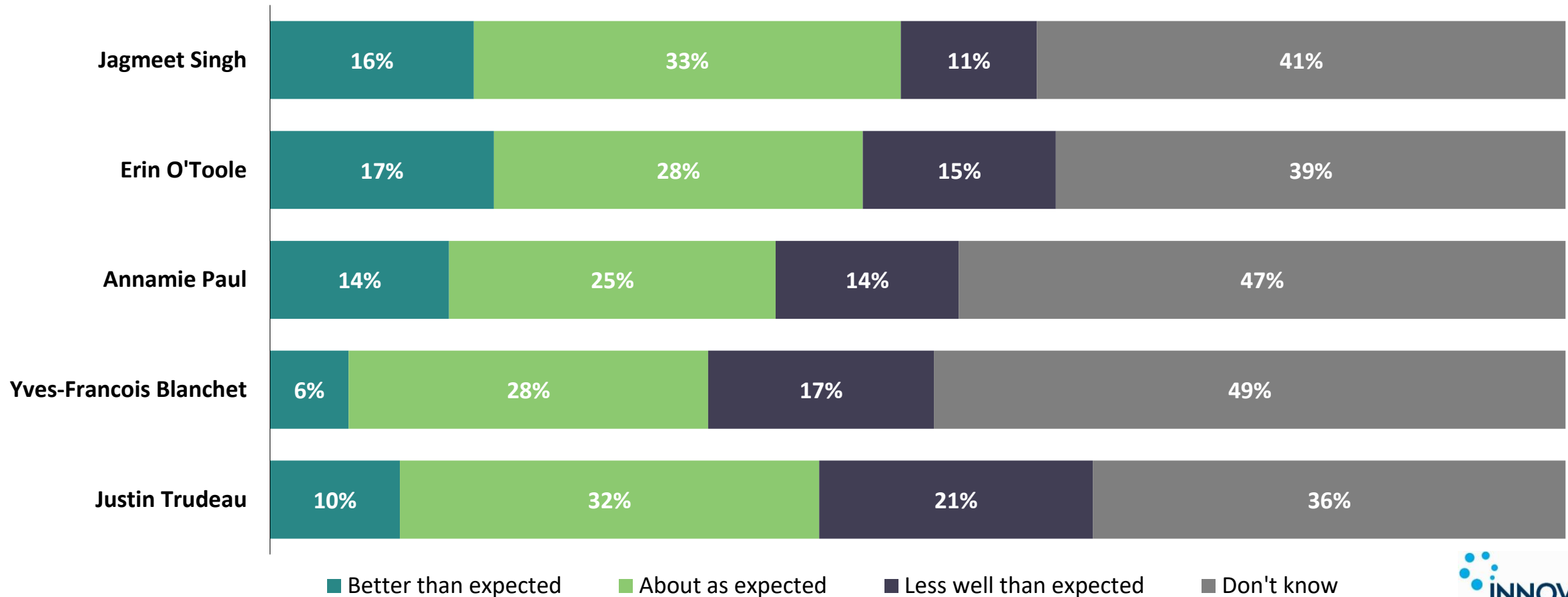
# The Winds of Public Debate

# **Awareness Tracking:** Attention to the main parties is steady, while attention to smaller parties is up

**Q** Have you read, seen or heard anything about [PARTY] in the last few days? **Showing % who have read, seen, or heard about each party.**



**Liberal** ——— **Conservative** ——— **NDP** ——— **Bloc** ——— **Green** ——— **PPC**

Current data: August 2021

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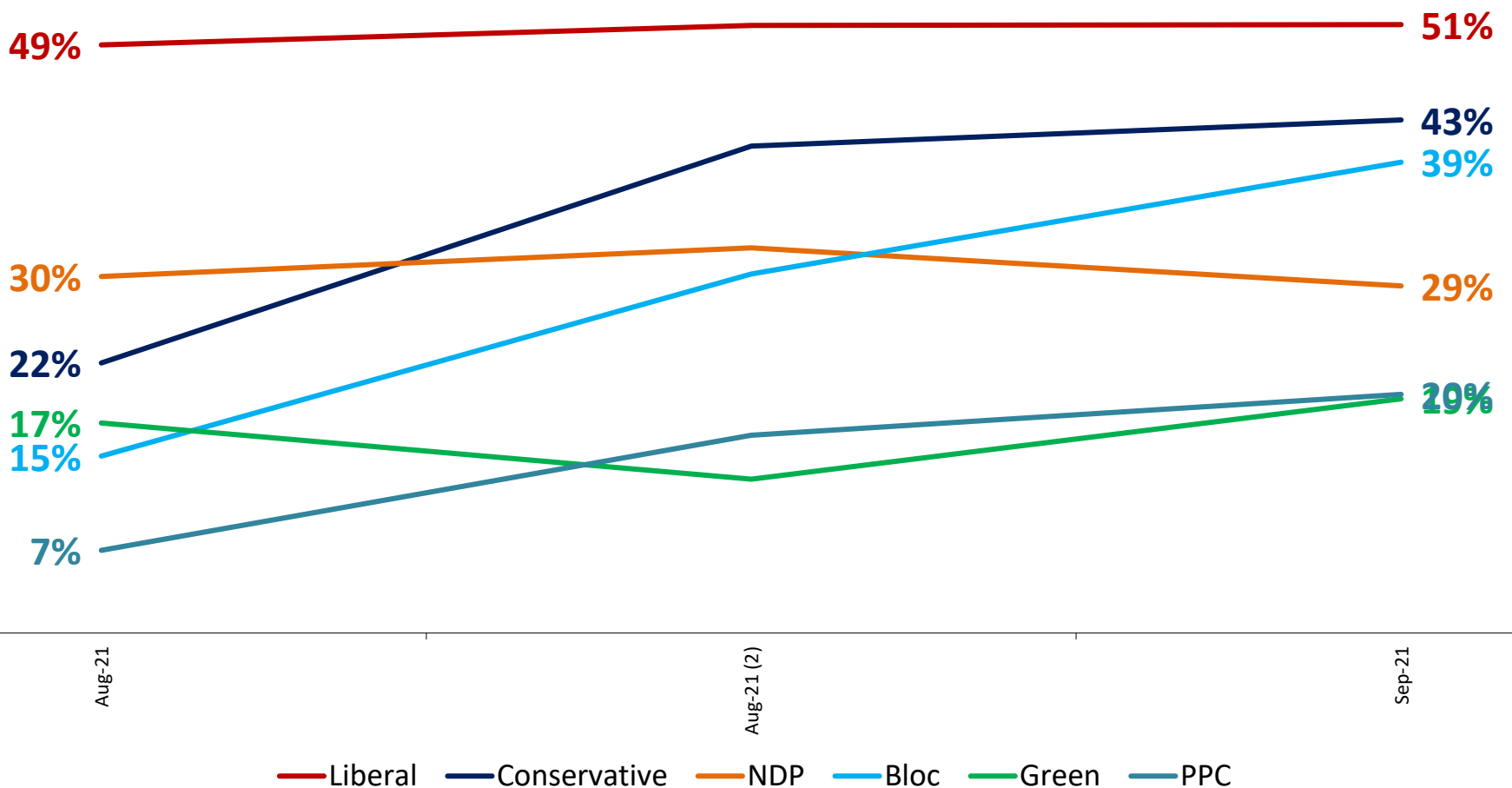
# Attention: Attention to the campaign is steady since late August; 41% haven't heard about the campaigns recently

**Q** Have you read, seen or heard anything about [PARTY] in the last few days?
*Showing how many different campaigns each respondent has heard something about in the last few days*
[only asked of core respondents; n=1200]

| | 0 campaigns | 1 campaign | More than 1 campaign |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sep '21 | 41% | 18% | 41% |
| Aug '21 | 40% | 19% | 41% |

■ 0 campaigns   ■ 1 campaign   ■ More than 1 campaign

Current data: September 2021

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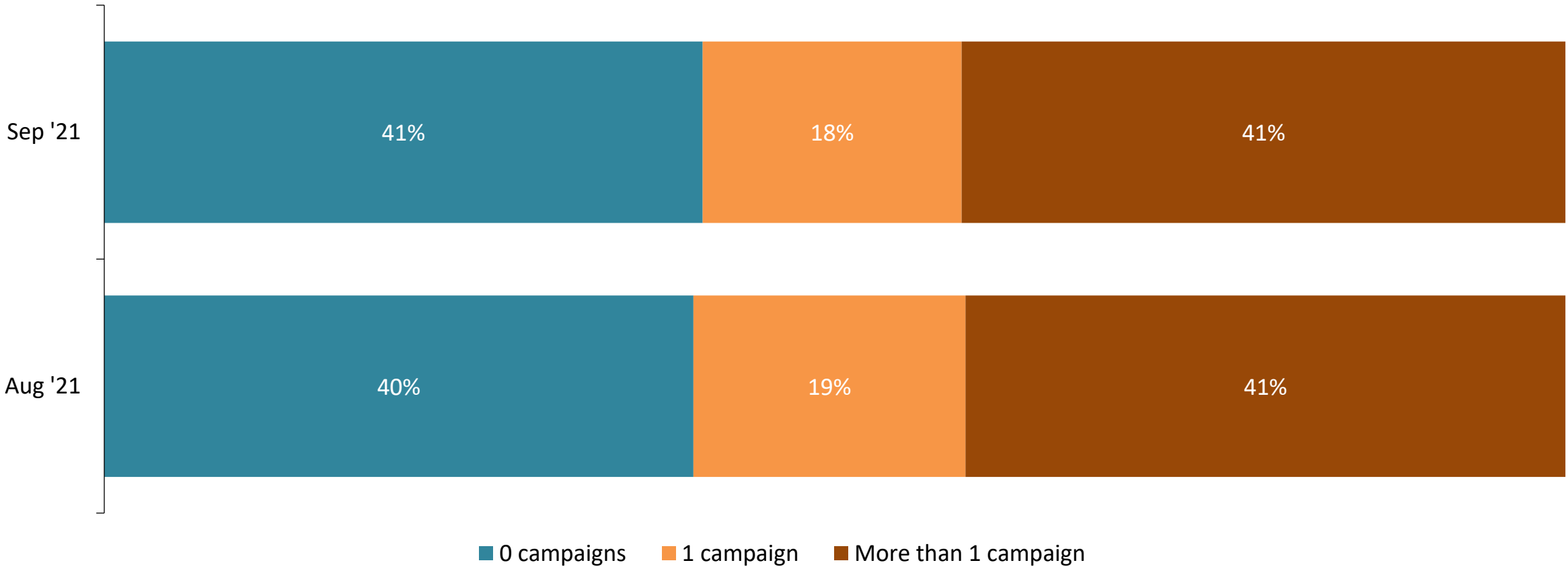
# **Net Impact Tracking:** The Green and the PPC are showing the strongest improvement in the net impact of campaign awareness

**Q** Did what you read, see or hear leave you feeling a lot more favourable, somewhat more favourable, somewhat less favourable or a lot less favourable towards [PARTY], or did it make no difference?

[only asked of core respondents who have RSH; n=1200]



Liberal — Conservative — NDP — Bloc — Green — PPC

Current data: August 2021

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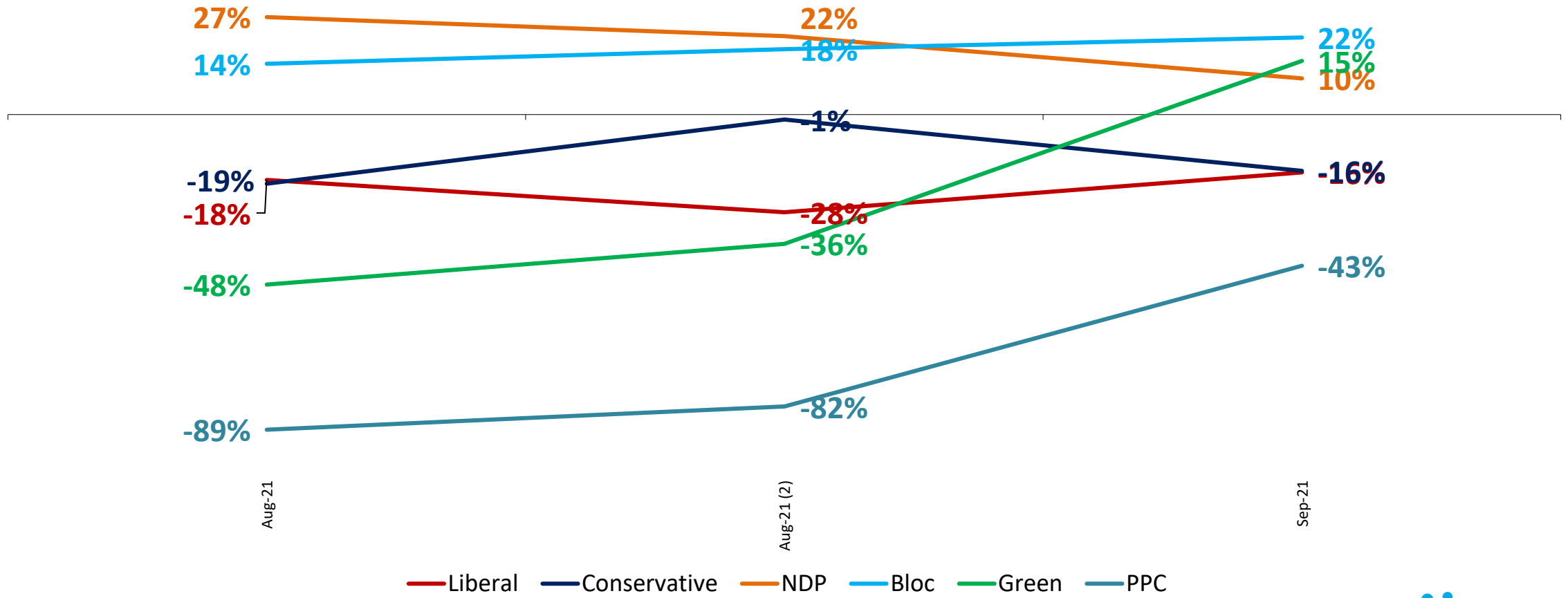
# RSH O'Toole: O'Toole's performance in the debate is the top mention (26%) with a positive net impact of 2% but guns are very negative

**Q** And what have you read, seen or hear about Erin O'Toole and the federal Conservative party? [OPEN END]
[Asked of those who have RSH; n=512]



Horizontal bar chart with the following mentions:

| Mention | % |
|---|---|
| Performance in the Federal leader's debate- General | 26% |
| Changed position in regards to gun policy/ban on guns -General | 13% |
| His plans/platform/policies for Canada | 6% |
| Media - TV/radio - general | 5% |
| Lack of clarity on plans/dodging questions | 5% |
| Childcare/Daycare Plan | 4% |
| Positive - general | 2% |
| Economic plans | 2% |
| His (party) popularity is rising in polls | 2% |
| Negative - general | 2% |
| COVID-19/vaccinations/passports - general | 2% |
| In favor of vaccines/passports | 2% |
| Criticizing Trudeau/Liberals | 1% |
| Would like to repeal climate change initiatives | 1% |
| Untrustworthy/lies | 1% |
| Pro-choice abortion stance/wishy washy | 1% |
| Plans/promise to balance budget | 1% |
| Campaigning appearance | 1% |
| Election/spending promises | 1% |
| Campaign ads | 1% |
| Similar platform to Liberals/copying/promises veering more Left to get votes | 1% |
| Opposes mandatory vaccines/lack of clarity | 1% |
| Other | 13% |
| Don't know | 2% |

## Impact by RSH

| | More fav. | No Difference | Less fav. | NET |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Performance in the Federal leader's debate- General | 29% | 45% | 27% | +2% |
| Changed position in regards to gun policy/ban on guns -General | 4% | 23% | 73% | -69% |

**Note**: 'No response' (1%) not shown

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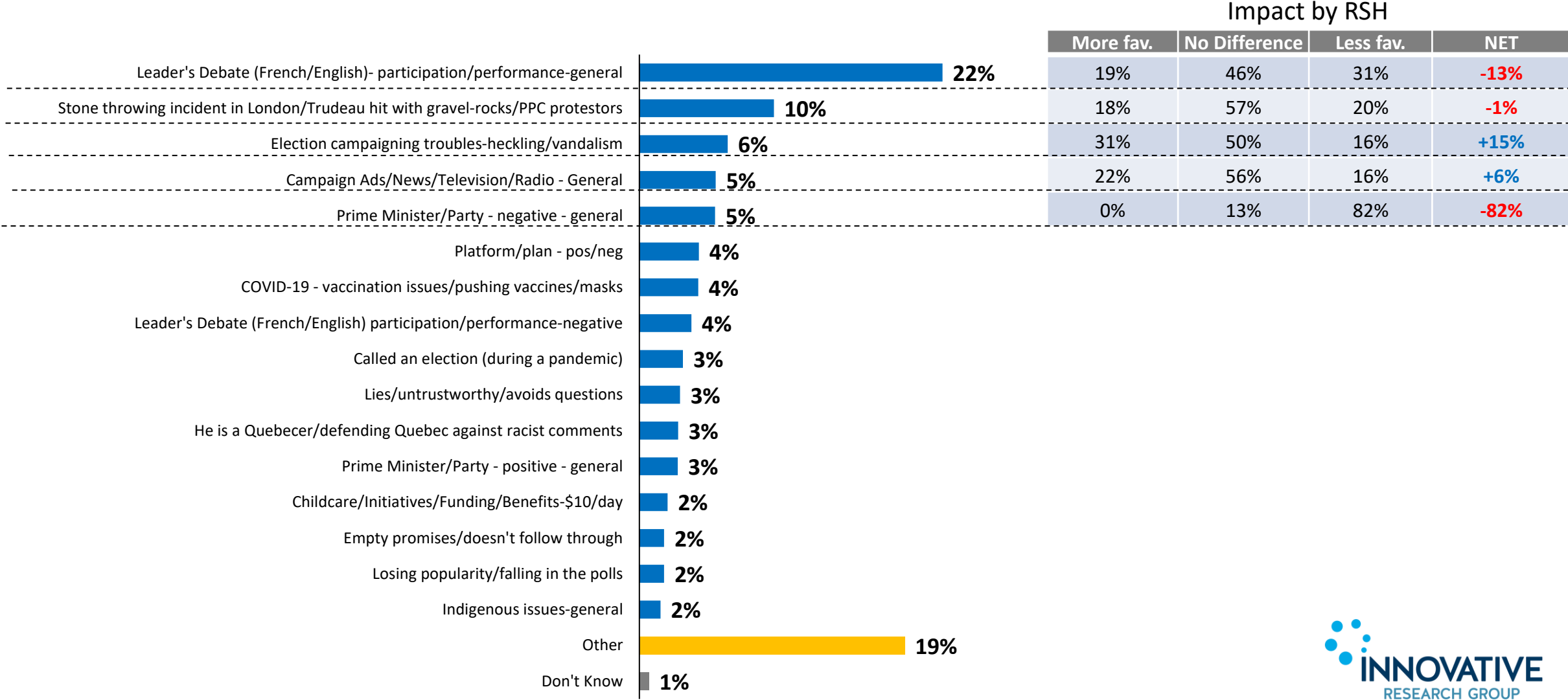# RSH Trudeau: The Liberals/Trudeau's performance in the debate is the top mention (22%) with a negative net impact of -13%

**Q** And what have you read, seen or hear about Justin Trudeau and the federal Liberal party? [OPEN END]
[Asked of those who have RSH; n=607]

## Impact by RSH

| | More fav. | No Difference | Less fav. | NET |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Leader's Debate (French/English)- participation/performance-general — **22%** | 19% | 46% | 31% | **-13%** |
| Stone throwing incident in London/Trudeau hit with gravel-rocks/PPC protestors — **10%** | 18% | 57% | 20% | **-1%** |
| Election campaigning troubles-heckling/vandalism — **6%** | 31% | 50% | 16% | **+15%** |
| Campaign Ads/News/Television/Radio - General — **5%** | 22% | 56% | 16% | **+6%** |
| Prime Minister/Party - negative - general — **5%** | 0% | 13% | 82% | **-82%** |

Platform/plan - pos/neg — **4%**

COVID-19 - vaccination issues/pushing vaccines/masks — **4%**

Leader's Debate (French/English) participation/performance-negative — **4%**

Called an election (during a pandemic) — **3%**

Lies/untrustworthy/avoids questions — **3%**

He is a Quebecer/defending Quebec against racist comments — **3%**

Prime Minister/Party - positive - general — **3%**

Childcare/Initiatives/Funding/Benefits-$10/day — **2%**

Empty promises/doesn't follow through — **2%**

Losing popularity/falling in the polls — **2%**

Indigenous issues-general — **2%**

Other — **19%**

Don't Know — **1%**

**Note**: 'No response' (<1%) not shown

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# Leadership

# Party Leader NET Favourables Tracking: The gap between the unfavourable views of O'Toole and the favourable views are wider

**Q** Now we are going to provide you with several names of public figures. Please indicate whether you have heard of that person and, if so, whether you have a favourable or unfavourable impression of that person. If you do not recognize the name, just indicate that.
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]



Legend: Liberal Leader — Conservative leader — NDP Leader — Bloc Leader
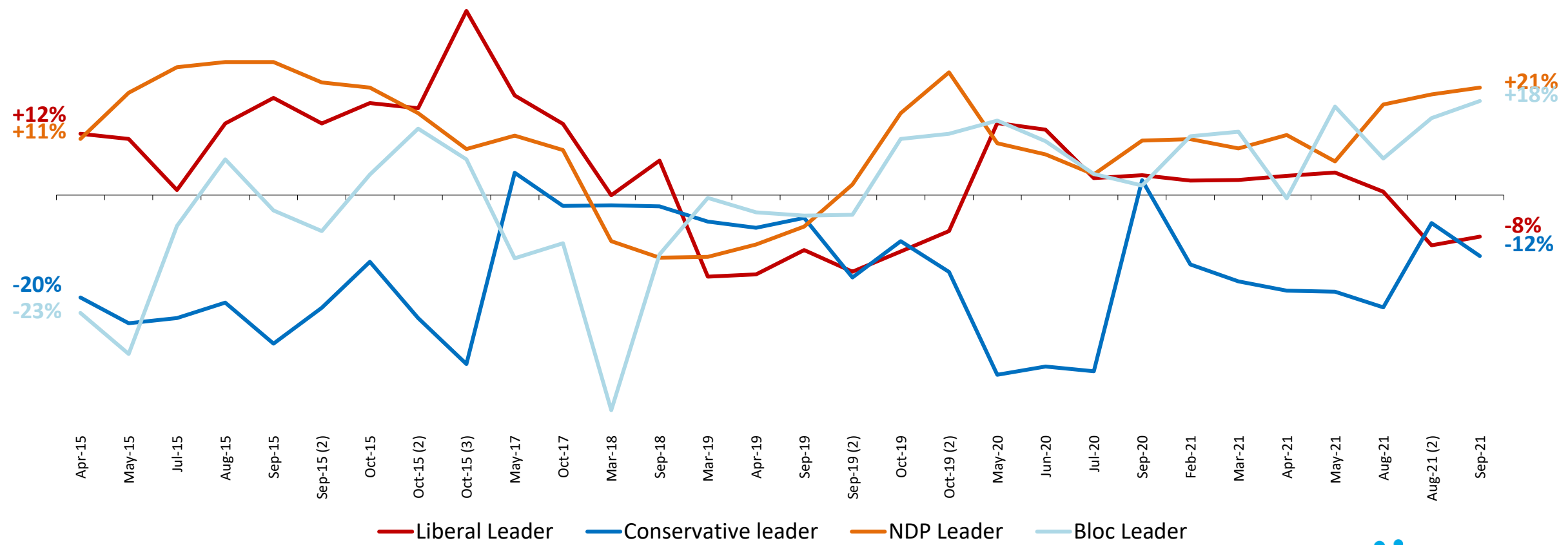
*Note:* Green Leader, People's Party Leader not shown.
Current data: September 2021
Note: Results for Yves-Francois Blanchet for Quebec respondents only

# Best Prime Minister Tracking: Trudeau remains the top choice for Prime Minister, steady since last wave of tracking

**Q** Which of the following party leaders would make the best Prime Minister of Canada?
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]



Liberal Leader ——— Conservative Leader ——— NDP Leader ——— Bloc Leader ——— Green Leader ——— PPC Leader ——— Maverick Leader

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Current data: September 2021
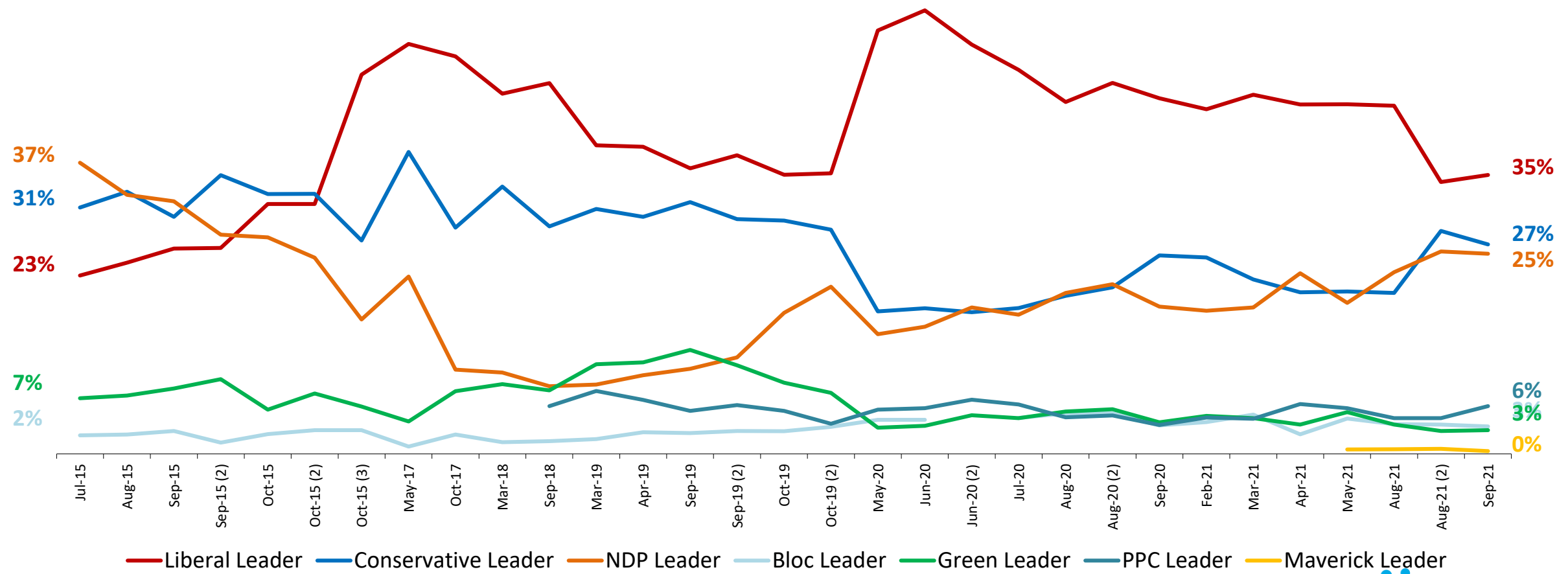
# Horserace

# Federal Combined Vote: Among those who have already voted, the Liberals and Conservatives nearly are tied

**Q** **[RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE ALREADY VOTED]** And which party did you vote for?
[asked of all respondents who have not voted yet; n=301]

**Q** **[RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE NOT YET VOTED]** If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly? **[Vote + Lean]**
[asked of all respondents who have not voted yet; n=2,099]

| Party | Already Voted |
|---|---|
| Conservative | 35% |
| Liberal | 34% |
| NDP | 19% |
| Bloc | 7% |
| Green | 1% |
| Peoples Party | 2% |
| Maverick Party | 0% |
| Other | 0% |
| Undecided DK | 1% |

| Party | Not Yet Voted |
|---|---|
| Conservative | 24% |
| Liberal | 29% |
| NDP | 20% |
| Bloc | 6% |
| Green | 4% |
| Peoples Party | 4% |
| Maverick Party | 0% |
| Other | 1% |
| Undecided DK | 9% |
| Would not vote None | 3% |

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Current data: September 2021

# Federal Vote Tracking: The Liberals are up this week, while the Conservatives and the NDP are steady

**Q** **[RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE ALREADY VOTED]** And which party did you vote for? OR
**[RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE NOT YET VOTED]** If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean towar
slightly? **[Vote + Lean]**
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]



Conservative — Liberal — NDP — Bloc — Green — Other — Undecided DK — Would not vote/None

Current data: September 2021

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# Federal Decided Vote Tracking: The Liberals still lead (33%), while the Conservatives (28%) and NDP (22%) continue to trail

**Q** **[RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE ALREADY VOTED]** And which party did you vote for? OR
**[RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE NOT YET VOTED]** If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly?**[DECIDED]**
[only decided voters; n=2026]



Conservative — Liberal — NDP — Bloc — Green — Other

Current data: September 2021

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# Decided Federal Vote by Region: Conservatives down from 2019 in most regions, NDP gains in BC, AB, ON and Atlantic

**Q** **[RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE ALREADY VOTED]** And which party did you vote for? OR
**[RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE NOT YET VOTED]** If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly? **[DECIDED]**
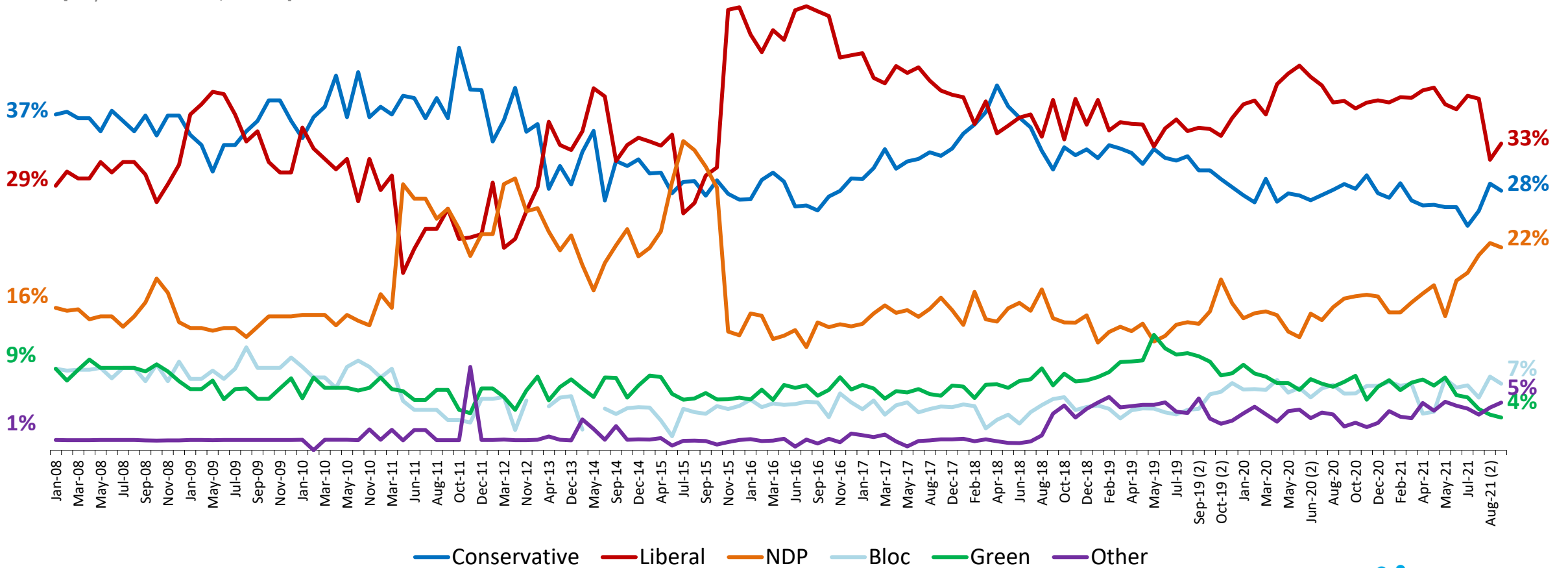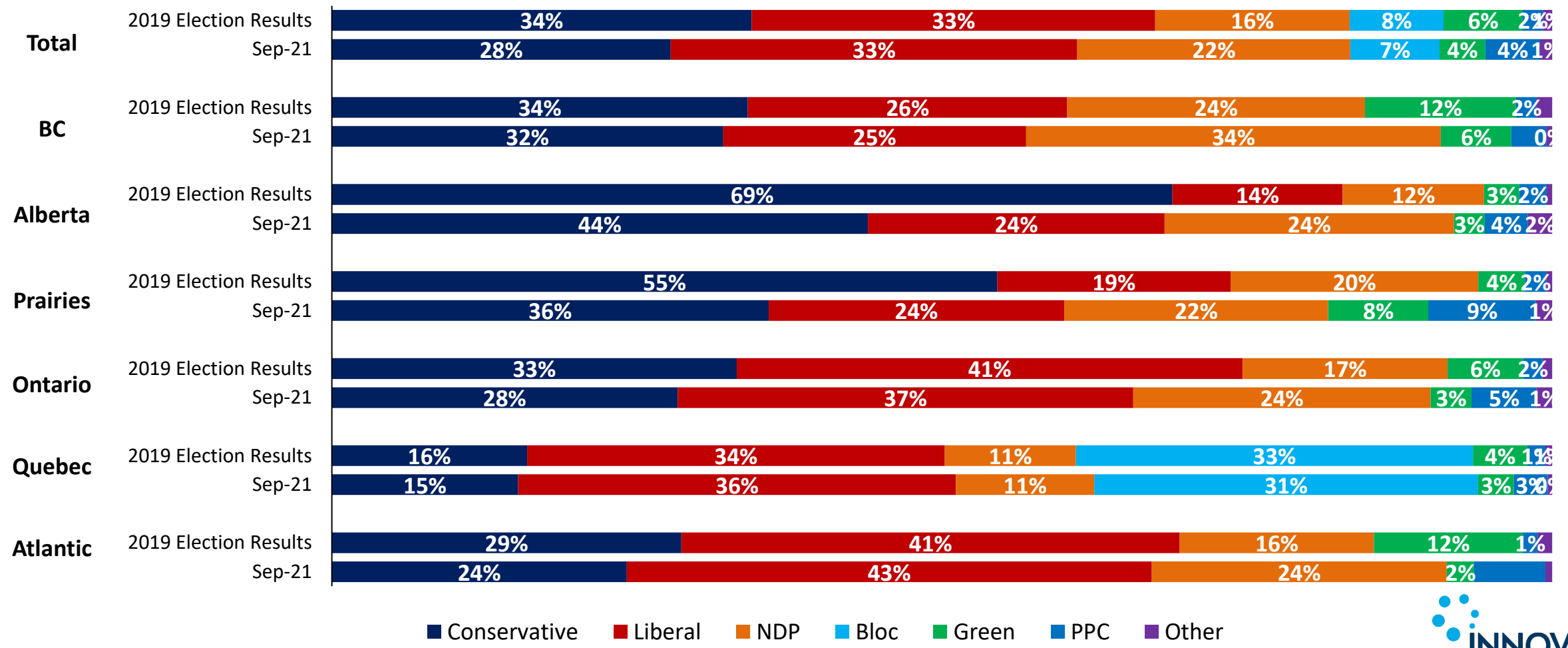[asked of all respondents who voted in federal election; n=2,026]

| Region | | Conservative | Liberal | NDP | Bloc | Green | PPC | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total** | 2019 Election Results | 34% | 33% | 16% | 8% | 6% | | 2% |
| | Sep-21 | 28% | 33% | 22% | 7% | 4% | 4% | 1% |
| **BC** | 2019 Election Results | 34% | 26% | 24% | | 12% | | 2% |
| | Sep-21 | 32% | 25% | 34% | | 6% | | 0% |
| **Alberta** | 2019 Election Results | 69% | 14% | 12% | | 3% | 2% | |
| | Sep-21 | 44% | 24% | 24% | | 3% | 4% | 2% |
| **Prairies** | 2019 Election Results | 55% | 19% | 20% | | 4% | 2% | |
| | Sep-21 | 36% | 24% | 22% | | 8% | 9% | 1% |
| **Ontario** | 2019 Election Results | 33% | 41% | 17% | | 6% | | 2% |
| | Sep-21 | 28% | 37% | 24% | | 3% | 5% | 1% |
| **Quebec** | 2019 Election Results | 16% | 34% | 11% | 33% | 4% | | 1% |
| | Sep-21 | 15% | 36% | 11% | 31% | 3% | 3% | 0% |
| **Atlantic** | 2019 Election Results | 29% | 41% | 16% | | 12% | | 1% |
| | Sep-21 | 24% | 43% | 24% | | 2% | | |

Legend: ■ Conservative ■ Liberal ■ NDP ■ Bloc ■ Green ■ PPC ■ Other

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# Satisficing Tracking: Voters are now are more likely to have made up their minds now than at start of campaign

**Q** Which statement is closest to your view about the upcoming federal election?
[asked of all respondents who have not yet voted; n=2,099]
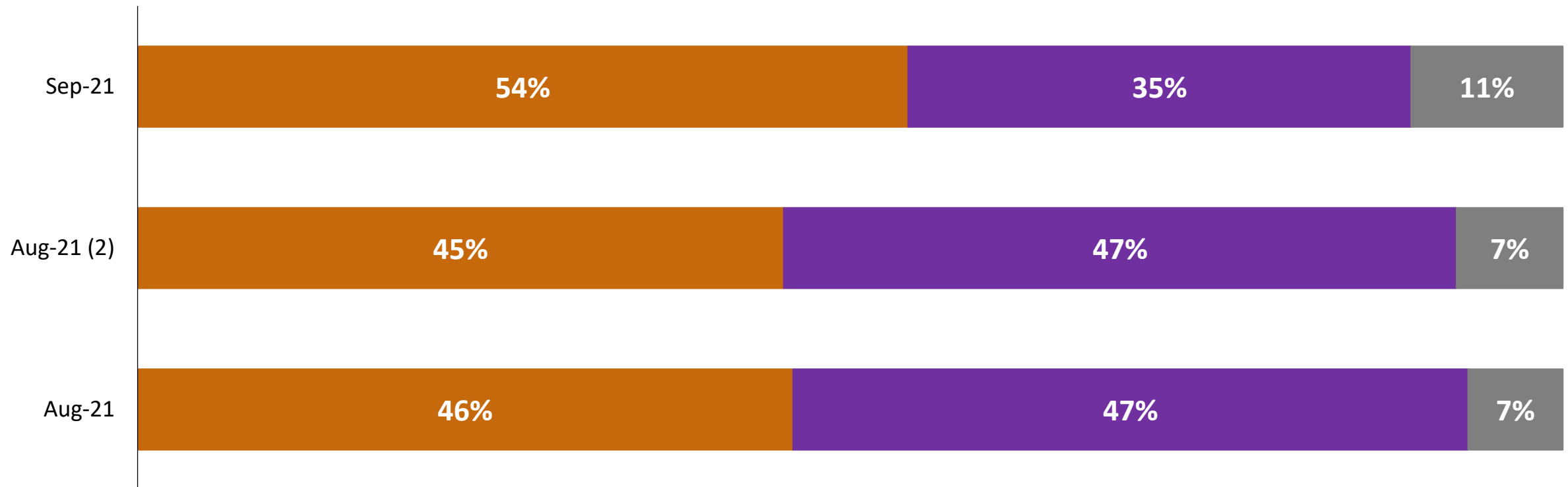


| | I have heard all I need | I would like to hear more | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sep-21 | 54% | 35% | 11% |
| Aug-21 (2) | 45% | 47% | 7% |
| Aug-21 | 46% | 47% | 7% |

■ I have heard all I need to make up my mind in this election

■ I would like to hear more before I finally make up my mind in this election

■ Don't know

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Current data: September 2021

# Firmness of Vote: Conservative, Liberal, Bloc, and other voters are the most likely to say they have heard everything they need to hear

Which statement is closest to your view about the upcoming federal election BY [Vote+Lean]

|  | First Choice | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Satisficing | **Conservative 1st Choice** (N=506) | **Liberal 1st Choice** (N=617) | **NDP 1st Choice** (N=420) | **Bloc 1st Choice** (N=136) | **Green 1st Choice** (N=75) | **Other 1st Choice** (N=103) |
| **I have heard all I need to make up my mind in this election** | 63% | 61% | 53% | 57% | 42% | 69% |
| **I would like to hear more before I finally make up my mind in this election** | 33% | 34% | 38% | 32% | 42% | 25% |
| **Don't know** | 4% | 5% | 9% | 10% | 15% | 6% |

Current data: September 2021

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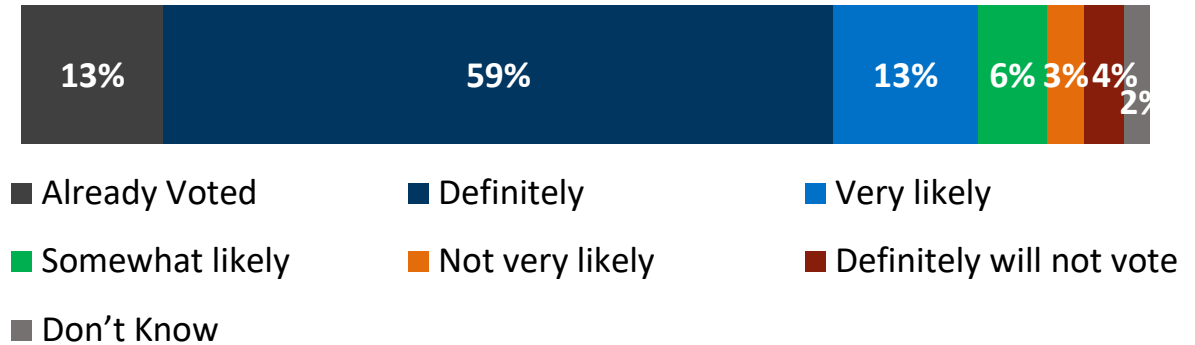# Measuring the Impact of Turnout on the Election Results

- Because turnout can impact the final election results, we also look at voting intention within groups of people that are more likely to turn up at the polling stations.
- The factors we use to measure likelihood to turn out are: 1) Their stated likelihood to vote; 2) Whether they've made up their mind; and 3) Whether they voted in 2019.

**Q** How likely are you to vote in the upcoming Canadian federal election?
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

| 13% | 59% | 13% | 6% | 3% | 4% | 2% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

- ■ Already Voted
- ■ Definitely
- ■ Very likely
- ■ Somewhat likely
- ■ Not very likely
- ■ Definitely will not vote
- ■ Don't Know

**Q** Which statement is closest to your view about the upcoming federal election?
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

**Q** Thinking back to 2019, did you happen to vote in the federal election...?
[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

| 54% | 35% | 11% |
|---|---|---|

- ■ I have heard all I need to make up my mind in this election
- ■ I would like to hear more before I finally make up my mind in this election
- ■ Don't know

| 80% | 15% | 5% |
|---|---|---|

- ■ Yes
- ■ No
- ■ Can't recall

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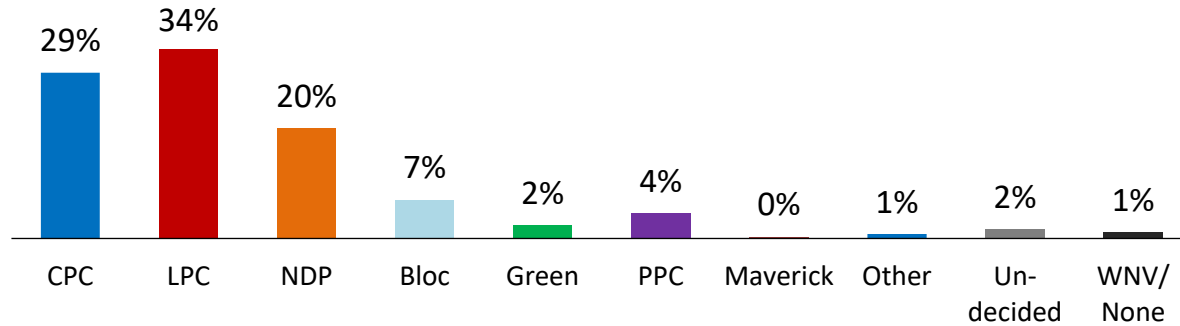
# Measuring the Impact of Turnout on the Election Results: Liberals are highest in all scenarios

## Combined vote: Overall

[asked of all respondents; n=2400]

| CPC | LPC | NDP | Bloc | Green | PPC | Maverick | Other | Un-decided | WNV/None |
|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-----|----------|-------|-----------|----------|
| 29% | 34% | 20% | 7%   | 2%    | 4%  | 0%       | 1%    | 2%        | 1%       |

## Combined vote: Definitely going to vote or already voted

[asked of all respondents; n=1542]

| CPC | LPC | NDP | Bloc | Green | PPC | Maverick | Other | Un-decided | WNV/None |
|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-----|----------|-------|-----------|----------|
| 28% | 33% | 21% | 7%   | 2%    | 4%  | 0%       | 1%    | 4%        | 0%       |
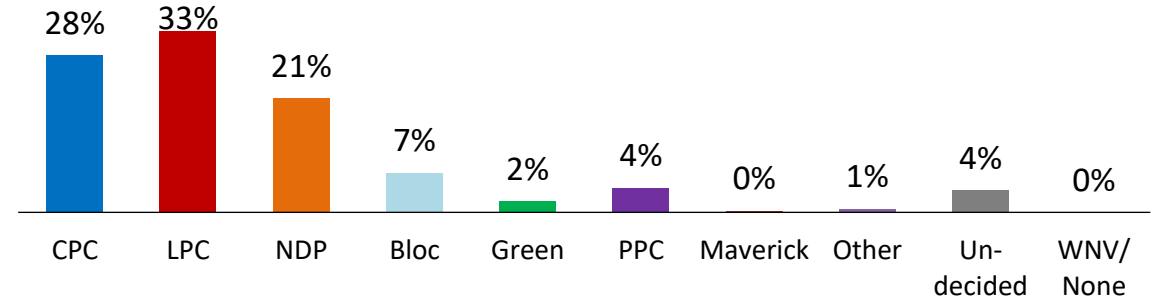
## Combined vote: Made up their minds

[asked of all respondents; n=1800]

| CPC | LPC | NDP | Bloc | Green | PPC | Maverick | Other | Un-decided | WNV/None |
|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-----|----------|-------|-----------|----------|
| 29% | 34% | 20% | 7%   | 2%    | 4%  | 0%       | 1%    | 2%        | 1%       |
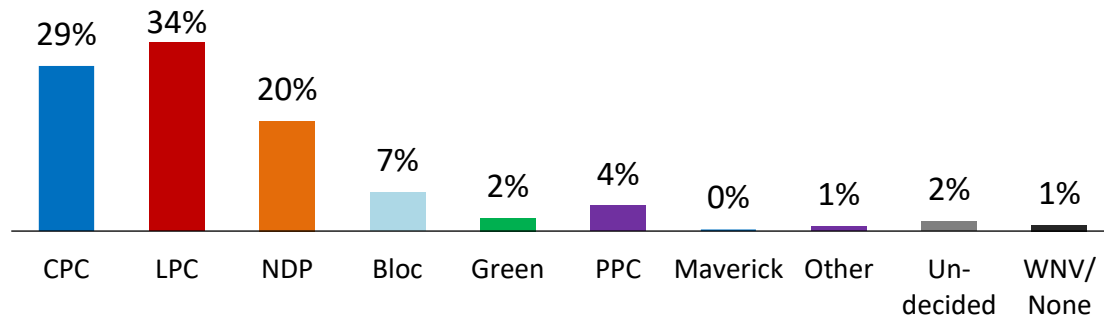
## Combined vote: Voted in 2019

[asked of all respondents; n=1905]

| CPC | LPC | NDP | Bloc | Green | PPC | Maverick | Other | Un-decided | WNV/None |
|-----|-----|-----|------|-------|-----|----------|-------|-----------|----------|
| 28% | 32% | 19% | 7%   | 2%    | 4%  | 0%       | 1%    | 5%        | 1%       |

Current data: September 2021

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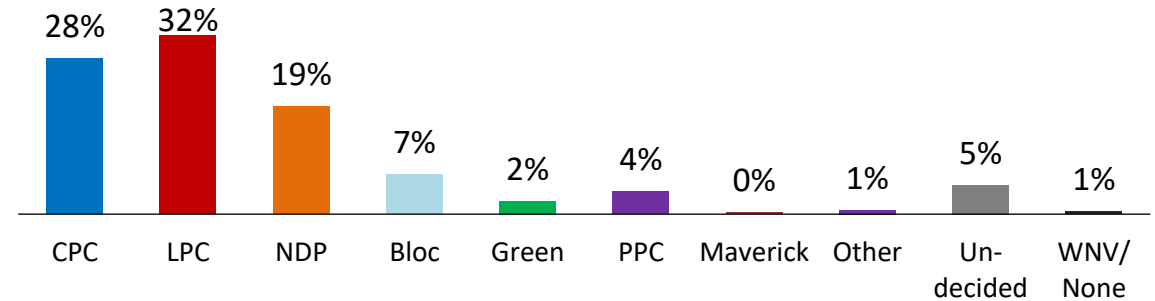
# What Next: COVID-19

# COVID-19 Handling Tracking: Approval of the federal government's handling of the pandemic is down since July

**% who approve** of government's handling of the COVID-19 outbreak: Federal vs. Provincial
[asked of all respondents; n=1,200]

# Federal Restrictions: Nearly 2-in-5 (39%) think federal restrictions are "about right"; 34% think "too loose"

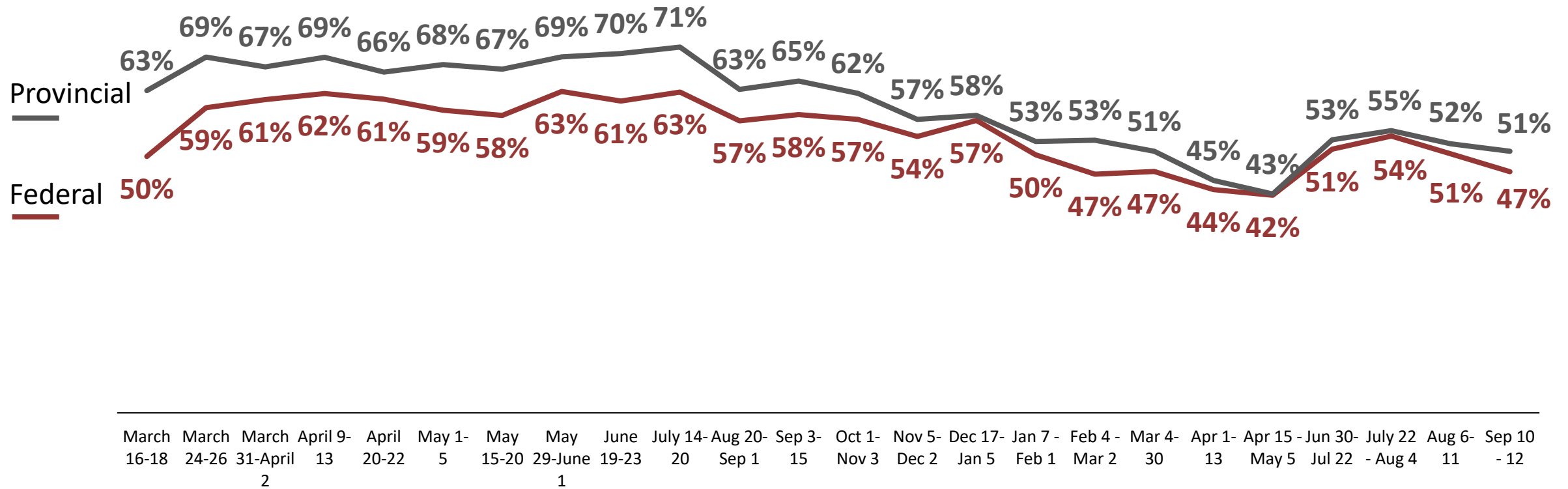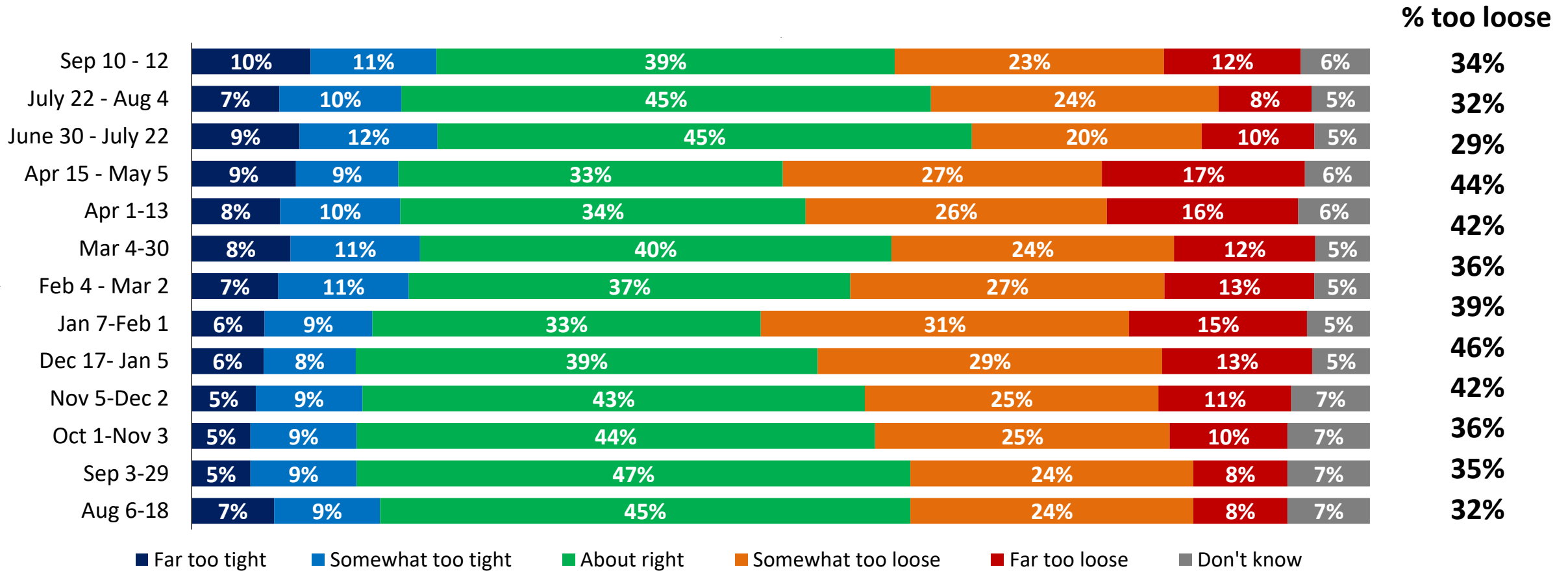**Q** Now, thinking about the restrictions the federal government currently has in place to reduce social contacts and combat the spread of COVID-19, do you think the restrictions are too tight, too loose, or are they about right?
[asked of all respondents; n=1,200]

**% too loose**

| Date | Far too tight | Somewhat too tight | About right | Somewhat too loose | Far too loose | Don't know | % too loose |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sep 10 - 12 | 10% | 11% | 39% | 23% | 12% | 6% | **34%** |
| July 22 - Aug 4 | 7% | 10% | 45% | 24% | 8% | 5% | **32%** |
| June 30 - July 22 | 9% | 12% | 45% | 20% | 10% | 5% | **29%** |
| Apr 15 - May 5 | 9% | 9% | 33% | 27% | 17% | 6% | **44%** |
| Apr 1-13 | 8% | 10% | 34% | 26% | 16% | 6% | **42%** |
| Mar 4-30 | 8% | 11% | 40% | 24% | 12% | 5% | **36%** |
| Feb 4 - Mar 2 | 7% | 11% | 37% | 27% | 13% | 5% | **39%** |
| Jan 7-Feb 1 | 6% | 9% | 33% | 31% | 15% | 5% | **46%** |
| Dec 17- Jan 5 | 6% | 8% | 39% | 29% | 13% | 5% | **42%** |
| Nov 5-Dec 2 | 5% | 9% | 43% | 25% | 11% | 7% | **36%** |
| Oct 1-Nov 3 | 5% | 9% | 44% | 25% | 10% | 7% | **35%** |
| Sep 3-29 | 5% | 9% | 47% | 24% | 8% | 7% | **32%** |
| Aug 6-18 | 7% | 9% | 45% | 24% | 8% | 7% | |

■ Far too tight　■ Somewhat too tight　■ About right　■ Somewhat too loose　■ Far too loose　■ Don't know

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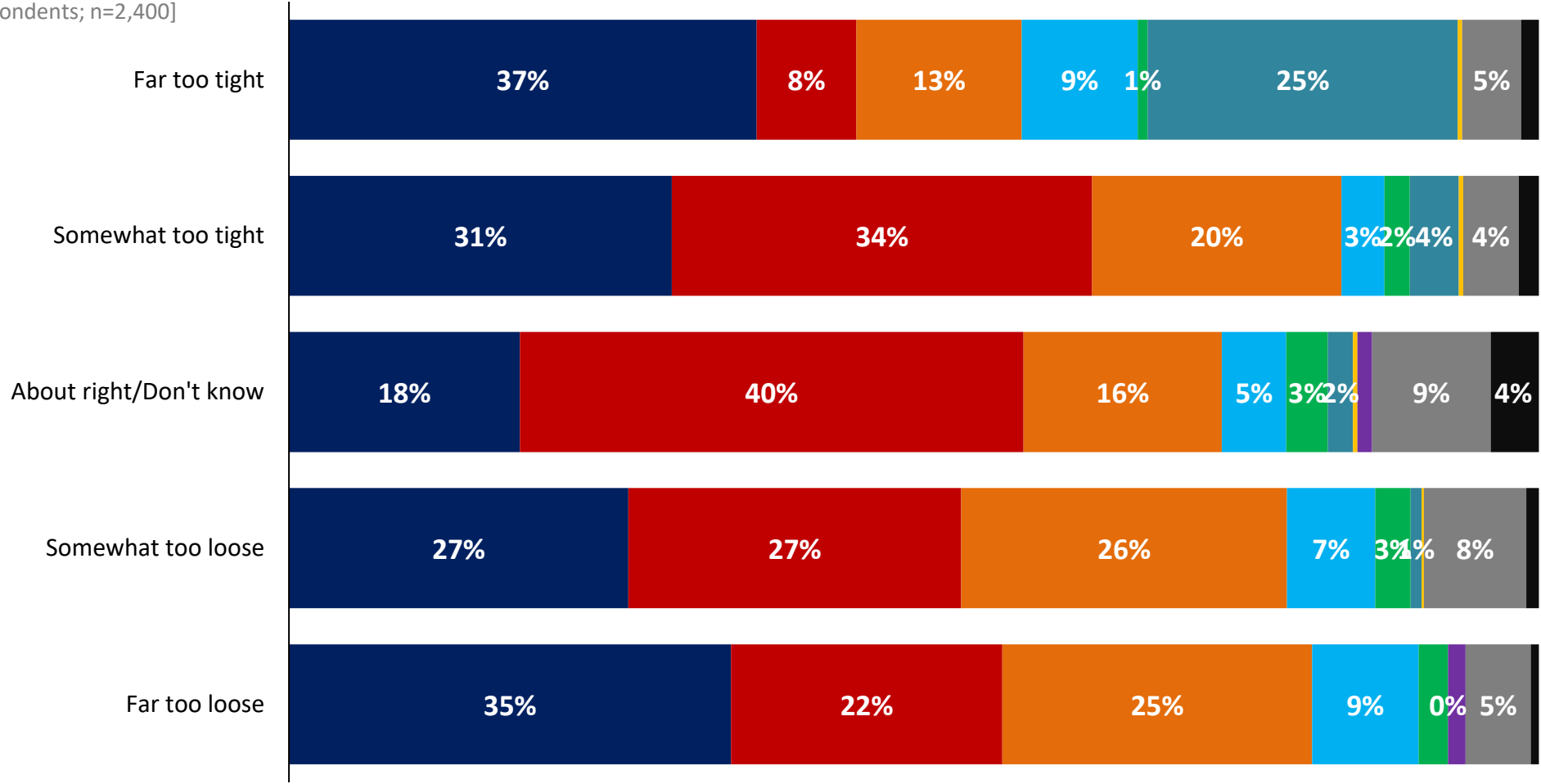
Current data: September 2021

# Federal Restrictions: 25% of those who say restrictions are far too tight would vote for the People's Party of Canada

Q Combined Vote BY *Now, thinking about the restrictions the federal government currently has in place to reduce social contacts and combat the spread of COVID-19, do you think the restrictions are too tight, too loose, or are they about right?*
[asked of all respondents; n=2,400]



**Dyou think the restrictions are too tight, too loose, or are they about right?**

| | Conservative | Liberal | NDP | Bloc | Green | Peoples Party | Maverick Party | Other | Undecided | Would not vote |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Far too tight | 37% | 8% | 13% | 9% | 1% | 25% | | | 5% | |
| Somewhat too tight | 31% | 34% | 20% | 3% | 2% | 4% | | | 4% | |
| About right/Don't know | 18% | 40% | 16% | 5% | 3% | 2% | | | 9% | 4% |
| Somewhat too loose | 27% | 27% | 26% | 7% | 3% | 1% | | | 8% | |
| Far too loose | 35% | 22% | 25% | 9% | 0% | | | | 5% | |

Legend: Conservative, Liberal, NDP, Bloc, Green, Peoples Party, Maverick Party, Other, Undecided, Would not vote

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# What Next: Expectations

# Attitude Tracking: Most voters see election as two horse race, fear of Conservatives down
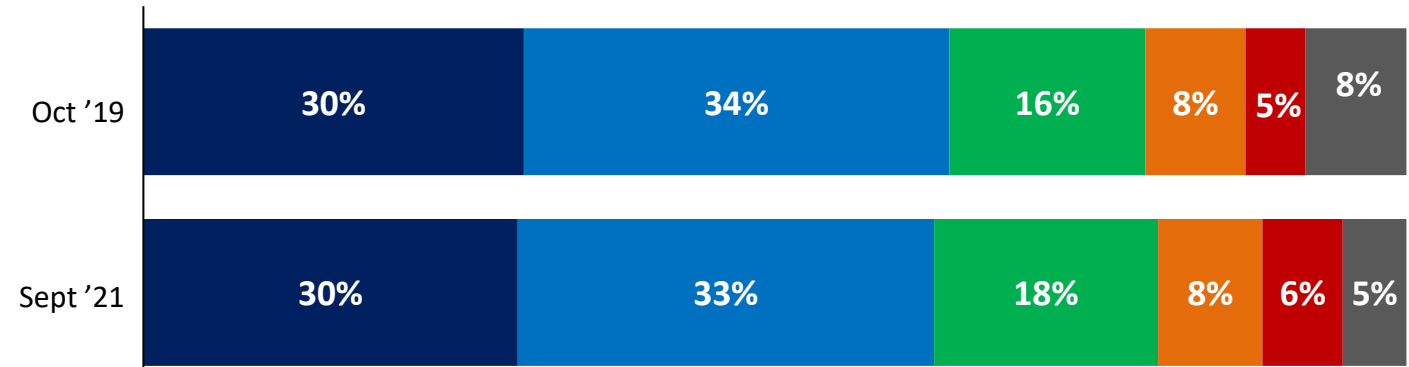
**Q** **Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?**
[asked of all respondents; n=2,400]

**Net Agreement**

This election is really a two-horse race, only the Liberal and the Conservatives have a real chance of forming government

| | Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know | Net Agreement |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '19 | 30% | 34% | 16% | 8% | 5% | 8% | +51% |
| Sept '21 | 30% | 33% | 18% | 8% | 6% | 5% | +48% |

The most important thing in this election is to keep the Conservatives out of government
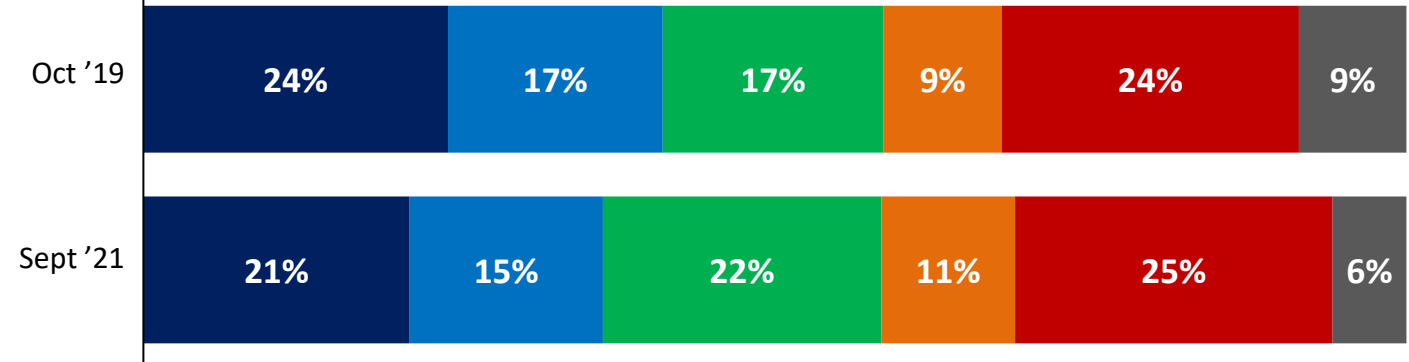
| | Strongly agree | Somewhat agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Somewhat disagree | Strongly disagree | Don't know | Net Agreement |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Oct '19 | 24% | 17% | 17% | 9% | 24% | 9% | +8% |
| Sept '21 | 21% | 15% | 22% | 11% | 25% | 6% | +1% |

■ Strongly agree   ■ Somewhat agree   ■ Neither agree nor disagree   ■ Somewhat disagree   ■ Strongly disagree   ■ Don't know

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# Deferential Conservative Vote: CPC holds gains among Deferential Conservative voters

**Q** If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly? **[Vote + Lean]**
[asked of all respondents; n=268]



Legend: Conservative — Liberal — NDP — Bloc — Green — Other — Undecided/WNV

Current data: September 2021

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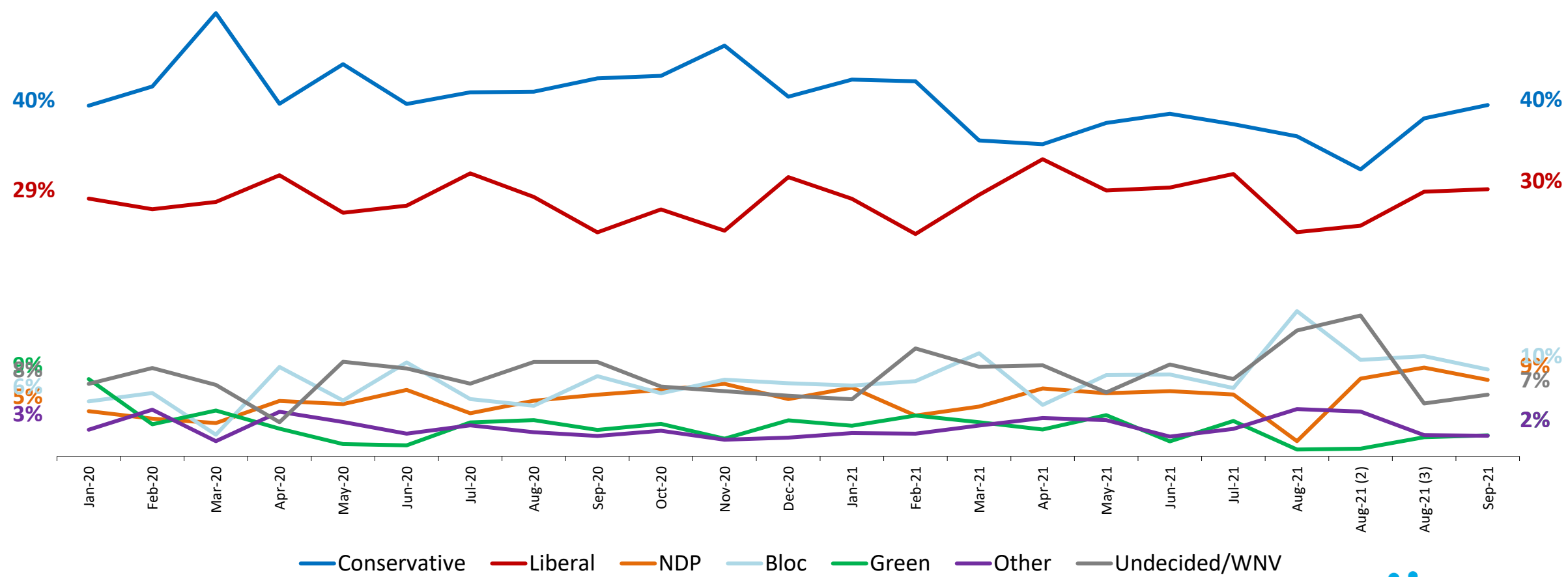
# Business Liberal Vote: Conservatives hold gains among Business Liberals

**Q** If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly? **[Vote + Lean]**
[asked of all respondents; n=568]



Legend: Conservative — Liberal — NDP — Bloc — Green — Other — Undecided/WNV

Current data: September 2021

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# Dream Struggler Vote: Strugglers' support for the Conservatives has surpassed the Liberals for the first time since May '21
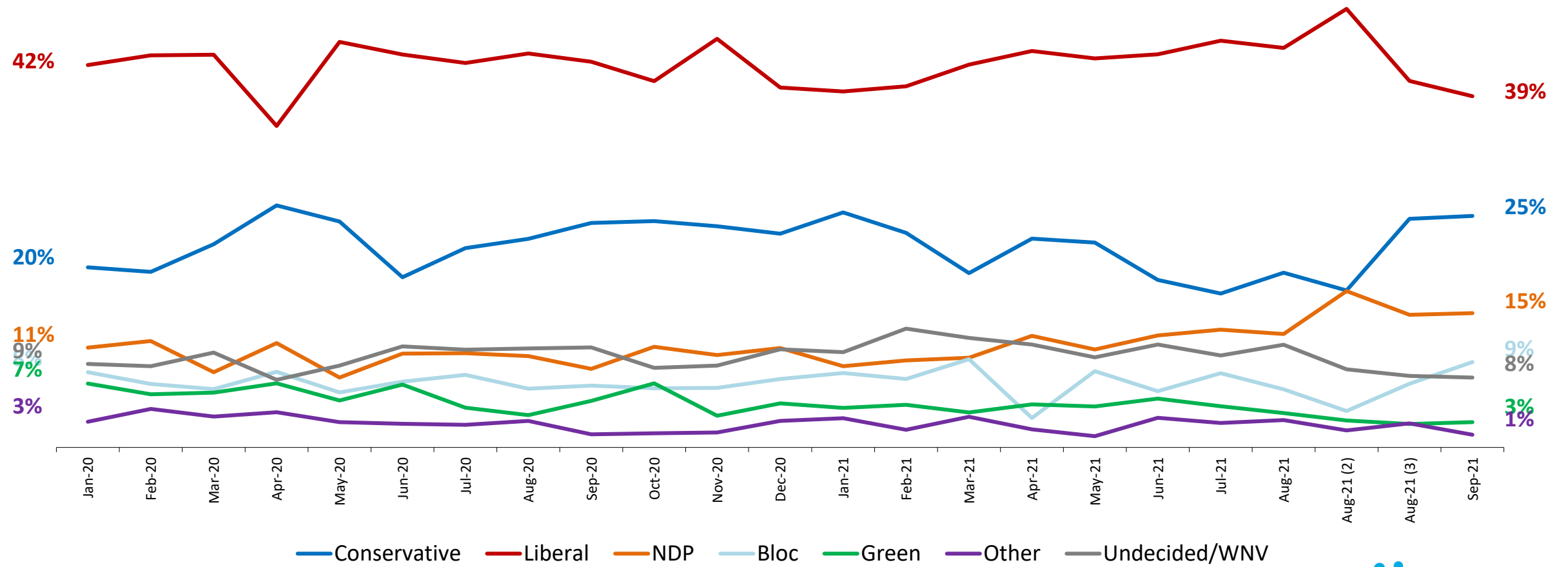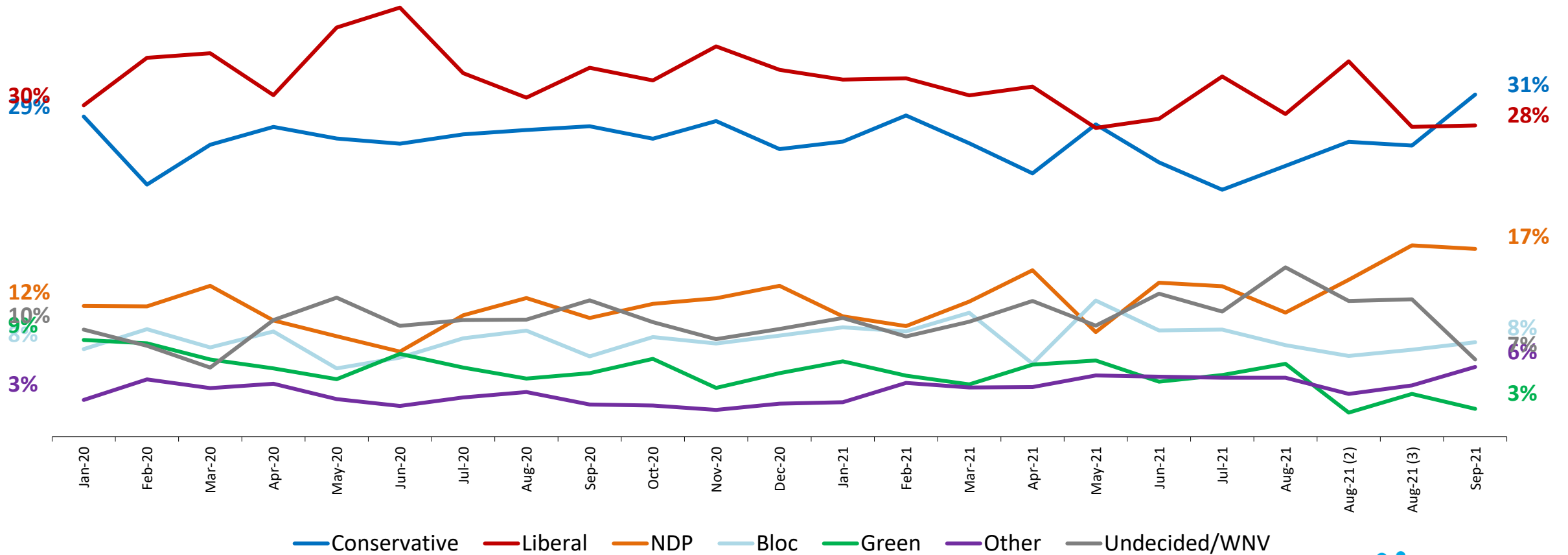
**Q** If a federal election were held today, which party would you vote for? In that case, which party do you lean toward slightly? **[Vote + Lean]**
[asked of all respondents; n=753]



Conservative · Liberal · NDP · Bloc · Green · Other · Undecided/WNV

Current data: September 2021

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# A LPC Government: The Liberals stand out on women's rights, gun violence, COVID-19 and climate change

**Q** If the Liberal Party of Canada were to form government, do you think they would make things better or worse on each of the following issues?
[Asked of all respondents, n=1,200]

| Issue | Much better | Somewhat better | No difference | Somewhat worse | Much worse | Don't know | Better | Net Better |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Women's rights | 10% | 22% | 39% | 8% | 12% | 9% | 32% | +12% |
| Gun violence | 12% | 21% | 36% | 8% | 14% | 9% | 33% | +11% |
| Containing further waves of COVID-19 | 13% | 21% | 33% | 9% | 15% | 9% | 34% | +10% |
| Climate change | 11% | 21% | 37% | 8% | 14% | 8% | 32% | +10% |
| Economic recovery from the Pandemic | 11% | 21% | 28% | 13% | 18% | 9% | 32% | +1% |
| Making housing more affordable | 9% | 20% | 34% | 12% | 16% | 9% | 29% | +1% |
| Helping people like you make ends meet | 9% | 22% | 31% | 12% | 19% | 8% | 31% | +1% |
| Helping people like you get ahead | 9% | 19% | 35% | 11% | 18% | 8% | 28% | -1% |
| Balancing the budget | 6% | 14% | 33% | 15% | 23% | 9% | 20% | -18% |

■ Much better　■ Somewhat better　■ No difference　■ Somewhat worse　■ Much worse　■ Don't know

**Note**: Net Better is calculated by the sum of much better and somewhat better *minus* the sum of much worse and somewhat worse.

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# A CPC Government: 4-in-10 (39%) say a CPC government would make things better when it comes to balancing the budget

**Q** If the Conservative Party of Canada were to form government, do you think they would make things better or worse on each of the following issues?
[Asked of all respondents, n=1,200]
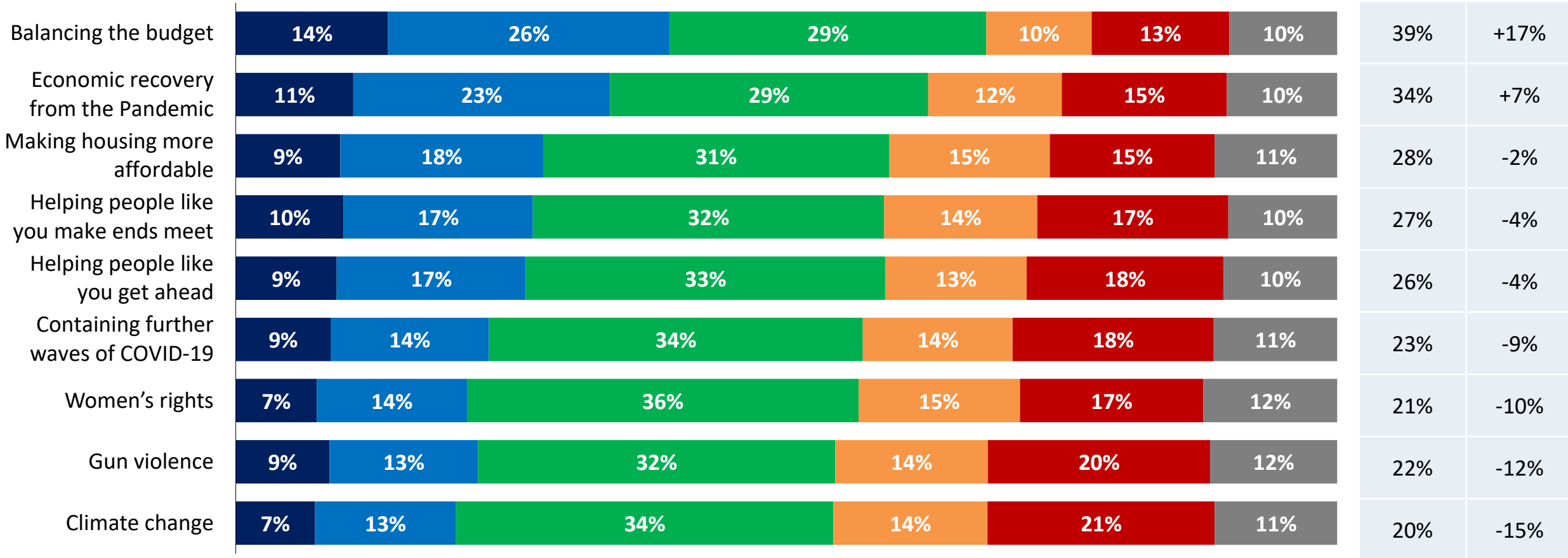
| Issue | Much better | Somewhat better | No difference | Somewhat worse | Much worse | Don't know | Better | Net Better |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balancing the budget | 14% | 26% | 29% | 10% | 13% | 10% | 39% | +17% |
| Economic recovery from the Pandemic | 11% | 23% | 29% | 12% | 15% | 10% | 34% | +7% |
| Making housing more affordable | 9% | 18% | 31% | 15% | 15% | 11% | 28% | -2% |
| Helping people like you make ends meet | 10% | 17% | 32% | 14% | 17% | 10% | 27% | -4% |
| Helping people like you get ahead | 9% | 17% | 33% | 13% | 18% | 10% | 26% | -4% |
| Containing further waves of COVID-19 | 9% | 14% | 34% | 14% | 18% | 11% | 23% | -9% |
| Women's rights | 7% | 14% | 36% | 15% | 17% | 12% | 21% | -10% |
| Gun violence | 9% | 13% | 32% | 14% | 20% | 12% | 22% | -12% |
| Climate change | 7% | 13% | 34% | 14% | 21% | 11% | 20% | -15% |

■ Much better ■ Somewhat better ■ No difference ■ Somewhat worse ■ Much worse ■ Don't know

**Note**: Net Better is calculated by the sum of much better and somewhat better *minus* the sum of much worse and somewhat worse.
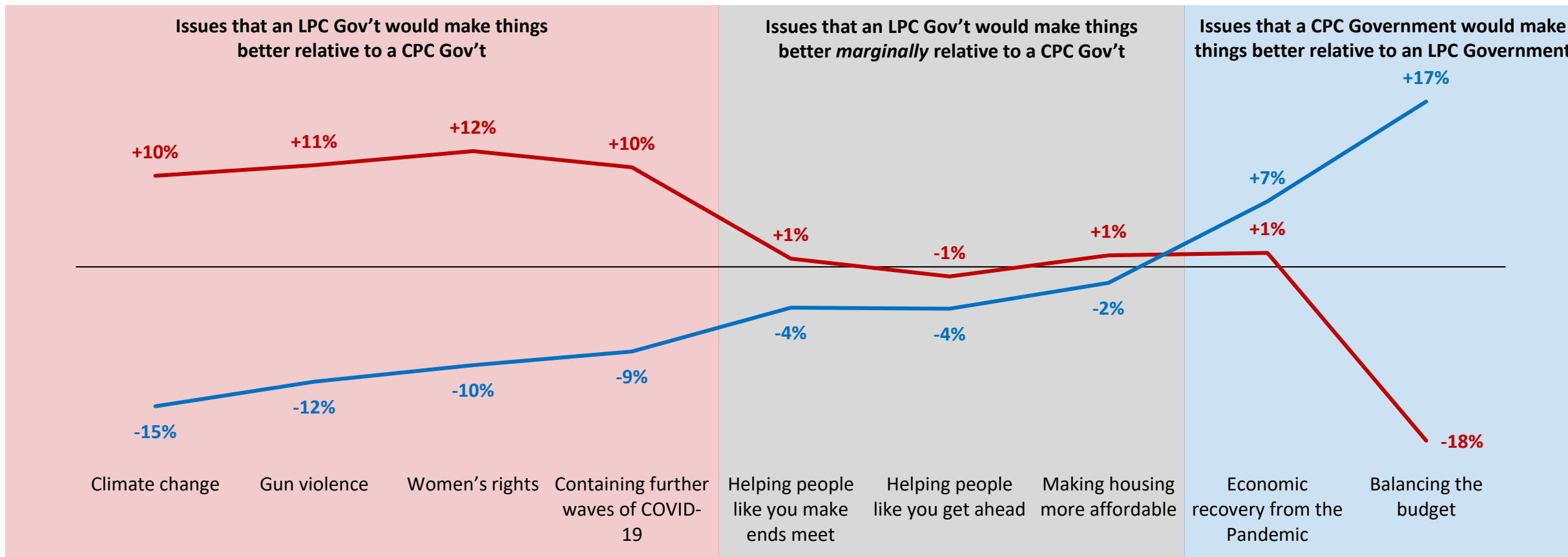
INNOVATIVE RESEARCH GROUP

# LPC vs CPC Gov't: A LPC Gov't would make things better on climate change, gun violence, women's rights, and containing COVID

**Q** If the Liberal/Conservative Party of Canada were to form government, do you think they would make things better or worse on each of the following issues?
[Asked of all respondents, n=1,200]

**Net Better Score**



Issues that an LPC Gov't would make things better relative to a CPC Gov't

Issues that an LPC Gov't would make things better *marginally* relative to a CPC Gov't

Issues that a CPC Government would make things better relative to an LPC Government

LPC Government values: +10%, +11%, +12%, +10%, +1%, -1%, +1%, +1%, -18%

CPC Government values: -15%, -12%, -10%, -9%, -4%, -4%, -2%, +7%, +17%

Categories: Climate change | Gun violence | Women's rights | Containing further waves of COVID-19 | Helping people like you make ends meet | Helping people like you get ahead | Making housing more affordable | Economic recovery from the Pandemic | Balancing the budget

—— An LPC Government    —— A CPC Government

**Note**: Net Better is calculated by the sum of much better and somewhat better *minus* the sum of much worse and somewhat worse.

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