

2006 • 2007

PART OF THE SECURITY MONITOR STUDY



EKOS

Wave 6:

Elite / Media Narrative on  
Security: Disconnected from  
Public Priorities



## Elite / Media Narrative on Security: Disconnected from Public Priorities

Wave 6 of the **Security Monitor** 2006-7 Study



June 2007

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## Introduction

**I**n 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 sixth are based on a survey with a national random sample of 1,006 Canadians undertaken in May 2007. The methodological details are shown in the appendix to this report.





## Overview

### **Steady as She Goes? Surprisingly Stable Public Security Environment**

Notwithstanding high profile media reporting of large casualties in Afghanistan earlier this spring, the continued buffeting of the RCMP, surprising developments in the Omar Kadhr case, and the ongoing highly visible reporting on the pending implementation of the Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative, the public environment around security issues is quite placid and stable. Indeed, it appears as though the general strong lean to security and broad comfort with federal management of security issues remains largely unaffected by recent controversies.

There are, however, some modest but notable effects. In most cases, the magnitude of the effects is smaller than might be expected given the intensity of the media coverage. For example, there has been a significant decline in confidence in federal balancing of security and civil liberties, but the general lean is still to confidence. Likewise, there has been a slight decline in “high confidence” in the RCMP, but “low confidence” is still registered by a fairly trivial portion of the population. The stark media depiction of the RCMP as in a state of crisis is jarringly disconnected from a fairly stalwart level of public confidence.

### **An Elastic Set of Principles Regarding Torture and Threat**

Canadians reveal a flexible mixture of principle and self interest when thinking of civil liberties, even when it comes to the most extreme restrictions such as torture. In regards to the issue of detention and removal of non-citizens, we have seen a highly noteworthy rise in support for “due process”, even if the detainee is deemed a threat to national security. This is undoubtedly linked to broad public recognition and sympathy with the travails of Maher Arar.

Despite this significant shift in position, it would be a mistake to conclude that there has been an abrupt move to favour human rights over security. Consider that principled support for civil liberties and human rights is both modest and quite elastic with respect to self and national interest (e.g., in the context of a potential or imminent terrorist attack on Canadian soil). So although support for due process (even if deemed a threat) has risen from 39 to 49 per cent since May 2004, it should also be noted that a strong plurality (49 per cent) feel that deportation of a security threat should still occur – *even if the individual is at risk of torture* in their destination country.

Equally notable, there is a strong normative lean to eschew the use of torture-derived intelligence (58 per cent oppose use of information obtained in this manner and 26 per cent support). This principled aversion becomes much more polarized if the proposition is conditioned upon a link to a “potential attack”: 46 per cent say the information should not be used and 36 per cent think it should be. We suspect opposition would

largely evaporate if the proposition was an imminent attack. United States' Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia's recent approving comments about the behaviour of the fictitious super agent Jack Bauer from television's '24' may be somewhat overstated, but clearly resonate with a very large segment of the Canadian public as well.

### **Continued Thirst for More Knowledge and Information: Some Evidence of Modest Progress?**

As we have seen on a recurring basis, citizens demonstrate a strong and largely unmet appetite for more information about what the government's plans are for dealing with security and threat; where to turn when confronting a catastrophe or terror event; and what personal vigilance or preparedness is required. We also see a very strong continued thirst for knowledge about where to turn for oversight or redress if something goes awry.

Across the board, large majorities of Canadians do not know who is responsible for what and what to do or where to turn when confronting a disaster or terrorist event. In this most recent iteration of the Security Monitor, however, we see two modest areas of improvement. While still a small minority, growing numbers of Canadians are taking personal actions to prepare for emergency and terror. It is also the case that while fluency of oversight agencies is very low (yet support for their presence is very high), there has been a modest rise in awareness of the presence of these types of organizations.

### **Public Risk Hierarchy and Preferences for Risk Allocation**

There are notable distortions in the public lens on security and threat. There is, however, a logic and pattern to these perceptions which contains an uneasy blend of rationality and emotion. In some cases, (e.g., reputation fallout from continued controversies) the effects can be surprisingly muted and often lag the actual events and their reporting in the media. These effects can build and occasionally reach a critical mass (as in the case of the eventually explosive effects of the sponsorship scandal in 2004).

There are also curious but recurring gaps between imagery and hard risk appraisal. For example, September 11 and the threat of terror continue to be the most memorable, vivid, and visceral images associated with security threat. But when asked to assess hard personal and national risks, Canadians assign terror risks relatively lower priority than more pedestrian risks such as crime and health threats. This latter emphasis is what seems to underpin public preferences for the allocation of public resources to a range of threats.

Overall sense of personal and national risk of terror threat has declined over the past year. By comparison, the sense of risk associated with crime remains elevated compared

to the outset of the decade and perhaps when contrasted to the notoriously difficult to interpret crime statistics themselves. A number of separate indicators point to a fairly clear hierarchy of threat, and the appropriate allocation of public resources to things such as crime and violence, gang activities, guns, and identity theft are very prominent in public concerns. Other issues such as the entry of illegal migrants (e.g., for work in Canada) appear to be relatively much lower.

All in all we see a surprisingly calm and stable public environment operating within a fairly turbulent media and event context. Whether this is the calm before the storm, or another illustration of the vivid gap between real public priorities and the media and elite narrative is difficult to say and bears careful attention.





## Government Responses

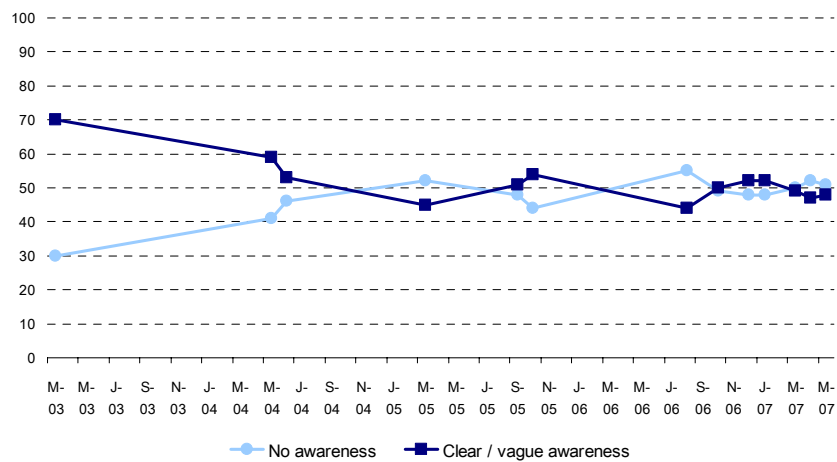
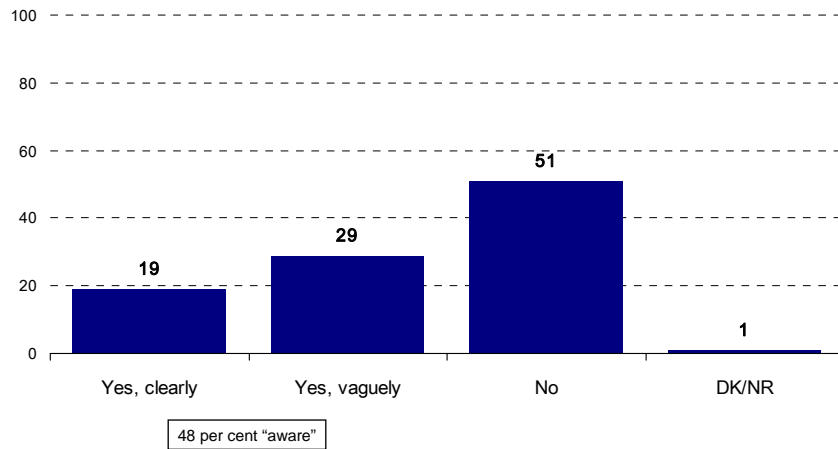
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Although up slightly from April 2007, awareness of measures the Government of Canada has taken to improve public safety and security continues to be below the proportion of Canadians that do not recall seeing any actions taken (48 per cent “aware” vs. 51 per cent “not aware”). Despite modest awareness levels, the **government continues to receive largely positive marks for the direction it is taking on national security** (53 per cent “right direction” compared to 29 per cent “wrong direction”).

## 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?

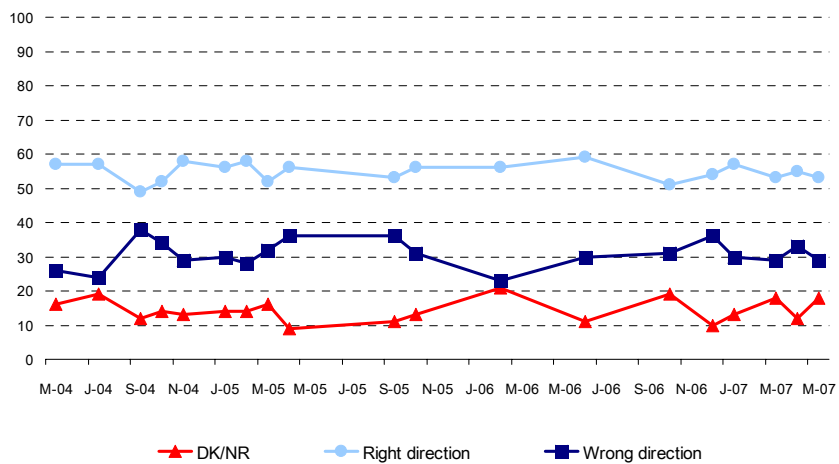
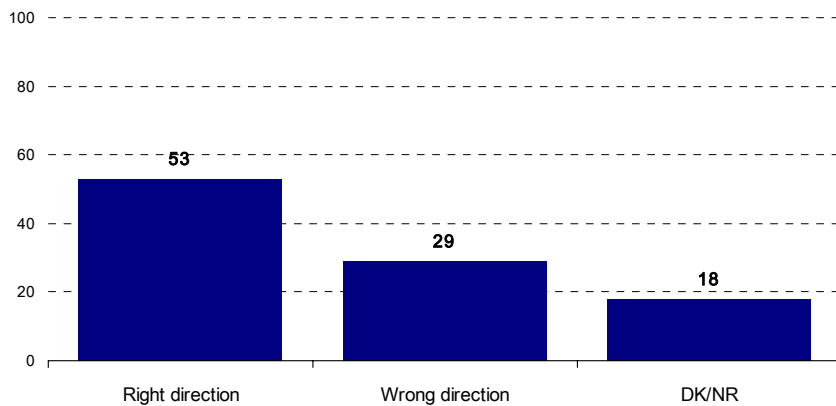


Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006



## 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?



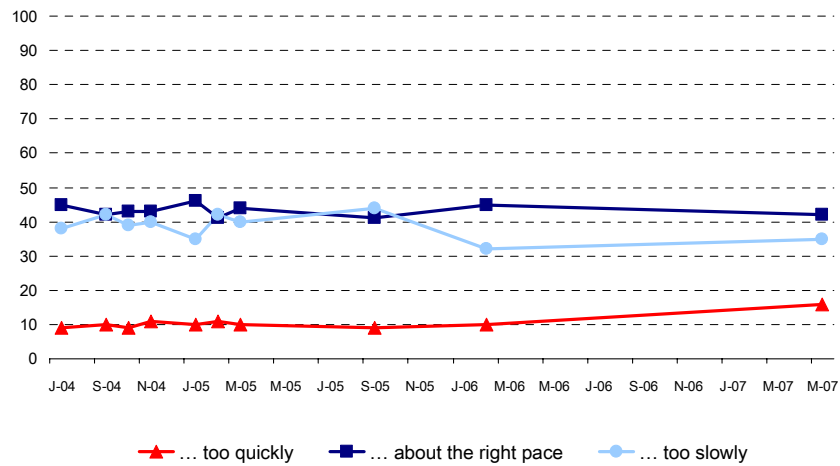
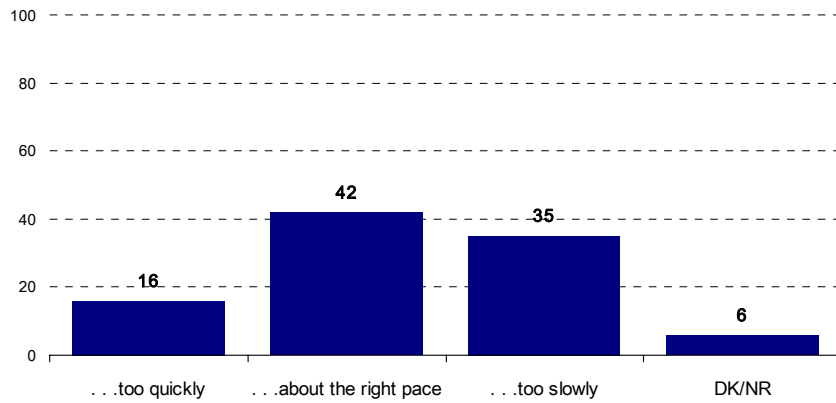
Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006

Relatively unchanged from previous surveys, a plurality of Canadians (42 per cent) believes that the **amount and pace of changes** announced to address terrorism **are occurring at “about the right pace”**. There are still those, however, that do not approve of the pace of changes. While some detractors say that the government is moving “too quickly” on this issue (16 per cent), they are more than twice as likely to say that the **process is moving “too slowly”** (35 per cent). The perception that the government is moving “too slowly” is also on the rise (up six percentage points since March 2007).

Perspectives regarding the amount and pace of changes reveals an age division. Canadians 25 years of age and younger are more likely than any other age group to believe that the pace of changes is happening “too quickly” (33 per cent). Conversely, as Canadians get older, the more likely they are to believe changes are happening “too slowly” (44 per cent among those 45 to 64 years in age).

## Amount and pace of changes in dealing with terrorism

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



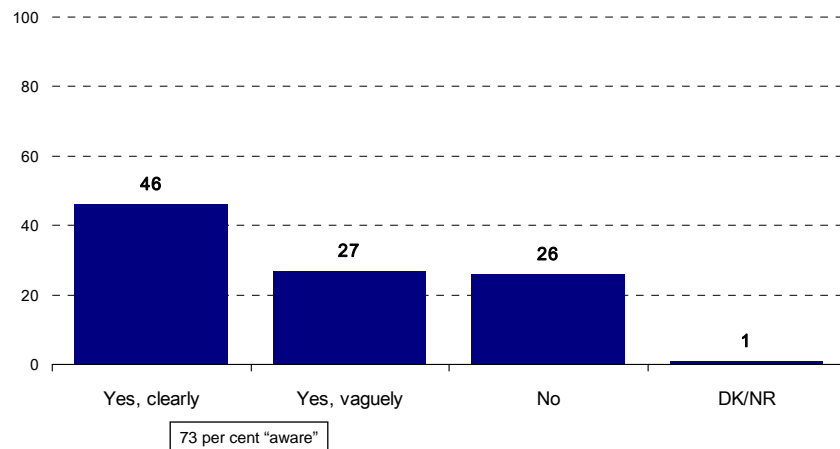
Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=1006

Canada's involvement in Afghanistan is arguably the most public face for the federal Government today. As such, it is not surprising to find **awareness of the detainee issue in Afghanistan is relatively high** with approximately 3 in 4 Canadians reporting at least some awareness (46 per cent "clear" and 27 per cent "vague" awareness).

While awareness of the situation may be high, understanding of the government's policy regarding detainees is not entirely clear. Overall, slightly more than half of all Canadians (54 per cent) understands that **the newly re-written agreement allows the government to transfer detainees but continue to monitor** them to ensure they are not mistreated. Others, however, are under the impression that either the transferred detainees will not be monitored (21 per cent) or that detainees will remain in Canadian custody (12 per cent).

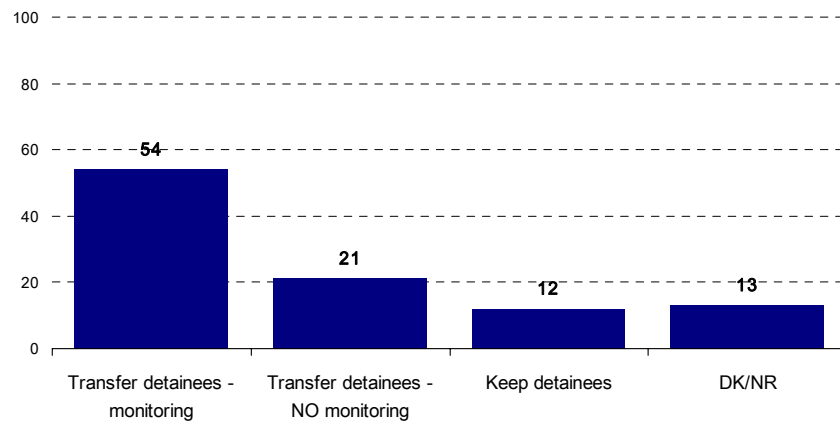
## Awareness of detainees in Afghanistan

Q: Do you recall hearing anything recently about detainees in Afghanistan?



Q: In early May, Canada signed a re-written prisoner-transfer agreement with Afghanistan. Based on this new agreement, what do you think will happen to detainees in Afghanistan. Will Canada ...

- 1) ...transfer detainees into the custody of Afghani officials, but continue to monitor them to ensure that they are not mistreated;
- 2) ...transfer detainees into the custody of Afghani officials, without being able to monitor them to ensure that they are not mistreated; or
- 3) ...keep all detainees in Canadian custody.



Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=1006





## Security & Civil Liberties

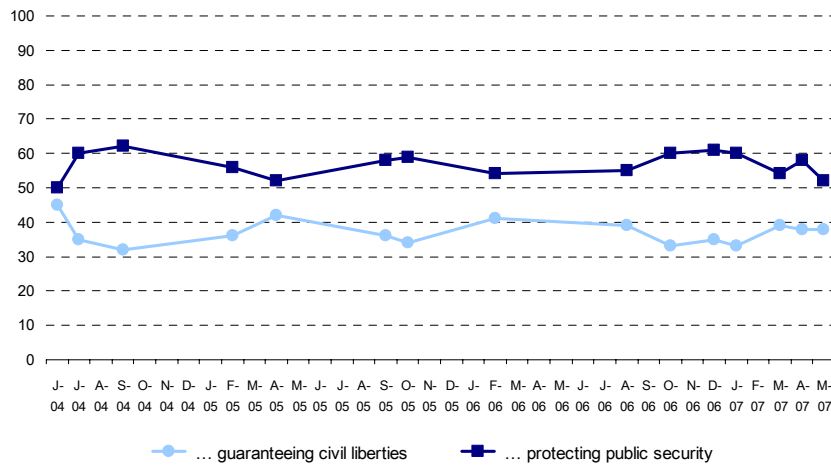
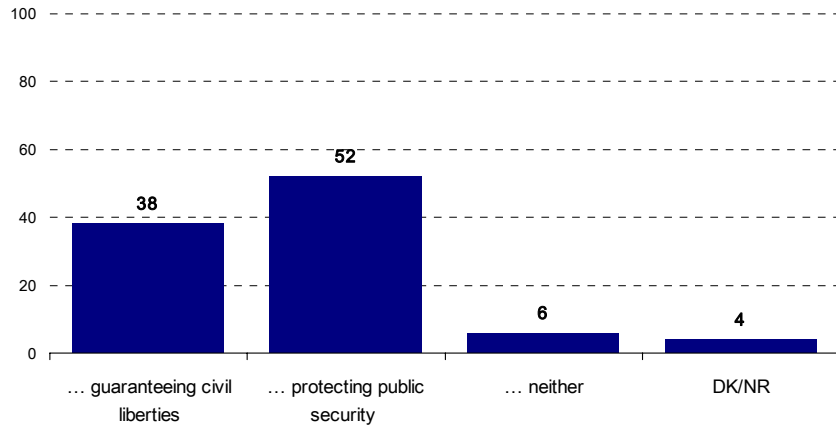
PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

The balance between emphasizing the importance of either guaranteeing civil liberties or protecting public security varies slightly from month to month, however, Canadians continue to overwhelmingly agree that the **government needs to find an appropriate balance** between the two (78 per cent). Still, **recognizing that they are both important**, Canadians are more likely to **prefer an emphasis on security** (52 per cent) over liberties (38 per cent). Despite this sentiment, for the first time since March 2005, the public are more likely to disagree (43 per cent) than agree (41 per cent) that police and intelligence agencies should have more powers to ensure security at the cost of giving up some personal privacy.



## 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 . . . ?



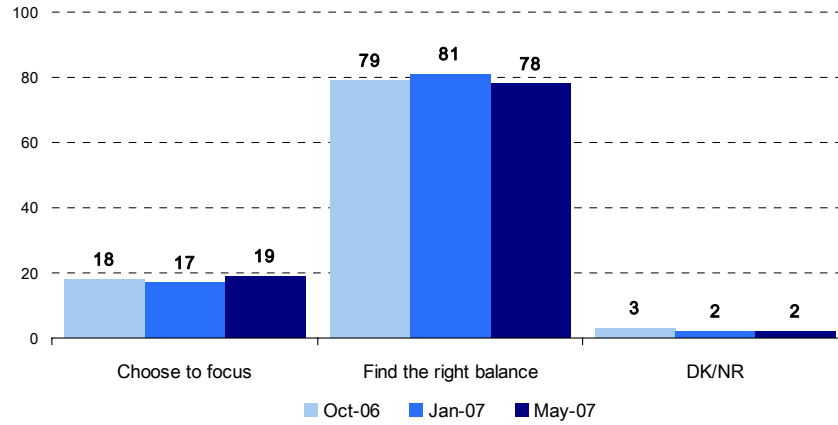
Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=half sample

## Are civil liberties and security mutually exclusive goals?

**Q:** Which of the following two statements is closest to your own point of view?

The government must **choose to focus** on either protecting security or guaranteeing civil liberties because you cannot achieve both at the same time.

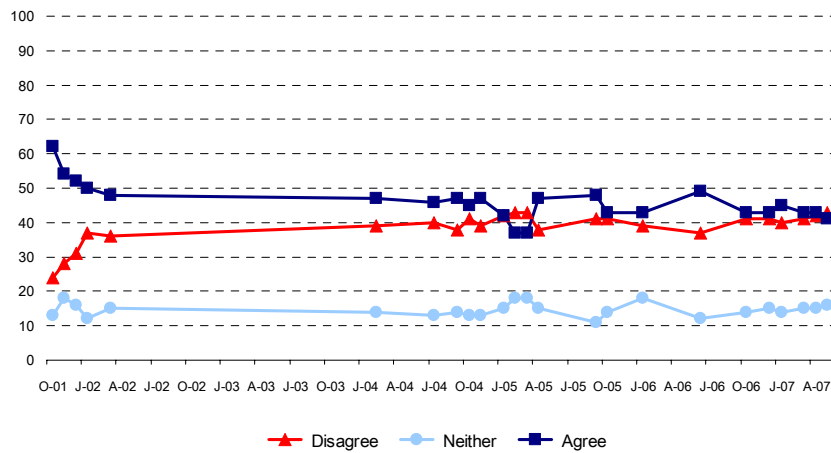
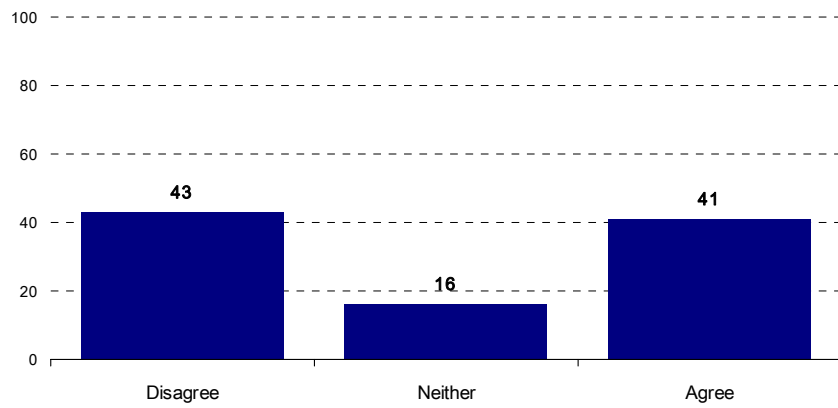
The government needs to **find the right balance** between guaranteeing civil liberties and protecting public security because both are equally important



**Base:** All Canadians; May 07 n= half sample

## 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.

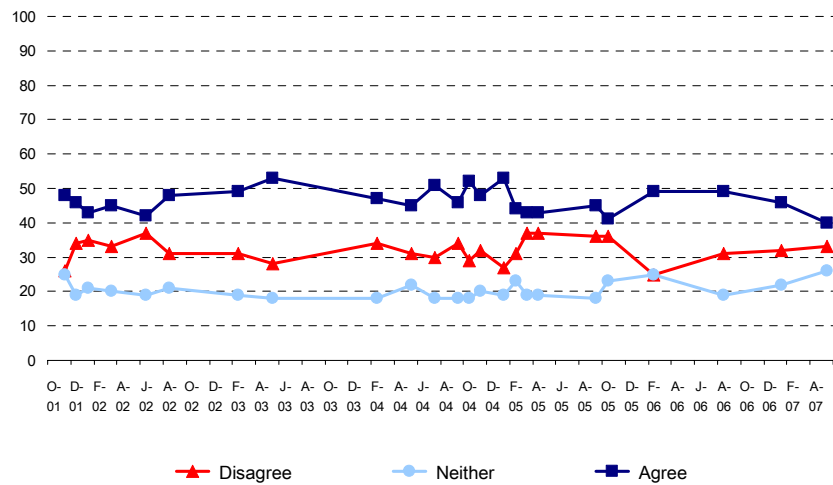
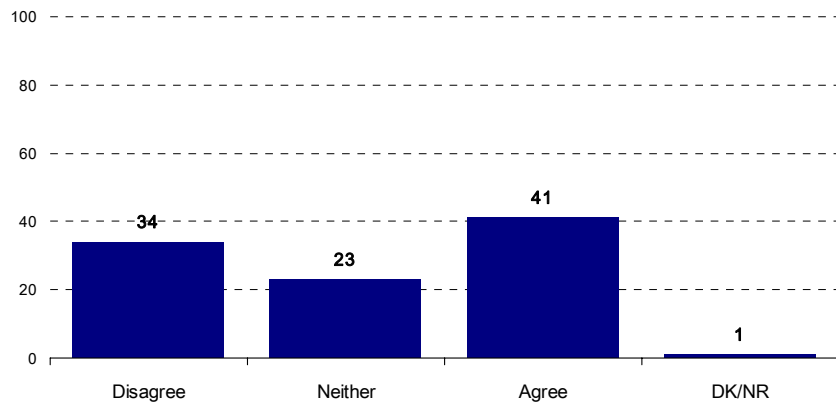


Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006

In February of 2006, almost twice as many Canadians agreed (49 per cent) than disagreed (25 per cent) that the government could be trusted to find the right balance between of security and civil liberties. Since then, however, **a gradual trend of distrust has emerged**. While a plurality (41 per cent) of Canadians continues to be in agreement, this has declined significantly (eight percentage points). At the same time, the proportion disagreeing has risen nine points (to 34 per cent).

## Trust in the balancing of security and civil liberties

Q: I can trust the Government of Canada to strike the right balance of security and civil liberties.



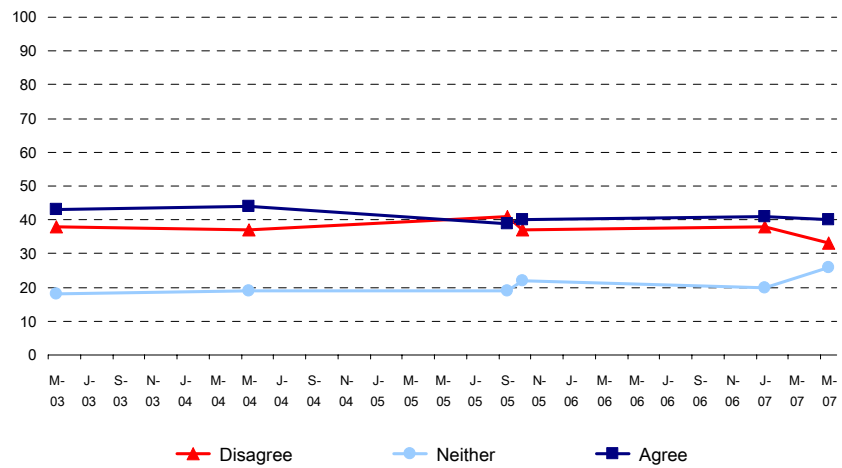
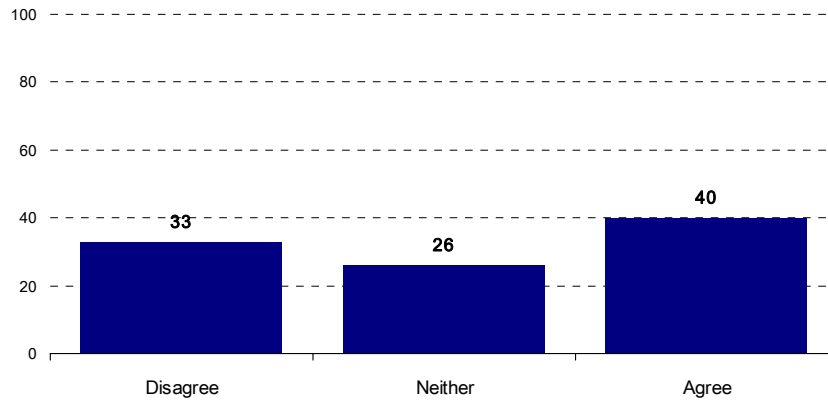
Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=half sample

There are **mixed findings on the privacy front**. In terms of **personal privacy**, Canadians **concerns appear to be rising**. For example, while the proportion of Canadians who feel that they have less personal privacy than two years ago has stayed the same (40 per cent), those disagreeing with this sentiment has declined (from 38 per cent in January 2007 to 33 per cent in May). At the same time, however, fears that our security efforts are sacrificing the privacy and civil liberties of future generations have receded slightly (from 53 per cent in June 2006 to 47 per cent in May 2007).

Although overall concern about the sacrifice of civil liberties and privacy of the next generation seem to be fading, concern tends to be elevated among visible minority Canadians (55 per cent), youth (51 per cent) and those in a lower income bracket (52 per cent).

## Perceptions of personal privacy loss

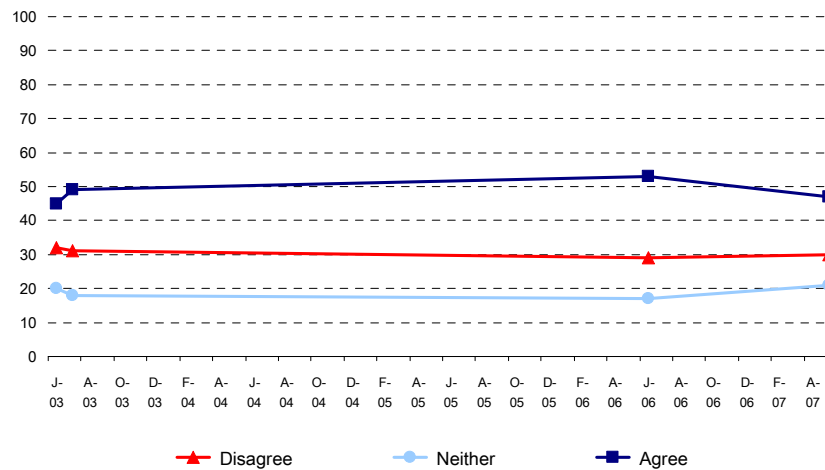
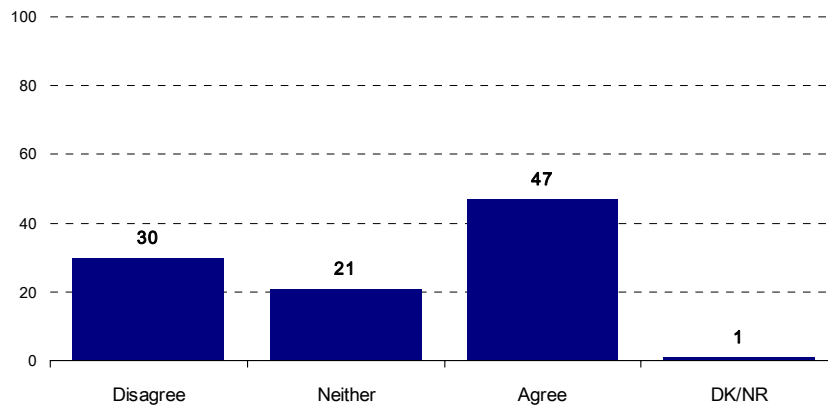
Q: I feel I have less personal privacy in my daily life than I did 2 years ago.



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

## Concerns about civil liberties / privacy of future generations

Q: I am really worried that in dealing with current concerns about security and terrorism, we will unnecessarily sacrifice the civil liberties and privacy of the next generation.



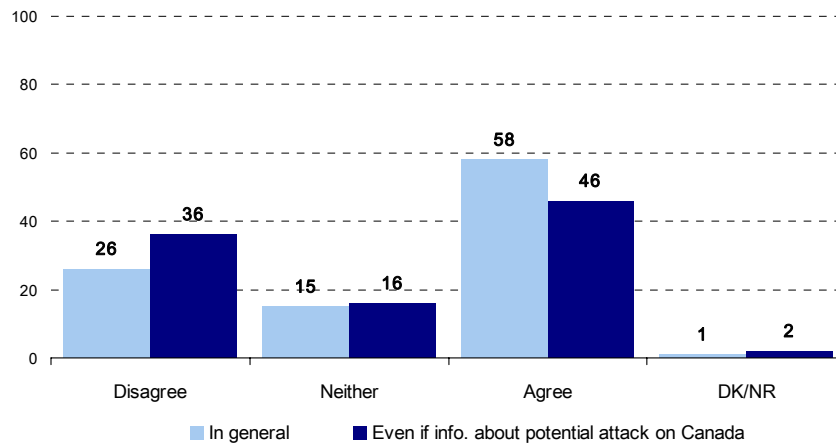
Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006



## Views on the use of intelligence information obtained through torture

**Q:** Canadian law enforcement and security agencies should never use intelligence which may have been obtained through torture performed in other countries.

**Q:** Canadian law enforcement and security agencies should never use intelligence which may have been obtained through torture performed in other countries, *even if the information pertained to a potential attack on Canadian soil.*



**Base:** All Canadians; May 07 n=half sample (for each question)

Generally speaking, Canadians are opposed to the idea of security agencies and law enforcement using intelligence obtained from torture performed in other countries: 58 per cent agree information obtained this way should *not* be used (only 26 per cent are in favour). Not surprisingly, these views change considerably if the information pertains to a potential attack on Canadian soil. In this case, those agreeing that the information should *not* be used drops to less than half (46 per cent).





## Perception of Threat

PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY



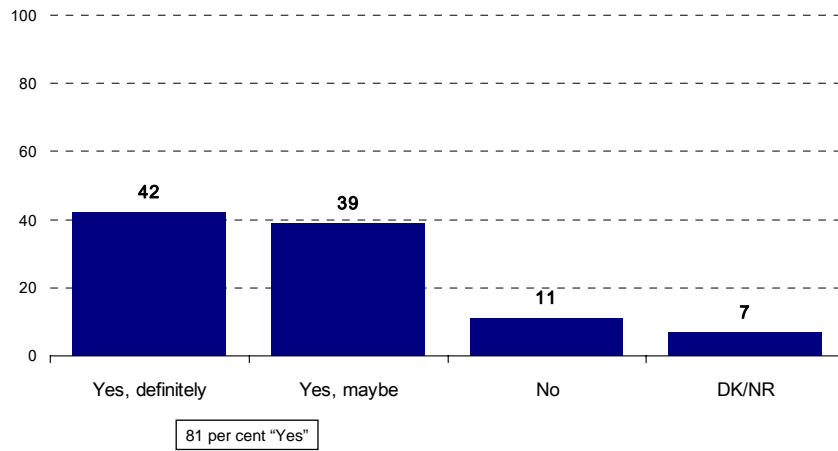
It is troubling to find that a large proportion of Canadians are either certain (42 per cent) or at least open to the possibility (39 per cent) that **terrorists are living and operating in Canada and planning an attack on Canada or the United States**. There is an interesting gender difference on this issue: almost half of all men (48 per cent) believe that terrorists are “definitely” living in Canada while slightly fewer women (37 per cent) hold the same view.

Even more troubling is that Canadians are not convinced that law enforcement and security agencies could prevent this type of attack from occurring: 41 per cent of Canadians agree that there is very little that can be done to prevent an attack while 40 per cent disagree.

## Likelihood of terrorist cells in Canada

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**Q:** Do you think that there are terrorists currently living in Canada who are planning to launch an attack in either Canada or the United States?



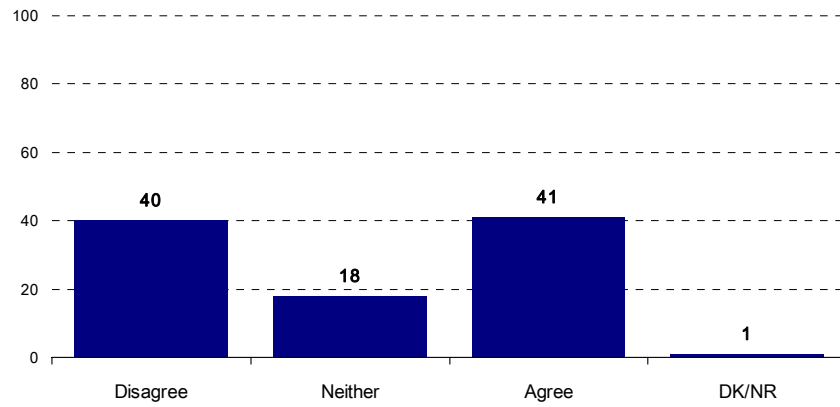
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**Base:** All Canadians; May 07 n= 1006

## Ability to prevent terrorism

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**Q:** When all is said and done, there is really very little that law enforcement and security agencies can do to prevent a terrorist attack. (In general)



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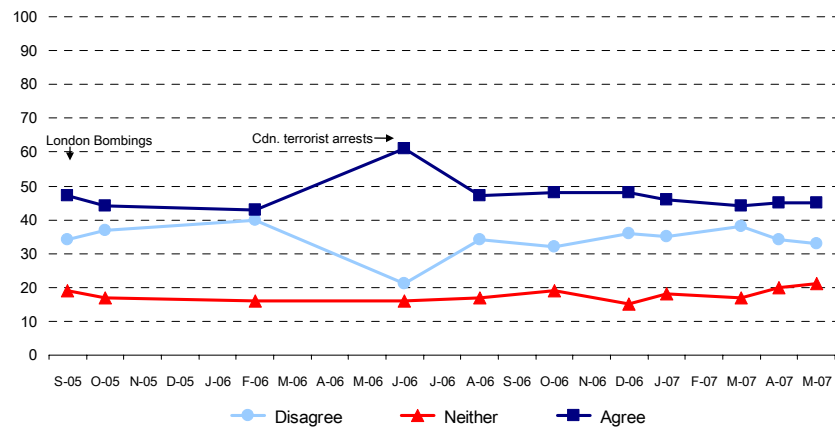
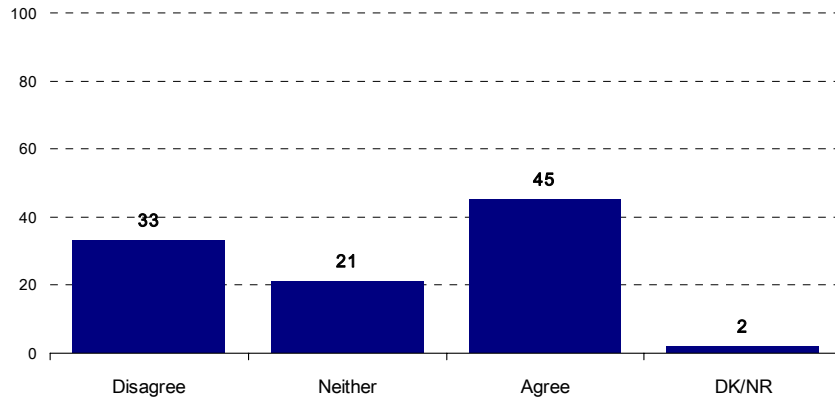
**Base:** All Canadians; May 07 n=half sample (for each question)

The proportion of Canadians that believes it is “just a matter of time before there is a major terrorist attack on Canadian soil” remains relatively unchanged since April 2006: 45 per cent agrees that an attack is inevitable and a declining proportion 33 per cent disagrees (which is down slightly from 38 per cent in March 2007).



## 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.

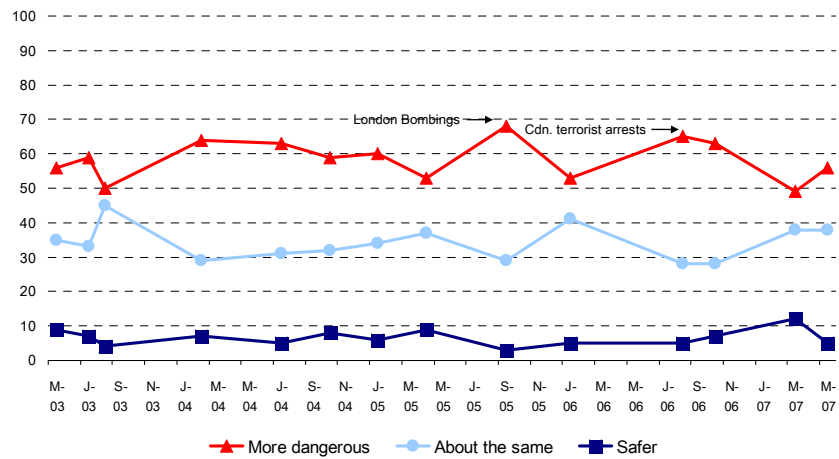
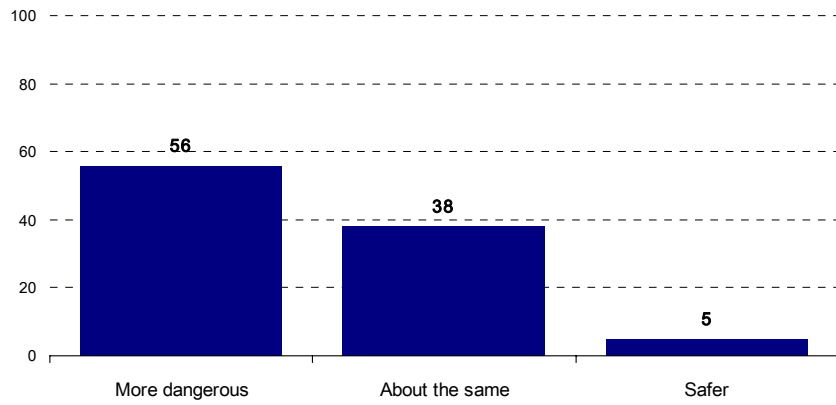


Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006

Perceptions of the danger of the world have increased slightly since record lows were observed in March 2007. Currently, a more reflective average exists, with a majority (56 per cent) of Canadians believing the world to be “more dangerous” than it was five years ago. There has also been a return to more consistent numbers in the proportion of Canadians that believe the world is safer (5 per cent) than it was five years ago.

## Perceived safety/danger of the world

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



Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006





## Emergency Preparedness

PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY



This wave of research was conducted immediately following Emergency Preparedness Week, a nationwide federal initiative intended to increase Canadians awareness about individual preparedness. Somewhat discouragingly, we find that a large **majority of Canadians** (66 per cent) **continue to say that they have “done nothing” to prepare**. Of those that have done something, **stocking up on emergency supplies** is the most common response (mentioned by 18 per cent), followed by **preparing an emergency kit** (12per cent). The one area where we have seen a significant rise is in the proportion who report having had family discussions on emergency preparedness (from six per cent in April to 11 per cent in May 2007).

## Specific preparations

Q: What, if anything, have you or your family done to prepare for the possibility of a catastrophic disaster such as an earthquake, hurricane, or terrorist attack?

	Sep. 05	Jun. 06	Oct. 06	Jan. 07	Apr. 07	May 07
Stocked up on emergency supplies (e.g., water, generator)	15	15	25	21	18	18
Prepared an emergency kit	-	-	-	-	9	12
Have had family discussion (e.g., made plans of places to meet)	5	3	7	4	6	11
Have tried to stay informed / paid closer attention to current events	-	-	-	1	2	1
Home modification (e.g., self sufficient for energy, renovations)	-	-	-	-	2	1
Have moved / plan to move	-	-	-	-	1	1
Have done nothing	76	77	64	71	69	66
DK/NR	3	3	3	2	3	1

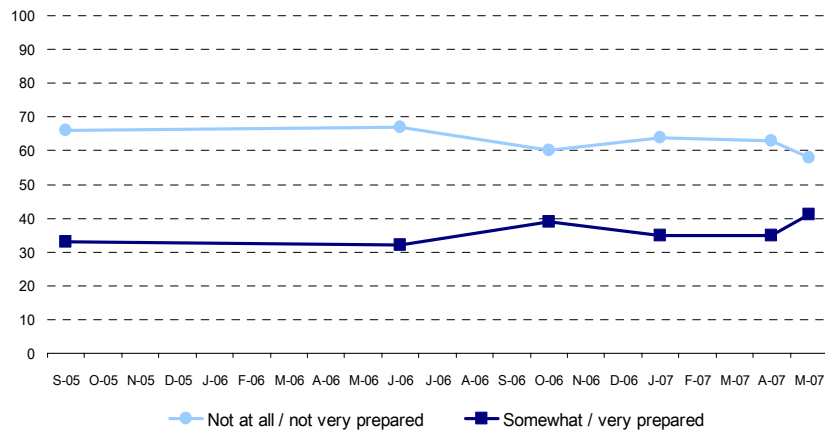
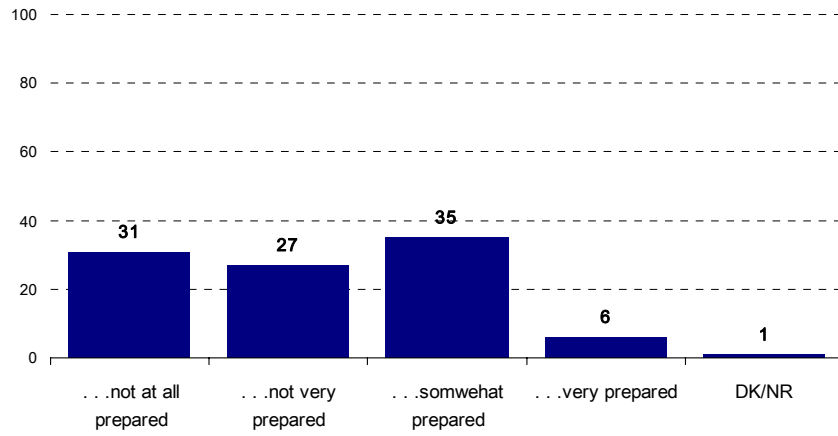
Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=1006

Given that few have taken steps to prepare, it is not surprising to find that **Canadians self-reported levels of preparedness for a disaster leans to being less rather than more prepared**: 58 per cent “not at all” to “not very prepared” compared to 41 per cent “somewhat” to “very prepared”. It is important to point out, however, that the gap between these two opposing points has never been smaller. Currently the less prepared side of the equation leads the more prepared side by 17 percentage points, whereas in April 2007, the gap was 28 percentage points. So although many Canadians still say they have done nothing to prepare, feelings of preparedness have nonetheless improved.



## Self-rated level of preparedness for a disaster

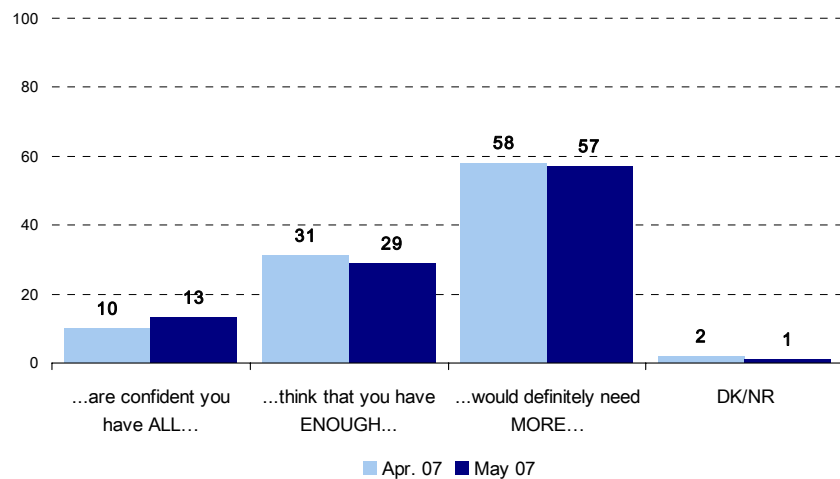
Q: How prepared would you say you and your family are to deal with a catastrophic disaster such as an earthquake, hurricane, or terrorist attack in your community? Would you say you are . . .



Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=1006

## Knowledge of what to do in case of a disaster

Q: In order to be prepared for, and to know what to do SHOULD a catastrophic disaster such as an earthquake, hurricane, or terrorist attack occur, would you say you . . . information to know what to do?



Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006

Knowledge of what to do in case of a catastrophic disaster is also relatively low. Only about 1 in 10 (13 per cent) are “confident they have all the information they need”, and a majority of Canadians (57 per cent) indicates that they “would definitely need more information” to know what to do should a disaster occur. There is also 1 in 3 (29 per cent) who thinks they have “enough information” to manage. Once again, we note that these views changed only marginally following Emergency Preparedness Week.







## Immigration, Tolerance and Diversity

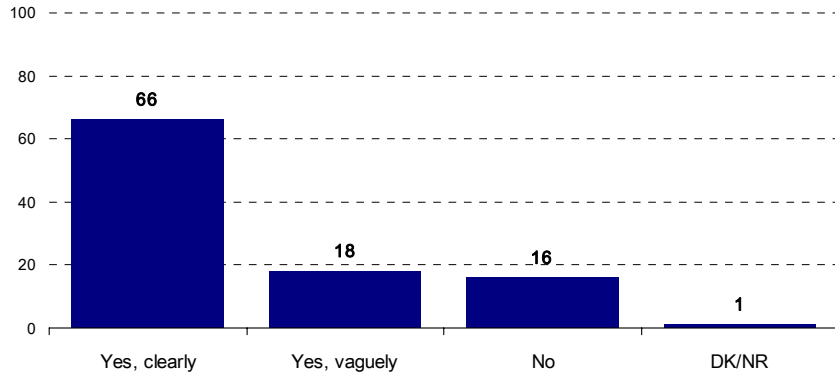
PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

Most Canadians are **aware** that the Government of Canada has a **responsibility to remove inadmissible persons** from Canada (66 per cent “clearly” and 18 per cent “vaguely”).

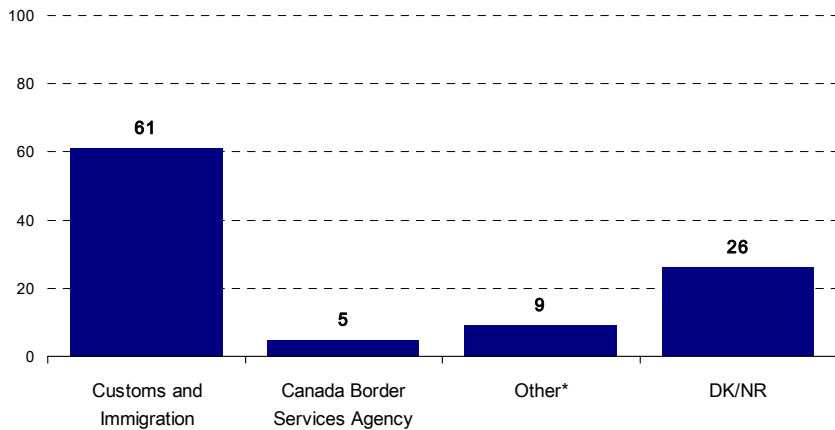
There appears, however, to be some **confusion in terms of the department responsible for removals**. Although Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) and the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) share responsibility for setting policy on inadmissibility, it is the CBSA that is responsible for enforcement (i.e. actual removals). This distinction seems to be lost as 61 per cent incorrectly assumes that CIC is responsible for removals whereas **less than 1 in 10** (five per cent) **correctly names the CBSA as the organization with this responsibility**. There is also about 1 in 4 (26 per cent) who did not offer a response.

## Removals of inadmissible persons

**Q:** Under the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act, a person can be found to be inadmissible to Canada for a variety of reasons. The Government of Canada is responsible for removing inadmissible persons by sending them back to their country of origin as soon as is reasonably practicable. Were you aware that the Government of Canada is responsible for removing inadmissible persons from Canada?



**Q:** What is the name of the Government of Canada department or agency that is responsible for removing inadmissible persons from Canada? \*



\*Category includes the following responses mentioned by one per cent: CCRA, Canada Customs, Customs and Excise, RCMP, DFAIT, CSIS, and national security agency (unspecified).

**Base:** All Canadians; May 07 n=1006 / \*Those aware of government responsibility for removals; (n=851)

When it comes to **perceptions of removals**, those aware of these policies **lean towards seeing the federal Government as *ineffective*** (51 per cent “somewhat” / “very ineffective”) **rather than *effective*** (34 per cent “somewhat” / “very effective”) in this role. There are some interesting demographic variations on this indicator. Visible minority Canadians are more likely than non-visible minorities to perceive the government as being “effective” (46 vs. 32 per cent), and across Canada, residents of British Columbia stand out for have particularly negative views of the government’s abilities in this area (40 per cent “very ineffective” vs. 22 per cent overall).

In order to examine **where the government should focus** its removal efforts, a trade-off analysis was performed.<sup>1</sup> Using this methodology, we see that Canadians have two main priorities: **individuals convicted of serious offences and threats to national security** (each selected three out of every four times they are paired against another option). Other types of inadmissible persons (i.e. failed refugee claimants, those convicted of non-violent offences, and illegal workers) are regarded as lower priorities.

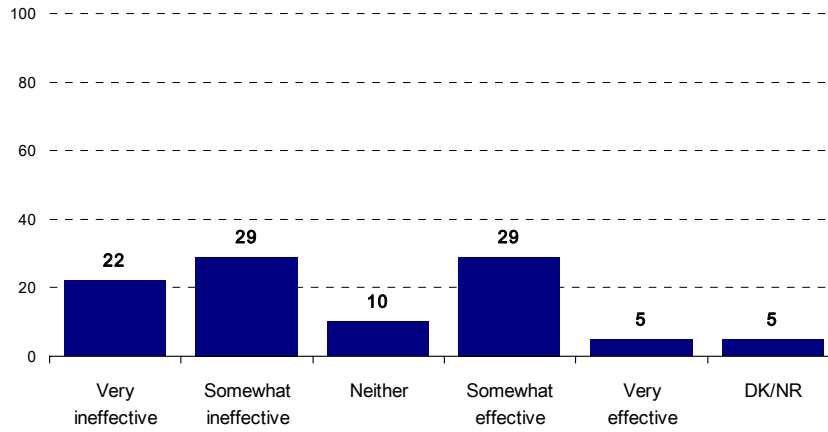
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<sup>1</sup> In a trade off analysis, respondents are asked to choose between a series of paired choices. The survey is designed so that each paired option is presented an equal number of times. The results indicate the number of times the option was selected over all others.

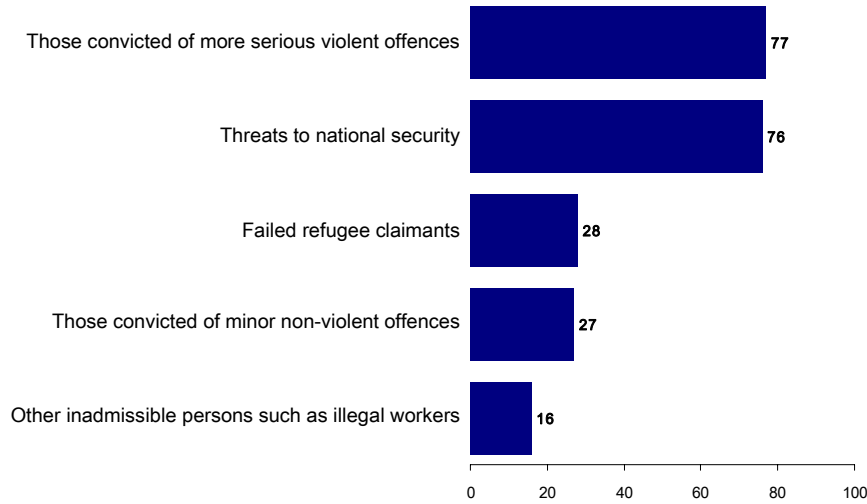


## Effectiveness of removals of inadmissible persons

Q: Based on what you know, how effective would you say the federal Government is at ensuring the quick removal of inadmissible persons from Canada? Would you say they are ...



Q: Which of the following types of inadmissible persons do you think is the most important for the federal Government in terms of ensuring quick removal from Canada? ... or ...? \*



Base: Those aware of government responsibility for removals; May 07 n=851 / \*All Canadians; (n=1006)

Canadians were then asked to consider some of the **circumstances under which the Government of Canada might deport individuals who are deemed a threat to national security**. In May 2004, a majority of Canadians (56 per cent) took the position that the federal Government should have enhanced powers to deport threats to national security even it increased the chances that some individuals are deported unfairly. Today, the results are much more divided. While about half of Canadians (46 per cent) maintains that the government should be able to deport threats to national security under these conditions, an equal proportion (49 per cent) feels that the **government should *not* be able to deport these individuals without their cases first being reviewed**.

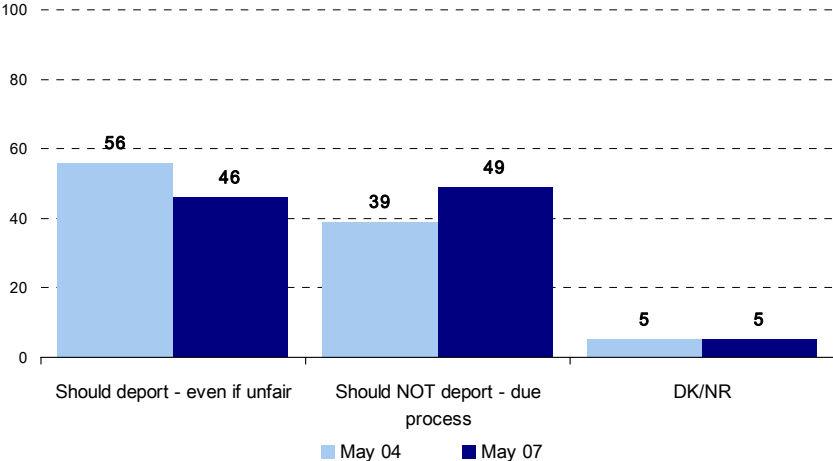
The results are similarly divided when the public is asked to consider the risk of torture to those deported. In this case half (49 per cent) thinks the **government should deport threats to national security even if there are reasonable grounds to believe they would be at risk of torture** in their home country and half (46 per cent) thinks they should be allowed to remain in Canada under supervision while their case is being reviewed.

## Deportation of threats to national security

Q: Which of the following statements is closer to your own point of view?

The **Government should** have enhanced powers to deport individuals who are deemed a threat to national security, **even if increases the chances of someone being deported unfairly.**

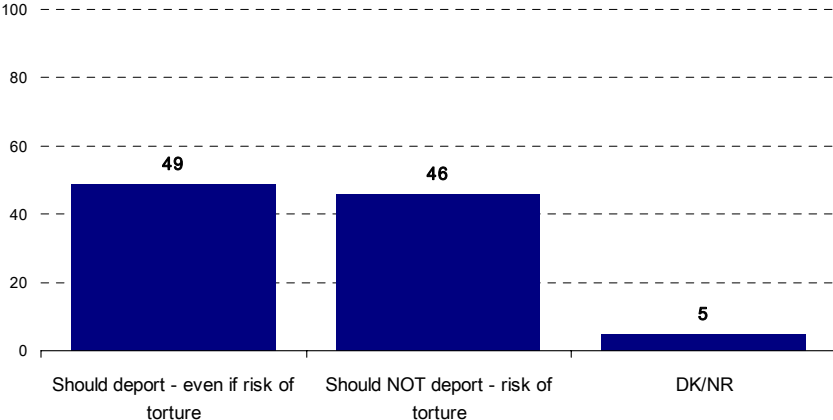
The **Government should not be able to deport people without giving them due process**, even if it means that the individuals deemed a threat to national security are allowed to remain in Canada under supervision, while their case is being reviewed



Q: Which of the following statements is closer to your own point of view?

The **Government should** have enhanced powers to deport individuals who are deemed a threat to national security, **even if there are reasonable grounds to believe that they would be at risk of torture** if deported to their home country.

The **Government should not be able to deport people when there are reasonable grounds to believe that they would be at risk of torture** if deported to their home country even if it means that individuals deemed a threat to national security are allowed to remain in Canada under supervision while their case is being reviewed.



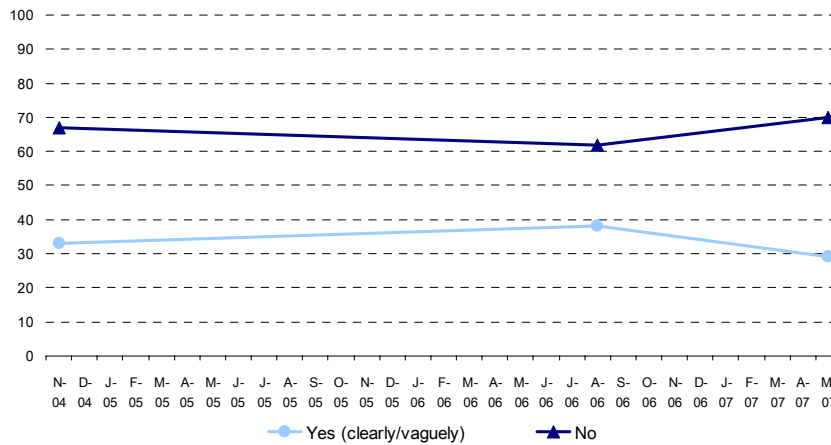
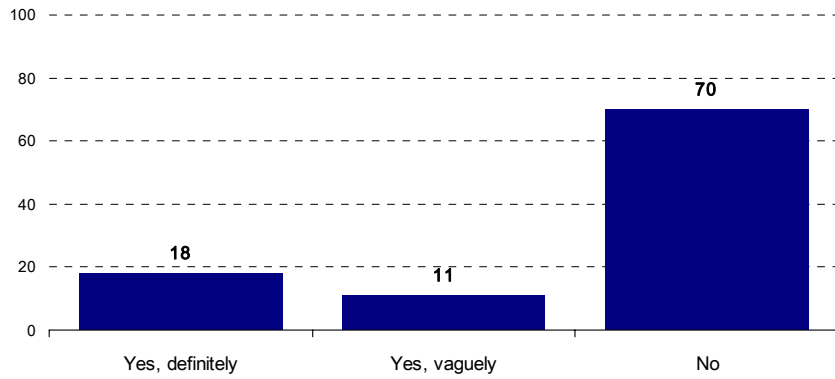
Base: All Canadians; May 07 n= half sample

Despite the recent and highly publicized Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of security certificates, **only about 1 in 3 Canadians says they have heard of these provisions** (18 per cent “definitely” and 11 per cent “vaguely”). Even more surprising is that **awareness has never been lower** (down nine per cent from August 2006).

## Awareness of security certificates

**Q:** On rare occasions where a non-citizen is suspected of being a serious threat to national security, the Government may issue a security certificate for their arrest. Under this system, the non-citizen faces an immigration deportation process and can be detained until their removal can take place. For reasons of national security, the individual is given an unclassified summary of the evidence against them, but does not see any classified evidence.

Have you heard anything about these security certificates?



**Base:** All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006

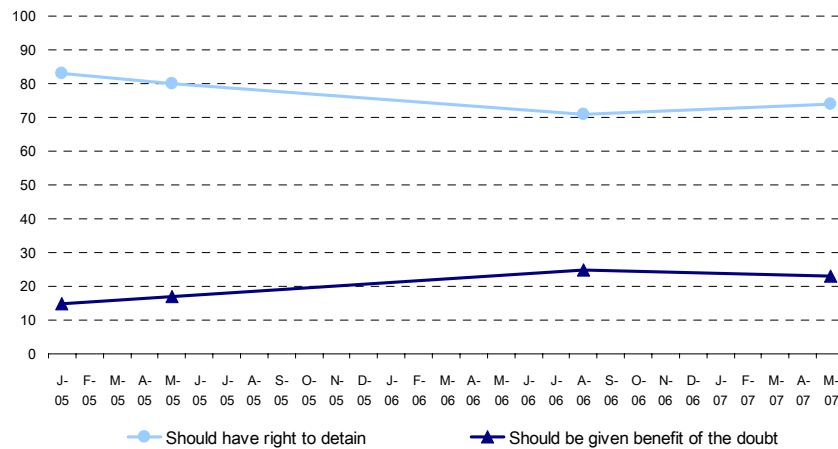
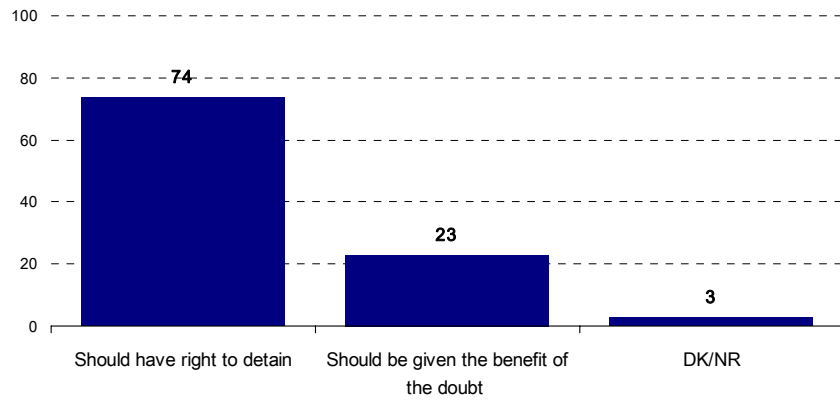
In their ruling, the Supreme Court of Canada found that two aspects of security certificates, namely the right to detain non-citizens without charge and the right to withhold evidence, violated aspects of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In our examination of these issues, we find that a **majority of Canadians (74 per cent) supports the detention of non-citizens who are considered a threat to national security without charges being laid** (whereas only 23 per cent does not). Residents of British Columbia (37 per cent) and visible minority Canadians (31 per cent vs. 22 per cent of non-visible minorities) are more inclined to take the position that non-citizens should not be arrested, detained or deported until they commit an offence.

## Views on security certificates: detaining non-citizens

Q: Which of the following statements is closer to your own point of view?

Even if a **non-citizen** is considered a serious threat to national security, they should be **given the benefit of the doubt and not be arrested, detained or deported** until they commit an offence .

If a **non-citizen** is considered a serious threat to national security, then the **government should have the right to detain** them while their immigration case is being reviewed, or until the individual decides to leave the country.



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

The public is far **more divided on the issue of withholding evidence**: **43 per cent** thinks the government has the right to withhold some evidence for reasons of national security, but a **slight majority** (52 per cent) believes that even **non-citizens who are considered a threat should have access to all of the evidence against them**. Residents of Quebec (65 per cent) and Canada's least affluent (70 per cent vs. 47 per cent of the most affluent) are more likely to think that there should be full disclosure of the evidence.



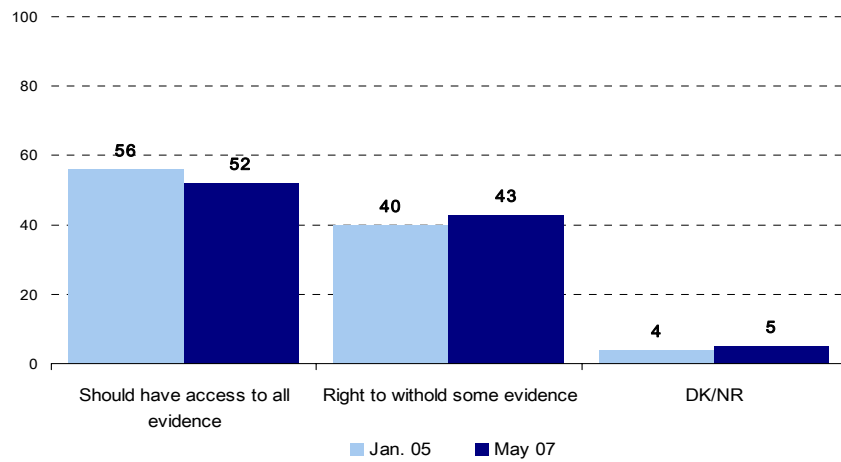
## Views on security certificates: access to evidence

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Q: Which of the following statements is closer to your own point of view?

Even if a non-citizen is considered a serious threat to national security, they **should have access to all the evidence** against them.

In order to protect the safety of Canadians, the **Government has the right to withhold some evidence** against a non-citizen for reasons of national security.



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Base: All Canadians; May 07 n= half sample





## Transportation Safety and Security

PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

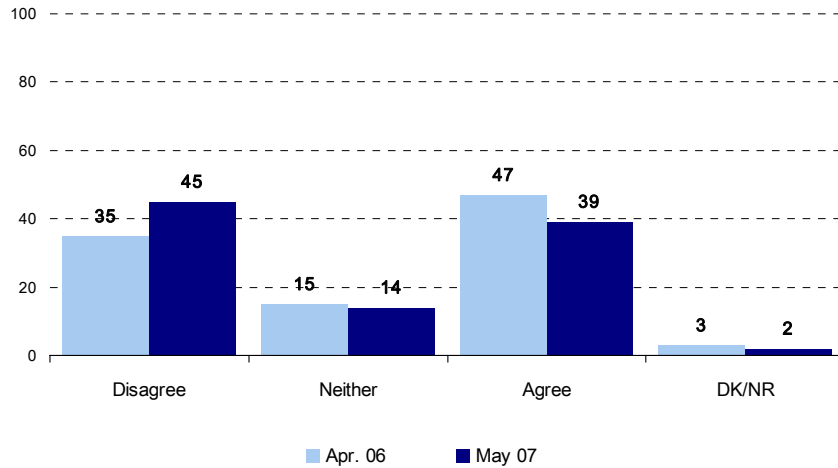


As we saw earlier in this report, Canadians are divided about the prospects of law enforcement and security agencies' ability to prevent a terrorist attack (41 per cent agree that very little can be done and 40 per cent disagree). The public is slightly more hopeful when this is put into the context of a specific target. Currently, 39 per cent agrees and **45 per cent disagrees with the statement that "there is really very little that law enforcement and security agencies can do to prevent a terrorist attack on Canada's subway system."** This is also down significantly from just over a year ago when nearly 1 in 2 (47 per cent) agreed with this statement.

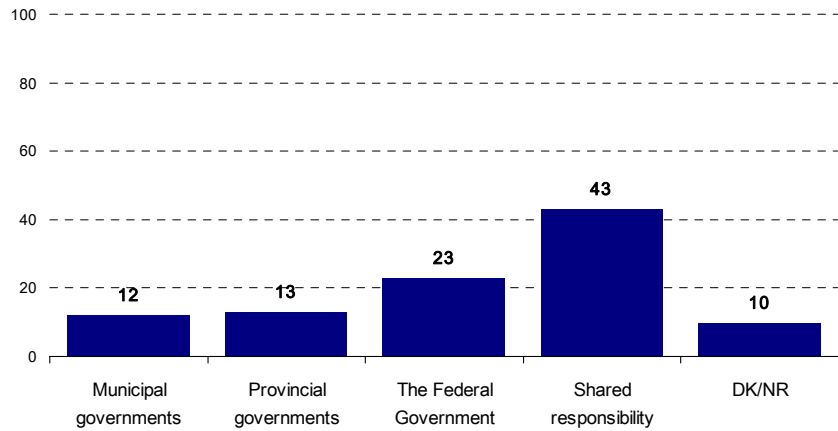
In terms of who would be **responsible should the safety and security of public transit be jeopardized**, a plurality (43 per cent) sees it as **shared between the three levels of government**. There is also about 1 in 5 (23 per cent) who thinks this is the sole responsibility of the federal government, and about 1 in 10 who thinks either the provincial (13 per cent) or the municipal governments (12 per cent) are liable.

## Protecting Canada's urban transit system

Q: When all is said and done, there is really very little that law enforcement and security agencies can do to prevent a terrorist attack on Canada's subway system.



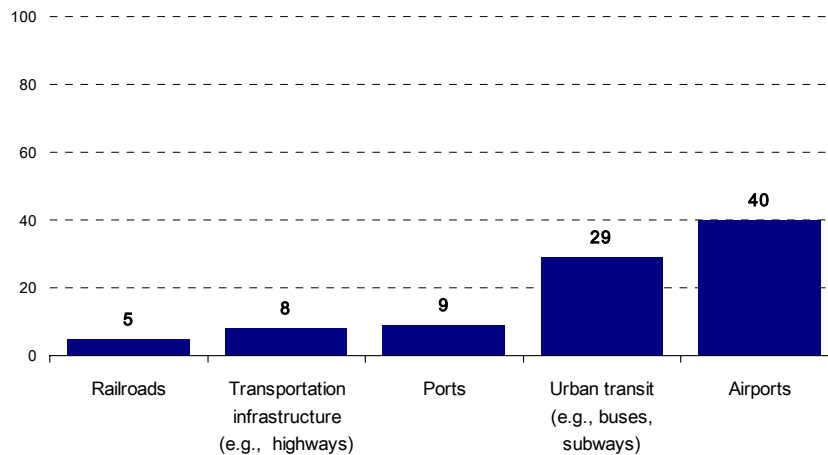
Q: Which level of government do you think currently has primary responsibility for ensuring the safety and security of public transit in Canada?



Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=1006

## Canada's transportation system: most likely target

Q: Thinking about Canada's transportation system, which of the following do you feel is at the greatest risk for a terrorist attack?



Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=1006

If the **transportation system is ever targeted for a terrorist attack**, a plurality of Canadians (40 per cent) believes that **airports are at the greatest risk**. The urban transit system (e.g., buses and subways) is next, with close to 1 in 3 (30 per cent) considering it the more likely target. Overall, less than 1 in 10 is worried about ports (nine per cent), transportation infrastructure (eight per cent), or railroads (five per cent). As might be expected, **those that use urban transit** with some frequency (e.g., youth, low income Canadians) are far **more concerned about subways and buses being targeted** than those who do not use this form of transportation (36 per cent vs. 26 per cent of non-urban transit users).

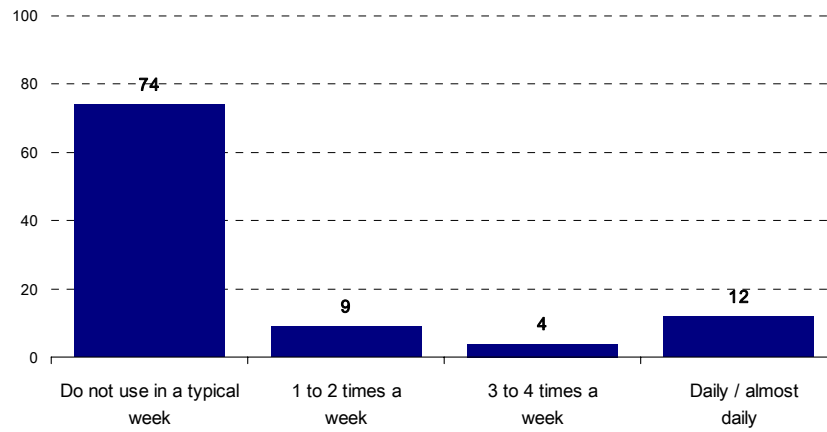
Nearly **three-quarters of the Canadian public says they do not use public transit in a typical week**. Interpreted in another way, however, and one comes to the grim realization that, in the unfortunate event of an attack on Canada's urban transit, up to 1 in 4 Canadians could potentially be affected. This could be particularly devastating if **buses or subways** are targeted given that they are the **most frequently used modes of public transit** (employed respectively by 63 and 25 per cent of public transit users in a given week).



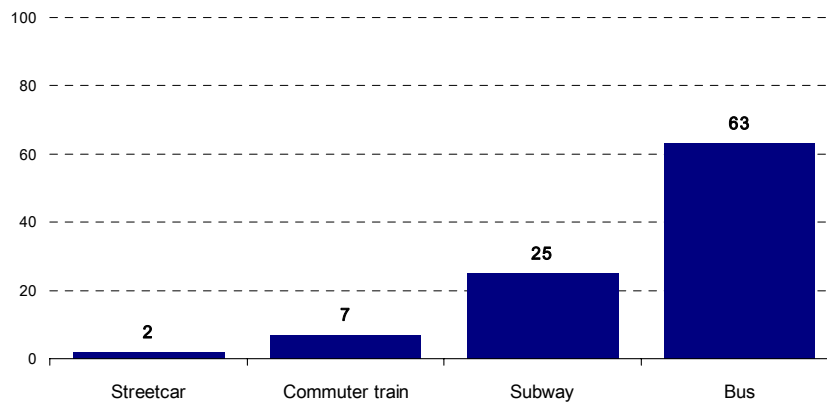
## Public transit use

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Q: How often do you use public transit in a typical week?



Q: And which of the following modes of public transit do you typically use?\*



Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=1006 / \* Canadians who use public transit weekly (n=220)

While not everyone uses public transit in a typical week, it is conceivable and even likely that most people will be exposed to this system at some point in their lives. For this reason, we thought it important to ask all Canadians – not just frequent users of public transit – whether or not they knew what to do if there was ever a terrorist alert while using public transit.

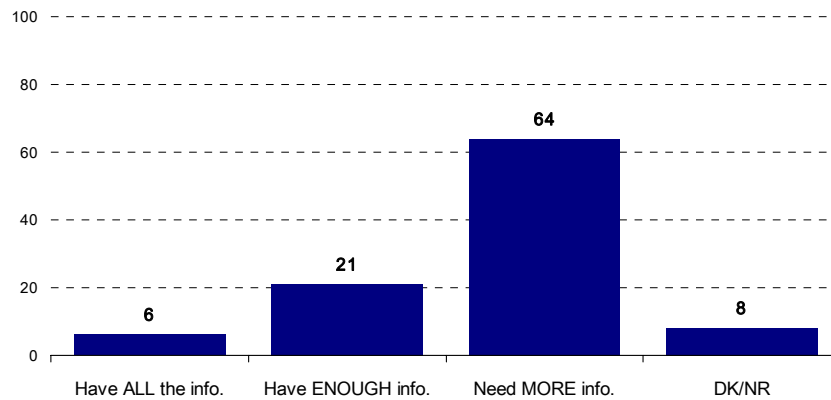
Overall, we find that a majority (64 per cent) feels ignorant on the matter, and about 1 in 5 (21 per cent) thinks they might be able to get by. Less than 1 in 10 (six per cent) is confident they have all the information they need. Interestingly, frequent public transit users are only slightly more likely to feel informed about what to do if these circumstances ever arose (36 per cent “have all / enough” information vs. 25 per cent of non-frequent transit users).

## Awareness of what to do in case of a terrorist alert on public transit

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**Q:** In order to be prepared for and know what to do if there was a terrorist alert while riding public transit, would you say you ...

- 1) ...are confident that you have **all the information** you need to know what to do;
- 2) ...think that you have **enough information** to know what to do in general; or
- 3) ...would definitely **need more information** to know what to do.



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**Base:** All Canadians; May 07 n=1006





## Crime and Justice

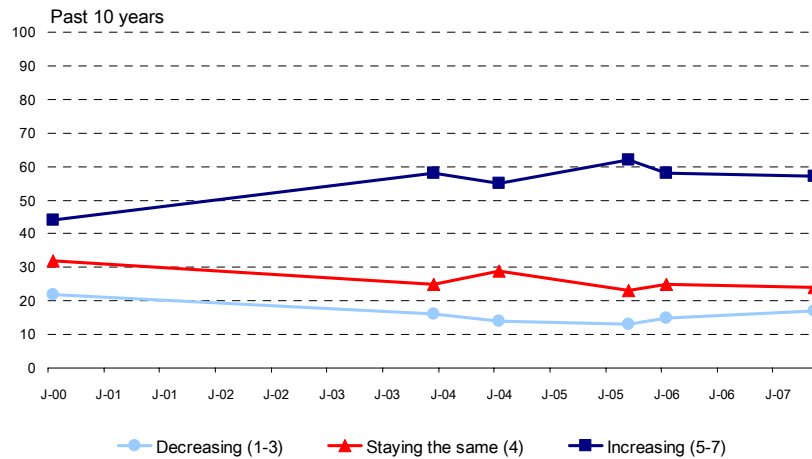
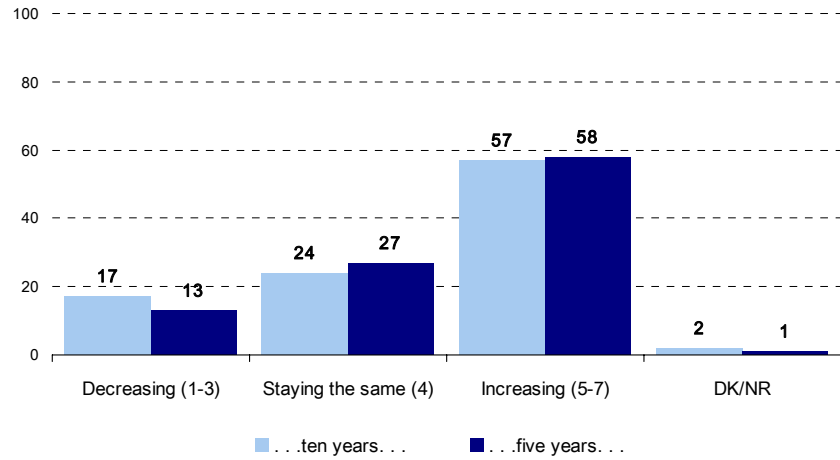
PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

Despite crime statistics that point to the contrary, **Canadians continue to lean towards seeing the crime rate as having increased over the past five to ten years** (respectively, 57 and 58 per cent) – a perception that has dominated since tracking began in 2000. In fact, less than 1 in 5 are cognizant of the fact that – with the exception of a slight rise in 2003 – the crime rate has been in decline since the early 1990s. There is also about 1 in 4 that believes that the crime rate is unchanged in recent years.

Those most likely to take the view that the crime rate is rising include residents of Alberta and the Prairies, women, seniors, and those with lower levels of educational attainment. The few that says that the crime rate is falling tend to be men and Canadians of higher socioeconomic standing.

## Perception of the crime rate

Q: Over the past ..., would you say that the crime rate in Canada has been increasing or decreasing?



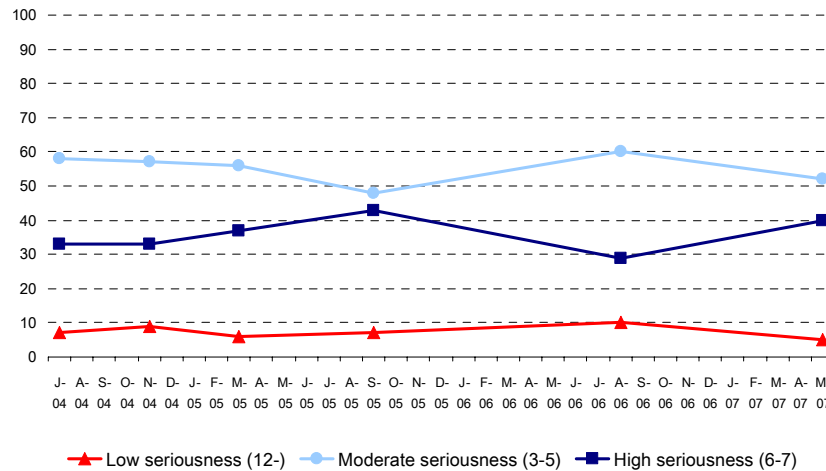
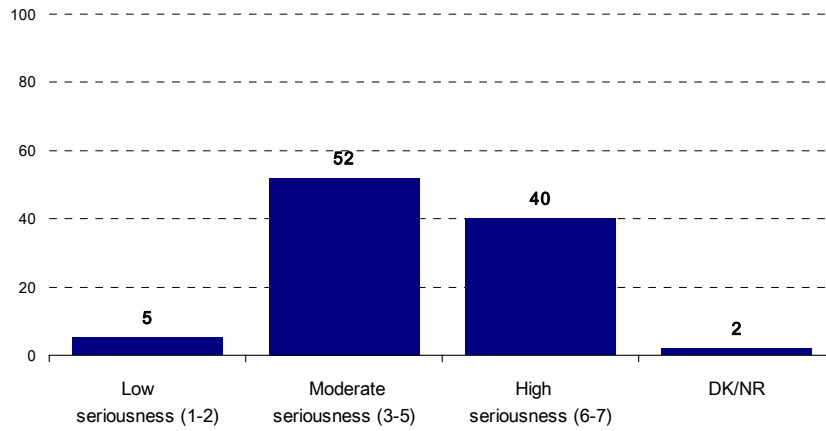
Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=half sample

Not only is the public concerned about a perceived rising crime rate, they also have **serious concerns about organized crime**. Most consider it a “serious threat” (40 per cent “highly serious” and 52 per cent “moderately serious) and only 1 in 3 (30 per cent) agrees that organized crime does not affect the daily lives of most Canadians.



## Perceived threat of organized crime

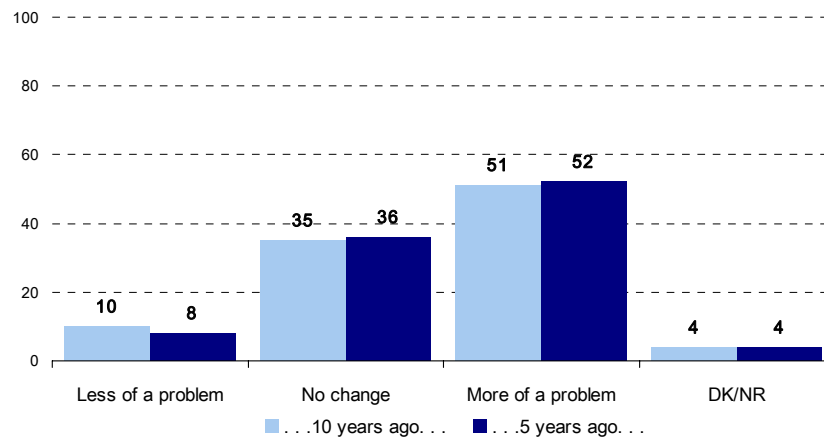
Q: Organized crime occurs when a group of three or more persons cooperate and conspire within an ongoing network to commit an illegal offence for the purpose of material benefit or financial gain. How serious a threat is organized crime in Canada today?



Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006

## Perception of organized crime

Q: And compared to ... , would you say organized crime is more of a problem, less of a problem or has there been no change?

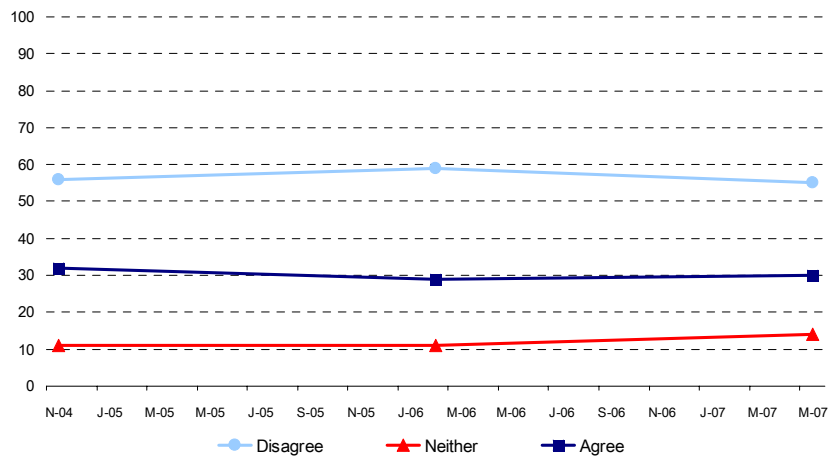
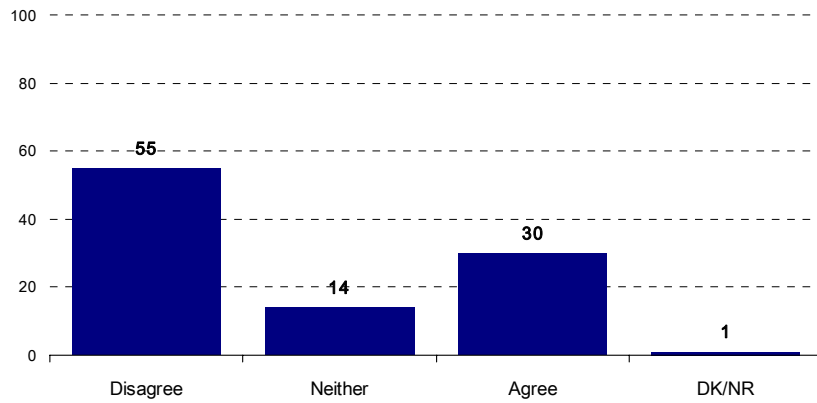


Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=half sample

Adding to Canadians' concerns is a **common perception that organized crime is more of a problem these days than in the recent past** (although 1 in 3 says there has been no change). Residents of Alberta and the Prairies along with visible minorities Canadians are all significantly more likely than their counterparts to believe that organized crime is "a serious threat" and that is "more of a problem" than in the past.

## Impact of organized crime

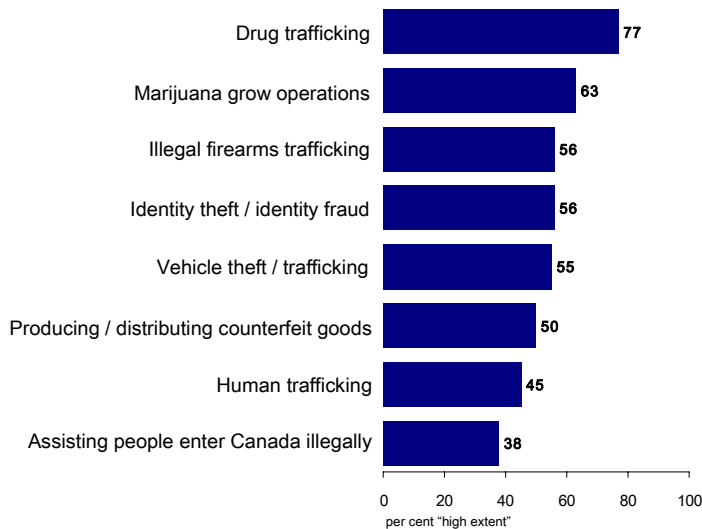
Q: Organized crime does not affect the daily lives of most Canadians.



Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=1006

## Perceptions of the activities of criminal organizations

Q: To what extent would you say that organized crime is involved in the following in Canada?

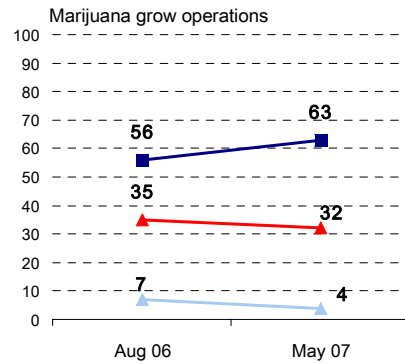
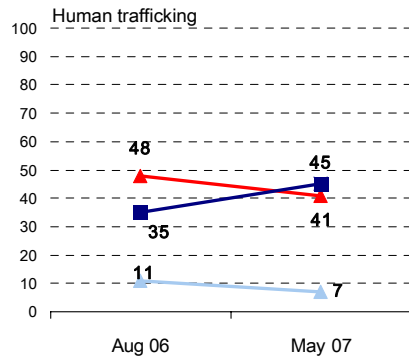
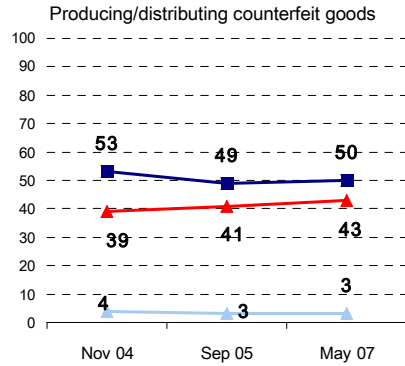
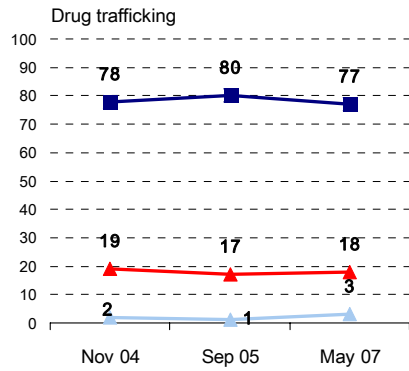


Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=half sample

Anxieties about organized crime are likely rooted in the fact that these organizations are seen as being involved in a wide breadth of illicit activities. The extent of their involvement in activities ranges from a low of 38 per cent "high extent" of involvement in people smuggling to a peak of 77 per cent "high extent" of involvement in drug trafficking. On indicators where tracking data is available there have been notable increases in the perceived involvement of organized crime in certain activities (e.g., human trafficking and marijuana grow operations).

## Tracking perceptions of the activities of criminal organizations

Q: To what extent would you say that organized crime is involved in the following in Canada?



—▲— Low extent —▲— Moderate extent —■— High extent

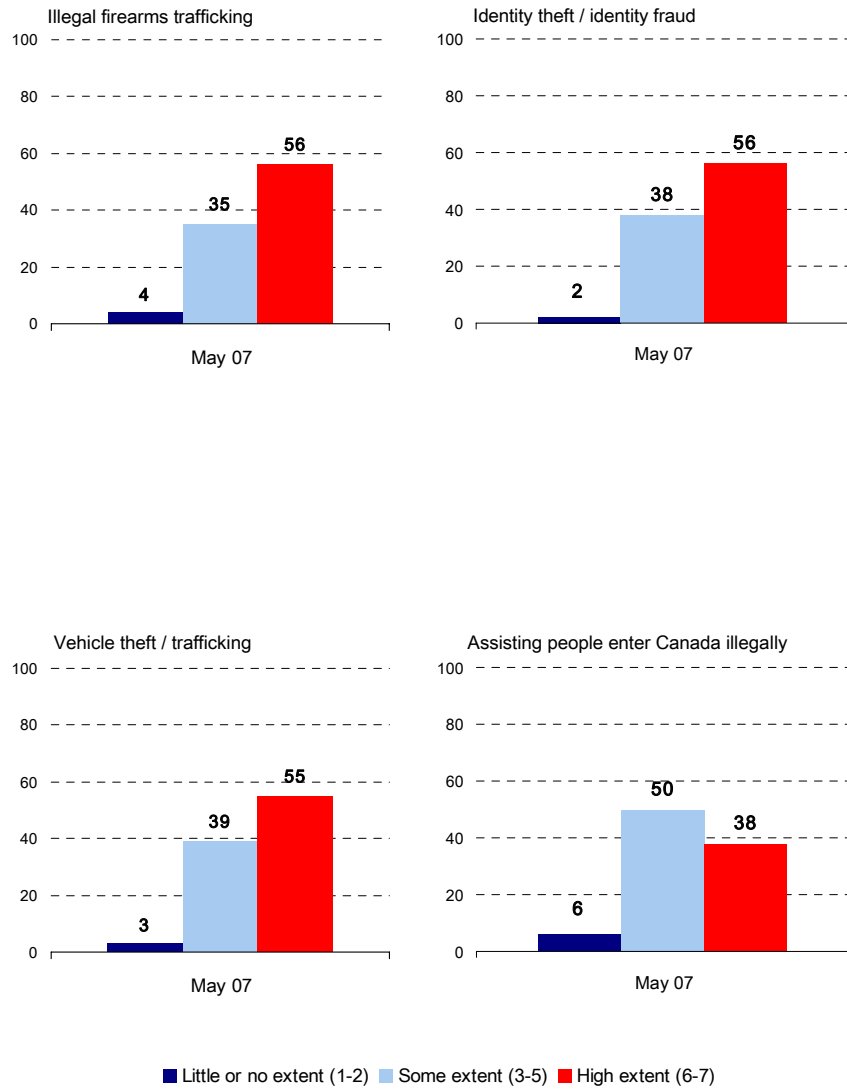
Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=half sample

Generally speaking, women and older Canadians are more inclined to believe that organized crime is involved to a “high extent” in any of the examined activities. There are also some interesting regional variations on these indicators. For example, Quebeckers are more likely to think organized crime is involved to a “high extent” in marijuana grow operations (71 per cent vs. 63 per cent overall) and vehicle theft / trafficking (64 per cent vs. 55 per cent overall), whereas Ontarians perceive greater involvement in the production and distribution of counterfeit goods (58 per cent vs. 50 per cent overall).

In British Columbia, criminal organizations’ perceived rates of involvement of in drug trafficking (90 per cent “high extent” vs. 77 per cent overall), identity theft (68 per cent vs. 56 per cent), human trafficking (57 per cent vs. 45 per cent overall) and human smuggling (51 per cent vs. 38 per cent overall) stand out for being much greater than the national average.

## Activities of criminal organizations

Q: To what extent would you say that organized crime is involved in the following in Canada?



Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=half sample

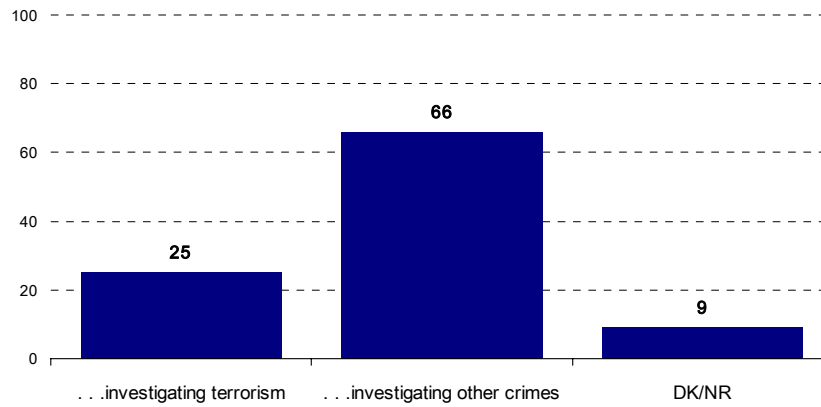
When given the choice between **allocating resources** to either investigating terrorism or investigating other crimes, the **public leans towards “other crimes” by a margin of nearly 3 to 1**. This is somewhat surprising given that, as we have seen, Canadians rather elevated fears about the threat of terrorism (e.g., 81 per cent believe there are terrorists currently in Canada planning to launch an attack). There are other factors, however, that help to explain the emphasis placed on crime (e.g., the fact that the crime rate seen as increasing or that organized crime is “more of a problem” / affecting the lives of average Canadians etc.).

Regardless of where they would prefer to see resources allocated, **most think that law enforcement and security agencies are seriously under funded**. Two-thirds of Canadians say that these agencies do not have enough resources to manage either the threat of organized crime (69 per cent) or terrorism (63 per cent); only about 1 in 5 say they have adequate resources to devote to these issues. Residents of British Columbia and Alberta are particularly likely to think that law enforcement and security agencies need more funding in order to battle organized crime (respectively, 83 and 82 per cent “not enough resources”).



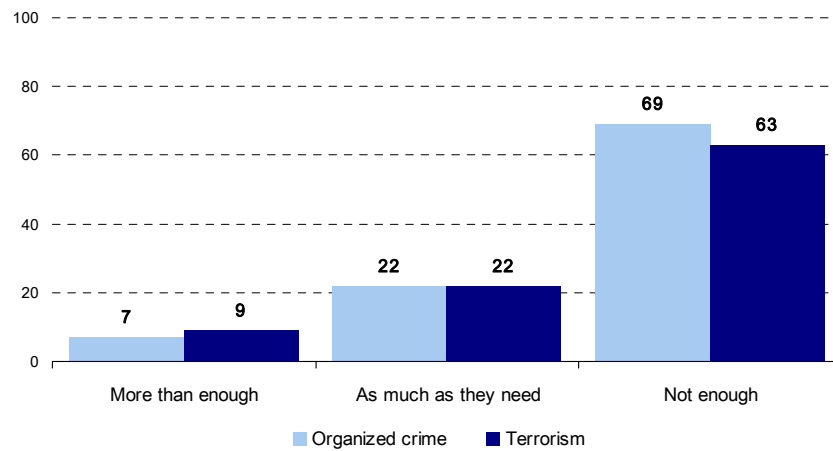
## Concentration of resources: terrorism vs. other crimes

Q: Recognizing that both are important in today's world, where do you think law enforcement and security agencies should spend more of their resources ... or ...?



Q: When it comes to law enforcement and security agencies' capacity to manage the threat of [organized crime / terrorism], would you say they ... \*

- 1) ... have more than enough resources to devote to the issue?
- 2) ... have as much resources as they need to devote to the issue?
- 3) ... do not have enough resources to devote to the issue?



Base: All Canadians; May 07 n= 1006 / \* half sample





## Oversight

PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

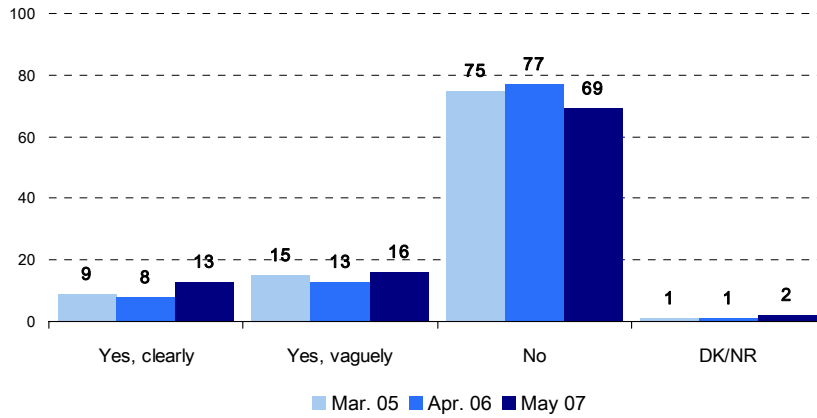
In the second report of The Commission of Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Maher Arar, Commissioner Dennis O'Connor made several recommendations with respect reviewing the national security activities of several federal agencies and departments in Canada. In this iteration of the Security Monitor, we took the opportunity to examine Canadians' awareness of and attitudes towards independent review bodies.

**General awareness of review bodies, although still modest, does appear to be growing.** Currently, about 1 in 3 Canadians indicates that they have heard of review bodies responsible for monitoring the activities of Canada's law enforcement and security agencies (13 per cent clear awareness and 16 per cent vague awareness). This is **up slightly from previous years** where no more than about 1 in 4 recalled hearing anything about these types of bodies (21 per cent in April 2006 and 24 per cent in March 2005). Clear awareness of review bodies is significantly higher among men (16 per cent), residents of Ontario (17 per cent), and those with a university education (18 per cent).

For those who say they have heard of review bodies, two-thirds (66 per cent) are unable to name any of these without prompting. In terms of specific recall, **The Commission for Public Complaints Against the RCMP continues to be mentioned most frequently** (named by 13 per cent). In fact, **recognition of this particular review body has increased over the past several years** (up six per cent since March 2005). Although still only named by less than 1 in 10 (seven per cent), **awareness of the Security Intelligence Review Committee also appears to be tracking upwards**, with unprompted recall rising by four percentage points since March 2005.

## Awareness of review bodies

Q: Have you ever heard about any review bodies that are responsible for monitoring the activities of Canada's law enforcement and security agencies?



Q: Can you name any of the existing Canadian review bodies?\*

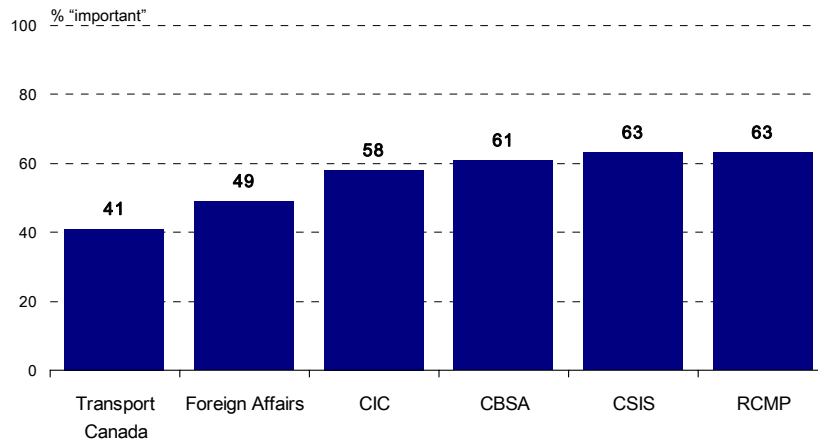
	Mar. 05	Apr. 06	May 07
Commission for Public Complaints Against the RCMP	7	11	13
Inspector General, CSIS	11	9	7
Security Intelligence Review Committee	3	4	7
House / Senate Committees on National Security	4	2	6
Commissioner of the Communications Security Establishment	3	1	2
Other	8	4	8
DK/NR	67	74	66

\*Category includes the following responses mentioned by fewer than five per cent: review boards related to the RCMP, police related review boards, Government related agencies (i.e. auditor general, ombudsmen, parliament review boards), and other.

Base: All Canadians; May 07 n= 1006 / \*Canadians aware of review bodies; most recent data point May 07 (n=313)

## Importance of monitoring government departments with security role

**Q:** There are a number of different federal government departments and agencies in Canada that are involved in law enforcement and national security? How important is it to monitor the law enforcement and national security activities of the following organizations?



**Base:** All Canadians; May 07 n=half sample ( for each item )

One of the specific recommendations made by Commissioner O'Connor was to **extend independent review to federal departments and agencies not currently subject to a review or complaint investigation process** (e.g., the Canada Border Services Agency, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Transport Canada, the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade). When asked about the importance of monitoring the law enforcement and security activities of these organizations – as well as those already subject to review (i.e. CSIS and the RCMP) – we find that **less than 1 in 10 Canadians considers this to be “not very important”**.

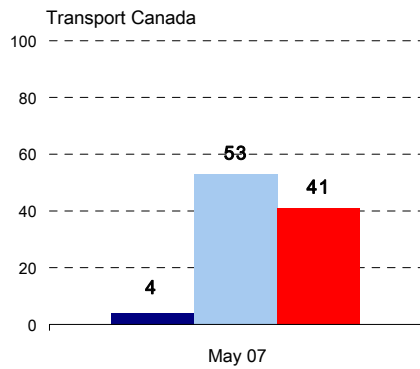
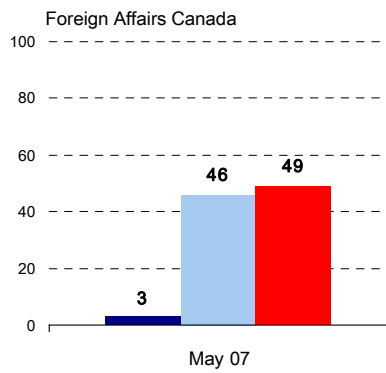
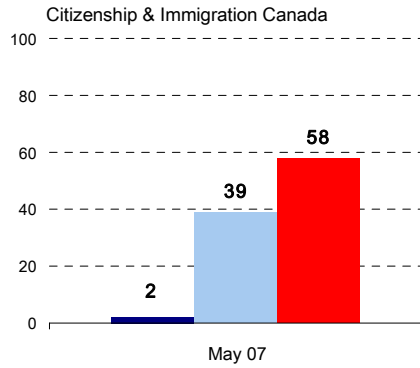
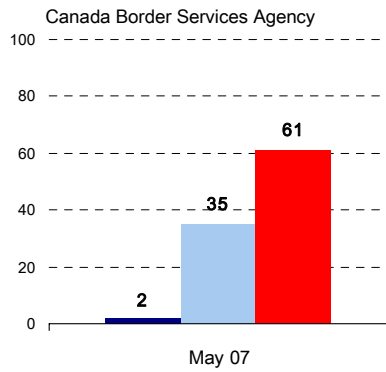
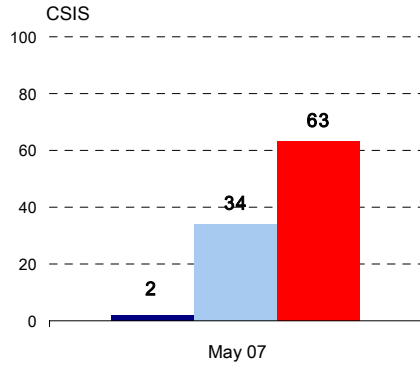
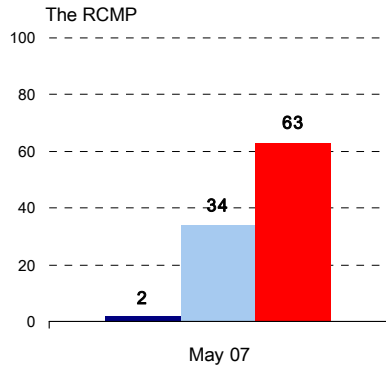
Overall, the **RCMP and CSIS are considered the most important to monitor** (63 per cent “important”), which is not entirely unexpected given that their activities are already subject to review. What is surprising, however, is that almost as many Canadians think it is “important” to monitor the security activities of the Canada Border Services Agency and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (respectively, 61 and 58 per cent “important”).

The importance placed on monitoring the security activities of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Transport Canada is rated slightly lower (respectively, 49 and 41 per cent “important”). Women are consistently more likely than men to think that it is “important” to monitor any of the examined agencies or departments.



## Importance of monitoring

Q: There are a number of different federal government departments and agencies in Canada that are involved in law enforcement and national security? How important is it to monitor the law enforcement and national security activities of the following organizations?



■ Not very important (1-2) ■ Somewhat important (3-5) ■ Important (6-7)

Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=half sample ( for each time )





## Security Agencies

PART OF THE **SECURITY MONITOR** STUDY

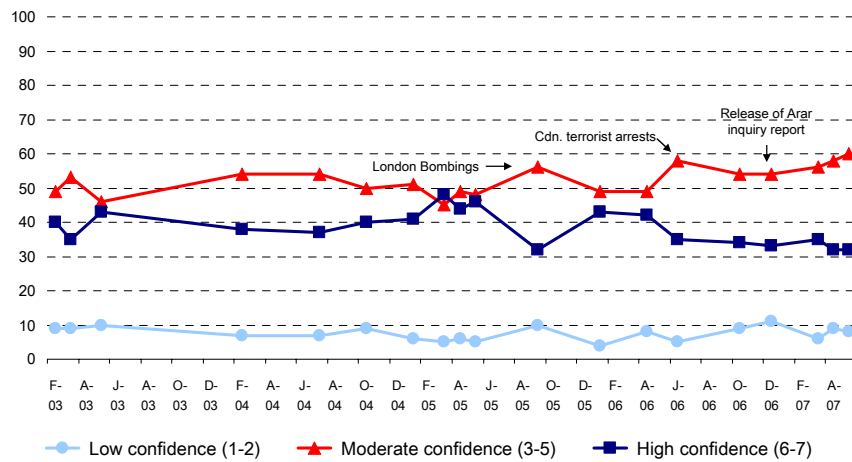
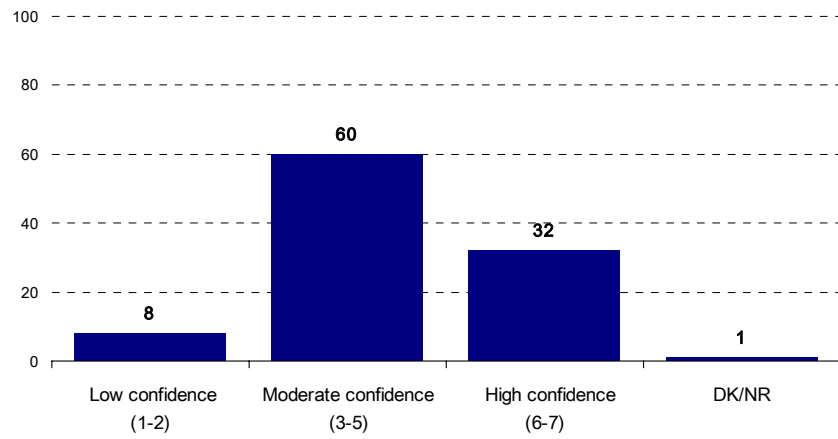


Most Canadians say they have a **moderate amount of confidence in Canada's security and law enforcement agencies**. In fact, fewer than 1 in 10 Canadians ever expresses "low confidence". Those that are in favour of the direction the Government of Canada is taking on national security have the highest levels of confidence in these types of organization.

Despite recent troubles for this organization, the **general public continues to have the most confidence in the RCMP**, with about 1 in 3 (32 per cent) expressing “high confidence”. **For the other, less well-known agencies, “high confidence” tends to be much lower.** There has however, been some upward movement in terms of confidence in some of these agencies. For example, “high confidence” in the Canada Border Services Agency has risen six percentage points since January 2006 (from 18 to 24 per cent). Similarly, confidence in Transport Canada has also increased (from 14 per cent “high confidence” in June 2006 to 22 per cent in May 2007). Confidence in the CSIS, however, has remained stable (23 per cent “high confidence”).

## Confidence in the RCMP (in general)

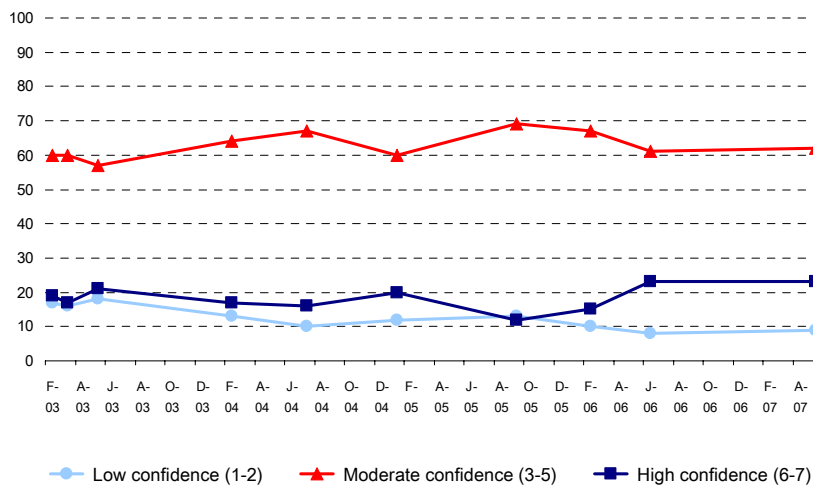
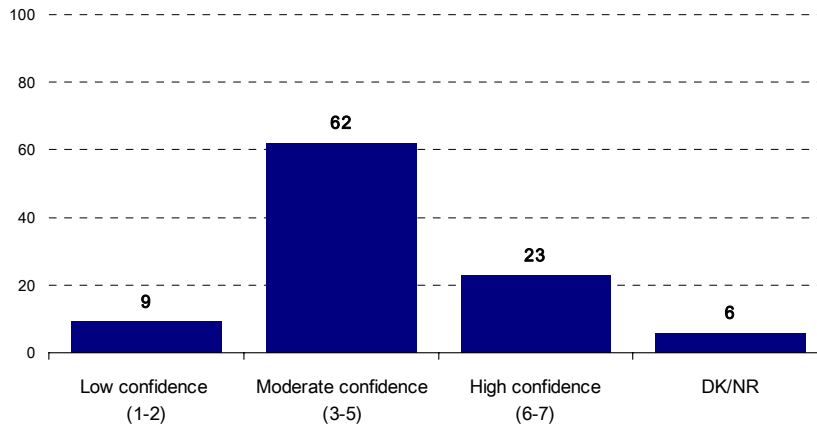
Q: How much confidence in . . . the RCMP?



Base: All Canadians; May 07 n=half sample

## Confidence in the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS)

Q: How much confidence in . . . the Canadian Security Intelligence Service?



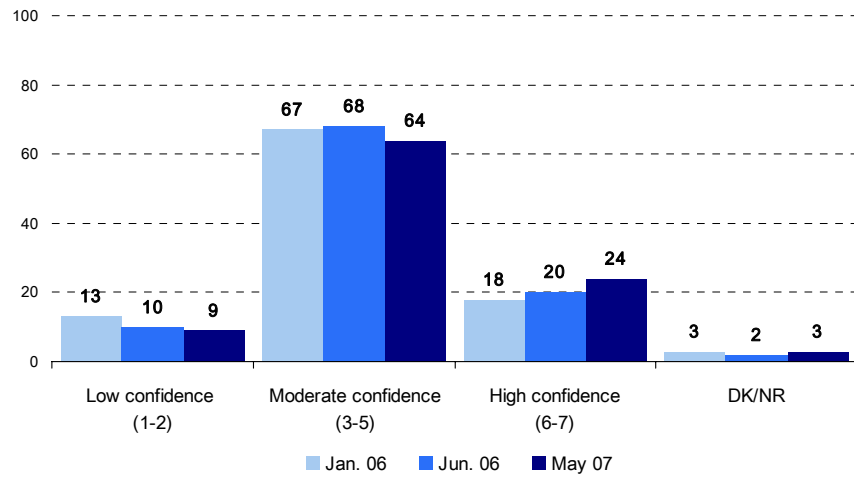
Base: All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006



## Confidence in the CBSA

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**Q:** How much confidence in . . . the Canadian Border Services Agency, the organization responsible for managing, controlling, and securing Canada's borders?

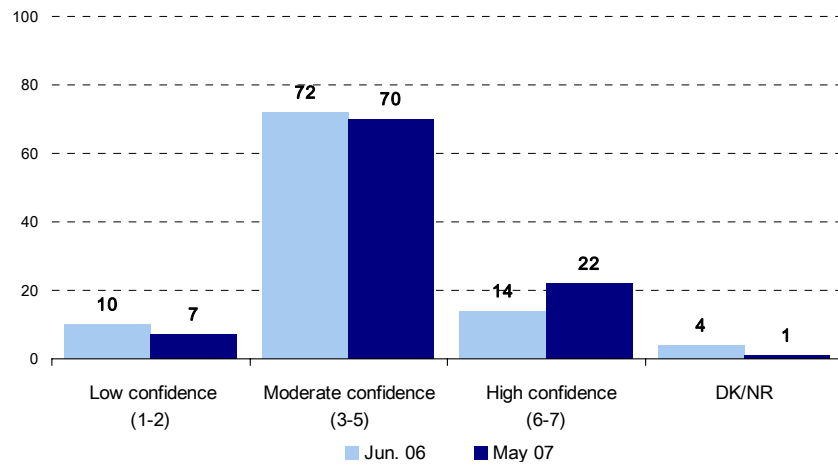


**Base:** All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006

## Confidence in Transport Canada

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**Q:** How much confidence in . . . Transport Canada, the federal government department responsible for policies aimed at ensuring the safety and security of Canada's transportation system.



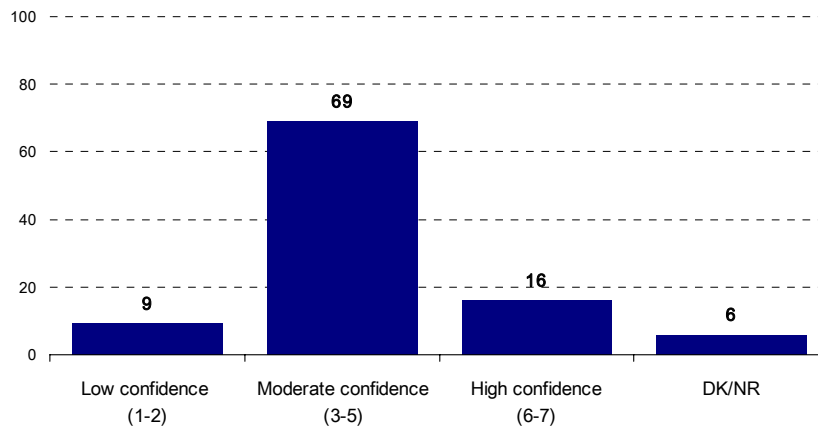
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**Base:** All Canadians; most recent data point May 07 n=1006

## Confidence in law and security oversight committees

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**Q:** How much confidence in . . . the bodies responsible for overseeing the activities of Canada's law enforcement and security agencies?



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**Base:** All Canadians; May 07 n=1006

As we saw earlier, Canadians level of awareness of the bodies responsible for overseeing the activities of Canada's law enforcement and security agencies is relatively low. Despite these low awareness levels, most say they are at least moderately comfortable in these bodies (69 per cent "moderate confidence" and 16 per cent "high confidence").





## 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
Wave 6	May 14-18, 2007	1,006	+/-3.1 percentage points