

# **Evolving Public Security Outlook: Next Canada or End of Old Canada?**

Wave 5 of the **Security Monitor** 2006-7 Study



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#### Introduction

In the immediate aftermath of the September 11th terrorist attacks, EKOS launched its Security Monitor study. Now in its sixth year, the study continues to demonstrate how dynamic the safety and security landscape is in Canada. These shifts are sometimes unexpected and can alter the public context in terms of policy and the delivery of security services.

The salience of security and threat is much higher today than it was at the close of the last decade and issues related to public security are increasingly critical to the evaluation of broad government performance. Security issues are also becoming crucial yardsticks by which citizens measure the performance of governments.

Today, the Security Monitor study is one of the most important examinations of the public's perceptions of issues of safety and security in Canada. Findings from the past year's Monitor reinforced the need for ongoing monitoring of the public's continually evolving outlook. Pertinent events such as the London transit bombings, rising chaos in Iraq, gun violence in Toronto, Hurricane Katrina, the changing role of the Canadian Forces, and the global focus on a potential influenza pandemic have all had an impact on the public's outlook. Likewise, the continued, intense, and rising concerns about threats linked to climate and the environment demonstrated the breadth of concerns about the nature of threats today. Events such as these have reinforced the dominance of what we have labelled the "security ethic" which has implications for the public's expectations of the state to act as a guardian of risk or risk manager.

The 2006-7 study continues to focus on the evolving safety and security landscape in Canada. The results of the fifth are based on a survey with a national random sample of 1,018 Canadians undertaken in April and May 2007. The methodological details are shown in the appendix to this report.

#### Overview

The latest Monitor contains an unusually rich inventory of topical data covering a range of policy areas. Beyond the specific analyses offered in the main report, there are a few central themes which bear further comment. These are not necessarily a conclusion or distillation of the research but rather some of the more important underlying patterns which may not be obvious upon first inspection. These central themes also reconcile some of the surface contradictions in the data and in some cases point to evolving societal outlook on security and threat.

#### Growing Isolationism versus Cosmopolitanism and Internationalism

A growing tendency to isolationism may be the most important recent trend that we have encountered. This is so in part because of the largely hidden nature of this phenomenon, its broad implications for some of the most crucial current national debates, and for its linkage to parallel and even more pronounced trends in the American public. Without reviewing all of the specific numbers, we note that there is an overwhelming and growing lean to a greater emphasis on domestic rather than international focus. While it is generally the case that citizens prefer domestic to foreign focus, the current tilt and its trajectory suggest a growing tendency to insularity and withdrawal.

This contrasts sharply with an earlier period of sharply rising emphasis on the external world which began in the mid part of last decade. As we exited the fiscal crisis we began to see trade liberalization, new information technology and globalization as being both dramatically more important and positive forces. Following the abrupt shock of September 11, this global optimism became tinged with a new layer of fear; but there was still a fairly exuberant sense of internationalism (recall clear majorities of the Canadian public supported both the Afghanistan and Iraq interventions in early 2002). Slowly but significantly, we have seen this more adventurist internationalism dampened by a nagging sense of futility and despair that our best efforts were neither welcome nor effective in targeted regions; a sentiment that is much more pronounced in the American public but which is also a rising force in Canada.

This tendency to insularity is evident in a sharp recent rise in opposition to immigration (still low by American and European public standards) and a strong consensus that immigration should lean much more to assimilation-integration than to multiculturalism and pluralism. In Quebec, the emphasis on assimilation is even more pronounced; fuelled by French European-like secularism and more traditional fears of cultural survival.

These forces are by no means a monolithic reflection of a new societal consensus. What was quite astonishing was the degree to which Canada had been pursuing an increasingly singular Western path in favour of both multiculturalism and immigration despite sharply contrary currents in both Europe and America. It also remains the case

that cosmopolitanism and pluralism remain much more favoured amongst Canada's younger, more ethnically-diverse populations.

What may be less clear is how squarely the Afghanistan issue sits in the centre of these divisions. Just as literacy of the new harder edge to our renewed military and Afghanistan mission has soared to unprecedented levels, we find that attitudes to the mission almost directly sort the public into supporters and critics of the federal government and national direction. Moreover, despite growing recognition of the harder-nosed nature of this mission, the public are deeply divided and increasingly nostalgic for more traditional peacekeeping.

Unsurprisingly, isolationists are more allergic to the Afghanistan mission. The broader connections are a little more complex. Isolationism is rooted in fear of the external world and others; an impulse to pull up the drawbridge and go back to the "good old days" where we did not worry about terrorism, exotic viruses, economic crises, or climate changes that were largely emanating from foreign places outside of our control. Yet, opposition to Afghanistan (which is still only about half of the public) is not simply rooted in isolationism. Young cosmopolitans who are very enthusiastic about globalization, trade and immigration are also highly wary of Afghanistan and its perceived linkage to US foreign policy. It does, however, increasingly appear that the Afghanistan mission is the central prism and yardstick by which the federal government is being judged.

#### The Real U.S. Outlook; Beneath the Narcissistic Surface

Concerns about our national direction are never far removed from our relationship to the United States. The dominant security ethic which grips Canadian society originated in the United States and the incipient isolationism currently evident is a paler reflection of a powerful new societal direction in the U.S. If outlook on Afghanistan and foreign policy are central sorting mechanisms for outlook on the federal government, then they are also intimately linked to outlook on the U.S. and its foreign policy.

Our recent tracking has shown a clear rising pattern of conviction that we are both becoming more like the United States and that we should not be doing so. This schizophrenic public outlook on the U.S. is an expression of one of the most confused and misunderstood aspects of Canadian public opinion. In an era of rising U.S. isolationism and protectionism, this becomes a matter of more than academic interest for Canadians.

It is our conclusion that of the paradoxical concurrent attraction and repulsion to the United States there is a broad tendency to overstate the significance of the negative outlook. For largely narcissistic reasons, Canadians may claim to have profound aversion to the U.S., but a range of contrary data suggests otherwise. The vast majority stress the importance of strengthening the relationship and most see our paths drawing nearer not further apart. Perhaps more pointedly, whatever the theoretical or normative

preferences, most see greater convergence occurring and most feel that "for better or worse" we will become more integrated in the future. Perhaps we would rather resemble Sweden, but in a real *politick* world where the American public impulse is increasingly to pull up the drawbridge, most Canadians will opt to be inside rather than outside the gate. This is reinforced by a more primordial conviction that the U.S. is overwhelmingly our best friend (note that this analysis is less germane to Quebec).

What may also be true, yet less obvious, is that American public outlook on Canada, while vague, is remarkably benign. Canada is seen almost as a domestic extension of the United States, which is a source of umbrage to Canadians, but arguably a strong asset in the current environment.

#### Evolving Public Outlook: Next Canada or End of Old Canada?

We have spoken at length about the profound significance of the new security ethic (or new normal) which has increasingly defined Canadian outlook in the new century. We had recently speculated that unusual and rising generational fissures may be pointing to the limits of this period but the recent key indicators suggest there is no immediate evidence that the public preoccupation with threat and security (particularly pronounced amongst politically influential boomers) is about to relax its stranglehold.

There are some further notable features of recently evolving public outlook. For example, issues related to the military are much more salient. Although Canadians adamantly reject the notion that we are more militaristic than pacifist, particularly when compared to our American neighbours, there is a strong lean to see ourselves as more militaristic than we did even several years ago. We have more favourable attitudes not just towards military personnel, but also towards defence as an institution. We are not yet in a new era of jingoism and chauvinism, but there has been a profound transformation in public outlook from the period of benign neglect which characterized the nineties (an possibly the tree decades that preceded it).

There is a sense that the latent generational pressures surrounding national direction and the relative emphasis on security versus other priorities (e.g., the environment, skills and knowledge) may be more explicit and even approaching a boiling point. Increasingly polarized views on issues such as cosmopolitanism versus parochialism and globalization versus continentalism, coupled with our unique demographic skews, have the capacity to produce rapid, even revolutionary pressures (in the paradigmatic-Kuhnian not Marxist sense) on the current order.



# **Government Responses**

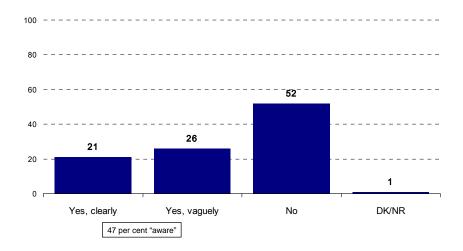
PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

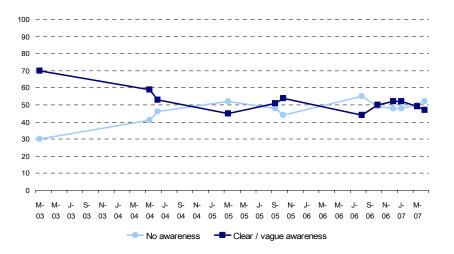
Awareness of measures the Government of Canada has taken to improve public safety and security has declined for the third consecutive time this year and now stands at just under 1 in 2 (47 per cent) reporting at least some awareness. Despite modest awareness levels, the government continues to receive largely positive marks for the direction it is taking on national security (55 per cent "right direction" compared to 33 per cent "wrong direction"). For the first time in 18 months, however, the slight plurality (41 per cent) says that the pace of changes introduced to deal with security issues has been "too slow", rather than the previously dominant view of "about right" (now at 39 per cent).

Perceptions of the government's national security response are strongly correlated with attitudes towards Canada's role in Afghanistan. Those who support the mission are much more likely to favour of the current direction on national security (65 per cent "right direction" compared to 40 per cent who oppose the mission). They are also more inclined to describe the pace of changes as being "about right" (43 per cent compared to 33 per cent who oppose).

### Awareness of security measures

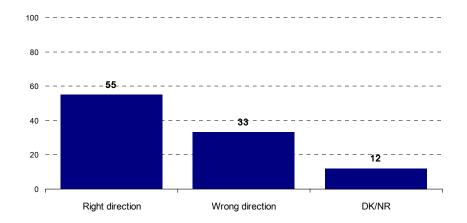
**Q:** Do you recall hearing about any actions that the Government of Canada has taken to improve public safety and security in the past year?

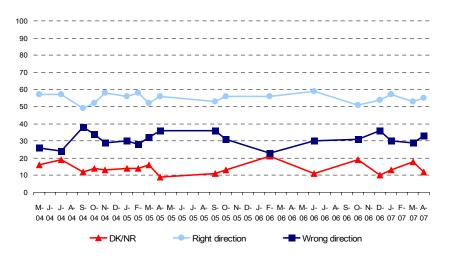




## Direction of Government on national security

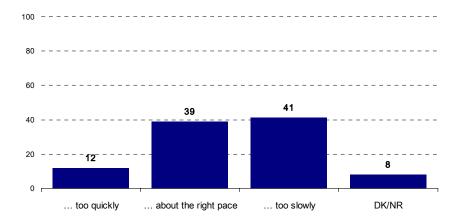
**Q:** All things considered, would you say that the Government of Canada is moving in the right direction or the wrong direction in terms of national security?

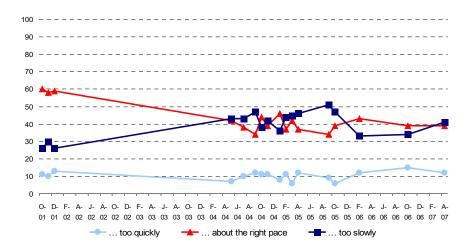




## Attitudes towards the amount/pace of changes on security

**Q:** Thinking about the amount and pace of changes the Government of Canada has announced to deal with security issues, do you think they are moving ...







Security & Civil Liberties

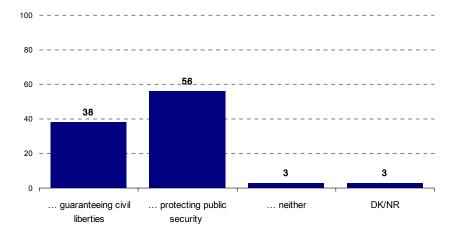
PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

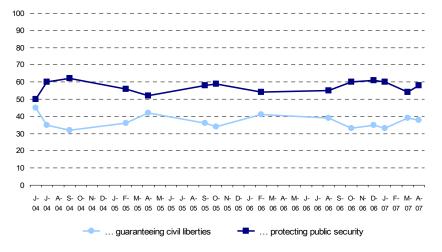
The security / civil-liberties trade-off continues to be a highly divisive issue. Although the public has consistently ranked security ahead of civil liberties, as recently as March 2007 it looked as though we were beginning to see some convergence on the issue, with civil liberties trailing security by only 15 percentage points (rather than the standard 20-25 points). However, with the gap between these goals growing to 20 points in this most recent sounding, support for the civil liberties side of the equation seems to have dissipated once again. The one area where public preference is less clear is in terms of police powers. Here Canadians are completely divided: 43 per cent support granting police additional powers and almost as many (42 per cent) do not.

The preference for security is not as strong among all segments of the population. For example, among youth, security (49 per cent) is only slightly preferred to civil liberties (42 per cent). Likewise, only 27 per cent of youth think police need additional powers (compared to 59 per cent of seniors).

## Civil liberties vs. security trade-off

**Q:** Recognizing that both are important in today's world, which of the following do you feel the Government of Canada should place the most emphasis on . . . or . . . ?

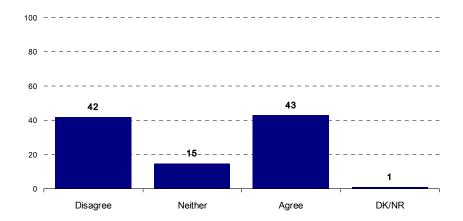


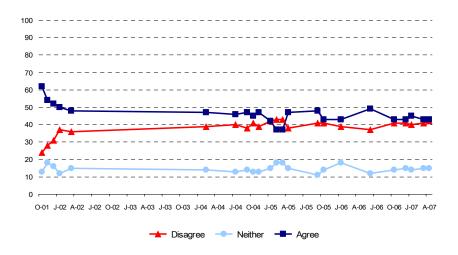


Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

# Necessity of granting additional security powers

**Q:** Police and intelligence agencies should have more powers to ensure security even if it means Canadians have to give up some personal privacy safeguards.







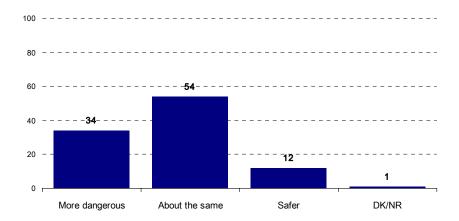
Perception of Threat

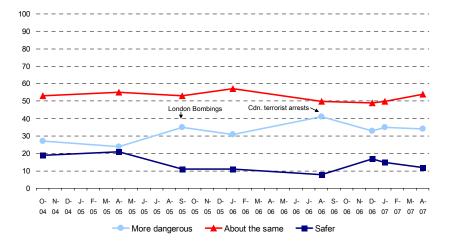
PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

Unlike perceptions of the safety of the world (which is perceived as increasingly dangerous as time goes on), Canada continues to been seen as largely unchanged from five years ago (54 per cent). However, for those who fear that Canada has changed, the lean has always been towards seeing the country as "more dangerous" (34 per cent) rather than "safer" (12 per cent). For those who oppose current immigration levels (44 per cent) and Canada's role in Afghanistan (38 per cent), the country is definitely more dangerous than in the recent past.

## Perceived safety / danger of Canada

**Q:** From your own point of view, do you feel that, overall, Canada is safer, more dangerous, or about the same as it was five years ago?



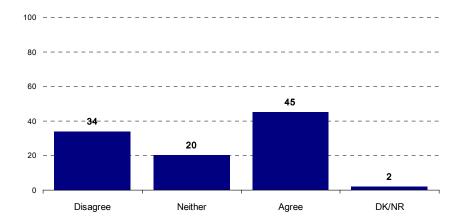


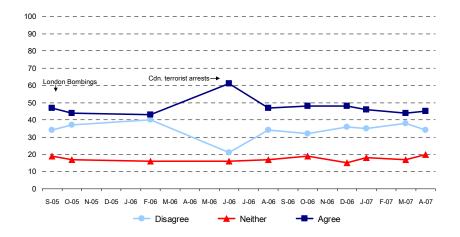
Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

Perceptions of danger may be fuelled, at least in part, by the fact that a plurality of Canadians (45 per cent) shares a view that it "only a matter of time" before there is a terrorist attack in Canada (and 34 per cent disagrees). While the threat of terrorism may be regarded as largely inevitable, it is not necessarily considered imminent: less than one in ten think it is "very likely" that either they or their family or Canada will suffer from a terrorist attack at some point in the next couple of years. And although Canadians are much more likely to consider the United States a probable target, the perception of threat against the U.S. has declined significantly over the past twenty months (from 45 per cent "very likely" in September 2005 to the current 34 per cent "very likely").

### Is a terrorist attack in Canada inevitable?

Q: It's just a matter of time before there is a major terrorist attack on Canadian soil.

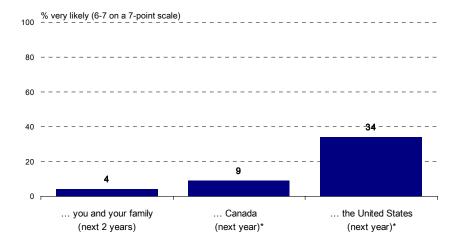


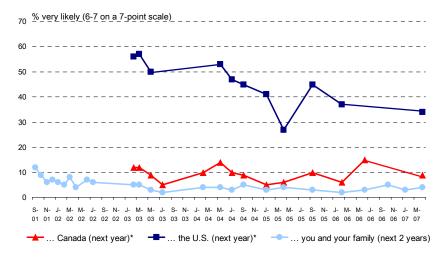


There is a correlation between Canadians personal values and their perceptions of the threat of terrorism. For example, those who think we should be emphasizing civil liberties are much more inclined to think that it is unlikely that either they or their family will be personally affected (72 per cent vs. 55 per cent emphasizing security) or that Canada will be targeted (54 per cent vs. 40 per cent emphasizing security). Likewise, those who think the collective Canadian outlook is "pacifist" in nature are much less likely to perceive a threat to either themselves (67 per cent "unlikely" vs. 49 per cent "militaristic") or other Canadians (53 per cent vs. 27 per cent "militaristic").

## Comparing the perceived likelihood of terrorist attacks

Q: How likely do you think it is that . . . will suffer from a terrorist attack?

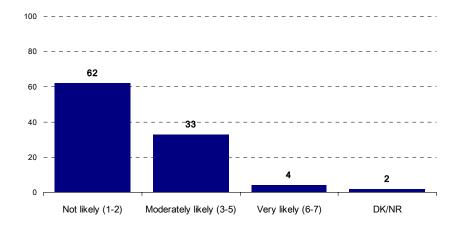


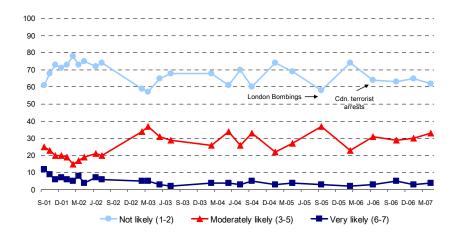


Base: All Canadians; most recent data point Apr./May 07 n=1018 (\*half sample)

## Likelihood of being personally affected by terrorism

**Q:** How likely do you think it is that you and your family will suffer from a terrorist attack in the next two years?

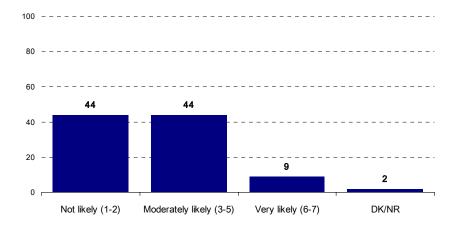


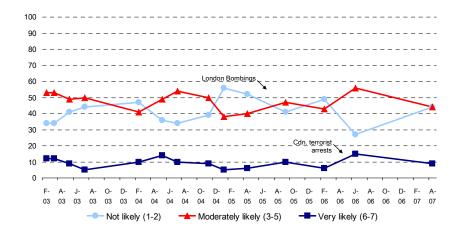


Base: All Canadians; Apr./May 07 n=1018

### Likelihood of a terrorist attack in Canada

Q: How likely do you think it is that Canada will suffer from a terrorist attack in the coming year?

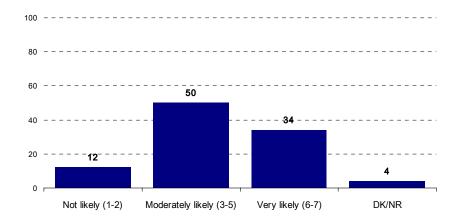


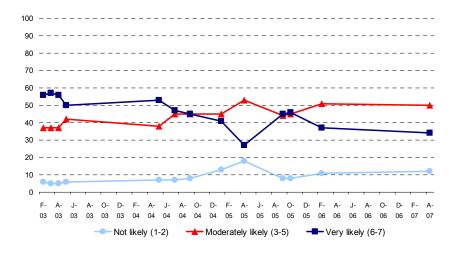


Base: All Canadians; Apr./May 07 n=half sample

### Likelihood of a terrorist attack in the United States

Q: How likely do you think it is that the United States will suffer from a terrorist attack in the coming year?





Base: All Canadians; Apr./May 07 n=half sample



Immigration, Tolerance and Diversity

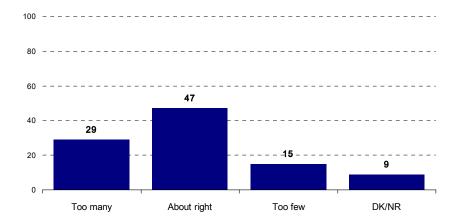
PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

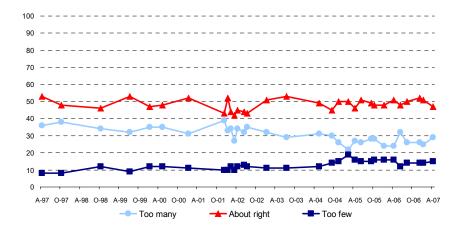
In this iteration of the Security Monitor we continue our examination of Canadians attitudes towards immigration in the context of national security. At the outset, we find that Canadians are generally tolerant of this practice, with a plurality (47 per cent) believing that the current influx of immigrants is "about right". There is, however, a significant and growing proportion of the population that takes the view that there are "too many immigrants coming to Canada" (29 per cent, up from 25 per cent in January 2007). A small minority of Canadians (15 per cent) also believes that there is not enough immigration.

So what exactly is driving opposition to immigration? As a starting point, those opposed to the practice admit that current events have made them more suspicious of other races and cultures (45 per cent vs. 16 per cent who approve of current immigration levels). They are also more likely to believe that immigrants have a responsibility to integrate into Canadian society, even if it means giving up certain values or practices from their country of origin (82 per cent vs. 68 per cent in support of current immigration levels). As a result, they are much more likely to feel that Canada "goes too far" in accommodating immigrants (65 per cent vs. 41 per cent in favour).

## Attitudes towards immigration (in general)

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

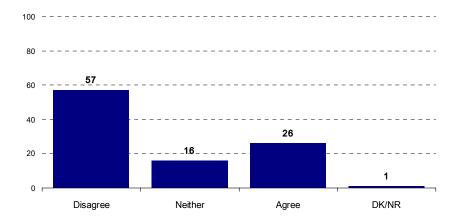


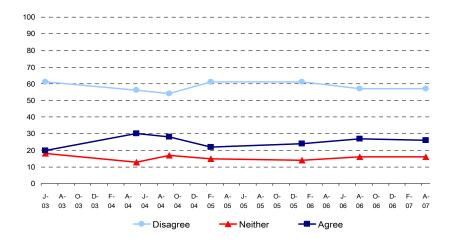


Base: All Canadians; most recent data point Apr./ May 07 n=1018

## **Cultural stereotyping**

Q: Given current events, I find myself more suspicious of other races and cultures.

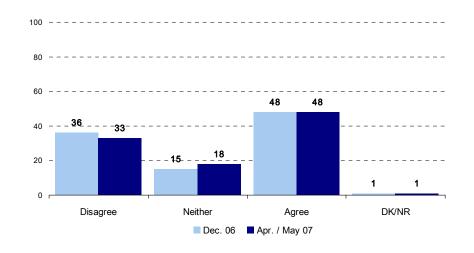




Base: All Canadians; most recent data point Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

### Integration seen as necessary for security reasons

**Q:** Concerns about immigrants becoming a threat to national security because they do not integrate into Canadian society are overblown.

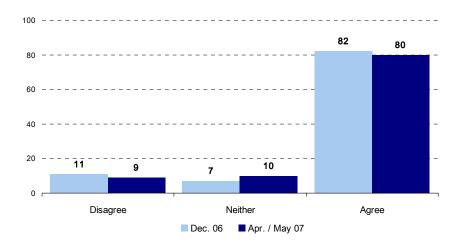


Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

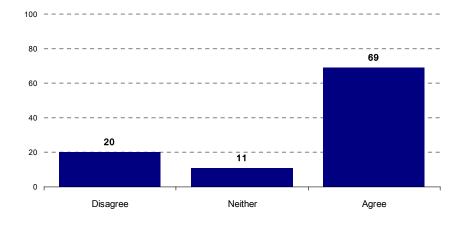
Those opposed to immigration are not the only ones with expectations for immigrants. Overall, we find that a large majority of Canadians (80 per cent) believes that immigrants have a responsibility to integrate into Canadian society and, although a less popular idea, it is also sizable majority (69 per cent) that believes that integration needs to occur even if it essentially results in assimilation (i.e. loss of values and practices from their country of origin).

## Immigrants responsible for integrating into Canadian society

Q: Immigrants to Canada have a responsibility to integrate into Canadian society.



**Q**: Immigrants to Canada have a responsibility to integrate into Canadian society, *even if it means they may have to give up some of their values and practices from their country of origin.* 

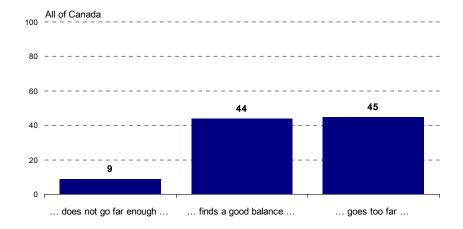


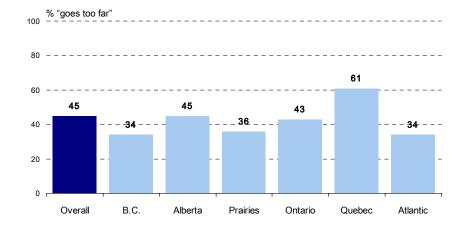
Given these results, it is not entirely surprising to find that the public's views on Canada's immigration policy are strongly divided: 45 per cent say Canada "goes too far" in accommodating different practices and values and 44 per cent says Canada "finds a good balance" between accommodation and assimilation. It is a very small minority (nine per cent) who feels that Canada does not go far enough in accommodating recent immigrants.

As the first Canadian province to formally set out to study the issue of "reasonable accommodation" of non-Christian religious practices, it may not be surprising to find that Quebec stands apart on many of the issues related to tolerance. Following the well-publicized adoption of a "code of conduct" for new immigrants in the town of Hérouxville, Quebec, we find that residents from across the province are much more likely to think that Canada "goes too far" in its accommodation of immigrants (61 per cent vs. 45 per cent across Canada). Quebeckers are also more inclined to admit that they are suspicious of other races and cultures (32 per cent vs. 26 per cent across Canada). At the same time, however, they are the most likely to approve of current immigration levels (59 per cent vs. 47 per cent across Canada).

## Canada's immigration policy - accommodation vs. assimilation

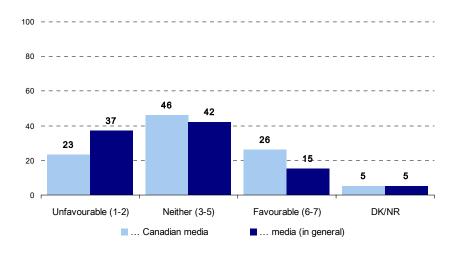
Q: Immigrants to Canada often bring with them many practices and values from their country of origin. Which of the following best describes how Canada manages the integration of immigrants into Canadian practices and values? Would you say that Canada . . . in accommodating different practices and values?





### Portrayal of Muslims in the media

Q: Generally speaking, how would you describe the portrayal of Muslims by the . . . ?



Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

The portrayal of Muslims in the media is an interesting sidebar to the discussion of tolerance and attitudes towards immigration. Overall, pluralities say the portrayal of this group in the media in general (42 per cent) and Canada in specific (46 per cent) is neither positive nor negative. For those who do not see the media's portrayal as being neutral, the lean is towards seeing it as "unfavourable" (37 per cent vs. 15 per cent "favourable"). Views are more divided with respect to the Canadian media: 26 per cent say the portrayal is "favourable" and almost as many (23 per cent) say "unfavourable". Interestingly, there are no significant differences between visible minority Canadians and non-visible minorities on this issue.



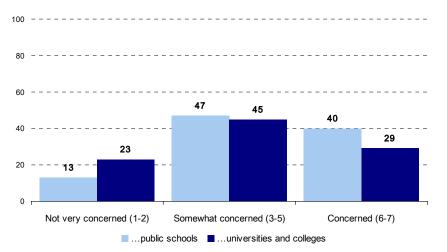
Security and Safety of Educational Institutions

PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

In the aftermath of the massacre at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, the deadliest shooting in recent United States' history, it is not unexpected to find that Canadians are concerned about the security and safety of educational institutions in this country. Despite the fact that the most recent incident occurred at a post-secondary establishment, Canadians express higher levels of concern with public schools (87 per cent "somewhat" to "very concerned") than universities and colleges (74 per cent). Women, those with a high school education or less, and visible minority Canadians are the most concerned about the safety and security of educational institutions.

# Concern regarding security and safety of educational institutions

Q: How concerned are you about the security and safety of ... in Canada?

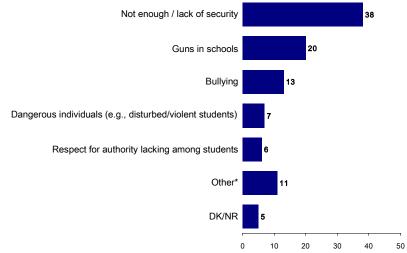


Note – for this battery of questions, the sample was divided into 2 groups: half were asked about public schools, the other half about universities and colleges

In terms of specific concerns, a perceived lack of security is seen as the most troubling, mentioned by approximately one in three concerned with the safety and security of public schools (38 per cent) or universities and colleges (36 per cent). Concerns about guns are also highly resonant: one in five expresses fears about guns being in public schools (20 per cent) and one in three the potential for random shootings or violence in universities or colleges (34 per cent). Bullying is also considered a problem in public schools (mentioned by 13 per cent).

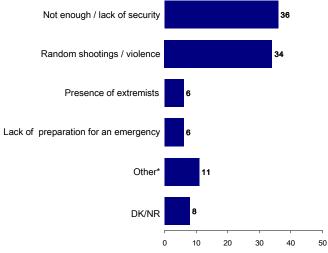
### Specific concerns

Q: What is it that concerns you most about the security and safety of <u>public schools</u> in Canada?



\*Note: category includes, among others, the following responses (each mentioned by fewer than 5 per cent): drugs, poor curriculum, lack of preparation for an emergency, and problems with government policies in this area.

**Q:** What is it that concerns you most about the security and safety of <u>universities and colleges</u> in Canada?



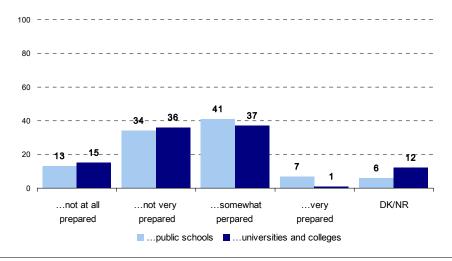
\*Note: category includes, among others, the following responses (each mentioned by fewer than 5 per cent): threat of terrorism, poor gun controls, and poor curriculum.

Base: Those concerned about the safety of universities and colleges in Canada (5-7 on 7-point scale); Apr./ May 07 n=207

Canadians concerns with schools are likely fueled, at least in part, by a common belief that these types of institutions are not really prepared to deal with a large scale emergency or crisis. In fact, about one in ten thinks that public schools (13 per cent) and universities and colleges (15 per cent) are "not at all prepared" and an additional one in three thinks they are "not very prepared". Residents of Quebec are particularly likely to hold the view that these institutions are not prepared: 70 per cent say that public schools are "not at all" to "not very prepared" (compared to 47 per cent of all Canadians) and 66 per cent feel this way about universities and colleges (compared to 51 per cent of all Canadians).

### Preparedness of educational institutions for crises or emergencies

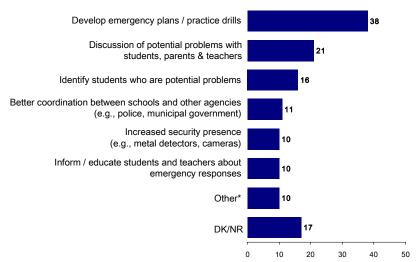
**Q:** Still thinking about ... in Canada, how prepared do you think they are to deal with a large scale emergency or crisis. Would you say they are...



The most obvious suggestion for how educational institutions can become more prepared for these types of situations is to develop emergency plans and practice emergency drills (mentioned by 38 per cent thinking about public schools and 33 per cent universities and colleges). Instituting a number of preventative measures are also proposed (i.e. open up dialogue between students, teachers, and parents, identify and address potential risky students, increase awareness of emergency responses). Although a lack of security was cited as the number one concern, only about one in ten would actually like to see a greater security presence (e.g., metal detectors, cameras) in educational institutions in Canada.

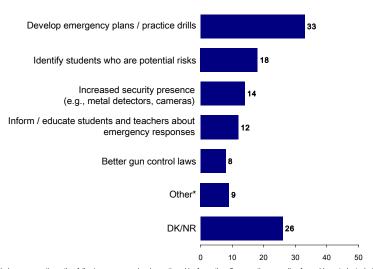
### Specific preparations

Q: What do you think the <u>public schools</u> should be doing to become more prepared?



\*Note: category includes, among others, the following responses (each mentioned by fewer than 5 per cent): stricter enforcement of rules, counseling for problem students, nothing, and investing more resources.

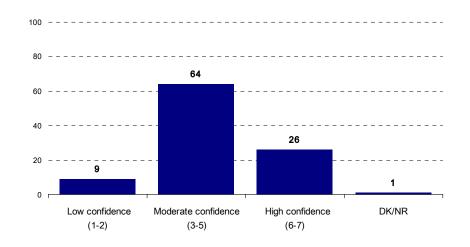
 $\textbf{Q:} \ \ \textbf{What do you think} \ \underline{\textbf{universities and colleges}} \ \ \textbf{should be doing to become more prepared?}$ 



\*Note: category includes, among others, the following responses (each mentioned by fewer than 5 per cent): counseling for problem students, better coordination between schools and other agencies, discussion of potential problems with students, teachers and parents.

### Confidence in law enforcement protecting children's safety

**Q:** How much confidence do you have in law enforcement to ensure the safety of children in Canada's schools?



Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

Canadians express moderate (64 per cent) to high (26 per cent) levels of confidence in law enforcement to ensure the safety of school children in Canada. However, judging from their responses to other questions on this matter, it would seem that Canadians do not consider this the primary responsibility of law enforcement agencies. Instead, it appears that the public prefers a more multifaceted approach to school safety that involves the cooperation of a number of players (e.g., schools, parents, students, and other agencies).



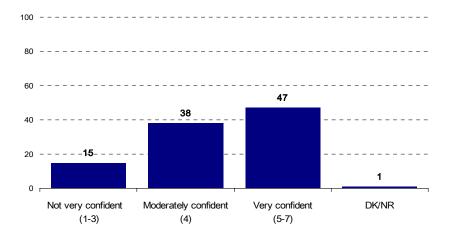
**Health Concerns** 

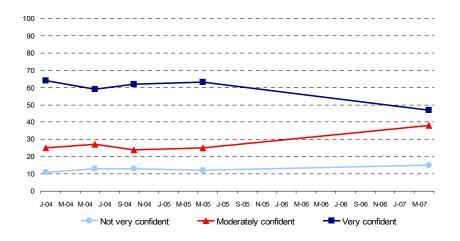
PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

Although the public remains highly confident in Canada's food safety system (47 per cent "very confident"), confidence has dropped significantly since this issue was last examined in May 2005. Indeed, the once stable trend line has been disturbed by a 16 percentage point drop in the proportion of Canadians who say they are "very confident". This has translated to a sizable 13-point rise in those reporting moderate confidence and slight rise in low confidence (up three per cent). Residents of British Columbia (20 per cent) and Alberta (25 per cent) are the most likely to say they have little confidence in the system.

## Confidence in Canada's food safety system

Q: How confident would you say you are right now in Canada's food safety?





Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

#### Specific improvements

Q: What improvements could be made that would make you feel more confident in the safety of your food?

	Feb. 05	Apr./May 07
Better / more inspection	4	29
Improve the regulatory system	8	18
Reduce/eliminate pesticide use	10	10
More detailed food labels	34	9
Provide more information about food safety	10	9
Less importation	-	7
Reduce/eliminate use of hormones	6	6
Other*	6	5
Nothing	19	17
DK/NR	16	16

\*Note: category includes, among others, the following responses (each mentioned by 1 or 2 per cent): use fewer additives, list country of origin, and improve packaging.

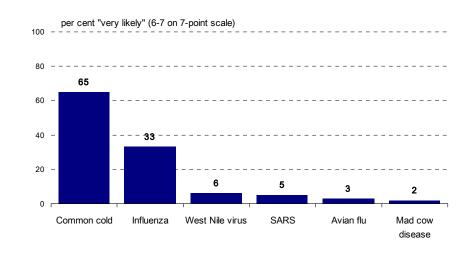
Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

In the absence of other major food scares in Canada, it is entirely possible that this decline in confidence in food safety can be attributed to the bagged spinach e coli outbreak in the United States in 2006 and the recent pet food recall. This is supported by the significant rise in the desire to see better inspections of food (29 per cent – up 25 per cent since May 2005) and improvements to the regulatory system (18 per cent – up 10 per cent) as methods of increasing confidence in the safety of food in this country. Other recommendations such as more detailed food labels dropped in importance over this same time frame (from 34 to nine per cent).

In this iteration of the Security Monitor, we revisit perceptions of the health risks associated with a number of different viruses. Overall, the common cold continues to be seen as the most probable (65 per cent "very likely"). Influenza is a distant second, with one in three (33 per cent) believing that it is "very likely" that they or a family member could get sick from this virus. Other health risks are regarded as being far more remote. For example, 3 in 4 Canadians (75 per cent) say it is "not likely" that they will contract the human variation of the "mad cow" disease. Similarly, two thirds of the population says that the chances of getting sick from either the avian flu or SARS are unlikely.

### Perceived health risks associated with different viruses

**Q:** How likely do you think it is that you or a member of your family could get sick from one of the following over the next year?

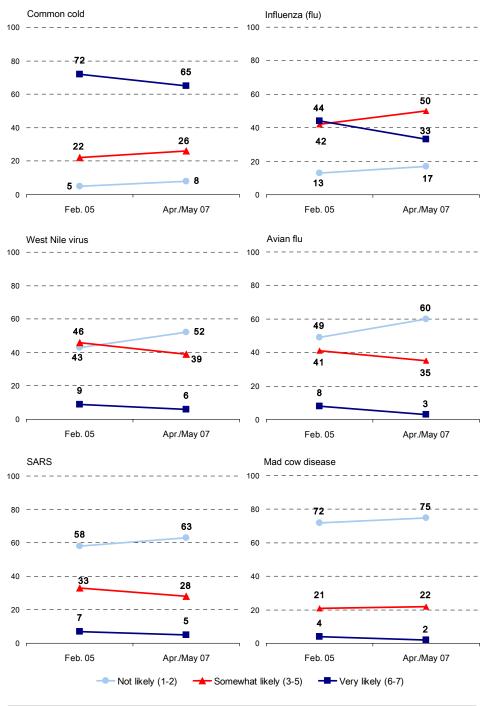


Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

While the hierarchy of health risks remained largely consistent from 2005 to 2007, there was an across the board decrease in the intensity of the perceived risk (i.e. proportion saying "very likely" dropped 11 points for influenza, seven points for the common cold, five points for avian flu, three points for the West Nile virus, and two points each for SARS and "mad cow").

## Tracking perceived health risks

**Q:** How likely do you think it is that you or a member of your family could get sick from one of the following over the next year?

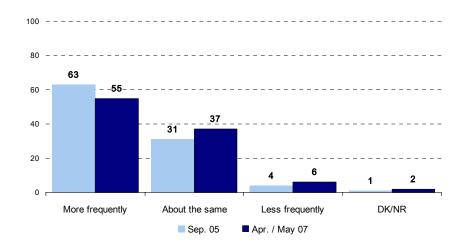


While most Canadians continue to believe that health crises are more severe and more frequent than they were ten years ago, these concerns have also subsided slightly. The proportion saying that health crises are occurring more frequently has gone from 63 per cent in September 2005 to 55 per cent. Likewise, perceptions of the severity of health crises have gone from 55 per cent "more severe" in September 2005 to 46 per cent. In this case, the perception that the severity of health crises is "about the same" as it was ten years ago is now the plurality view (47 per cent). What has not changed over this time period is the proportion of Canadians who feel that health crises are less severe or less frequent than they were in the recent past.

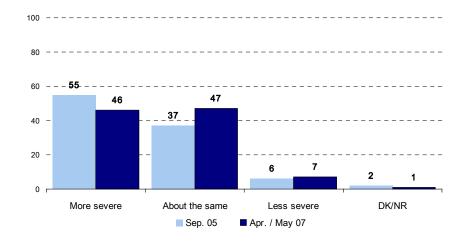
There are several demographic groups that stand out for having elevated fears about health crises. Women, for example, are more likely than men to perceive health crises as being more severe (50 per cent vs. 41 per cent) and more frequent (60 per cent vs. 49 per cent). Likewise, those between the ages of 45 and 64 are more concerned than their counterparts.

## Concern about the frequency and severity of health crises

**Q:** Compared to 10 years ago, do you think that health crises such as viruses or disease like SARS/bird flu are occurring more frequently, less frequently or about the same as in the past?



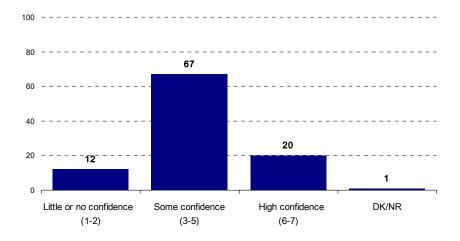
**Q:** And compared to 10 years ago, do you think that health crises such as viruses or disease like SARS/bird flu are more severe, less severe or about the same as in the past?

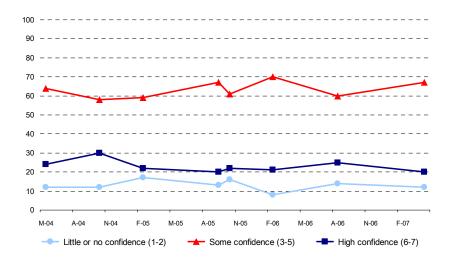


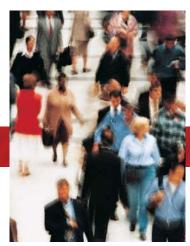
The decrease in Canadians' concerns about health crises does not seem to be related to their perceptions of the Government of Canada's ability to respond to such crises. Indeed, confidence in the government in this area remains only moderate (60 per cent) and the proportion expressing a high level of confidence (20 per cent) has actually declined.

## Government ability to respond to health emergencies

**Q:** How much confidence do you have in the Government of Canada's ability to respond to health crises such as viruses or diseases?







Foreign Affairs

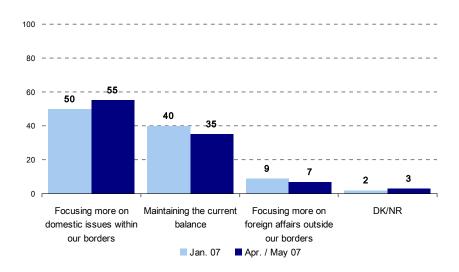
PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

Canadians appetite for foreign involvement appears to be diminishing. Indeed, a growing proportion of the public indicates a preference for a domestic rather than a foreign focus (55 per cent – up from 50 per cent one year ago), or even maintaining the current balance between domestic and foreign (35 per cent – down from 40 per cent in April 2006). The fact that the public is less and less likely to see a role for the Government of Canada in helping to bring peace to the Middle East provides additional evidence of a less international outlook. Currently, just 1 in 2 Canadians believes that the federal government has a role to play here, which represents a drop of two points from August 2006 and 13 points from April 2002.

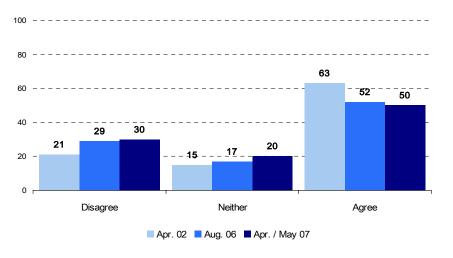
Views leaning towards isolationism (i.e. preference for domestic focus) are more likely to be held by those who oppose the government direction on national security (61 per cent), including the Afghanistan mission (60 per cent). Individuals who think that there are too many immigrants coming to Canada are also more likely to want Canada to focus its efforts inwards (64 pre cent vs. 37 per cent who feel Canada's need more immigrants).

## Growing isolationism in North America?

Q: Given our current values and interests, do you think Canada should be...



Q:The Government of Canada has an important role to play in helping bring peace to the Middle East.\*



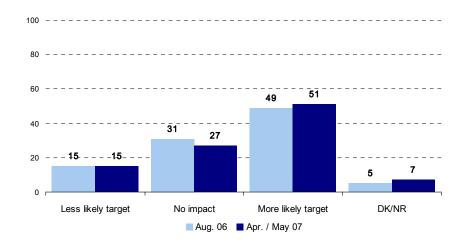
Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018; \*half sample

The decreased appetite for foreign involvement is likely linked to the common perception that Canada's current foreign policy, particularly our role in Afghanistan, makes us more of a target for terrorism.

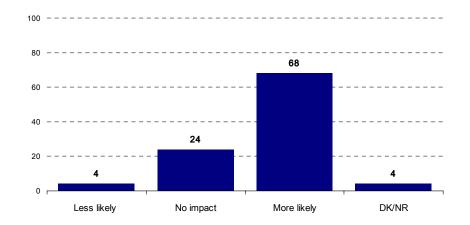
Indeed, 1 in 2 says that Canada's foreign policy makes us "more likely" to be a target of terrorism (compared to 15 per cent "less likely" and 27 per cent "no impact). This number rises to 2 in 3 (68 per cent) when asked specifically about the impact of Canada's involvement in Afghanistan (compared to four per cent a "less likely" target and 24 per cent "no impact"). Interestingly, even a majority of those who support the mission think it makes Canada a more likely target of terrorism (65 per cent).

## Impact of Canada's foreign policy on likelihood of being a terrorist target

**Q:** In your opinion, does Canada's <u>current foreign policy</u> make us more or less likely to be a target of terrorism, or does it have no impact one way or another?



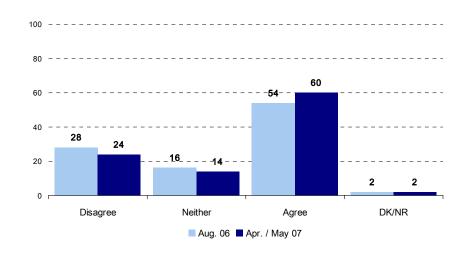
**Q:** In your opinion, does Canada's <u>current role in Afghanistan</u> make us more or less likely to be a target of terrorism, or does it have no impact one way or another?



Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

### Canada-U.S. drawn closer together by global conflict?

**Q:** For better or for worse, it is inevitable that Canada and the United States will be drawn closer together by threats from the external world such as terrorism and geopolitical instability.

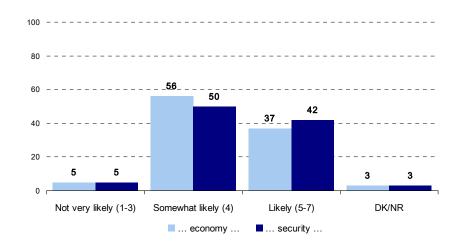


Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

Although Canadians may be retreating from the rest of the world, they see their future as inextricably tied to that of the United States. The Canadian public increasingly believes that the two countries will be drawn closer together as a result of global conflict (60 per cent "agree" compared to 54 per cent in August 2006). This is occurring at a time when Canadians believe that that the tension between their neighbours to the south and Iran is likely to escalate and cause problems for the security (42 per cent) and economies (37 per cent) of the world.

## Likelihood of escalation in tensions between Iran and the U.S.

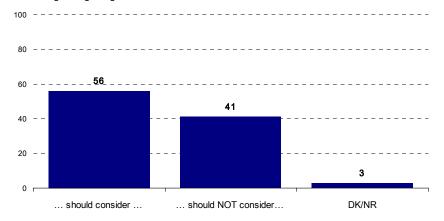
**Q:** How likely do you think it is that the current tensions between the United States and Iran will escalate and cause major problems for the . . . of the world?



Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

#### Granting refugee status to deserters of the U.S. Army

**Q:** If an American soldier deserts the United States army because they do not support the war in Iraq they face punishment in their country. For this reason, some have applied for refugee status in Canada. Which of the following two statements comes closest to your own point of view? The Government of Canada ... granting refugee status to American war deserters.



Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

Over the past several years, there have been cases where U.S. Army deserters have fled to Canada and sought refugee status as "conscientious objectors" to the war in Iraq. When asked about this practice, a slight majority of Canadians (58 per cent) thinks that Canada should consider granting refugee status to U.S. Army deserters facing punishment in their home country. There is, however, also a sizable segment of the population (41 per cent) who does not think that Canada should interfere in this area. Not surprisingly, those that oppose the war in Afghanistan are far more likely to support considering granting refugee status (66 per cent vs. 50 per cent who oppose), as are those who place an emphasis on civil liberties (71 per cent vs. 46 per cent who emphasize security).



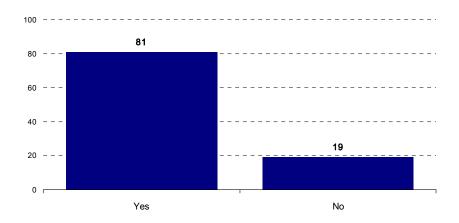
Defence

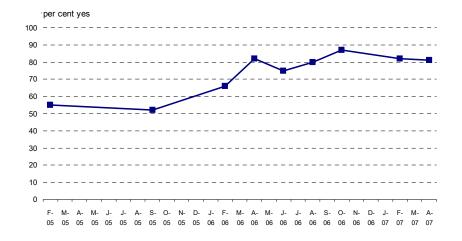
PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

Issues affecting the Canadian Forces continue to be highly resonant (81 per cent "aware"), although overall awareness has dropped for the second consecutive time this year. Awareness of specific issues is once again dominated by the rising death toll in Afghanistan after a series of roadside bombings took the lives of more than half a dozen Canadian soldiers in early April 2007 (53 per cent recall). Somewhat surprisingly, the highly publicized debate over Canada's handling of detainees in Afghanistan registered with a only fraction of the Canadian population (five per cent mention it as a top-of-mind issue). Interestingly, neither the detainee issue nor the rising death toll seem to be linked to greater opposition to the mission.

## Awareness of issues affecting the Canadian Forces

Q: Have you recently read, seen or heard anything about the Canadian Forces?





Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

# Awareness of specific issues

Q: What did you see, read or hear?

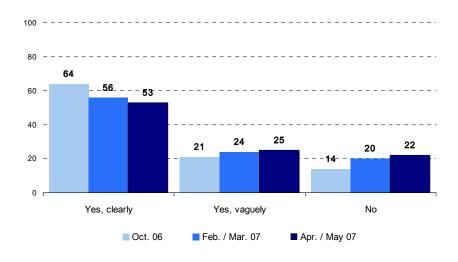
	Sep. 05	Feb. 06	Oct. 06	Feb./ Mar. 07	Apr./ May 07
Rising death toll / injuries in Afghanistan	-	-	31	6	53
Activities in Afghanistan	33	48	66	62	30
Need for more soldiers	11	8	13	13	13
Debates about soldiers in Afghanistan	-	-	-	2	8
Under funding	18	10	4	7	6
Given more funding	4	8	1	2	6
Prisoners / detainees in Afghanistan	-	-	-	-	5
Peacekeeping	13	8	5	8	5
Advertising / recruiting	1	1	3	6	5
Other*	4	3	3	11	12
DK/NR	13	13	4	7	6

\*Items in this category mentioned by 2 per cent or fewer include: equipment problems, soldiers returning from Afghanistan, media coverage (unspecified), training standards for new recruits, support for Afghanistan mission, move to combat role, and family members of soldiers reaction to Afghanistan.

Base: Canadians with awareness of issues affecting the CF; Apr./ May 07 n=833

#### Awareness of military operations in Afghanistan

**Q:** Over the past few weeks, do you recall hearing, reading, or seeing anything about Canada's military operations in Afghanistan?

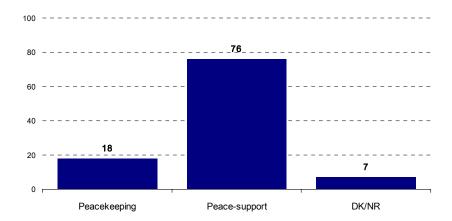


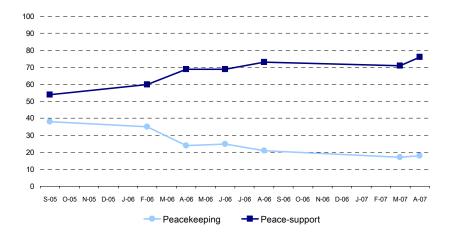
Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

Awareness of the Canadian Forces' operations in Afghanistan continues to grow and has now surpassed general awareness. Currently, more than 8 in 10 report having heard something about the mission (64 per cent "clear" awareness and 21"vague"). This is up five points from March 2007 and seven points from October 2006. Understanding of the nature of the mission is also at a record high, with 3 in 4 Canadians (76 per cent) recognizing the CF role in Afghanistan as peace-support rather than peacekeeping (up five points since March). Importantly, understanding of the mission does not appear to impact support (i.e. those with a greater understanding are no more likely to support or oppose Canada's role).

# Literacy on Afghanistan mission

**Q:** Based on what you know, do you think the Canadian Forces operation in Afghanistan is a traditional peacekeeping operation or is it a peace-support operation?





Base: Canadians with at least some awareness of CF operations in Afghanistan; Apr./ May 07 n=814

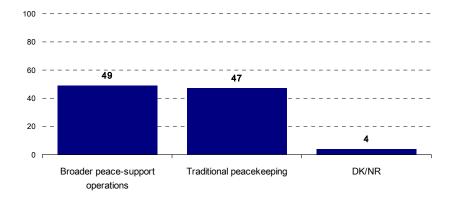
Over the past year, Canadians preference for a peace-support role for the CF has been steadily tracking upwards. In this most recent sounding, however, preference for a peace-support type of engagement dropped to less than half (49 per cent), and is now almost tied with peacekeeping (47 per cent prefer this type of role). As would be expected, those who prefer the peace-support role are more likely to say they support the mission in Afghanistan (68 per cent vs. 20 per cent who oppose).

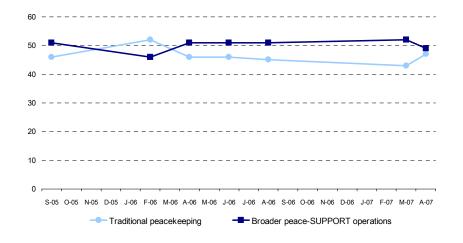
#### Preferred role for the CF: traditional peacekeeping vs. peace-support

Q: Which of the following two statements is closest to your own point of view? Canadian Forces should...

participate in **broader peace-support operations** around the world which could involve both peacekeeping and, if necessary, non-traditional roles such as fighting alongside other allied troops to implement peace in a disputed area.

only participate in **traditional peacekeeping operations** around the world that involve observation duties or monitoring a truce between two conflicting partners.



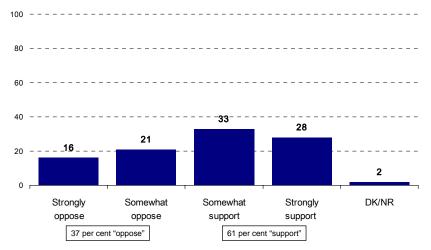


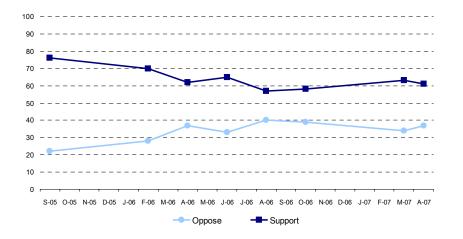
Base: All Canadians; most recent data point Apr./ May 07 n=1018

With the decline in preference for peace-support engagements, it is not unexpected to find that overall support for the Afghanistan mission has declined slightly (down two points from March 2007). Support, however, still outweighs opposition by a margin of nearly 2 to 1 (61 per cent support vs. 37 per cent oppose). While residents of Quebec have always shown greater opposition to this mission than those living elsewhere, it is currently a majority in this province (58 per cent) that opposes Canada's peace support role in Afghanistan.

#### Attitudes towards a peace-support role in Afghanistan

**Q:** Right now, the Canadian Forces are involved in a broader peace-SUPPORT operation in Afghanistan, helping to rebuild the country and maintain security with our troops fighting on the frontline if necessary. Would you say you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose these contributions?





Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

For those that **oppose the mission**, the strongest reason is a feeling that it is "not our place" (43 per cent) – a position that also supports the argument that Canadians' appetite for international engagement is lessening. Another reason offered (which is new to this sounding) is a expressed **preference** for the mission to be **peacekeeping rather than peace-support** (26 per cent). Although still mentioned by about 1 in 4 (24 per cent), the view that the **situation is futile** (i.e. getting worse) is lessening (down 15 points from March 2007 and 27 points since October 2006). There is also a consistent and sizable segment (22 per cent) of **conscientious objectors** (i.e. those that oppose war in general).

# Reasons for opposing the peace-support role in Afghanistan

**Q**: Why do you OPPOSE the Canadian Forces' broader peace-support operation in Afghanistan?

	Sep. 05	Oct. 06	Feb. / Mar. 07	Apr. / May 07
It's not our place / our war	64	39	38	43
Prefer it was peacekeeping mission	-	-	-	26
Not helping / situation getting worse	-	51	39	24
Against war / violence (in general)	23	6	20	22
Troops not equipped	-	6	5	5
Other	-	-	2	1
DK/NR	18	8	5	6

Up to 3 responses accepted

Base: Canadians who oppose the peace-support role; Apr./ May 07 n=373

#### Reasons for supporting the peace-support role in Afghanistan

Q: Why do you SUPPORT the Canadian Forces' broader peace-support operation in Afghanistan?

	Oct. 06	Feb. / Mar. 07	Apr. / May 07
Help liberate people of Afghanistan	31	21	35
Fulfill Canada's duty	26	14	30
Patriotic / support our soldiers	15	10	19
Fight terrorism / promote peace	14	17	19
Reasons of national security	_	-	5
Must complete the work we started	5	4	2
Other	1	1	2
DK/NR	7	6	11

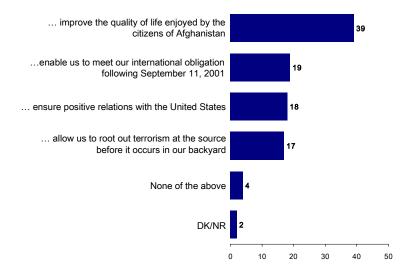
Up to 3 responses accepted

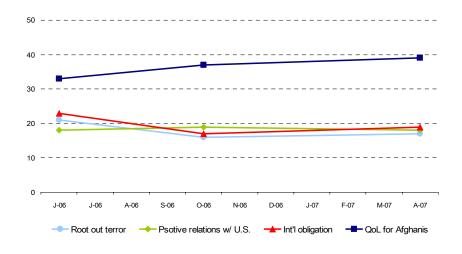
Base: Apr. / May 07; Canadians who support peace-support role n=622

Helping to liberate the people of Afghanistan continues to be the most compelling reason for Canada's involvement in this operation, mentioned as the top reason not only just by those who support the role (35 per cent unprompted) but also by other Canadians as well (39 per cent with prompting). Fulfilling Canada's duty is also mentioned with some frequency (without prompting by 30 per cent who support and with prompting by 19 per cent of all Canadians). Interestingly, although it ranks third in terms of prompted reasons, ensuring positive relations with the United States is the most compelling reason among those who oppose Canada's role (32 per cent vs. 19 per cent overall).

## Justification for Canada's role in Afghanistan

**Q:** Even if you do not support the current mission, which of the following do you think is the strongest reason for Canada to have a military role in Afghanistan? Is it because it will...

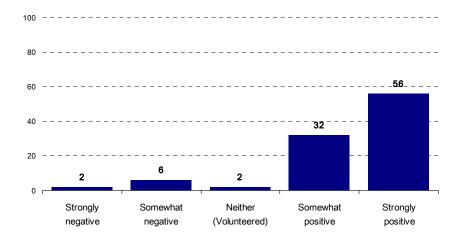


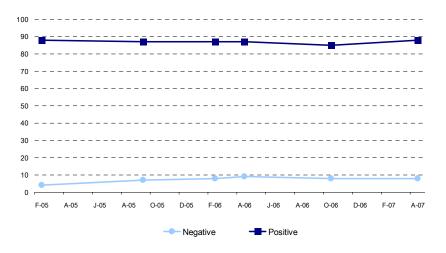


Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

## Overall impression of Canadian Forces personnel

**Q:** What is your overall impression of the people who served in the Canadian Forces? Would you say it is positive or negative?

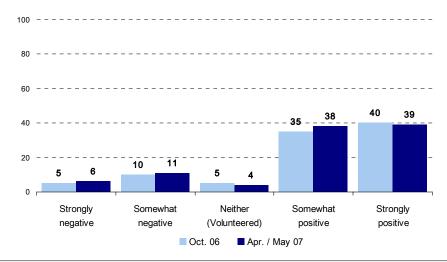




Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

### Overall impression of the Canadian Forces

Q: What is your overall impression of the Canadian Forces? Would you say it is positive or negative?



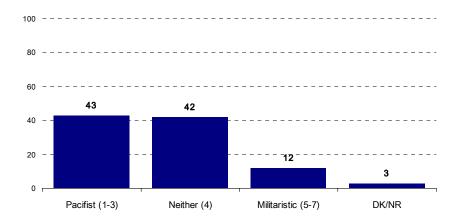
Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

Canadians continue to have highly positive attitudes of the Canadian Forces (77 per cent), particularly of its personnel (88 per cent – 56 per cent of which are "strongly positive"). As would be expected, those who support the mission in Afghanistan are more likely to express positive views: 94 per cent "positive impression" of CF personnel (vs. 77 per cent who oppose mission) and 89 per cent "positive impression" of the Canadian Forces (vs. 60 per cent who oppose).

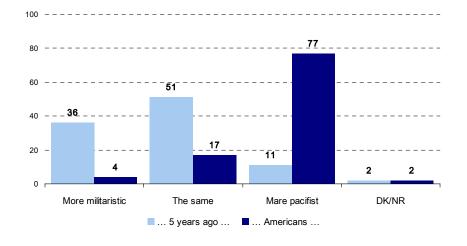
In the context of Canada's involvement in military operations in Afghanistan, we thought it would be useful to gauge Canadians' ideological views in this area. While a slight plurality believes Canadians to be pacifists (43 per cent vs. 12 per cent who say "militaristic"), almost as many say we are "neither" (42 per cent). And compared to five years ago, about half say these views have not changed (51 per cent); but for those who say we have changed, there is a slight lean to seeing Canadians as "more militaristic" (36 per cent versus 11 per cent "more pacifist"). Compared to Americans, however, Canadians definitely see themselves as "more pacifist" (77 per cent vs. 17 per cent "the same" or four per cent "more militaristic").

## Canadian outlook - militaristic vs. pacifist

**Q:** Generally speaking, how would you describe Canadians outlook on a scale where 1 is strongly pacifist, 7 is strongly militaristic, and the mid-point 4 is neither.



**Q:** And compared to ... , would you say Canadians are more militaristic in their outlook, more pacifist or about the same?



Base: All Canadians; Apr./May 07 n=half sample



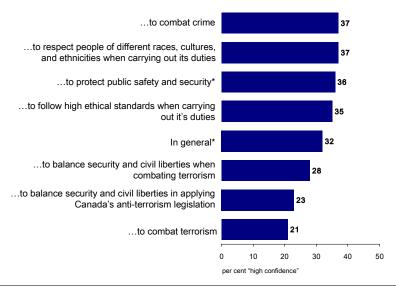
**Security Agencies** 

PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

To date, the Security Monitor has shown that the public confidence in the RCMP has been highly resilient. However, given the continued public difficulties experienced by the organization, we sought in this iteration to determine whether or not Canadians continue to have confidence not only in the organization as a whole, but also in terms of its ability to fulfill its different functions.

### Ranking confidence in the RCMP & its different functions

Q: How much confidence do you have in the RCMP...?



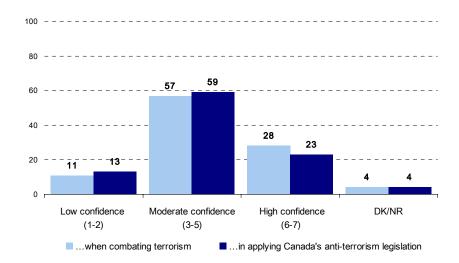
Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample (\*full sample of 1018 Canadians)

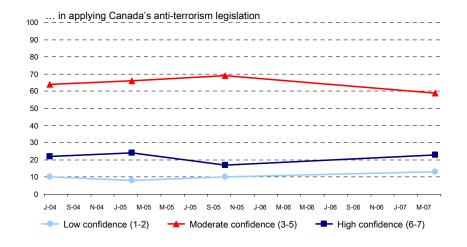
Overall, we find that the public expresses moderate to high levels of confidence in the RCMP to fulfill a wide range of duties. In fact, across all of the different indicators tested, it is only about one in ten that ever expresses "low confidence" in the agency. A clear hierarchy emerges in terms of these duties, with Canadians expressing greatest levels of confidence in the RCMP to combat crime and to respect people of different races, cultures and ethnicities (each at 37 per cent "high confidence").

For the areas where tracking is available, we find results mixed. In some cases, confidence has been eroded. The most striking example of this is in the area of combating terrorism, which has gone from 32 per cent "high confidence" in June 2006 to 21 per cent in April 2007. On the other hand, there has been recent rise in confidence in the agency to balance security and civil liberties in applying Canada's anti-terrorism legislation (from 17 per cent in October 2005 to 23 per cent in April 2007).

## Confidence in the RCMP to balance security and civil liberties

Q: How much confidence do you have in the RCMP to balance security and civil liberties...?

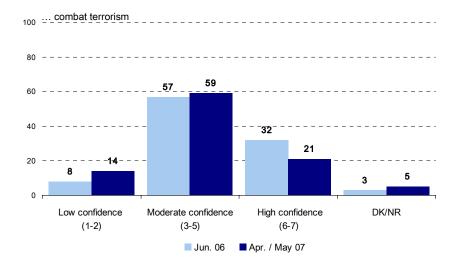


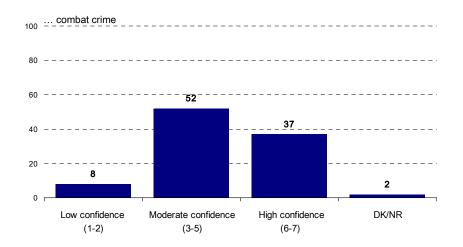


Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

### Confidence in the RCMP to combat terrorism and crime

Q: How much confidence do you have in the RCMP to...?

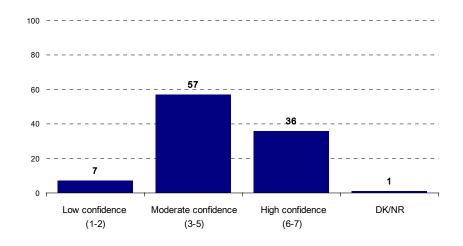




Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

### Confidence in the RCMP to protect public safety and security

**Q**: How much confidence do you have in the RCMP to protect public safety and security?

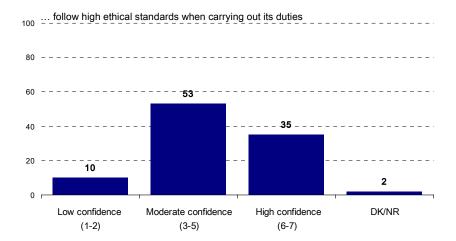


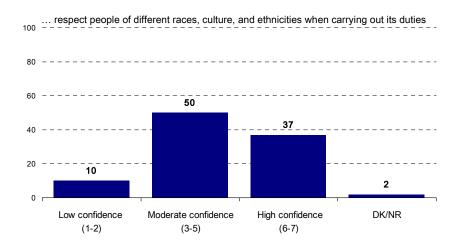
Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

Support for the Government of Canada (e.g., direction on national security, Afghanistan) seems to translate into higher levels of confidence in the RCMP and its different functions. Likewise, those who see the government as moving in the wrong direction and who oppose the mission in Afghanistan are more likely to rate their confidence in the RCMP as being "low".

### Confidence in the conduct of the RCMP

Q: How much confidence do you have in the RCMP to ... ?

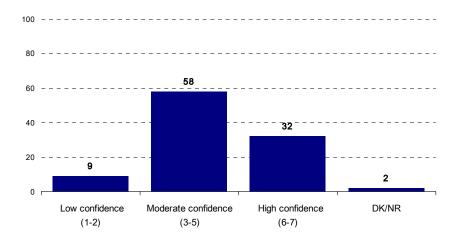


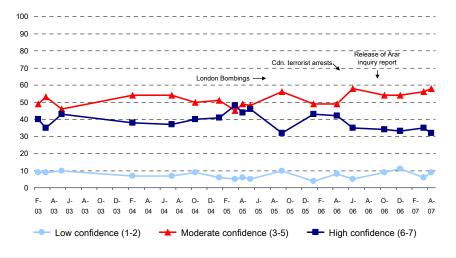


Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

# Confidence in the RCMP (in general)

Q: How much confidence do you have in the RCMP?

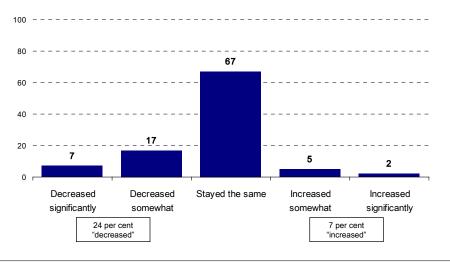




Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

### Changes in confidence in the RCMP

Q: Compared to six months ago, would you say that your confidence in the RCMP has ...?

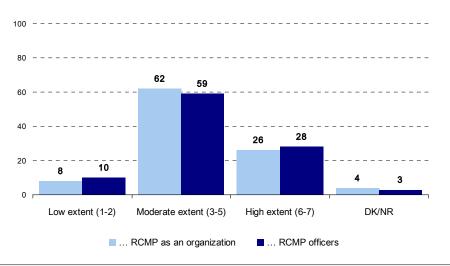


Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=1018

As we have seen over the past few months, the story in terms of the agency as a whole is also complicated. In this most recent sounding, we find that ratings of "high confidence" have dropped slightly (from 35 per cent in January 2007 to 32 per cent). As another way of examining this issue, we gave Canadians the opportunity to judge for themselves whether or not their confidence in the RCMP has changed due to recent events. For the most part Canadians say their views have not changed (67 per cent). For those who have changed, the lean is to decreased confidence (17 per cent "decreased somewhat" and seven per cent "decreased significantly").

### Accountability of the RCMP and it's officers

Q: To what extent do you think . . . is held accountable for its decisions and behaviors?



Base: All Canadians; Apr./ May 07 n=half sample

In addition to gauging public confidence in the RCMP, we also asked Canadians the extent to which they feel that the agency and its members are held accountable. Here we also find that most Canadians rate the level of accountability as being either moderate or high; very few (only about one in ten) say they are held accountable to a "low extent". In terms of their level of accountability, there is no distinction made between the organization as a whole and its individual members.



Appendix A: Research Methodology

PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

### **Research Methodology**

The methodology planned for the 2006-7 Security Monitor study involves a total of nine waves of research to be conducted over the course of the study.

- Six regular waves involving a telephone survey with a national random sample of 1,000 Canadians.
- One benchmarking wave (near the beginning of the study). This wave focuses on core issues and designed to develop a better profile of Canadians in the safety/security space. This survey involves a sample of 2,000 Canadians.
- One survey with a national random sample of 1,000 Americans.
- One survey with Canadian public and private sector decision-makers.

The results from the final wave are based on the following:

- A telephone survey completed with a stratified national random sample of 1,018 Canadians, aged 18 and over undertaken between April 25 and May 1, 2007.
- The findings were statistically weighted by age, gender and region to ensure that the findings are representative of the Canadian public aged 18 and over.
- In areas, the survey was designed to randomize questions in order to test differences in attitudes across various indicators as well as to minimize response burden.
- Findings from questions posed on the full sample may be considered accurate within +/-3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. The margin of error for questions posed on a half sample is +/- 4.4 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

	Field Dates	Surveys	Margin of error	
Wave 1	Oct. 20-30, 2006	1,008	+/-3.1 percentage points	
Wave 2	Dec. 11-17, 2006	1,012	+/-3.1 percentage points	
Wave 3	Jan. 17 – 24, 2007	2,018	+/-2.2 percentage points	
Wave 4	Feb. 27-Mar. 8, 2007	1,003	+/-3.1 percentage points	
Wave 5	Apr. 25 – May 1, 2007	1,018	+/-3.1 percentage points	