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# A Report To The Globe and Mail and CTV

Impact of the Release of the Gomery Report

November 4, 2005





### Introduction and Methodology

- Gregg, Kelly, Sullivan & Woolstencroft: The Strategic Counsel is pleased to present findings of The Globe and Mail/CTV November Polling Program.
- The findings are based on interviews conducted by telephone among a weighted national sample of 1000 adult Canadians 18 years of age or older.
- The interviews were conducted between November 2nd and November 3rd, 2005.
- ◆ A sample of 1,000 yields a margin of error of +/- 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.
- Note: Due to rounding, proportions may not total 100%.







- ◆ (At least for the moment), the "Gomery Effect" has once again changed the political landscape in Canada. Only a few days following its issuance, almost 70% of Canadians have heard at least "a fair amount", if not "a great deal", about the Report. Consequently, sponsorship and scandal (16%) is, once again, second only to health care (24%) as the most important issue heading into the next election.
- ♦ While a small majority (52%) claimed that the Report was about "as (they) expected", twice as many claim the results were "worse" (28%) rather than "better" (13%) than they expected. In the province of Quebec, the report had even a greater and more polarizing impact, with 6 in 10 claiming they had heard a "great deal" and more voters than in the ROC likely to say its findings were both "worse" and "better" than they expected. The end result is that this "effect", once again, has been sufficient to cause Liberal support to slide and Opposition support to climb.
- ◆ Within the margins of error, the Conservatives (31%) and the Liberals (28%) are now tied. While Liberal support has eroded in all regions, each of the three opposition parties have picked up enough votes among key constituencies that they may be enticed to bring the government down soon.
- The Conservatives now dominate the Prairies (57%) and more importantly have picked up support in Ontario (35%) (where they are now virtually tied with the Liberals) and in larger towns. While they are still running third in 1 million plus population centers, this more urban/Ontario skew to their vote would undoubtedly improve their seat standing.







- The NDP has closed the gender gap (among men) that was evident in our last poll and now lead in the competitive province of B.C. They have also recovered ground in the major metropolitan centers and Atlantic and Western Canada. (As we will see, they may be the biggest, albeit unwitting, beneficiary of the scandal issue).
- ◆ The BQ now holds almost 60% of the popular vote in Quebec, virtually guaranteeing victory in all francophone seats.
- ◆ The lesson for the Opposition parties should now be clear when this issue is in the forefront of voter's minds, they win; when it recedes, voters (especially in Ontario) tend to shift back to their more comfortable alliance with the Liberals. The question for them therefore becomes do they believe they can sustain this issue into the future; for as we have seen in the past, these concerns tend to dissipate as time passes.
- The heart of the Liberals' problem is that the population simply does not believe Gomery's major conclusions. Sixty percent do not believe that Martin was not involved and an even larger number (71%) feel he must be held accountable. In fact, these views are held in every region and across every category analyzed including age, income, gender, and community size. Only current Liberal voters believe he was not involved and should not be held accountable for the events that transpired, but even among these loyalists almost 4 in 10 disagree.







- ◆ Not only do voters have misgivings about Martin's past involvement, they also seem unprepared to extend the benefit of the doubt to him now. If fact, rather than believing his recent actions demonstrate that he has accepted responsibility for fixing these problems, twice as many see his actions as "a desperate attempt to cling to power" (62%). This view prevails in every region of the country but is particularly pronounced in the Prairies (72%).
- ◆ While only a minority are willing to exonerate Martin, voters seem to be somewhat more forgiving to the Liberal Party. A slight majority (58%) believe that the wrong doing was carried out by only "a few individuals" a view that is found in equal measure in Quebec (62%).
- ◆ The small ray of hope for the Liberals in this poll is that Canadians still do not have much of an appetite for an election. Almost two-thirds (63%) still find Martin's offer to call an election after Gomery's final report more appealing than an immediate election call. In fact, only BQ voters appear ready for a campaign now.
- ◆ The question of election timing may be a "phony issue" however. A solid majority (65%) claim their likelihood of voting Conservative would not be affected if they chose to join the other opposition parties and defeat the government. While slightly more (x19%) say they would be "less likely" rather than "more likely" (13%) to vote Conservative, this may not be a sufficient deterrent, given the larger gains they have made as a result of this issue.







Cynicism towards politics may also be working in the Liberals' favour. While there is no question that the scandal issue has hurt their fortunes, the prevailing view is that no one else would be particularly better at cleaning up this situation. In fact, almost a third of voters either have no view or believe "none" of the parties are capable of bringing about this difference. That said, the NDP have more credibility and are more competitive on this question that any other one tested.

**Federal Vote** 







### Which Party has the most momentum towards a federal election?

									Reç	jion					
		Canada			Quebec		Re	est of Cana	da		Ontario			West	
	May 8 (n=1000) %	May 15 (n=1500) %	Nov4 (n=1000) %	May 8 (n=247) %	May 15 (n=370) %	Nov4 (n=247) %	May 8 (n=753) %	May 15 (n=1130) %	Nov4 (n=753) %	May 8 (n=379) %	May 15 (n=569) %	Nov4 (n=379) %	May 8 (n=297) %	May 15 (n=445) %	Nov4 (n=297) %
Liberal	22	23	34	14	17	24	24	24	38	25	25	39	19	22	36
Conservative	36	34	22	26	23	13	39	38	24	35	38	24	44	37	25
NDP	11	12	10	8	6	7	13	14	12	14	14	12	12	14	12
Green	1	3	1	<1	2	1	1	3	1	2	2	1	1	4	1
Bloc Quebecois	11	9	9	43	36	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
None	11	8	8	6	8	8	13	8	9	13	9	7	14	6	10
Other	2	1	1	<1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	4	1	1
DK/NA/Ref	6	10	14	2	6	11	8	12	15	9	11	15	7	15	15

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

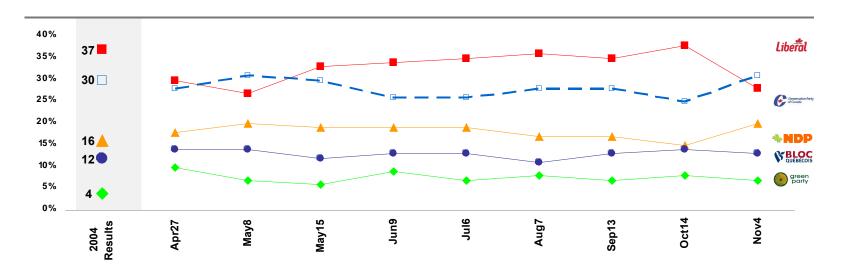
Q.2 From what you can tell, which party, if any, is gaining the most popularity and momentum towards winning a possible federal election. Is it the ...?







#### How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?



					Can	ada				
	2004 Election Results	Apr27 (n=1000) %	May8 (n=1000) %	May15 (n=1500) %	Jun9 (n=1000) %	Jul6 (n=1000) %	Aug7 (n=1000) %	Sep13 (n=1000) %	Oct14 (n=1000) %	Nov4 (n=1000) %
Liberal	37	30	27	33	34	35	36	35	38	28
Conservative	30	28	31	30	26	26	28	28	25	31
NDP	16	18	20	19	19	19	17	17	15	20
Bloc Quebecois	12	14	14	12	13	13	11	13	14	13
Green Party	4	10	7	6	9	7	8	7	8	7

Q.3 If the election was being held tomorrow, do you think you'd be supporting the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Q.4 In that case, which party's candidate in your local area would you be leaning towards at this time? Would it be the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?







#### How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

										Reg	gion									
					Que	bec								F	Rest of	Canada	a*			
	2004 Election Results %	Apr27 (n=219) %	May8 (n=224) %	May15 (n=337) %	Jun9 (n=203) %	Jul6 (n=247) %	Aug7 (n=247) %	Sep13 (n=247) %	Oct14 (n=500) %	Nov4 (n=247) %	2004 Election Results %		May8 (n=776) %	May15 (n=1002) %	Jun9 (n=777) %	Jul6 (n=753) %	Aug7 (n=753) %	Sep13 (n=753) %	Oct14 (n=753) %	Nov4 (n=753) %
Liberal	34	16	16	25	22	28	31	25	25	22	38	35	31	36	37	37	34	38	42	30
Conservative	9	9	8	14	8	6	7	12	7	7	37	34	39	36	32	34	37	34	31	38
NDP	5	8	11	9	12	11	10	7	6	10	19	21	23	22	21	22	21	21	18	23
Green Party	3	12	8	4	8	5	6	6	6	5	5	10	7	6	9	8	8	7	9	8
Bloc Quebecois	49	55	56	48	51	51	46	51	57	57	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

					Ont	ario									W	est				
	2004 Election Results %	Apr27 (n=329) %	May8 (n=338) %	May15 (n=509) %	Jun9 (n=304) %	Jul6 (n=379) %	Aug7 (n=380) %	Sep13 (n=380) %	Oct14 (n=379) %	Nov4 (n=379) %	2004 Election Results %	Apr27 (n=241) %	May8 (n=264) %	May15 (n=398) %	Jun9 (n=245) %	Jul6 (n=260) %	Aug7 (n=254) %	Sep13 (n=240) %	Oct14 (n=255) %	Nov4 (n=297) %
Liberal	45	38	34	43	41	41	41	42	50	37	28	27	23	27	32	30	33	31	30	20
Conservative	32	30	35	30	31	31	33	29	30	35	45	39	45	42	35	37	37	39	35	46
NDP	18	23	25	21	19	22	17	22	12	20	21	22	24	24	25	23	21	21	25	24
Green Party	4	9	7	6	10	6	9	7	8	8	4	13	9	7	9	11	9	9	10	10
Bloc Quebecois	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

- Q.3 If the election was being held tomorrow, do you think you'd be supporting the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?
- Q.4 In that case, which party's candidate in your local area would you be leaning towards at this time? Would it be the (ROTATE LIST) Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (QUEBEC ONLY) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Impact of the Release of the Gomery Report







### What is the most important issue facing Canada?

		Car	ıada			Region	(Nov 4)	
	May 8 (n=1000) %	Jun 9 (n=1000) %	Aug 7 (n=1000) %	Nov4 (n=1000) %	Quebec (n=247)	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	West (n=297) %
Healthcare	20	15	16	24	13	27	30	22
Sponsorship scandal/Gomery Inquiry/Corruption	23	11	2	16	20	16	15	17
Government leadership/stability	8	18	7	8	11	7	6	7
Taxes	4	1	3	5	3	5	5	5
Economic issues (excl. Govt. spending/unemployment)	5	5	7	4	4	4	3	5
Education	3	3	2	4	2	4	5	4
Other social issues (excl. healthcare)	5	11	12	3	1	3	4	3
Environmental issues	3	7	9	3	2	3	2	3
Government spending	4	6	5	2	3	2	3	1
Unemployment/employment	2	2	3	2	-	2	2	1
Terrorism	-	2	8	1	-		2	-

Q.1 As you may know there has been considerable discussion about the possibility of a federal election in the near future. In your view what is the most important issue in the next election [question wording in previous polls: "In your view, what is the most important issue facing Canada today"] – that is the one about which you are most concerned?







#### What is the most important issue facing Canada?

								Reg	jion							
		Que	bec			Rest of	Canada			Ont	ario			W	est	
	May 8 (n=247) %	Jun 9 (n=247) %	Aug 7 (n=247) %	Nov 4 (n=247) %	May 8 (n=753) %	Jun 9 (n=753) %	Aug 7 (n=753) %	Nov 4 (n=753) %	May 8 (n=379) %	Jun 9 (n=379) %	Aug 7 (n=380) %	Nov 4 (n=379) %	May 8 (n=297) %	Jun 9 (n=297) %	Aug 7 (n=296) %	Nov 4 (n=297) %
Healthcare	9	12	9	13	23	16	19	27	23	15	17	30	23	18	20	22
Sponsorship scandal/ Gomery Inquiry/Corruption	30	20	4	20	21	8	2	16	19	10	2	15	24	7	3	17
Government leadership/ stability	17	17	13	11	5	18	5	7	5	17	3	6	7	18	8	7
Taxes	3	<1	1	3	5	2	4	5	7	1	4	5	4	2	5	5
Economic issues (excl. Gov. spending/ unemployment)	5	3	7	4	5	5	7	4	4	5	5	3	7	6	8	5
Education	2	3	1	2	4	3	2	4	3	3	2	5	3	3	3	4
Other social issues	2	7	8	1	6	12	13	3	6	12	18	4	8	14	9	3
Environmental issues	2	9	13	2	3	7	8	3	3	6	8	2	3	6	8	3
Government spending	4	5	5	3	5	6	5	2	6	6	4	3	3	6	5	1
Unemployment/employment	2	2	4	-	2	2	3	2	2	3	4	2	<1	<1	2	1
Terrorism	-	4	8	-	-	1	8	1	-	1	9	2		<1	7	-

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q.1 As you may know there has been considerable discussion about the possibility of a federal election in the near future. In your view what is the most important issue in the next election [question wording in previous polls: "In your view, what is the most important issue facing Canada today"] – that is the one about which you are most concerned?







# How much do Canadians know about the first part of the Gomery Report?

			Reg	jion	
	Canada (n=1000) %	Quebec (n=247) %	Rest of Canada* (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	West (n=297) %
NET Heard Great Deal/Fair Amount	66	88	60	65	55
A great deal	31	62	21	25	16
A fair amount	35	26	39	40	39
Next to nothing	19	6	24	21	28
Nothing at all	14	6	16	14	15
NET Heard Next to Nothing/Nothing At All	33	12	40	35	43
DK/NA/Ref	1	_	1	-	2

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q.5 As you may also know the first part of the Gomery Report was issued on Tuesday. Have you heard a great deal, a fair amount, next to nothing or nothing at all about this Report?







## Do the findings from the Gomery Report suggest that the sponsorship scandal was worse than thought?

			Reg	jion	
	Canada (n=860) %	Quebec (n=230) %	Rest of Canada* (n=633) %	Ontario (n=322) %	West (n=249) %
NET Much Worse/A Bit Worse	28	38	25	26	25
Much worse	14	13	15	15	15
A bit worse	14	25	10	11	10
About as expected	52	37	58	59	55
Not quite as bad	9	13	8	6	9
Nowhere near as bad	4	7	3	3	4
NET Not Quite as Bad/Nowhere Near as Bad	13	20	11	9	13
DK/NA/Ref	6	5	7	6	7

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q.6 And from what you know about the Gomery Report, do the findings indicate to you that what went on during the so-called sponsorship scandal was much worse than you ever expected, a bit worse, about as you expected, not quite as bad or no where near as bad as you might have expected before the report came out?

Base: Those who have heard a great deal/a fair amount/next to nothing about the Gomery Report







### How believable is Paul Martin's claim that he was not involved in the sponsorship scandal?

						Reg	jion			
	Can	nada	Que	ebec	Rest of	Canada*	Ont	ario	W	est
	Apr27 (n=1000) %	Nov 4 (n=1000) %	Apr27 (n=247) %	Nov 4 (n=247) %	Apr27 (n=753) %	Nov 4 (n=753) %	Apr27 (n=379) %	Nov 4 (n=379) %	Apr27 (n=297) %	Nov 4 (n=297) %
NET Believable	31	33	17	27	35	35	37	40	30	30
Very believable	5	8	3	7	6	9	6	12	5	6
Somewhat believable	26	25	14	20	29	26	31	28	25	24
Somewhat unbelievable	29	30	33	32	28	29	29	30	27	29
Very unbelievable	34	30	49	36	29	28	26	23	34	32
NET Unbelievable	63	60	82	68	57	57	55	53	61	61
DK/NA/Ref	6	7	1	5	8	8	8	7	9	8

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q.7 Paul Martin has said that he was not involved in the sponsorship scandal. Now that the Gomery Report is out, do you find this claim very believable, somewhat believable, somewhat unbelievable or very unbelievable?







### Has Gomery changed feelings about Paul Martin and the Liberals?

						Reg	jion			
	Can	ada	Que	bec	Rest of	Canada*	Ont	ario	We	est
	Apr27 (n=1000) %	Nov 4 (n=1000) %	Apr27 (n=247) %	Nov 4 (n=247) %	Apr27 (n=753) %	Nov 4 (n=753) %	Apr27 (n=379) %	Nov 4 (n=379) %	Apr27 (n=297) %	Nov 4 (n=297) %
Have feelings changed?										
Yes	39	31	52	39	35	28	33	27	37	30
No	56	66	47	59	58	68	61	70	54	65
DK/NA/Ref	5	3	1	2	7	4	6	3	8	5
If yes, how have feelings changed?	(n=391)	(n=310)	(n=130)	(n=96)	(n=261)	(n=211)	(n=124)	(n=102)	(n=111)	(n=89)
NET More Supportive of Liberals	8	3	7	3	9	3	10	3	9	4
Significantly more supportive	2	1	2	-	2	1	3	1	2	3
Somewhat more supportive	6	2	5	3	7	2	7	2	7	1
Somewhat less supportive	40	34	29	30	45	35	44	37	44	38
Significantly less supportive	48	61	59	63	43	60	40	57	46	58
NET Less Supportive of Liberals	88	95	88	93	88	95	84	94	90	96
DK/NA/Ref	4	2	5	4	3	2	6	3	1	-

<sup>\*</sup>Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

- Q.8 (Nov4) Based on what you have seen, read or heard about the Gomery Report, has it changed your feelings about the Liberal party under Paul Martin in any way? (IF "YES") Are you now significantly more supportive, somewhat more supportive, somewhat less supportive or significantly less supportive of the Liberal party than you were before?
- Q.9 (Apr27) Based on what you have seen, read or heard about what Paul Martin has been saying lately about the Gomery inquiry, has it changed your feelings about the Liberal party under Paul Martin in any way? (IF "YES") Are you now significantly more supportive, somewhat more supportive, somewhat less supportive or significantly less supportive of the Liberal party than you were before?







# Why has Paul Martin said he is sorry for the abuses that occurred under the sponsorship program?

	Can	Canada		ebec	Rest of	Canada*	Ont	ario	We	est
	Apr27 (n=1000) %	Nov 4 (n=1000) %	Apr27 (n=247) %	Nov 4 (n=247) %	Apr27 (n=753) %	Nov 4 (n=753) %	Apr27 (n=379) %	Nov 4 (n=379) %	Apr27 (n=297) %	Nov 4 (n=297) %
Liberal party is beginning to accept responsibilities for the abuses of the program	31	29	31	34	31	27	34	29	25	21
Liberal party is desperate to stay in power	59	62	62	57	58	63	56	60	61	69
Both	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	2
DK/NA/Ref	7	6	4	6	8	7	7	6	10	7

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q.9 Paul Martin has been saying that he is sorry for the abuses that had occurred under the sponsorship program.

Some people say that this indicates to them that the Liberal party is beginning to accept responsibility for the abuses of the program.

Other people say that that this indicates to them that the Liberal party is desperate to stay in power.

Thinking of these two points of view, which one best reflects your own?







### Should Paul Martin be held accountable for the sponsorship scandal?

						Reç	jion			
	Can	ada	Que	bec	Rest of	Canada*	Ont	ario	We	est
	Apr27 (n=1000) %	Nov 4 (n=1000) %	Apr27 (n=247) %	Nov 4 (n=247) %	Apr27 (n=753) %	Nov 4 (n=753) %	Apr27 (n=379) %	Nov 4 (n=379) %	Apr27 (n=297) %	Nov 4 (n=297) %
Do not believe Paul Martin was responsible and he should not be held accountable	24	25	23	27	25	24	29	29	16	19
Even if Paul Martin was not directly involved, as Finance Minister and as the leader of the Liberal party, he must be held accountable	69	71	75	69	67	71	63	67	74	75
DK/NA/Ref	7	5	2	4	8	5	8	4	10	6

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q.10 Some people say that while they are very angry about the abuses of the sponsorship program they do not believe Paul Martin was responsible and that he should not be held accountable for what happened.

Other people say that they are angry about the abuses and that even if Paul Martin was not directly involved, as Finance Minister and as the leader of the Liberal party, he must be held accountable for what happened.

Thinking of these two pints of view, which one best reflects your own?







### Is Paul Martin's offer to call an election after the inquiry reasonable?

			Region							
	Canada		Quebec		Rest of Canada*		Ontario		West	
	Apr27 (n=1000) %	Nov 4 (n=1000) %	Apr27 (n=247) %	Nov 4 (n=247) %	Apr27 (n=753) %	Nov 4 (n=753) %	Apr27 (n=379) %	Nov 4 (n=379) %	Apr27 (n=297) %	Nov 4 (n=297) %
Paul Martin's offer to call an election is a reasonable one and they are prepared to wait until then for an election	61	63	54	56	64	65	66	68	59	60
Offer is unreasonable because have heard enough and it is now time to call an election	33	32	43	39	29	29	28	26	33	34
DK/NA/Ref	6	6	3	4	7	6	6	6	8	6

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q.11 Some people say that Paul Martin's offer to call an election once Judge Gomery has submitted his final report of the inquiry in February of next year [Apr27 wording: his report of the inquiry in November of this year] is a reasonable one and that they are prepared to wait until then for an election.

Other people say that the offer is unreasonable because we have heard enough and it is now time to call an election.

Thinking of these two points of view, which one best reflects your own?







### Likelihood of voting for the Conservatives if they forced an election

			Region							
	Canada		Quebec		Rest of Canada*		Ontario		West	
	Apr27 (n=1000) %	Nov 4 (n=1000) %	Apr27 (n=247) %	Nov 4 (n=247) %	Apr27 (n=753) %	Nov 4 (n=753) %	Apr27 (n=379) %	Nov 4 (n=379) %	Apr27 (n=297) %	Nov 4 (n=297) %
More likely to vote Conservative	12	13	9	15	13	12	12	12	15	11
Less likely to vote Conservative	21	19	9	12	25	21	25	20	23	21
Has no impact either way	62	65	79	69	57	64	58	65	54	64
DK/NA/Ref	5	3	3	4	5	3	5	3	7	4

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q.12 If the Conservatives joined with the other Opposition parties to force an election, would this make you more likely to vote for them, less likely to vote for them or have no impact either way on any decision about voting Conservative or not?







### Who do you hold responsible for the sponsorship scandal?

			Region							
	Canada		Quebec		Rest of Canada*		Ontario		West	
	Apr27 (n=1000) %	Nov 4 (n=1000) %	Apr27 (n=247) %	Nov 4 (n=247) %	Apr27 (n=753) %	Nov 4 (n=753) %	Apr27 (n=379) %	Nov 4 (n=379) %	Apr27 (n=297) %	Nov 4 (n=297) %
Federal Liberal Party	32	36	31	34	33	37	31	35	35	42
A few individuals in the Liberal Party	59	58	67	62	56	56	58	60	53	51
DK/NA/Ref	9	6	2	5	11	7	11	6	12	7

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Q.13 Who do you hold responsible for the sponsorship scandal? Do you hold the federal Liberal Party responsible or do you hold a few individuals in the

Liberal Party responsible?
Base: Total sample







# Which party is best at cleaning up the abuses that have occurred in the federal government?

		Region						
	Canada (n=1000) %	Quebec (n=247) %	Rest of Canada* (n=753) %	Ontario (n=379) %	West (n=297) %			
Liberal Party	20	15	22	21	19			
Conservative Party	20	11	23	22	27			
NDP	16	13	17	18	15			
Green Party	3	4	3	3	4			
Bloc Quebecois**	8	31	-	-	-			
None of them	17	13	18	19	18			
Other	1	1	1	1	1			
DK/NA/Ref	15	13	16	16	16			

\*Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

\*\*Note: Asked only in Quebec

Q.14 From what you can tell, which party, if any, is best at cleaning up the abuses that have occurred in the federal government? Is it the ...