

**Ontario Provincial Election
Report for Global TV, *National Post*,
Ottawa Citizen and *Windsor Star***



**COMPAS Inc.
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Introduction and Dividing Up the Stories

The principal conclusion is that Ernie Eves is very far behind Dalton McGuinty but has a plausible chance of catching up because of the popularity of his platform, because his personal credibility equals that of the Liberal leader, and because voters feel that he is the party leader most apt to be Premier after the next election.

The following is one way of breaking up the content of the poll into three days of newspaper stories:

- The horserace on Friday, including McGuinty's early lead, the popularity of the Eves' platform, a dead heat if the platform were the issue, equal respect for Eves and McGuinty, higher expectation that Eves would actually win, a wide range of election issues and low polarization (unlike the B.C. election), and equal or higher performance scores for a Liberal than PC government on all issues except taxes;
- Where Ontarians stand on the issues on Saturday, including their generally rightwing position on taxes vs. leftwing position on spending (more leftwing/less rightwing than BCers), divided opinion on more choice in healthcare and education, strongly rightwing support for funding of independent schools, strongly rightwing support for channelling daycare money to parents of pre-schoolers so that they can make their own choices about daycare;
- Premiers and the Zoo on Monday, including the popularity of Paul Martin, the equal popularity of Eves and Harris among PCs, the high popularity of Bob Rae among New Democrats even though Rae may have left the party in a policy dispute, the owl and the lion as ideal Premiers and the snake as the counter-ideal, and the humorous animal attributions of different voter segments (e.g. Eves as a fox to friend and foe alike, McGuinty as a snake or monkey to Tories, and Hampton as a monkey to Tories);
- A sidebar Saturday or Monday on "Profiling", including majority acceptance of profiling to fight SARS, terrorism, violent crime, and even unspecified crime with Tory voters the most supportive and New Democrats the least supportive.



Eves' Platform Could Make the Election a Horserace

The Ontario Progressive Conservatives appear to face almost insurmountable obstacles to re-election—the Liberals lead 51% to 35% for the Tories, as shown in table 1. But a Liberal victory is not a slam dunk.

Table 1: Vote Intentions (25% DNK/REF/WON'T VOTE excluded)

	%
The Liberals led by Dalton McGuinty	51
The Progressive Conservatives led by Ernie Eves	35
The NDP led by Howard Hampton	11
Unprompted: Green party...	2
Unprompted: Other	1

For the Liberals, the main sources of optimism are their immense lead in vote intentions and the fact that a Liberal government is expected to equal or outperform a Tory government in many areas, to be discussed in detail in the ensuing section.

The Tory situation is far from desperate. Their reasons for optimism rest on

- the popularity of their platform, and equal vote intentions for the two parties if the Tory platform were the basis of the vote
- respect for Eves personally, equal to McGuinty
- somewhat greater expectation that Eves will be elected than McGuinty.

As shown in table 2, voters have good things to say about all four of the main planks in the platform—mortgage payment deductibility, banning teacher strikes, mandatory municipal referenda before raising taxes, requiring homeless people to live in shelters, and abolishing mandatory retirement at age 65. Only 17% of Ontarians say that none of these would make them feel more favourable to the Tories.

Liberal and NDP voters are not as enthused as Tories about any of the Tory ideas but sizeable minorities are nonetheless more favourable to the Tories as a result of all of these proposals, especially mortgage deductibility. If these were the election issues, the Liberals and Tories would be in a dead heat—45% for the Liberals vs. 44% for the Tories, as shown in table 3.



Table 2: Q8. As you may know, it looks as if the Progressive Conservatives under Ernie Eves might, if re-elected, bring about the following 5 changes . . . Which of these possibilities, if any, makes you feel especially favourable to the Conservatives...

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Deduct their mortgage interest payments	43	52	38	33
Ban teacher strikes	37	59	28	10
Require homeless people to live in shelters	34	47	29	17
Municipalities referendum before raising taxes	33	55	21	19
Abolish mandatory retirement at age 65	31	45	24	24
None of these	17	2	24	31
DNK/REFUSED	4	5	4	2

Table 3: Q9b If these were the key election issues, which party would you vote for? COMBINED VOTE 17% DNK/REF/WON'T VOTE EXCLUDED

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
The Progressive Conservatives led by Ernie Eves	44	93	14	11
The Liberals led by Dalton McGuinty	45	7	85	3
The NDP led by Howard Hampton	11	1	2	87
Green Party	*	0	0	0
Other	*	0	0	0

The Tories can also be optimistic because Ontario voters are just as inclined to see Eves as making the best leader of the province as they do McGuinty, as shown in table 4. Furthermore, more (38%) believe that Eves will succeed himself than be replaced by McGuinty (30%), as shown in table 5.



Table 4: Q4. [ALL RESPONDENTS] Irrespective of his party or policies, which of the three leaders— [ROTATE] Ernie Eves, Dalton McGuinty, or Howard Hampton—would make the best leader of the province?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Ernie Eves	30	74	12	14
Dalton McGuinty	29	7	60	10
Howard Hampton	12	4	9	64
UNPROMPTED: DNK/REFUSED	30	16	19	12

Table 5: Q5. Which do you think will be Premier after the election?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Ernie Eves	38	68	25	24
Dalton McGuinty	30	14	52	38
Howard Hampton	4	2	5	10
UNPROMPTED: DNK/REFUSED	28	17	17	29

Future Performance – Liberal Government Would Be Inferior to PC Government on Taxes, Equal on Crime and Growth, and Be Superior on Most Other Issues

Respondents were asked to compare the performance of future Liberal and PC governments in respect of cutting taxes, ethics, delivering education, and many other issues.

For the Tories, the good news is that their evaluation scores are dramatically higher than those often experienced by two or multi-term governments. The Tory performance scores in tables 6 and 7 are hugely higher than the performance scores given by British Columbians to the outgoing NDP government in their province, as shown in table 8. The PC party can also take comfort in the fact that Tory voters think very highly of their party. Tories assign consistently higher performance scores to a Tory than a Liberal government, as shown in table 7. Tory voters even see their party as outperforming the Liberals on Liberal issues like education and healthcare. Hence, the PC party has little to fear with respect to the possibility of losing any of its base of voters.



The problem for the PC party of Ontario is that PC governments are rarely seen as outperforming Liberal governments among the electorate as a whole. The PCs are seen as outperforming the Liberals on one issue—taxes. But the Tories are not seen as outperforming the Liberals on the traditionally rightwing issues of economic growth, standing up to Ottawa, or fighting crime. For their part, the Liberals are seen as providing better government in respect of education, health, the environment, ethics, and in other respects.

Table 6: Q6. Thinking to the future, please grade how a Liberal or Progressive Conservative government would probably perform with respect to each of the following goals using a 7 point scale where 7 is the highest score. First of all, what score would you give the Liberals with respect to
[ROTATE STIMULI FROM RESPONDENT TO RESPONDENT AND
ROTATE ORDER OF LIBERAL AND PC SCORING FROM RESPONDENT
TO RESPONDENT]

	Mean	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	DNK
Cutting taxes									
Liberals	3.7	4	7	20	20	14	10	13	12
PC	4.2	10	15	17	15	12	8	11	12
Achieving economic growth									
Liberals	4.5	5	14	30	19	11	4	4	12
PC	4.5	8	15	25	18	12	7	4	11
Ethics and personal integrity									
Liberals	4.4	7	16	24	18	10	5	8	12
PC	3.6	4	8	16	21	13	11	14	12
Competent management									
Liberals	4.3	6	13	26	18	11	6	7	13
PC	4.0	6	12	20	17	15	9	10	12
Delivering education									
Liberals	4.6	7	18	27	17	9	5	6	12
PC	3.8	7	10	16	20	11	11	15	10
Delivering healthcare									
Liberals	4.6	7	18	28	16	8	5	5	13
PC	3.7	6	9	15	22	14	11	14	10
Protecting the province from medical crises like SARS or West Nile									
Liberals	4.6	8	18	26	14	8	4	6	15
PC	4.5	10	18	19	16	10	5	8	13



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	Mean	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	DNK
Achieving a clean environment									
Liberals	4.5	6	13	30	21	9	4	5	12
PC	3.8	6	7	20	21	13	12	12	11
Improving the crime situation									
Liberals	4.3	4	12	26	22	13	4	5	15
PC	4.3	7	12	24	20	11	6	6	14
Contributing to your own or your family's sense of well- being									
Liberals	4.3	7	14	24	21	12	4	8	12
PC	3.9	7	9	20	21	13	7	12	11
Protecting Ontario's interests against the federal government									
Liberals	4.4	6	13	24	18	12	5	6	17
PC	4.4	9	13	21	18	12	6	6	16

*Table 7: Average Grade Scores for Liberal and Tory Governments Assigned
by PC, Liberal, and NDP Voters*

	All Ontarians	PCs	Libs	NDP
Cutting taxes				
Liberals	3.7	3.1	4.3	3.8
PC	4.2	5.2	3.8	3.9
Achieving economic growth				
Liberals	4.5	3.9	5.1	3.9
PC	4.5	5.5	4.2	3.8
Ethics and personal integrity				
Liberals	4.4	3.9	5.1	3.9
PC	3.6	5.6	3.3	3.0
Competent management				
Liberals	4.3	3.8	5.0	4.2
PC	4.0	5.1	3.5	3.2
Delivering education				



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	All Ontarians	PCs	Libs	NDP
Liberals	4.6	4.0	5.3	4.4
PC	3.8	5.1	3.2	3.1
Delivering healthcare				
Liberals	4.6	4.1	5.2	4.1
PC	3.7	4.8	3.2	3.0
Protecting the province from medical crises like SARS or West Nile				
Liberals	4.6	4.2	5.1	4.2
PC	4.5	5.2	4.2	3.6
Achieving a clean environment				
Liberals	4.5	4.1	5.0	4.0
PC	3.8	4.6	3.4	2.8
Improving the crime situation				
Liberals	4.3	4.0	4.7	4.1
PC	4.3	5.2	3.9	3.8
Contributing to your own or your family's sense of well-being				
Liberals	4.3	3.7	5.0	3.7
PC	3.9	5.1	3.4	3.0
Protecting Ontario's interests against the federal government				
Liberals	4.4	3.7	5.0	3.8
PC	4.4	5.4	4.0	3.4

*Table 8: British Columbia Provincial Election (April, 2001):
Hypothetical Liberal and NDP Governments*

	Liberal Govt. performance	NDP Govt. performance
Cutting taxes	4.3	2.6
Achieving economic growth	4.6	2.8
Ethics and personal integrity	4.2	2.7
Competent management	4.2	2.4



Delivering education	4.4	3.8
Delivering healthcare	4.3	3.4
Protecting unionised workers	3.8	4.5
Achieving a clean environment	4.0	4.0
Improving the crime situation	4.2	3.4

The province is relatively homogeneous in assigning higher performance scores to a future Liberal than a future Tory government except for southern Ontario outside the GTA. In southern Ontario, the Liberal lead abates.

The Mood of Ontarians

Good Time for an Election

Ontarians see the election as appropriate in timing, as shown in the accompanying matrix. This finding means that the Tories have not offended the populace by talk of calling an election.

Table 9: Q1. As you know, the media have been talking about a provincial election. On a 7-point scale where 7 means it's a very good idea to have an election and a 1, there's no real need for an election, how do you feel about having an election?

Mean	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	DNK
5.3	41	12	19	10	6	2	10	5

Almost Every Issue Matters—Ontario is Not B.C., Where the Economy and NDP Incompetence Were the Issues

Asked what factor will most influence their vote, Ontarians point to a wide range of issues—from the economy to health, education, parties, and leadership. Ontarians have not formed a consensus about what the election is about, as shown in table 10. In the B.C. election, by contrast, there were three main issues—the economy, the NDP government's poorly perceived record, and healthcare, as shown in table 10.

Ontario differs from B.C. in having far more issues on voters' minds, in placing a lot more emphasis on education (16% vs. 5% in B.C.), and especially in placing more emphasis on leadership as an issue (20% vs. almost nil in B.C.). Of special interest is that 10% of Ontarians volunteer that their vote will depend either on the party platforms



or on their assessment of the party platforms in light of how they viewed the past performance of the government and opposition parties.

Table 10: Q3. Thinking of how you're likely to vote, please tell me what factor most affects how you'll probably vote? [DON'T PROMPT BUT SELECT RESPONSE IF THE CATEGORY FITS OR OTHERWISE WRITE IN THE OPEN-ENDED RESPONSE]

	All Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP	ALL B.C.
Economy Category Total	13	22	9	4	27
Growth;	4	8	2	2	NA
Jobs	1	1	1	2	NA
Tax cuts, make govt smaller or more efficient	7	11	5	0	NA
Mortgage deductibility-for it	*	2	0	0	NA
Tourism-protect	0	0	0	0	NA
Transport-improve highways or streets	*	0	0	0	NA
Hydro-specify	1	0	1	0	NA
Health category	12	10	13	10	18
Improve in general	10	8	11	10	NA
Spend more	2	2	2	0	NA
SARS, West Nile, Anthrax etc	0	0	0	0	NA
Other specify	0	0	0	0	NA
Education category	16	16	21	22	5
Education in general--Improve or protect public education	14	9	20	17	NA
Education—anti-teacher, prevent strikes or control the teachers	2	7	1	0	NA
Education-pro-teacher, protect their salaries	*	0	0	5	NA
Education-pro-independent/private schools, protect private educ tax credit	0	0	0	0	NA
Environment Category	1	0	1	10	3
Pro-environment	1	0	1	10	NA
Anti-environment	0	0	0	0	NA
Other specify	0	0	0	0	NA



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	All Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP	ALL B.C.
Social Issues Category	4	2	3	5	*
Crime-fight it, tougher sentences, crack down in illegal immigrants, illegal use of OHIP, terrorists	*	0	0	0	NA
Ethnicity--Protect, fight racism	0	0	0	0	
Immigration—Reduce immigration, immigration sponsorship by welfare recipients, free legal aid for immigrants/refugees	0	0	0	0	NA
Homosexuality-protect gay marriage, enhance gay rights	0	0	0	0	NA
Homosexuality-prohibit gay marriage, reduce gay rights	0	0	0	0	NA
Seniors—improve rights for seniors	2	2	1	0	NA
Poverty	2	0	2	5	NA
Parties and Government Record Category	13	11	21	17	18
Pro-Tory, Pro-Tory record, pro-Mike Harris, pro-Common Sense Revolution	3	8	1	0	NA
Anti-Tory, Anti-Tory record, Anti-Mike Harris	7	1	12	10	NA
Pro-Liberal	2	0	6	0	*
Anti-Liberal	*	1	1	0	*
Pro-NDP	1	0	0	7	*
Anti-NDP	*	1	1	0	18 ¹
Leadership	20	18	18	16	*
Leaders or leadership in general, Integrity	6	4	5	2	*
Eves-like	0	0	0	0	* ²
Dislike	1	0	2	5	*
McGuinty-like	*	1	1	0	*
Dislike	*	1	1	0	*

¹ Virtually all the anti-BC NDP references related to corruption, integrity, or poor performance in general.

² B.C. voters made very few personal references to the B.C. party leaders,



	All Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP	ALL B.C.
Hampton-like	*	0	0	2	*
Dislike	0	0	0	0	*
Depends on local candidates	3	0	3	2	*
Depends on the party platforms and performance	10	12	6	5	*
Unprompted: Other	5	10	3	2	13
Unprompted: DNK/Refused	14	13	13	14	17

Tories Strong on the Economy, Liberals Strong on Social Issues

Tory and Liberal voters divide along left-right lines in the issues that matter to them. As shown in table 10, Tory voters place special emphasis on the economy as the key factor in their voting while Liberals place more emphasis on social issues, notably education, and on party-partisan issues including the past performance of the Tory government.

Polarization is Only Semi-Intense

Respondents were asked if there were any party that they definitely would not vote for. They were also asked if their own choice of party were a positive choice for that party or a rejection of another party. On balance, polarization seems moderate, and most people intend to vote for a given party rather than against its opponent.

The Liberals have the lowest rate of rejection—only 12% would never vote Liberal, as shown in table 11. Though much larger, the 33% who would never vote Tory are not an insurmountable barrier to a Tory victory.

Table 11: Q2C. [ALL EXCEPT THOSE WHO WON'T VOTE]: Is there a party that you'd definitely NOT vote for? [PROMPT]: Which party would you definitely not vote for? 14% DNK/REFUSED EXCLUDED FROM CALCULATION

	ALL %	PCs	Lib	NDP
The Progressive Conservatives led by Ernie Eves	33	0	55	62
The NDP led by Howard Hampton	30	54	25	0



No, would vote for any party	25	16	20	18
The Liberals led by Dalton McGuinty	12	29	0	21
Unprompted: Green Party	1	2	0	0
Unprompted: Family	*	0	0	0
Unprompted: Other	0	0	0	0

*Table 12: Q2D. [ASK ONLY THOSE WHO INDICATED A VOTE OR LEAN]
Thinking of how you intend to vote, do you intend to vote for [insert] mainly
because you're voting FOR this party or AGAINST another? [IF LATTER,
PROMPT FOR WHICH ONE]*

	All Ontario	PCs	Lib	NDP
Voting FOR this party	67	79	58	74
Voting AGAINST this party	28	16	37	21
DNK / REFUSED	5	5	5	5

The high rejection of the Tories in table 11 is paralleled by a high anti-Tory attitude revealed in table 12. Table 12 shows that a huge minority (37%) of the Liberal vote is driven by hostility to another party, in practice mainly the Tories.

The anti-Tory motivation of many Liberal voters represents a challenge as well as an opportunity for the Tories. On the one hand, it shows that Tory conduct in power has produced a fair amount of alienation. On the other hand, it shows that the Tories can influence the election campaign to a considerable degree insofar as voters aligning themselves with the Liberals have done so to reject the Tories rather than embrace the Liberals. Given this evidence, Ernie Eves' conduct in the campaign is apt to have more of an impact on the outcome than Dalton McGuinty's.

Where Ontarians Stand on the Issues

Rightwing on Taxes, Leftwing on Spending

Ontario voters show themselves to be rightwing on taxes insofar as they believe that tax cutting is a priority. Scoring 5-7 on the 7-point scale, majority (55%) agree that Ontario needs above all to cut taxes to attract business and boost the provincial economy, as shown in table 13. Yet, when asked about spending more on healthcare and education, clear majorities favour such increased spending, as shown in the same table.

Predictably, Tory voters are the most desirous of cutting taxes, but Liberals and NewDems are not unconcerned, as shown in table 14. Thus the tax issue could help



Eves cut into the Liberal-NDP vote. Meanwhile, Liberals and especially NewDems are the most favourable to increased spending on healthcare and education. Tory voters are not unalterably opposed to such increased spending, making some of them potentially susceptible to Liberal entreaties on the issue.

Table 13: Q7. Turning to a slightly different subject, please tell me if you agree or disagree with each of the following opinions about government policy and the situation in ONTARIO. Please use a 7-point scale where 7 means agree and 1, the opposite. [DON'T PROMPT BUT RECORD DNK/NA ...ROTATE]

	Mean	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	DNK
Q7A. ONTARIO needs above all to cut taxes to attract business and boost the provincial economy	4.6	25	15	15	13	9	6	13	4
Q7B. To make healthcare spending more efficient, the government needs to allow more opportunities for competition and more opportunities for the private sector to provide services	3.9	19	11	13	11	7	10	26	3
Q7C. To improve healthcare the government needs to spend a lot more even if taxes go up as a result	5.0	30	15	21	12	6	4	11	1
Q7D. To control spending and improve quality in education, the government needs to allow more opportunity for many kinds of independent schools to operate in free competition with the public school system	3.7	16	10	14	10	8	11	27	3
Q7E. To improve education the government needs to spend a lot more even if taxes go up as a result	4.5	24	15	18	11	11	4	16	1



Table 14: Comparisons of Means Across Ontario Voters

	All Ontario	PC	Lib	NDP
Q7A. ONTARIO needs above all to cut taxes to attract business and boost the provincial economy	4.6	5.2	4.2	4.1
Q7B. To make healthcare spending more efficient, the government needs to allow more opportunities for competition and more opportunities for the private sector to provide services	3.9	4.7	3.6	2.8
Q7C. To improve healthcare the government needs to spend a lot more even if taxes go up as a result	5.0	4.6	5.2	5.6
Q7D. To control spending and improve quality in education, the government needs to allow more opportunity for many kinds of independent schools to operate in free competition with the public school system	3.7	4.3	3.4	2.6
Q7E. To improve education the government needs to spend a lot more even if taxes go up as a result	4.5	3.9	4.9	5.5

Table 15: British Columbia Provincial Election (April, 2001): Policy Positions

	Mean	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	DNK
B.C. needs above all to cut taxes to attract business and boost the provincial economy	5.6	42	20	15	10	5	3	4	1
To make healthcare spending more efficient, the government needs to allow more opportunities for competition and more opportunities for the private sector to provide services	4.0	17	13	16	11	10	8	21	3
To control spending and improve quality in education, the government needs to allow more opportunity for many kinds of independent schools to operate in	4.5	21	14	20	11	12	7	13	3



free competition with the public school system										
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Some Receptivity to Free Market Options in Health

Respondents were asked about spending more on health even if this meant higher taxes, and they were also asked about opening up healthcare to more private sector competition. As shown in table 13, Ontarians are more receptive to increased spending than to a greater role for private sector suppliers. But the province is not opposed to more private sector options—the province is split down the middle with Tory voters supportive and NDP voters resolutely opposed.

Leftwing in Favouring More Money for the Public System; Centrist in the Public’s Divided Opinion about Having More Independent Schools Competing with the Public System; Rightwing in Favouring Greater Tax Support for Independent Schooling

Attitudes towards more spending on education and more room for competition with the public schools parallel attitudes to issues in the health sectors to the extent that these attitudes are analogous. As in the case of health, Ontarians’ views about education cut across the ideological spectrum. As shown in tables 13 and 14, Ontarians are

- leftwing on the spending issue in that they are receptive to increased spending on education,
- ideologically centrist on the school choice issue in that they are divided about whether school choice should be fostered by encouraging the development of more independent schools operating outside the public system, and
- rightwing on the subsidy issue in that they want the government to pay for more than 50% of the cost of independent schooling.

Respondents were asked to indicate how much of the cost³ of independent schools should be borne by taxpayers. Altogether 60% of the province favours some financial support for the independent schools—slightly higher among Liberals and PCs and slightly lower among New Democrats. Among the majority favouring some support,

³ “As you know, Ontario has three broad types of schools—Roman Catholic and public schools, which both receive full government funding, and independent schools, which receive some funding. Taxpayers pay taxes for education irrespective of whether they have children or where they educate their children. The independent schools teach the standard curriculum in a different way or emphasize an area of interest like sports, culture, or religion. In your opinion, what proportion from zero to 100% of the cost of independent education should be paid for by government?”



there is a strong cross-party consensus that the amount should approximate 56% of the actual cost of the independent education—53% among NDP voters, 55% among Liberals, and 59% among Tories.

Ontario to the Left of B.C.

BCers were certainly more rightwing in their opinions at the time of their last election than are Ontarians today—perhaps a reaction against their particular experience of NDP governance. By comparing tables 13 and 15, one can see that British Columbians were more supportive of tax cuts and of choice in education than Ontarians are today while opinion about healthcare choice is about the same.

Family Issues—Public Leftwing on Politicians’ Privacy and Rightwing on Daycare Spending

Politicians Deserve a Private Life

Ontarians are long past the era when a politician’s private life matters to voters and can build or destroy political careers. Respondents were asked why such matters seemed to be less important than they once were. As shown in table 16, the predominant feeling is simply that politicians have a right to a private life. The “Hillary Clinton factor”—fear of a politician’s wife acquiring too much power—does not appear to play a role in the minds of Ontarians.

Table 16: Q10. Which of the following explanations do you think best accounts for why voters don’t care as much as they did in the past about the spouses of politicians? [ROTATE CHECK ONE]

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Politicians have a right to a private life	71	69	70	74
Family life is less stable than in the past	15	15	16	17
Voters don’t want spouses having too much influence	6	10	4	2
DNK	8	6	11	7



Ontarians to the Right of the Tories on Daycare

As reported above in this report, Ontarians appear to be slightly to the right of the Tory government on the subject of funding independent schools. A majority favour such funding.

The public is likewise to the right of the Tories on funding daycare. The public believes that pre-school children fare better in the home of a family relative than in a daycare setting, as shown in table 17. The public also believes that government should assign daycare money directly to parents instead of to daycare institutions, as shown in table 18. The strongest reservations about doing so are among NDP voters, but even they are divided on the matter rather than opposed.

Table 17: Q12. Suppose it's not possible for a parent to stay home to take care of an infant or pre-school child. Would it then be best for the child to be cared for by a relative of the family or in an institutional daycare setting?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
By a relative of the family	62	67	58	64
In an institutional daycare setting	23	21	28	26
In a home daycare setting - VOLUNTEERED	4	3	5	2
DNK/REFUSED	11	9	10	7

*Table 18: Q13. Which of the following opinions is closer to your own...[ROTATE] Governments should give money to daycare so that it costs less **or** governments should give money to parents so that parents can better afford whatever care they themselves decide is best for their own children?*

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Governments should give money to parents	54	60	51	50
Governments should give money to daycare	35	27	38	48
DNK/REFUSED	12	14	11	2



Profiling—Majority Support; More Support to Fight Violent Crime, Terrorism, and SARS than to Fight Crime in General

Respondents were asked whether profiling should be forbidden, optional, or mandatory in campaigns against crime, violent crime, medical situations like SARS, and international terrorism. Majorities favour profiling in all instances but least in the case of ordinary crime, as shown in tables 19-22. Tory voters are consistently the most supportive, NewDems the least. Tories are especially inclined to require authorities to use profiling in the case of medical crises and international terrorism. NDP voters are especially opposed to profiling in the case of crime.

Table 19: Q14. I'd like to turn to another issue, the use of profiling by governments. Let's take, for example, the use of: [ROTATE] Q14A. Profiling by national origin or race to deal with medical situations like SARS. Should government definitely use profiling, be allowed to use profiling when it feels this to be necessary, or be forbidden to use profiling at all?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Be forbidden to use profiling at all	37	32	41	52
Be allowed to use profiling when feels this to be necessary	31	33	33	19
Definitely use profiling	19	28	16	12
DNK/REFUSED	13	8	10	17

Table 20: Q14B. How about profiling by religion and national origin to combat international terrorism?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Be forbidden to use profiling at all	39	32	49	48
Be allowed to use profiling when feels this to be necessary	31	33	27	29
Definitely use profiling	18	25	16	12
DNK/REFUSED	12	10	9	12



Table 21: Q14C. How about profiling by race and national origin to combat crime?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Be forbidden to use profiling at all	44	36	49	64
Be allowed to use profiling when feels this to be necessary	28	30	26	19
Definitely use profiling	18	27	16	7
DNK/REFUSED	10	7	9	10

Table 22: Q14D. How about profiling by age and gender to combat violent crime?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Be forbidden to use profiling at all	34	24	41	43
Be allowed to use profiling when feels this to be necessary	33	39	29	33
Definitely use profiling	22	28	22	12
DNK/REFUSED	11	10	9	12

Leadership

Grading the Leaders—Eves and McGuinty in a Dead Heat with Paul Martin in the Lead

Respondents were asked to grade on 100 point, school-type report cards five present, past, and aspiring Premiers along with Paul Martin. Martin tops the class with a C grade (64%), followed by David Peterson, Ernie Eves, and Dalton McGuinty with D's (in the 50's), and Bob Rae and Mike Harris with apparent failures, as shown in table 23.

Party segments differ in grading practices. Tories grade Eves and Harris more generously while New Democrats grade Rae more generously. Indeed Harris and Rae



are the only ones to earn B grades (70% each) from their respective political constituencies.

Liberal voters do not have the same passion for their own people as do Tories and New Democrats for their own. For example, Liberals give McGuinty a 61% while Tories give Eves and Harris, respectively, 69% and 70% and New Democrats give Rae a 70%.

The lowest grades are for Harris among New Democrats (34%), Harris among Liberals (39%), and Rae among Tories (43%).

Table 23: Q16. The following is a list of people who have either been Premier, want to be a Premier, or are well known. Please score each of them for their past or potential performance as Premier, using a 100 point school report-type scale where 100 is the highest possible grade [ROTATE] [NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW OR RECOGNIZE THE PERSON, RECORD AS DNK]

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Paul Martin	64	65	65	63
David Peterson	55	54	57	59
Ernie Eves	53	69	45	41
Dalton McGuinty	53	46	61	52
Bob Rae	49	43	50	70
Mike Harris	48	70	39	34

Animals for Premier—the Owl is in the Lead but a Communications Campaign Could Put the Lion in First Place; Don’t Elect a Snake or Donkey

Respondents were asked to thinking creatively and humorously about the kinds of animals that ought to be Premier. As shown in table 23, Ontarians are inclined to the owl and lion. Tories and Liberals feel this way especially. For their part, New Democrats are especially enthusiastic about the owl while the lion falls into third position, surpassed by the elephant. The supplanting of the lion in the minds of NDP voters may reflect the pacifism and anti-militarism of the NDP program and political culture.

As for animals that ought not to be Premier, the public zeroes in on the snake above all, followed by the donkey and fox, as shown in table 24.



Of all the animals, the fox is the animal whose meaning is the most ambiguous—singled out by 10% as best suited to be Premier (table 23) and by another 10% as least suited (table 24).



Table 23: Q17A. Changing topics slightly and thinking creatively, even humorously, suppose you had a choice of animals to elect as Premier of the province. Which of the following animals would you most want as Premier?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Owl	30	32	29	38
Lion	19	24	18	14
Fox	10	11	9	7
Elephant	10	10	11	19
Monkey	8	5	11	7
Giraffe	5	4	8	7
Donkey	3	2	2	2
Snake	2	2	2	0
DNK/REFUSED	13	11	9	5

Table 24: Q17B. Which of the following animals would you least want as Premier?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Snake	50	55	53	48
Donkey	14	11	15	17
Fox	10	8	10	10
Owl	*	1	1	0
Lion	3	3	2	7
Elephant	2	4	3	0
Monkey	7	7	7	12
Giraffe	2	2	3	0
DNK/REFUSED	12	10	6	7

Eves—A Fox, Owl, or Lion to Tories; a Fox, Snake, or Monkey to Liberals; a Fox or Snake for New Democrats

As reported above, Ontarians are more inclined to foresee Eves than McGuinty becoming Premier, and they respect Eves as much as they do McGuinty. Yet, they tend to see Eves as resembling an animal they care little for, the snake, and another animal about which their attitudes are inconsistent, the fox.



Eves' core constituency—Tories—think of him in terms of animals that they value. Eves reminds Tories of the lion, owl, and, intriguingly, the fox. Liberals and NDPers also see Eves in terms of the fox. Presumably the Tories who associate Eves with the fox are thinking of the fox's virtues, e.g. shrewdness, while the opposition voters may be thinking of the fox's treacherous character.

Table 25: Q18A. Which of these animals does Ernie Eves most remind you of?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Fox	22	27	24	24
Snake	14	5	19	26
Owl	7	16	4	0
Donkey	7	2	9	7
Monkey	7	7	10	2
Lion	6	12	2	7
Elephant	5	7	6	2
Giraffe	4	6	4	10
DNK/REFUSED	27	18	22	21

Table 26: Q18B. Which does Dalton McGuinty most remind you of?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Fox	11	8	14	17
Giraffe	11	9	14	14
Monkey	9	8	9	10
Owl	8	6	14	5
Donkey	8	14	5	10
Elephant	7	6	11	10
Snake	7	16	1	2
Lion	6	5	9	2
DNK/REFUSED	33	27	25	31

McGuinty—A Fox, Giraffe, or Owl to Grits; a Snake or Donkey to Tories; Almost Any Animal to NewDems

Ontarians do not yet have a sufficient sense of McGuinty's character to associate an animal with him. A third feel unable to suggest an animal. Those who do associate



him with an animal make widely divergent choices, as shown in table 26. Tory voters feel particularly unkind to him with their largest share associating him with the snake (16%) or donkey (15%).

Hampton—An Owl or Elephant to NewDems, a Monkey or Donkey to Tories, Almost Any Animal to Libs

Ontarians feel even less able to associate Hampton with an animal—44% say that they don’t know which animal he reminds them of. New Democrats have the least problem doing so; only 26% don’t know. Among New Democrats, their party leader is associated above all with the elephant and owl. Among Ontarians as a whole, he is reminiscent of the monkey and many other animals.

Table 27: Q18C. Which does Howard Hampton most remind you of?

	All of Ontario	PCs	Libs	NDP
Monkey	10	16	11	5
Fox	9	8	11	10
Donkey	9	12	11	0
Owl	7	3	7	26
Elephant	7	5	9	19
Giraffe	5	6	5	2
Snake	5	11	2	0
Lion	4	2	4	12
DNK/REFUSED	44	37	40	26

Methodology

A representative sample of n>500 eligible Ontario voters was interviewed May 16-18, 2003. Samples of this size are deemed accurate to within 4.5 percentage points 19 times out of 20. The study was undertaken for Global Television, the *National Post*, the *Ottawa Citizen*, and the *Windsor Star*. The British Columbia findings were from a survey conducted by COMPAS for BCTV, the Vancouver Sun, and the Victoria Times-Colonist just before the spring, 2001 B.C. election was called. The principal investigator on both studies was Conrad Winn Ph.D. (613-724-1606 or 416-598-0310).



