

# Values and Attachment in Contemporary Quebec: Implications for the Future

Presentation by Frank Graves at the  
Public Policy Forum's Symposium:  
*How Quebec Governs*

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# Values and Attitudes in Quebec

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- Similarities more striking, but significant differences too
  - Quebec-ROC differences akin to Canada-U.S. differences
- Key value / attitudinal differences:
  - More secular / less moralistic
  - More socially & environmentally progressive
  - More libertarian
  - More confident / more blasé about risks
  - More pacifist / higher U.S. antipathy
  - Mixed views on multiculturalism / tolerance
  - Less evidence of the Protestant work ethic (e.g. hard work / individualism)
  - Less focused on ethics
- Values in Quebec are cumulatively lower in Quebec than in English Canada (and the U.S.)
  - Sum of Quebec Values minus the sum of ROC values = - 70 points

# Meaning of National Identities

Q: What does being [...] mean to you?

	...Canadian...		...American...
	Quebec	Rest of Canada	All Americans
Being free to do and think as I please	↑↑↑ 71	56	65
Leaving a healthy environment to future generations	↑ 66	60	58
Having social & health programs to support all citizens	↑ 65	60	39 ↓↓↓
Living in a tolerant, multicultural country	57	54	47 ↓
Having the opportunity to pursue a good life	56	58	59
Sharing many values and beliefs with other citizens	↓ 47	54	51
Having a say in the political, social & economic development	↓ 43	48	55 ↑
Living in the best society in the world	↓ 43	48	44
Being able to count on your fellow citizens if you are in need	↓↓ 38	50	48
Feeling distinctly different from people in other countries	38	34	23 ↓↓
Paying taxes	↑ 25	19	19
Serving my country when it needs me	↓↓↓ 19	35	46 ↑↑

Note: items presented as a series of randomly paired choices

# Goals for Government

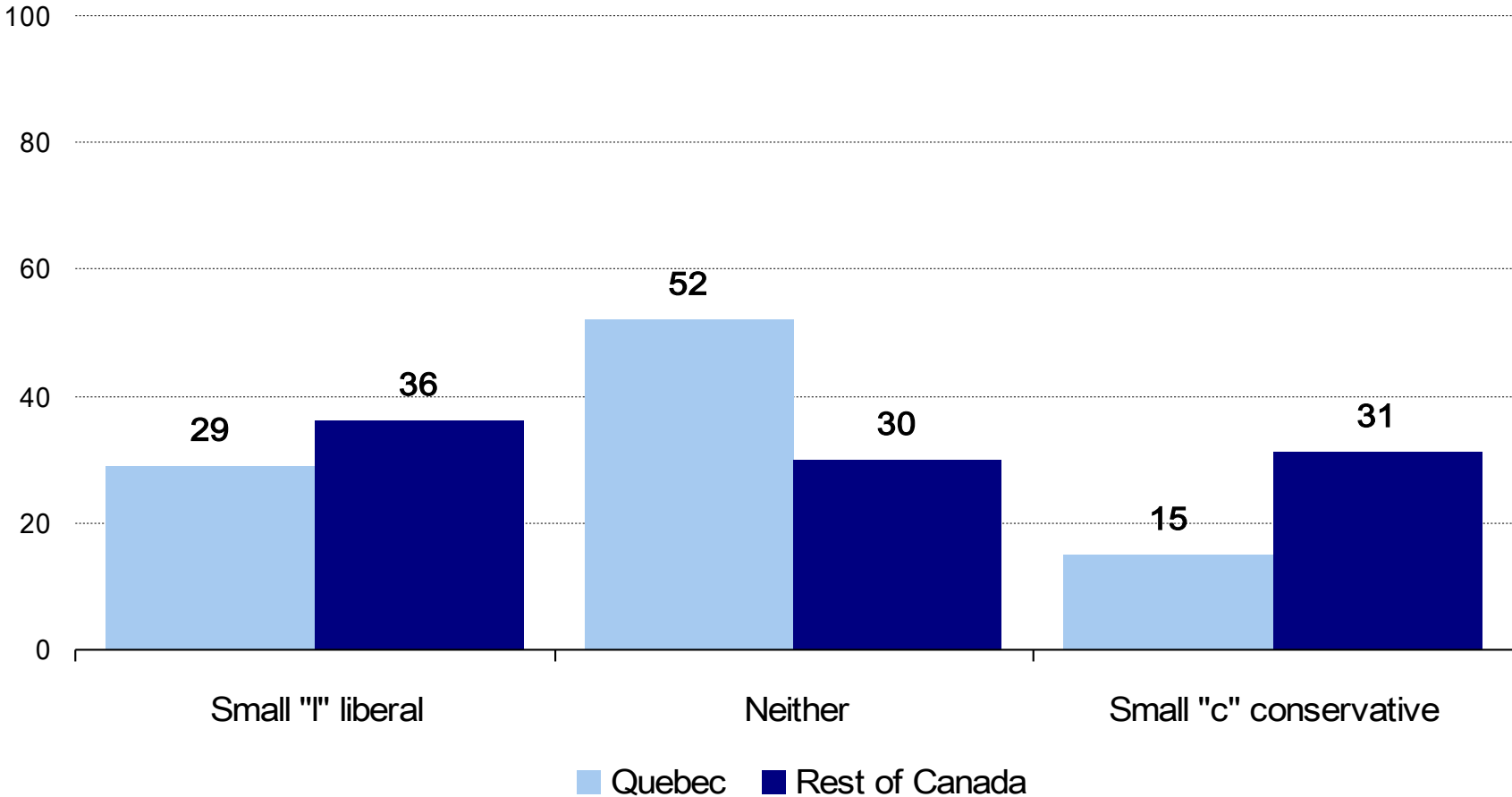
Q: If you were to direct the federal government as to which goals or values should be most important in its direction, how important would you say each of the following goals and values should be?

	Quebec	Rest of Canada
Freedom	86	91
A healthy population	86	87
A clean environment	84	86
Collective human rights	83	84
Social equality	82	78
Security and safety	81	85
Integrity and ethics	80	88
Traditional family values	78	77
Tolerance	77	81
Sharing of wealth among rich and poor	76	73
Equality among all regions in Canada	76	83
Respect for authority	75	80
Hard work	65	84
National unity	64	80
Minimal government intrusions	59	66

Note: number represents mean rating on a 100-point scale

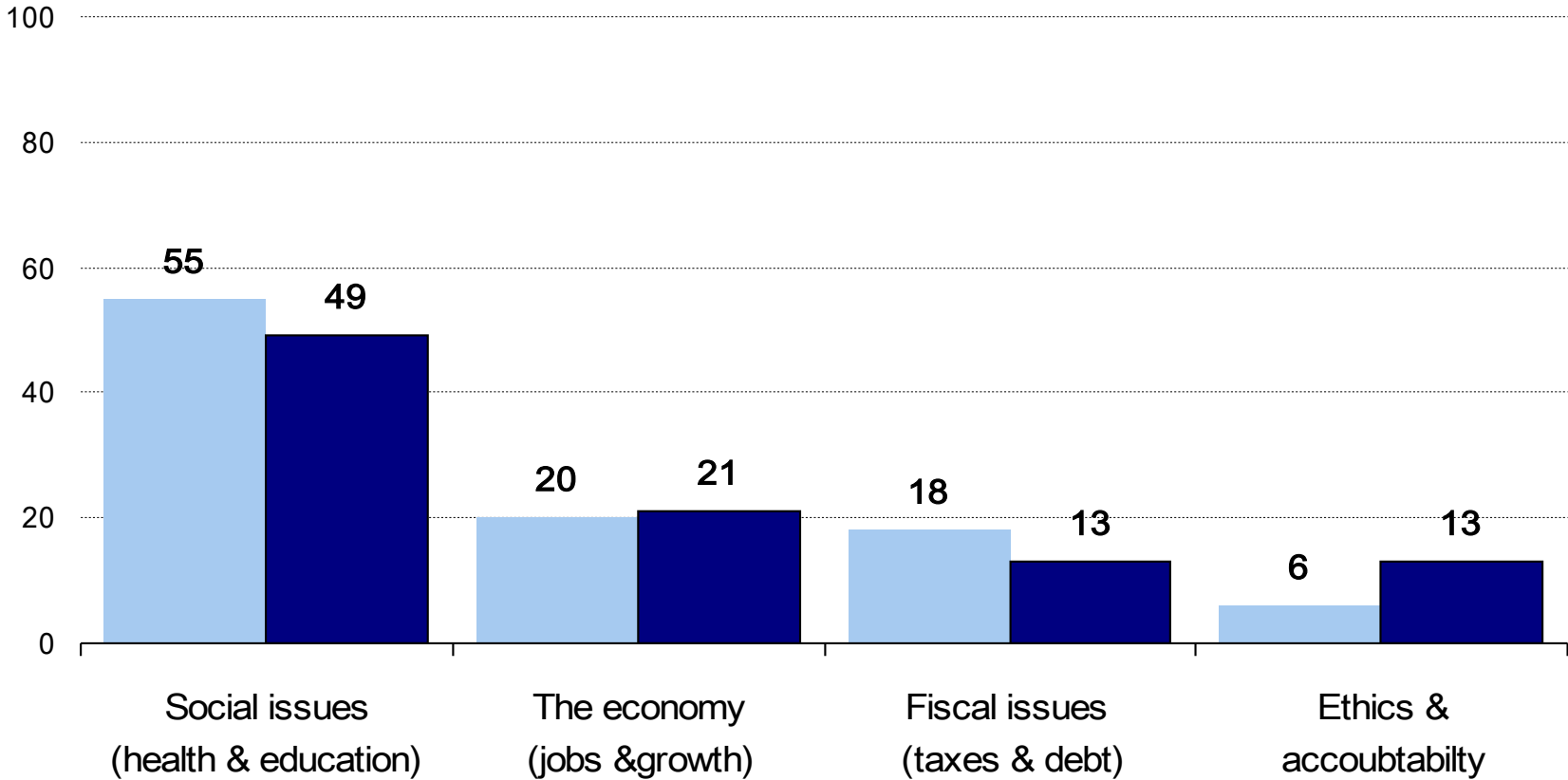
# Political Ideology

Q: Do you consider yourself a small “c” conservative or a small “l” liberal?



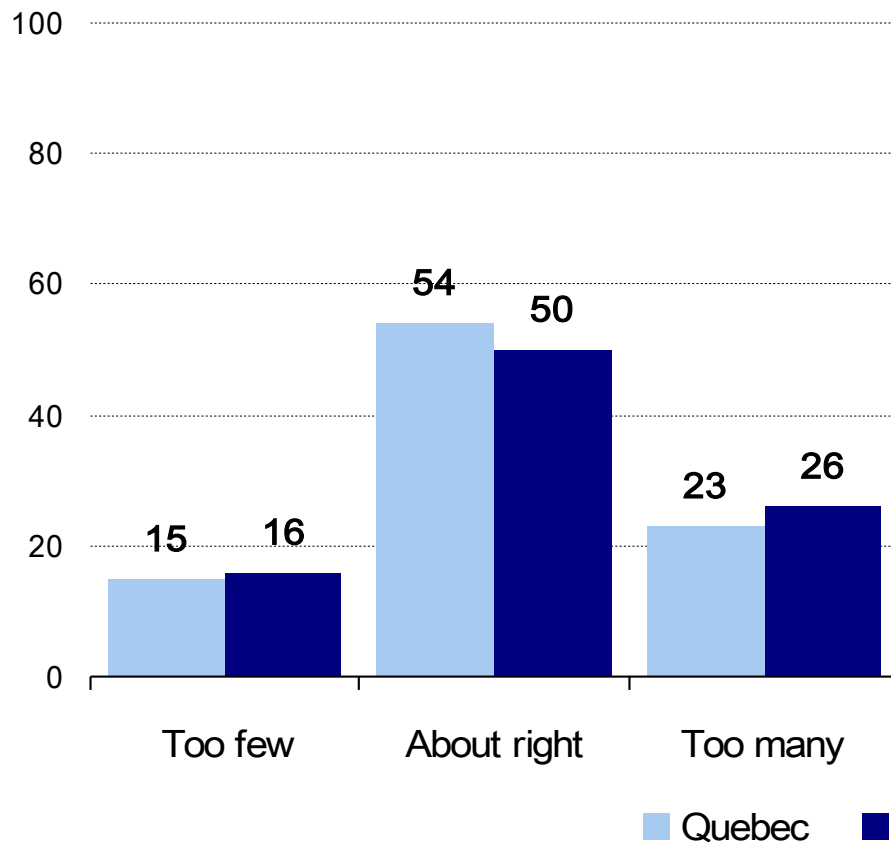
# Most Important Issue for Next Election

Q: Which of the following do you think should be the most important issue for the next federal election?

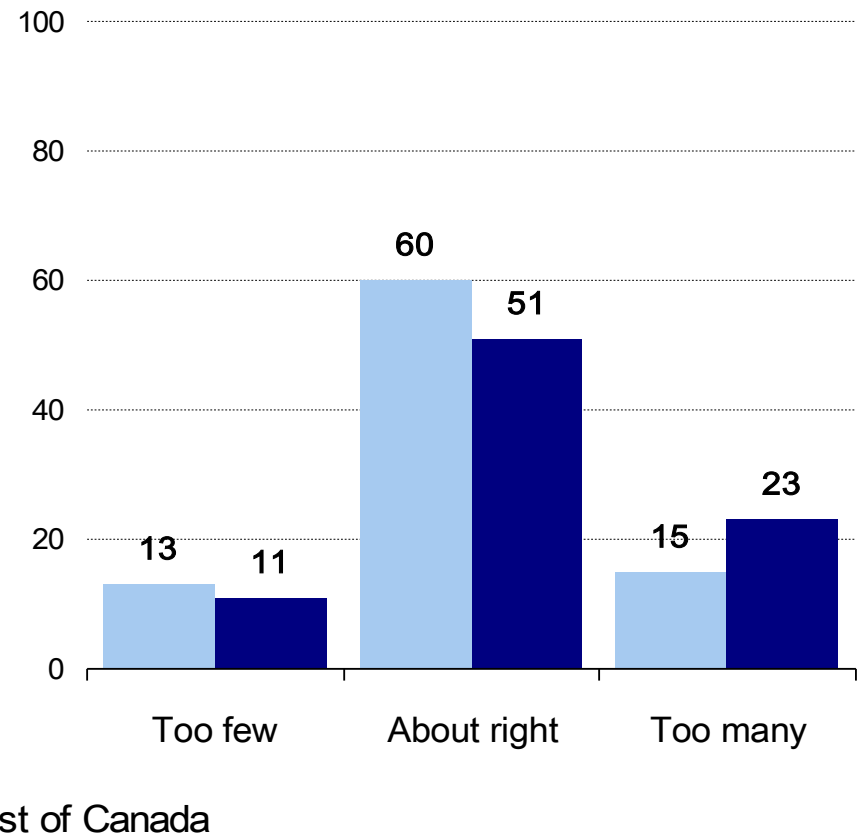


# Immigration

**Q:** In your opinion do you feel that there are too many, too few or about the right number of immigrants coming to Canada?

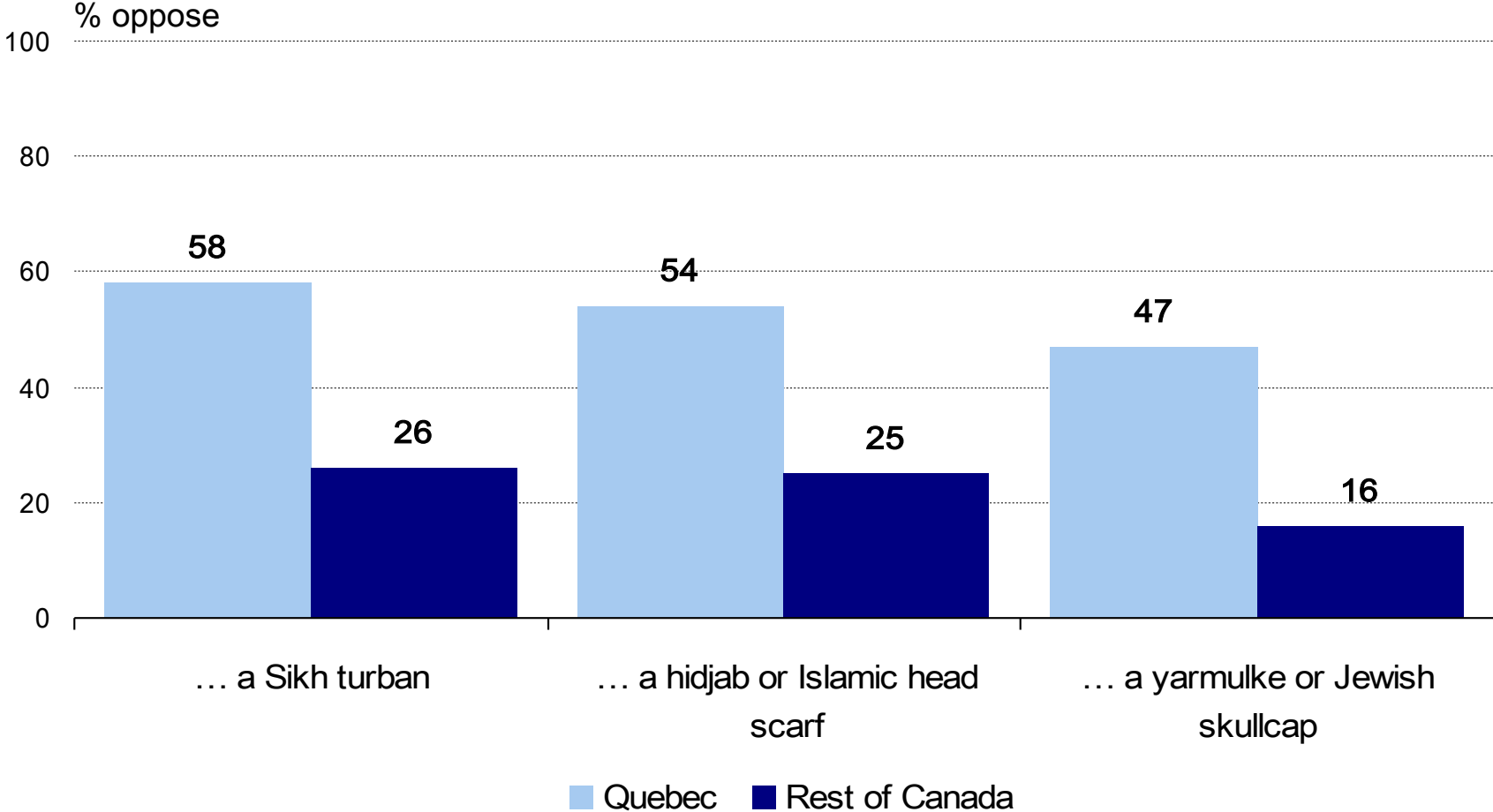


**Q:** Forgetting about the overall number of immigrants coming to Canada, of those who do come, would you say there are too many, too few or the right amount who are members of visible minorities?



# Racial Tolerance

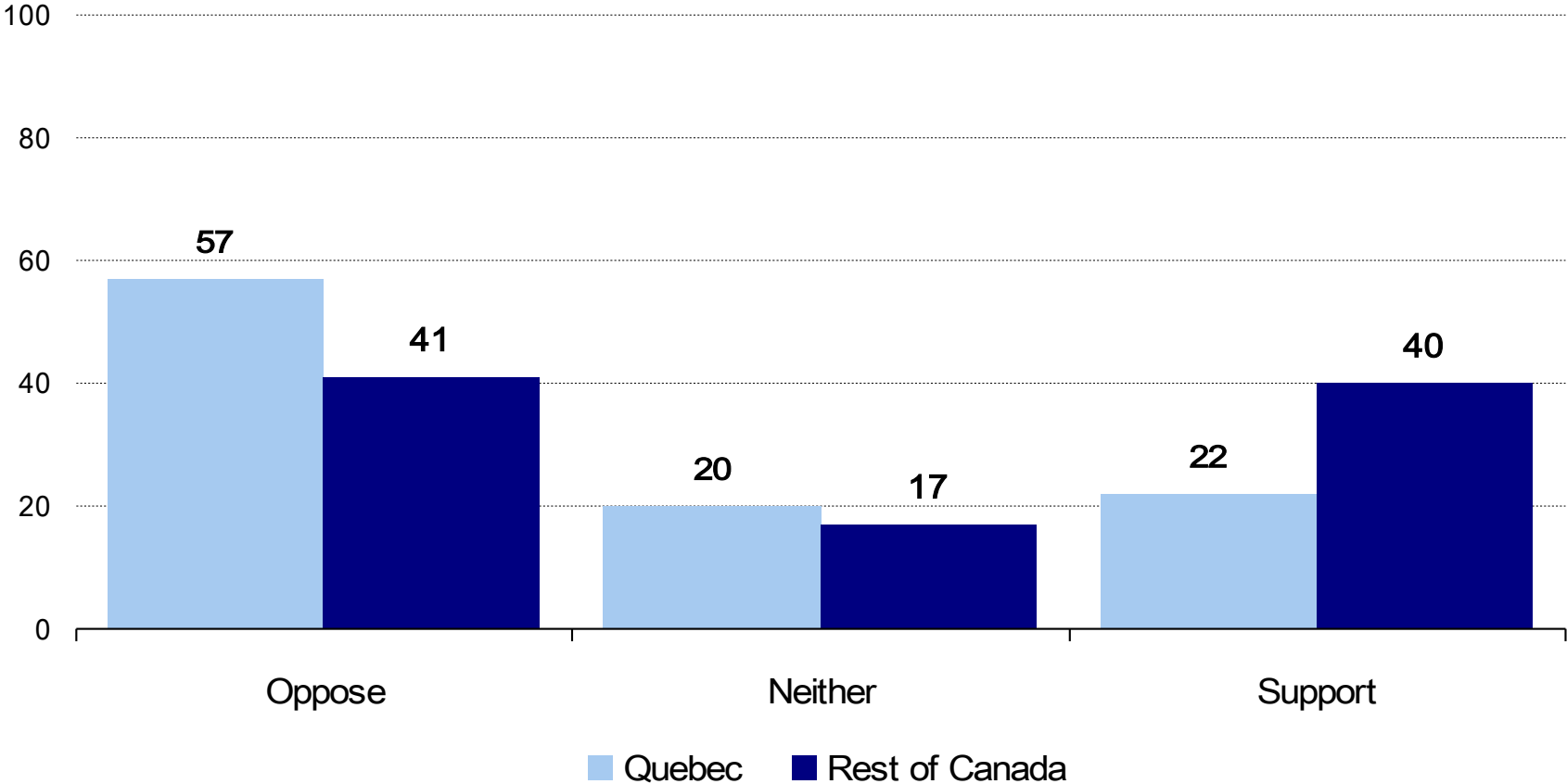
Q: Would you say you support or oppose your child's teacher in a public school having the right to wear ...?





# Afghanistan Mission

Q: Do you support or oppose Canadian military participation in Afghanistan?



# Attachment to Canada

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- Much lower attachment to Canada (but still significant)
  - Declining in recent years – arguably lowest in modern history
  - Attachment to Quebec somewhat higher, but not relative to ROC provincial attachment
- All attachments much lower in Quebec
  - Sum of attachment indicators in Quebec minus sum in ROC = difference of 134
- Lower values + lower attachment is sociologically significant
  - “ANOMIE” / Cultural lag?
    - ✓ Could explain higher suicides, lower family formation
    - ✓ Due to rapid de-Christianization and radical secularism?

# Sense of belonging

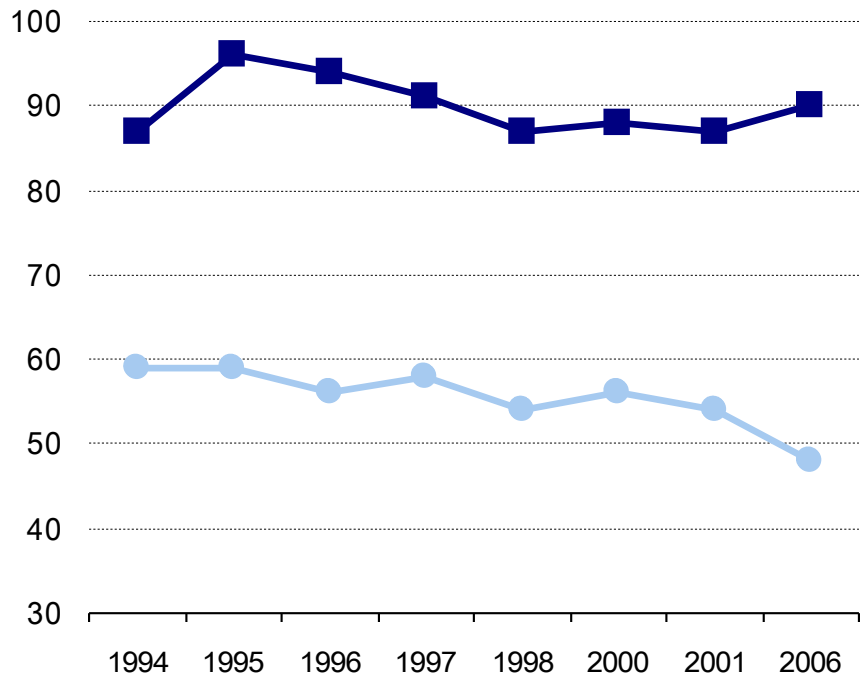
Q: How strong is your personal sense of belonging to...

	% "strong" (5-7 on 7-point scale)		
	Quebec	Rest of Canada	All Americans
Family	89	95	94
Country	54	91	88
Province/state	71	81	74
Community	60	80	80
Town	62	79	72
The world as a whole	50	70	68
North America as a whole	44	68	74
Ethnic group / race	55	62	59
Religious group	34	46	62

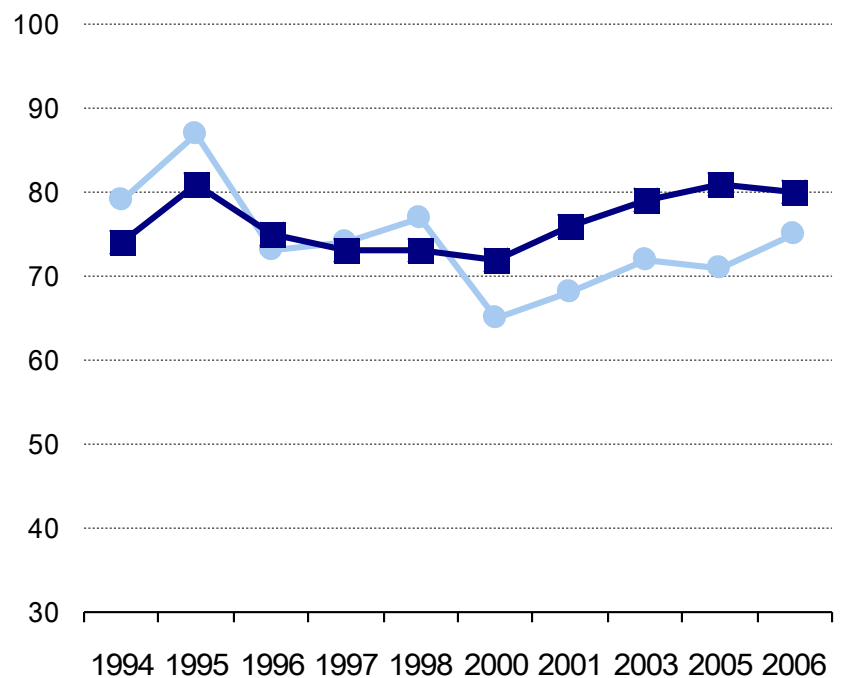
# Tracking sense of national / provincial belonging in Canada

Q: Please tell me how strong your own personal sense of belonging is to each of the following.

## CANADA



## PROVINCE



—●— Quebec —■— ROC

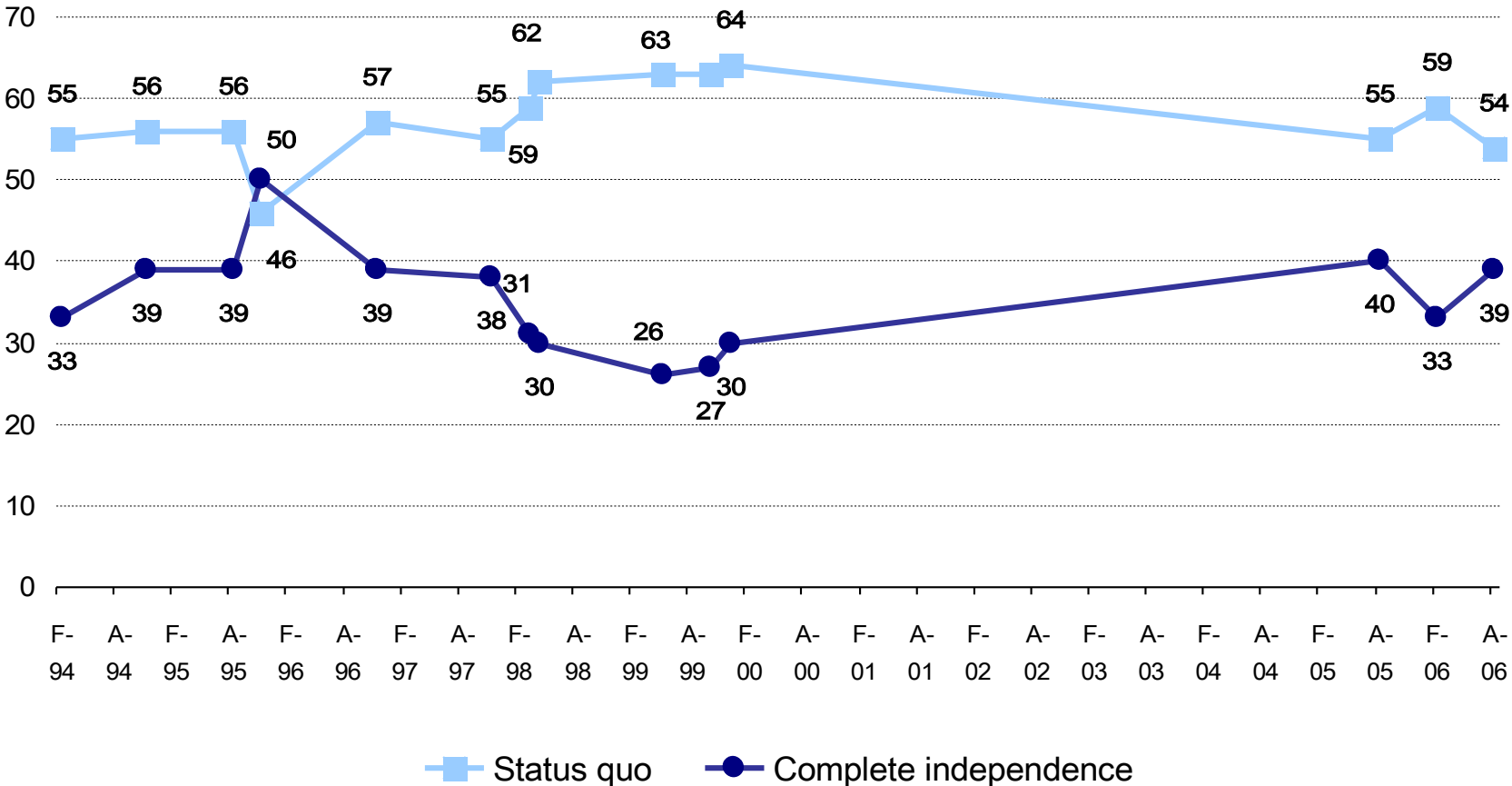
# Attitudes to Federalism: The Future of Canada

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- Timeline since the early 1990s:
  - 1995 = at brink of separation
  - 1996-03 = remarkable recovery (re: policy resonance; economy; sovereignty moribund)
  - 2003-05 = dramatic corrosive effects of sponsorship
  - 2006-present = recovery with election of Conservatives; beginning to wilt
- We see a rise on a number of our tracking indicators relating to Quebec sovereignty.
  - Preference for sovereignty options tied with separatist options
  - Incidence of voting “yes” today using the same 1995 question has gone ahead of the “no” vote again
  - Cumulatively, indicators are same/worse than lead-up to 1995 referendum
- “National Recognition” illustrates depth of the problem
  - Positive reception in Quebec / would improve “no” prospect in future
  - BUT, proposition rejected outright in ROC
  - Climate less auspicious in English Canada than 1994 (i.e. relatively unaware / indifferent)
    - ✓ Response range from hostility to tepid concern

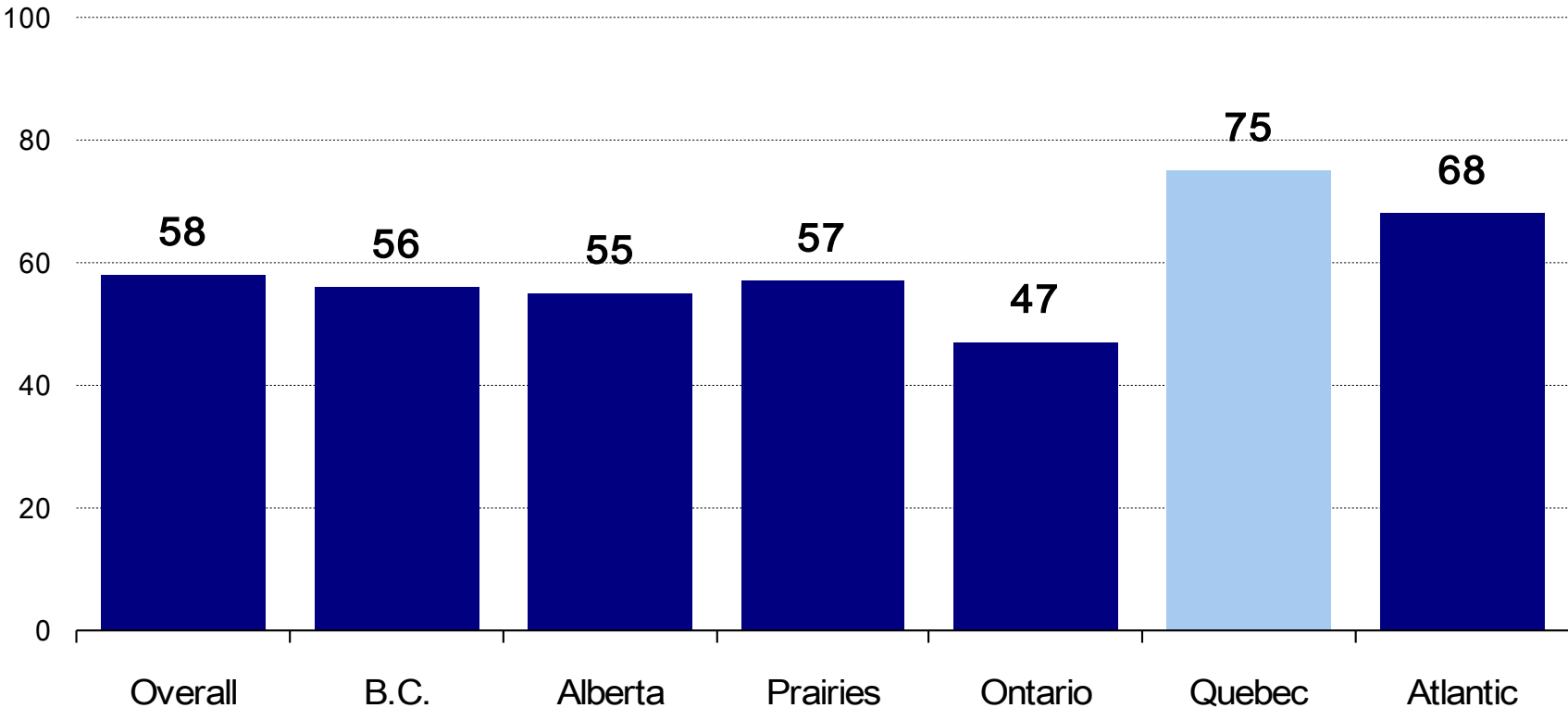
# Quebec Political Status – Forced Choice

Q: If you were forced to choose between complete independence from Canada or maintenance of the status quo, which would you choose?



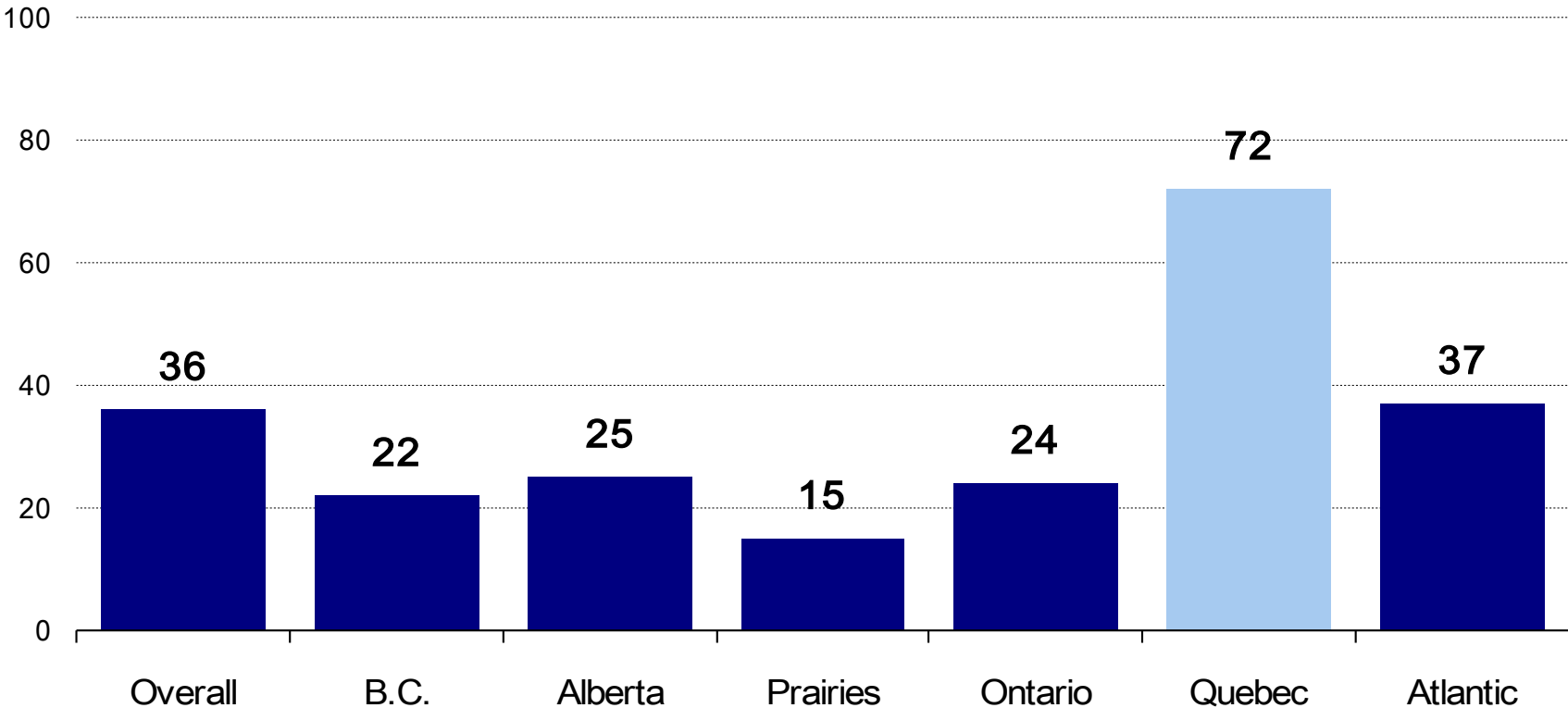
# Perceptions of Provincial Uniqueness

Q: Do you believe the residents of your province form a unique society that cannot be found elsewhere in Canada?



# Perceptions of Quebec as a Nation

Q: I think the Quebec people form a nation.





# Conclusions

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- Key outstanding questions:
  - How deep is current sovereignty sentiment?
    - How is it linked to values / attachment lacuna?
    - Elastic / mercurial shifts suggest that it may be superficially rooted
  - What are the implications for federalism?
    - Cause for concern
    - Constitutional fix seems implausible in shorter term
    - Common values / identity insufficient in and of itself
    - Interests / policy consequences / institutions (parliament, courts) / service?



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