

An Increasingly Divided Outlook

Rethinking Canada's Place in the World



*Study conducted for the 2012 Walter Gordon
Symposium In Public Policy*

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Outline

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- 2.0 A Chilly Global Economic Outlook**
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- 5.0 Sustainability in a Post Kyoto World?**
- 6.0 Multilateralism in Steep Decline**
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1. Overall Outlook: Levels of Awareness and Preferred Focus



Overall Outlook (1/2)

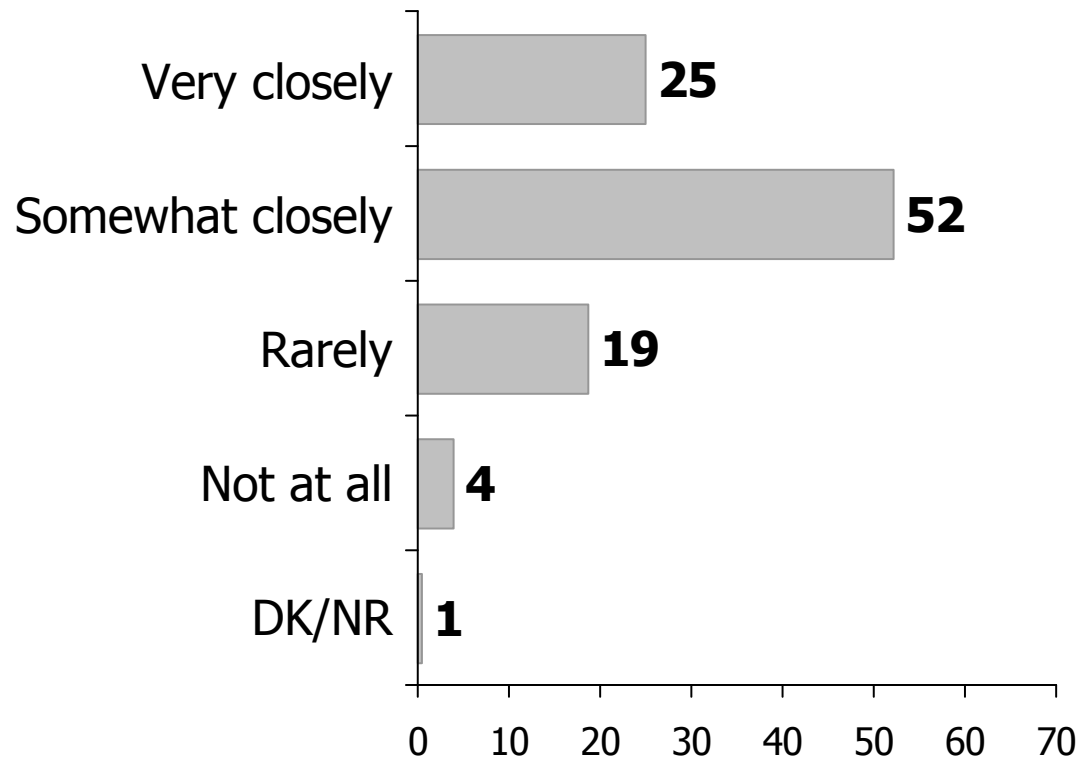
- Canadians are very outward directed
- Attentive, open, and positive
- Slight closing in recent years
- Foreign policy goals are divided
 - Domestic vs. Cosmopolitan
 - Economic vs. Humanitarian
 - “Harder” vs. “Softer”
- Key fault lines linked to political and ideological divisions

Overall Outlook (2/2)

- Government supporters are proud (others embarrassed)
- Overall shift is domestic-economic-harder
 - This has produced a growing unease outside of government supporters
- As terrorism/security fears fall, fear of global economic collapse rises
- Climate change remains #2

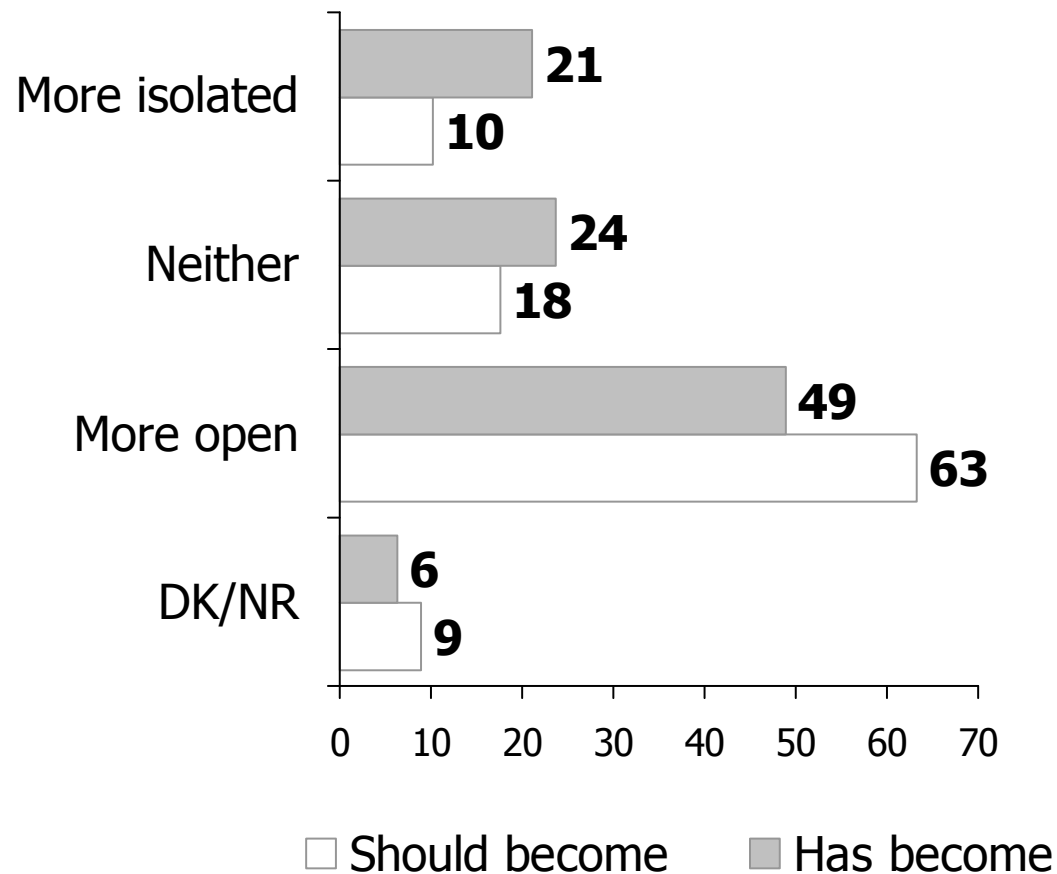
Familiarity with international affairs

Q. How closely would you say you follow international affairs?



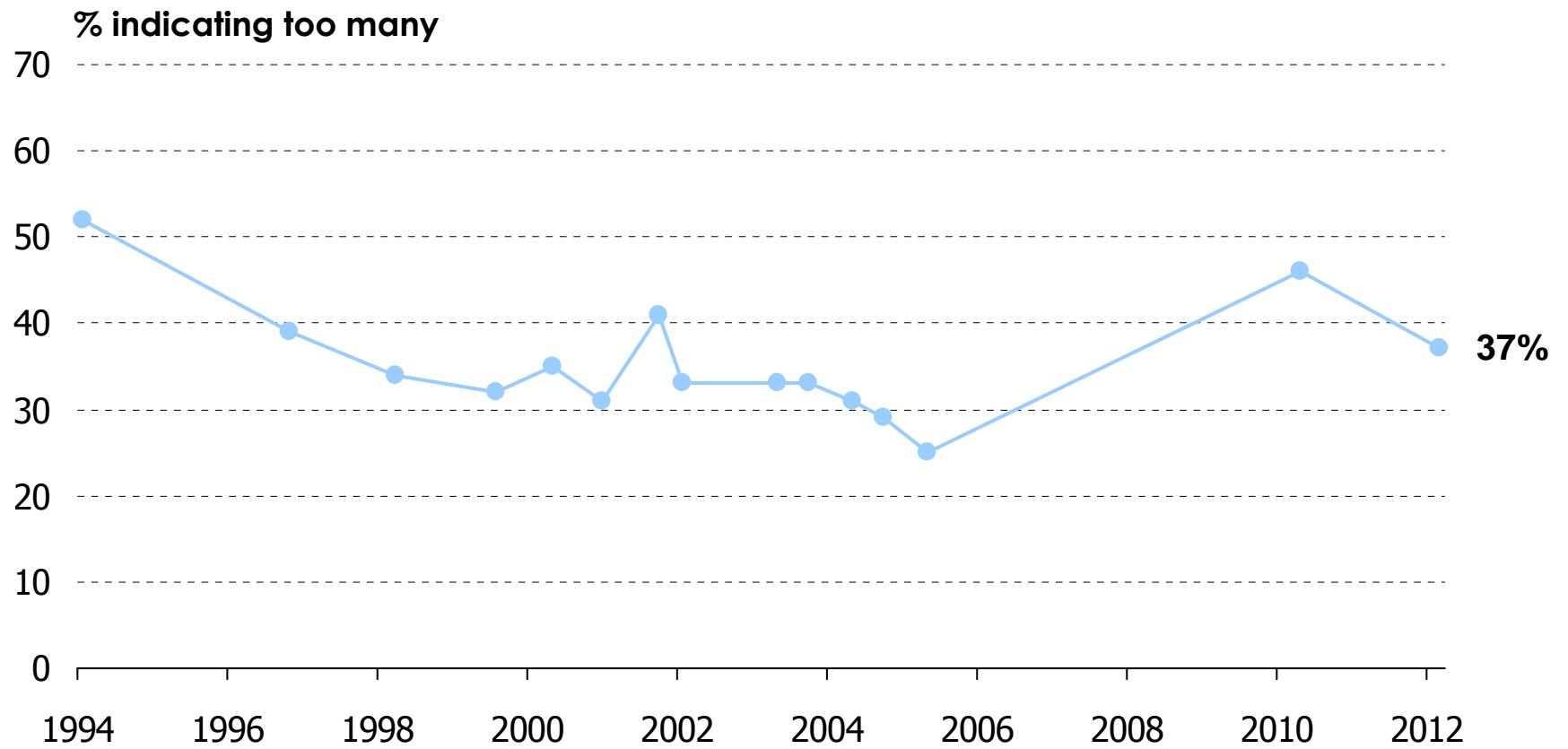
Canada: More open or more isolated?

Q. Over the last/next decade, do you believe that Canada has/should become more open or more isolated?



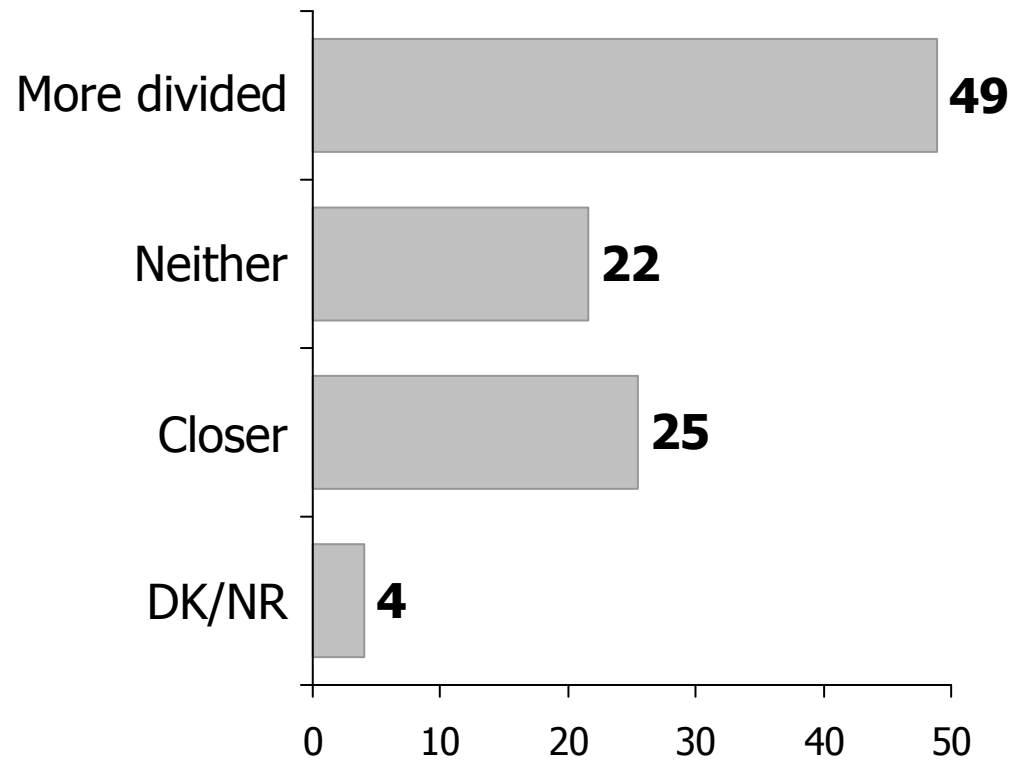
Tracking attitudes towards immigration

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



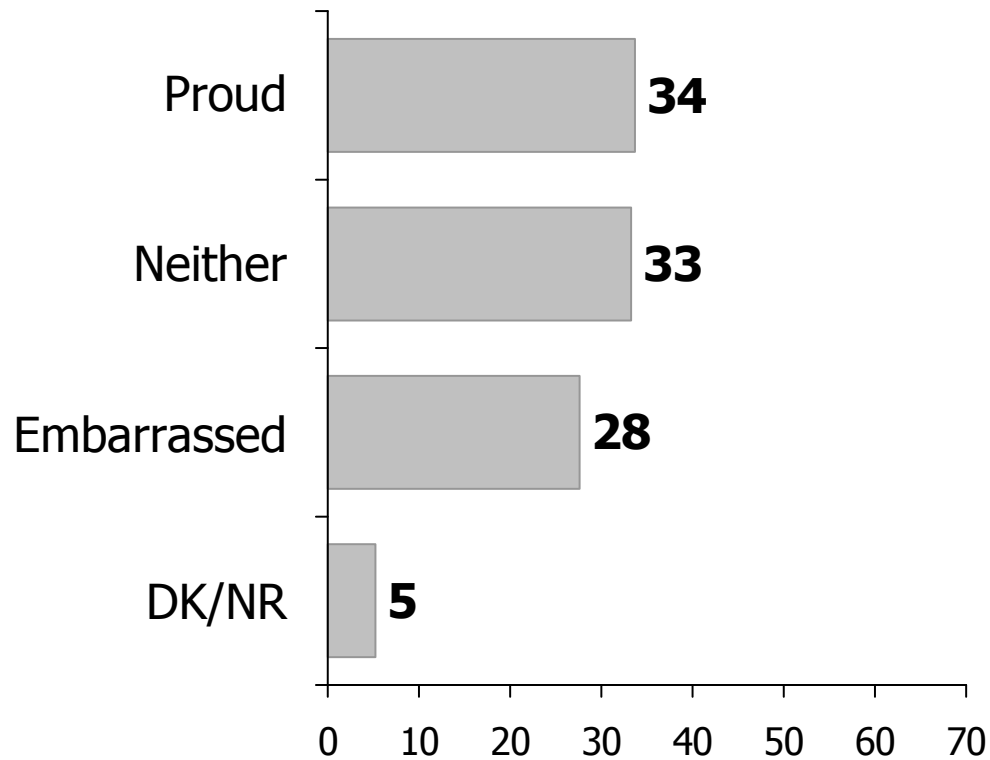
A more divided world?

Q. Compared to 10 years ago, would you say the world has become closer, more divided, or neither?



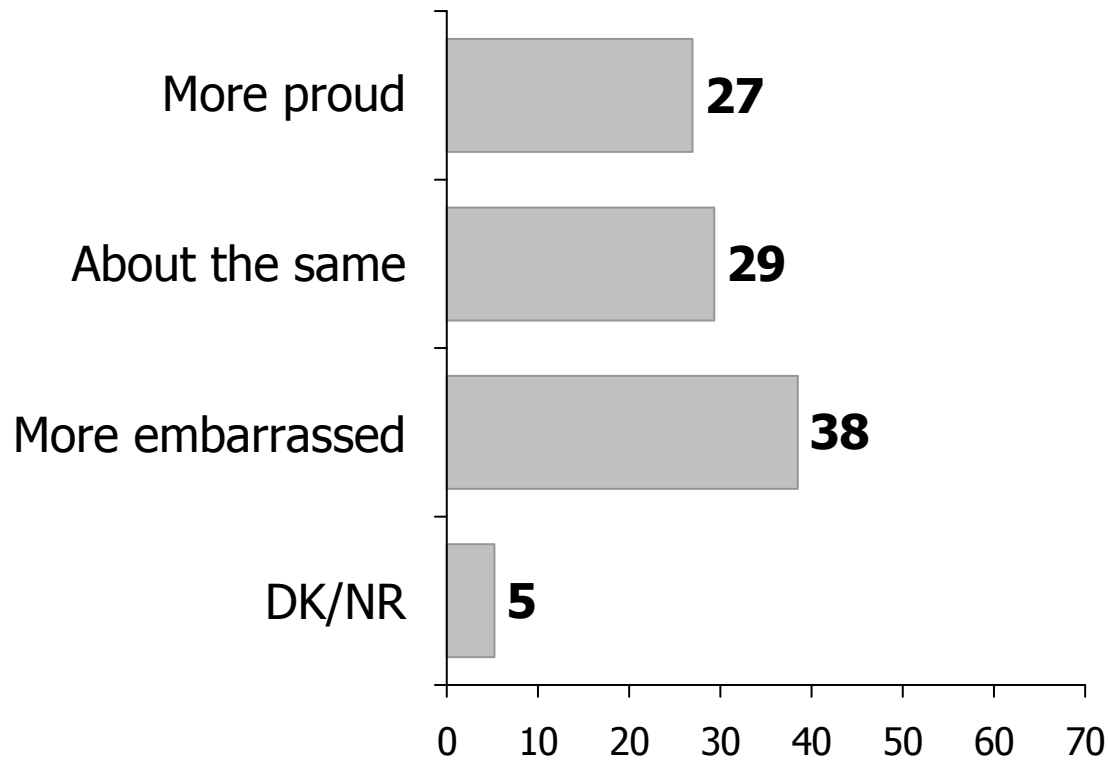
Feelings towards Canada's foreign policy

Q. *Based on what you know, would you say that you are proud or embarrassed of the way Canada is seen as a result of its foreign policies?*



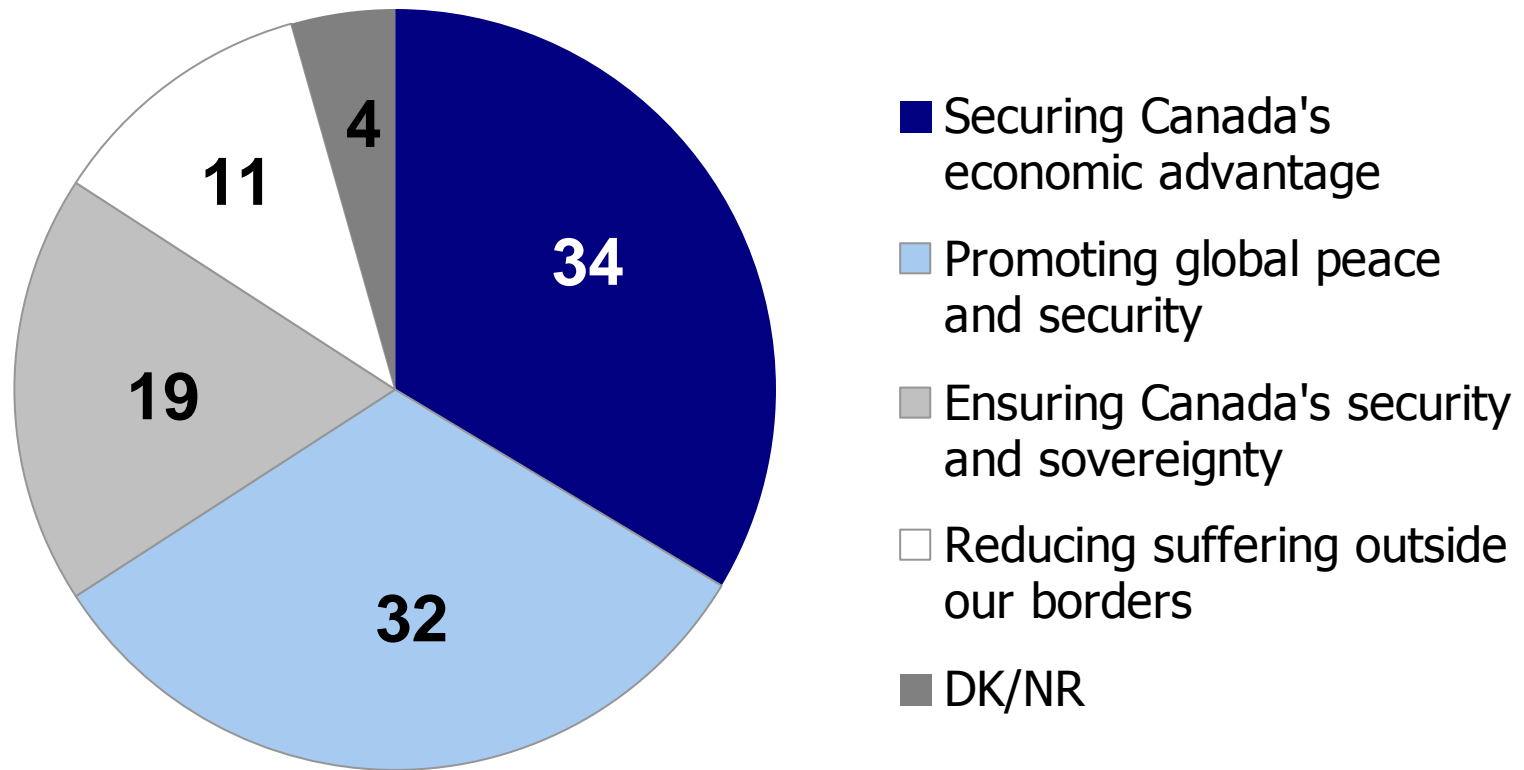
Changes in feelings towards Canada's foreign policy

Q. Compared to 10 years ago, would you say that you are more proud or more embarrassed of Canada's place in the world?



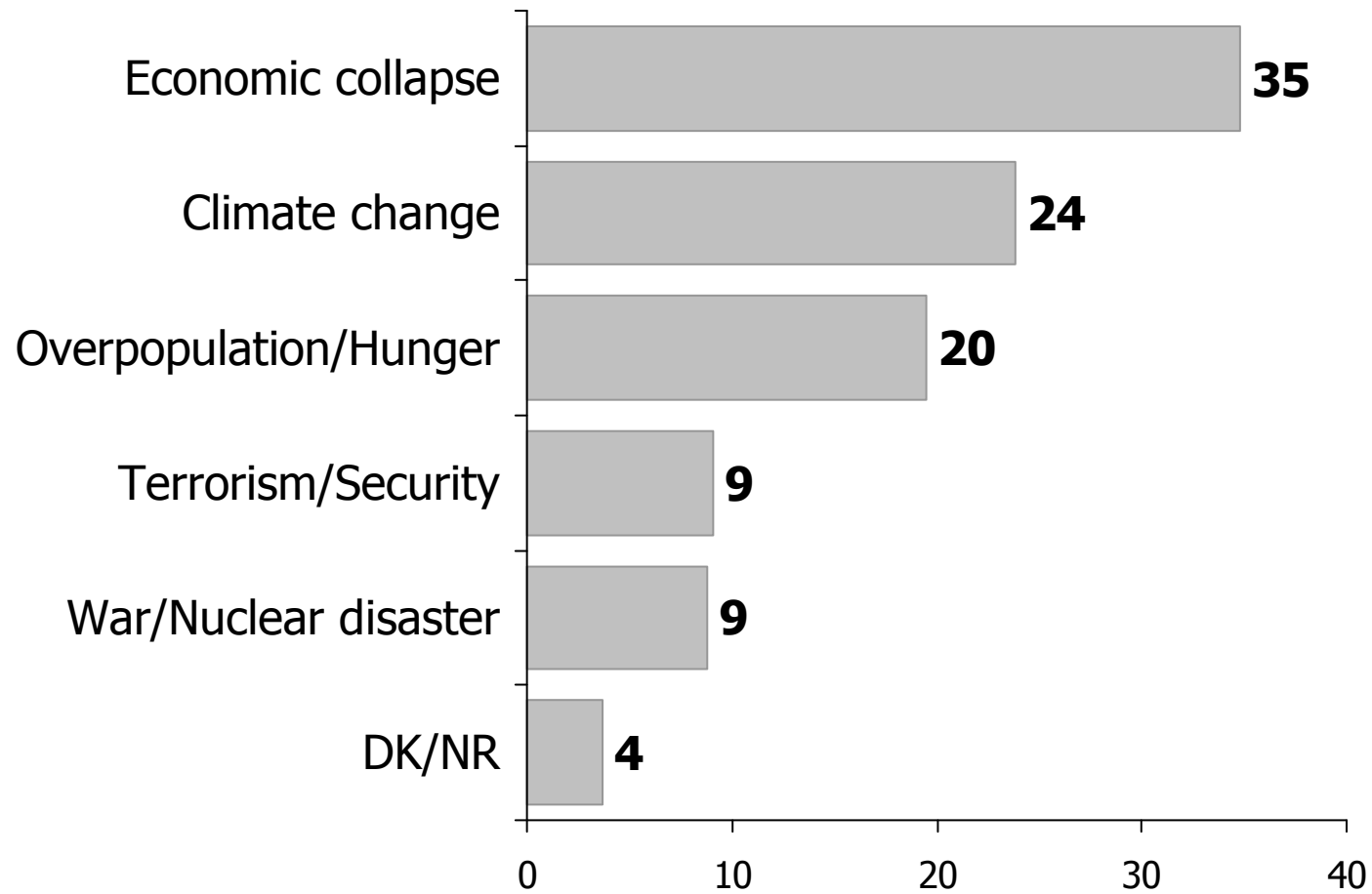
Most important consideration in Canada's foreign policy

Q. In discussions about Canada's foreign policy, what do you think should be the most important consideration?



Biggest threat to global well-being

Q. In today's world, what would you say is the biggest threat to global well-being?



2. A Chilly Global Economic Outlook

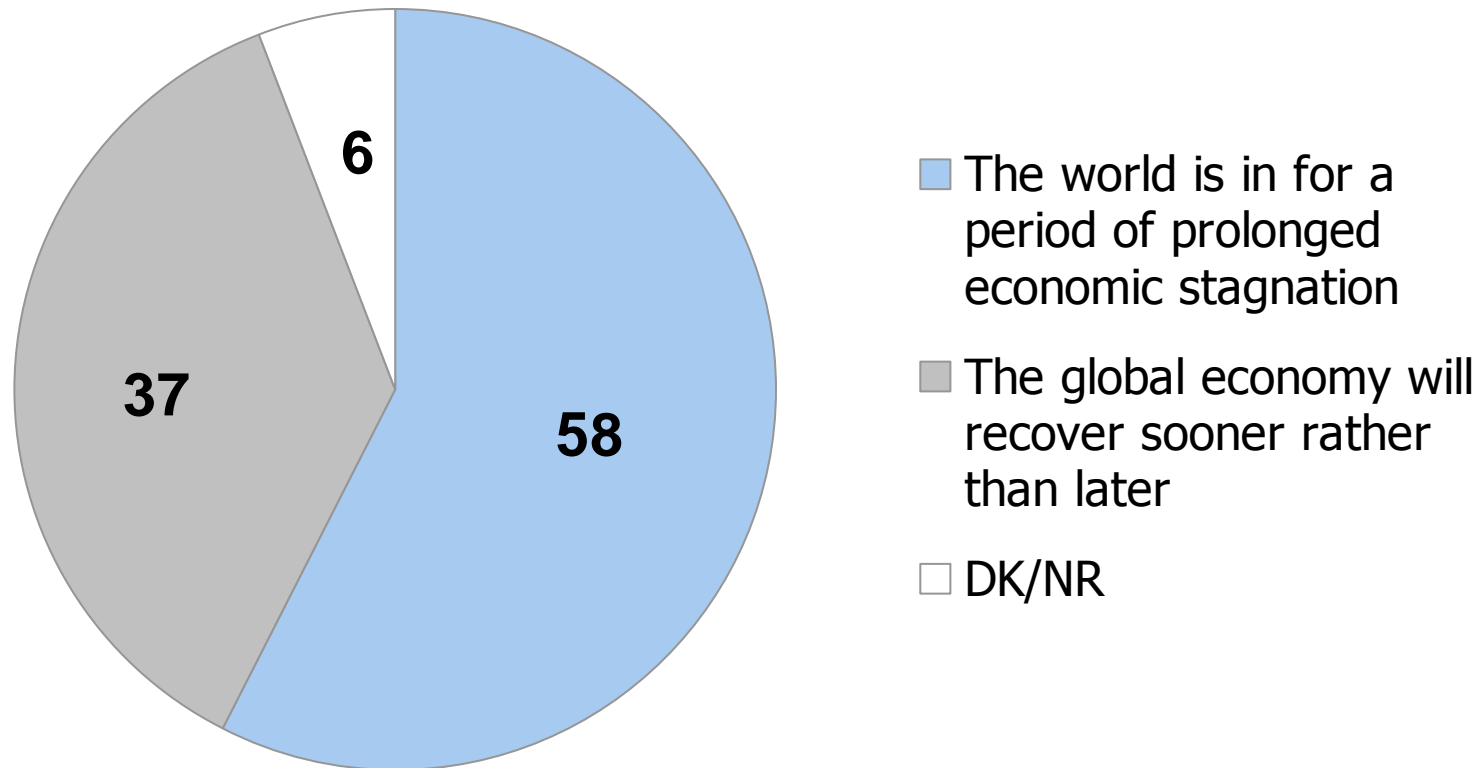


A Chilly Global Economic Outlook

- Economic collapse is the leading fear and the top goal is protecting Canada's economic advantage
- Major lean to lost decade
 - North America and Europe seen in decline
 - China and Asia emerging powers
- Arctic Rim provides boost
- Trade support strong but down (North America only?)
- Whiplash-like shift from United States to China
- Huge consensus on American decline
- New economic fears may be linked to an “end of progress” outlook

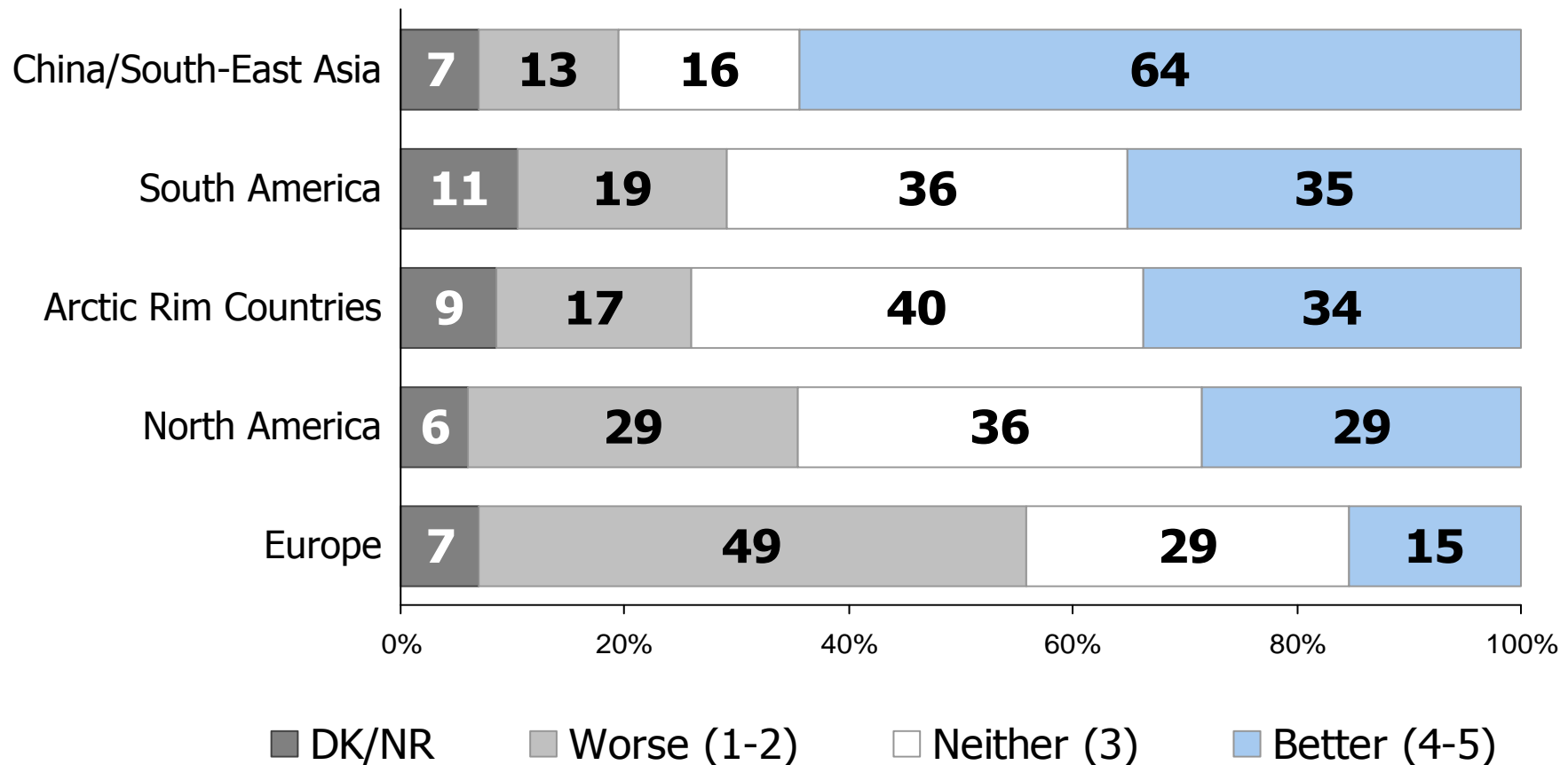
Long-term global economic outlook

Q. As you may know, many Western nations facing serious debt problems and global economic growth has stagnated over the last five years. Some economists say future generations will call this period "the lost decade". Do you believe that we heading towards a period of prolonged economic stagnation or do you believe that the world economy will begin to improve in the near future?



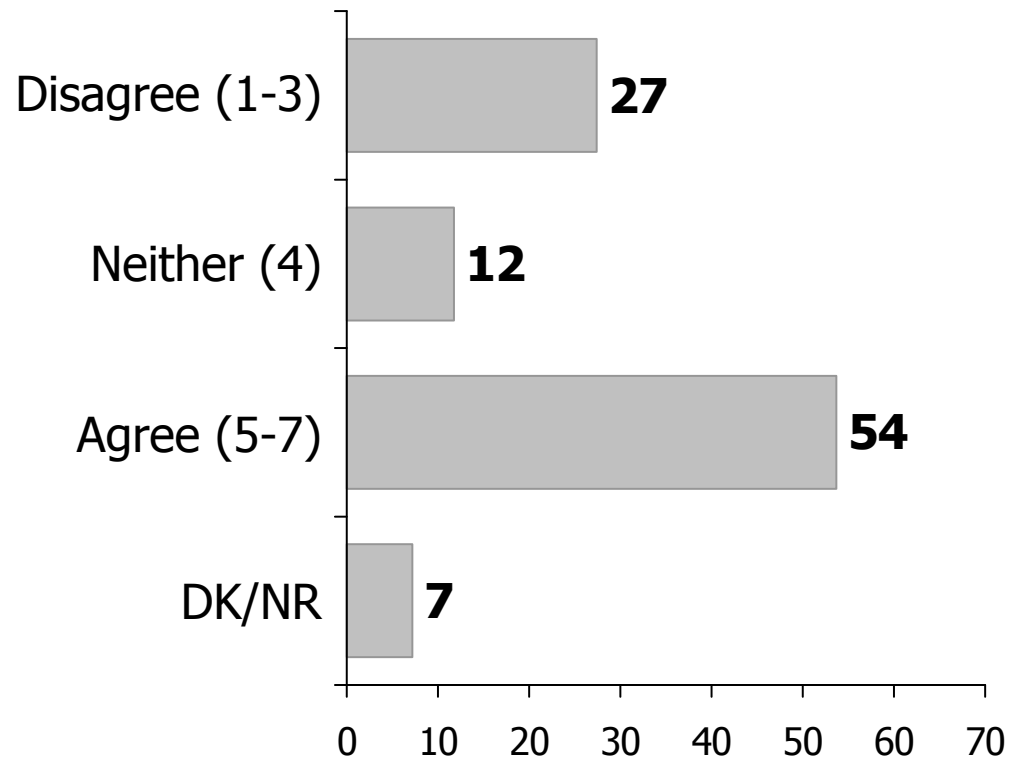
Future well-being of world economic zones

Q. Over the next decade, the world economy will undergo many significant changes. Do you believe that the following economic zones will be better off or worse off ten years from now than they are today?



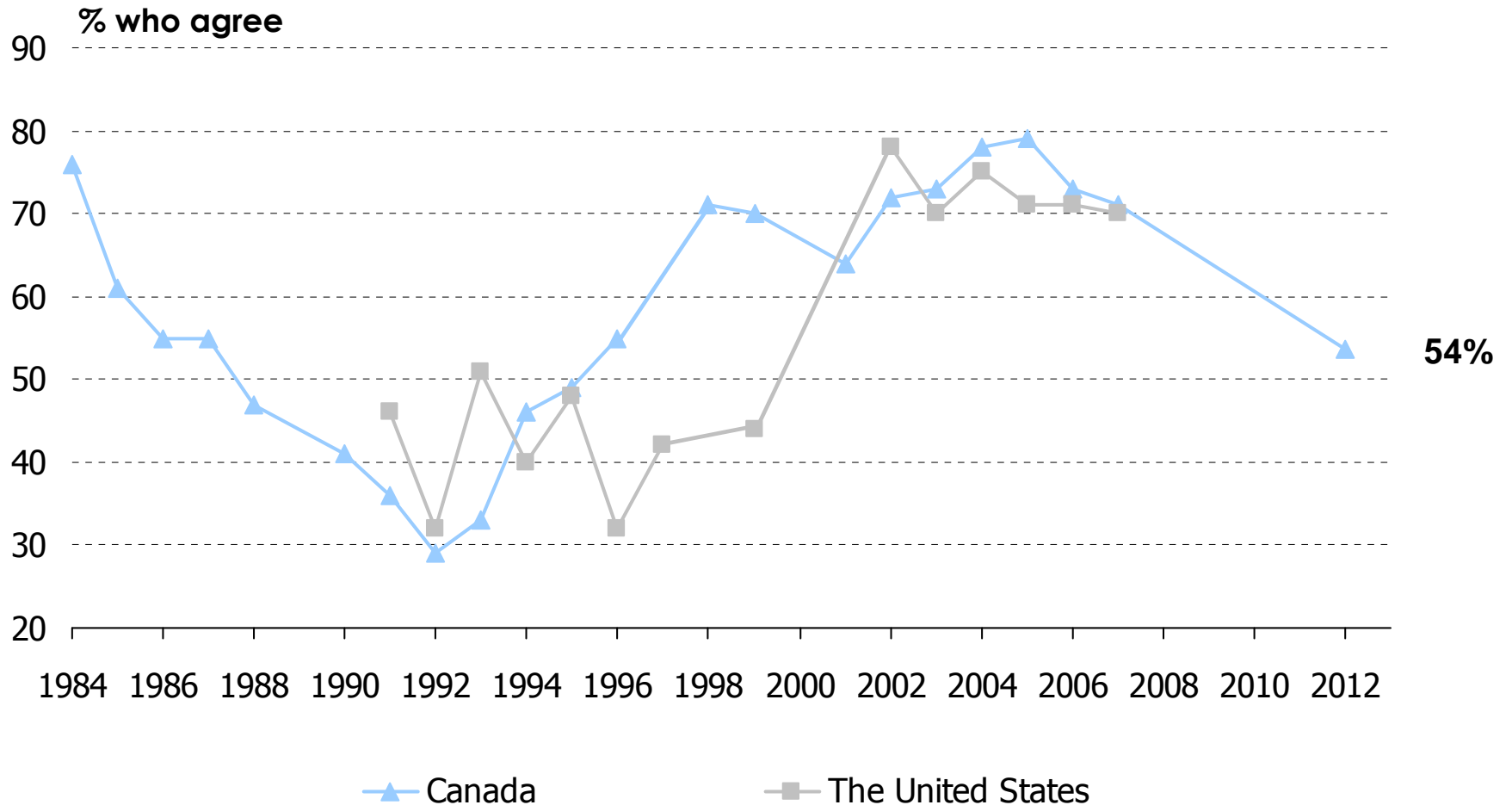
Support for free trade agreements

Q. Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: 'There should be free trade between Canada, the United States, and Mexico.'



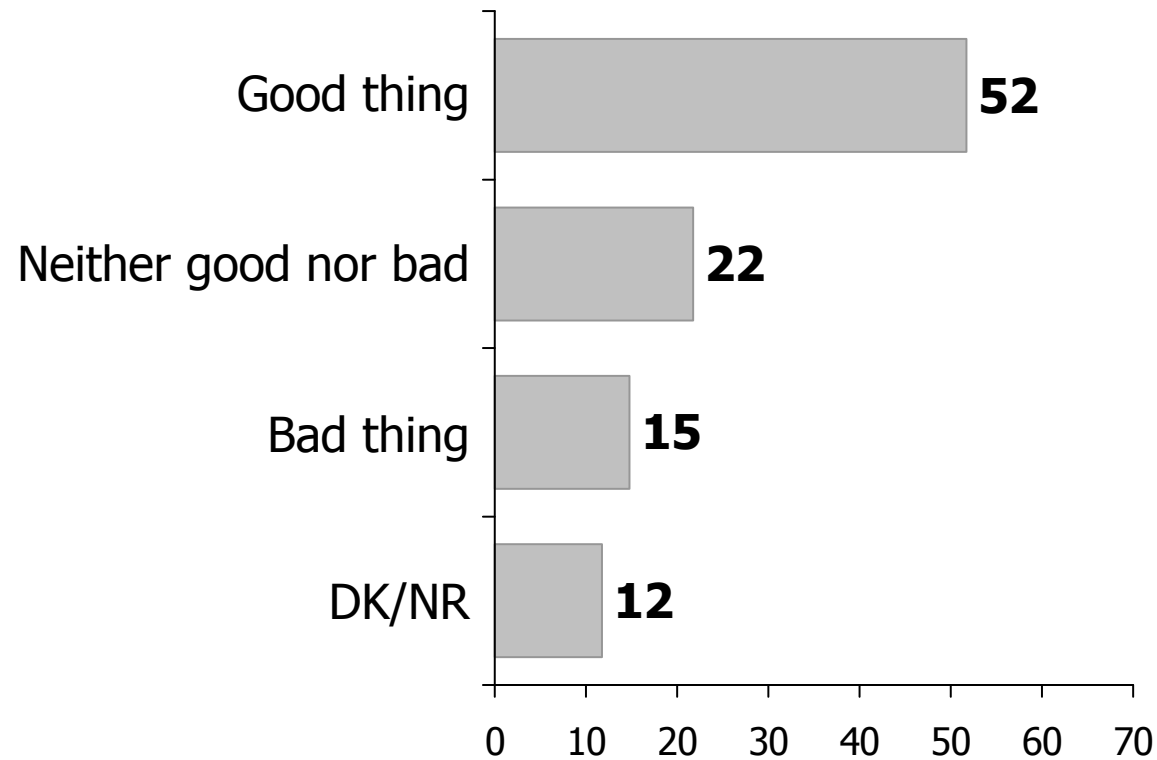
Tracking support for free trade agreements

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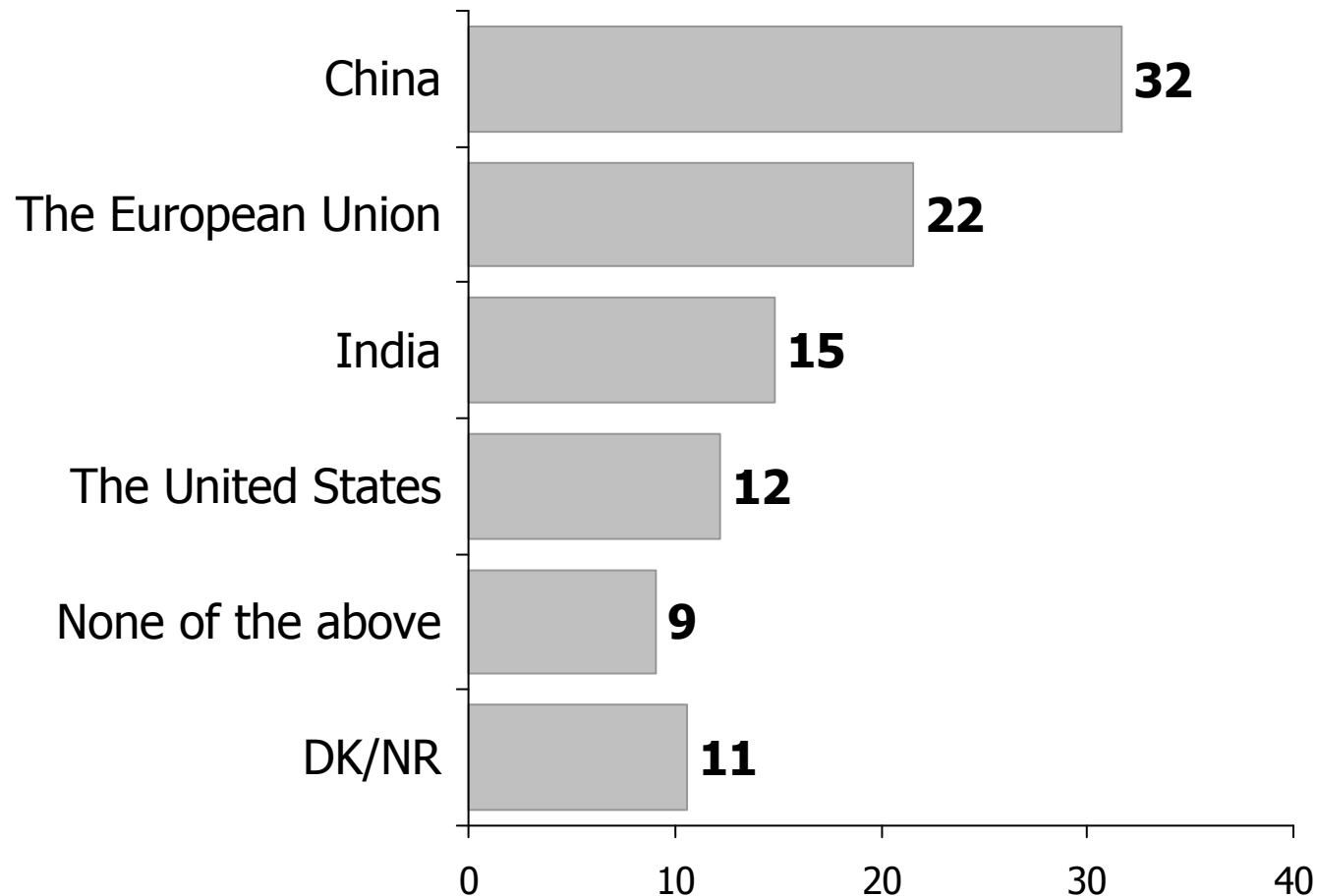
Perceived impact of free trade on Canada

Q. *Is more free trade a good thing or a bad thing for Canada?*



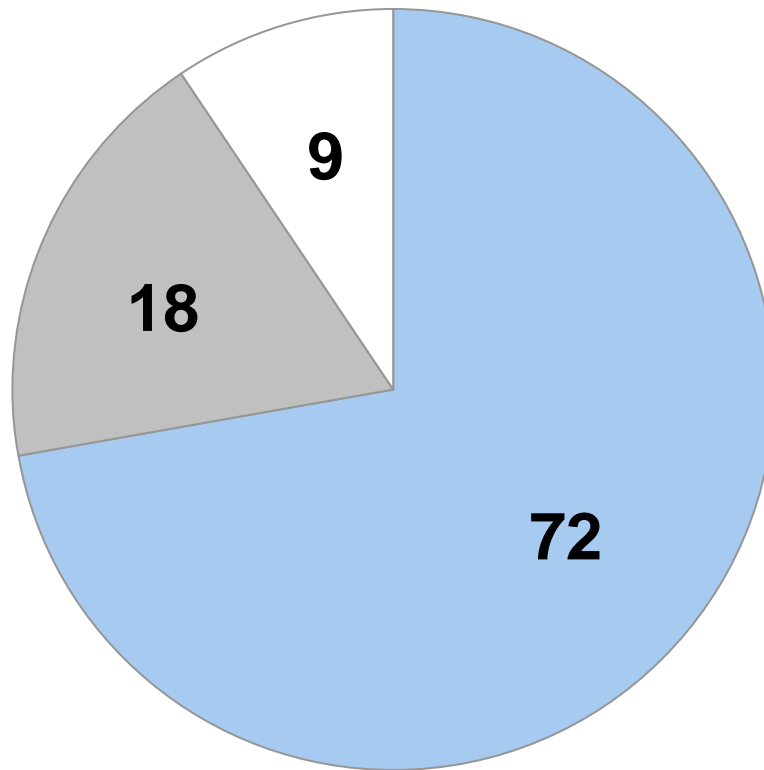
Preferred partner for future trading

Q. For much of the last century, Canada's economy has been closely tied to the United States. Over the last few decades, however, Canada has been opening up trade with other countries. Which of the following partners do you believe Canada should be trying to tie itself to more?



Future of American dominance

Q. Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has essentially been an unrivalled superpower. However, the economic crisis, combined with the growing influence of emerging economies such as China, India, and Brazil, is leading many to believe that American dominance is ending. Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view?



- American dominance peaked in the last century and it will soon become a "first among equals"
- American dominance will continue throughout the next century
- DK/NR

3. Security Evolving: The Rear View on a Decade of Interventions

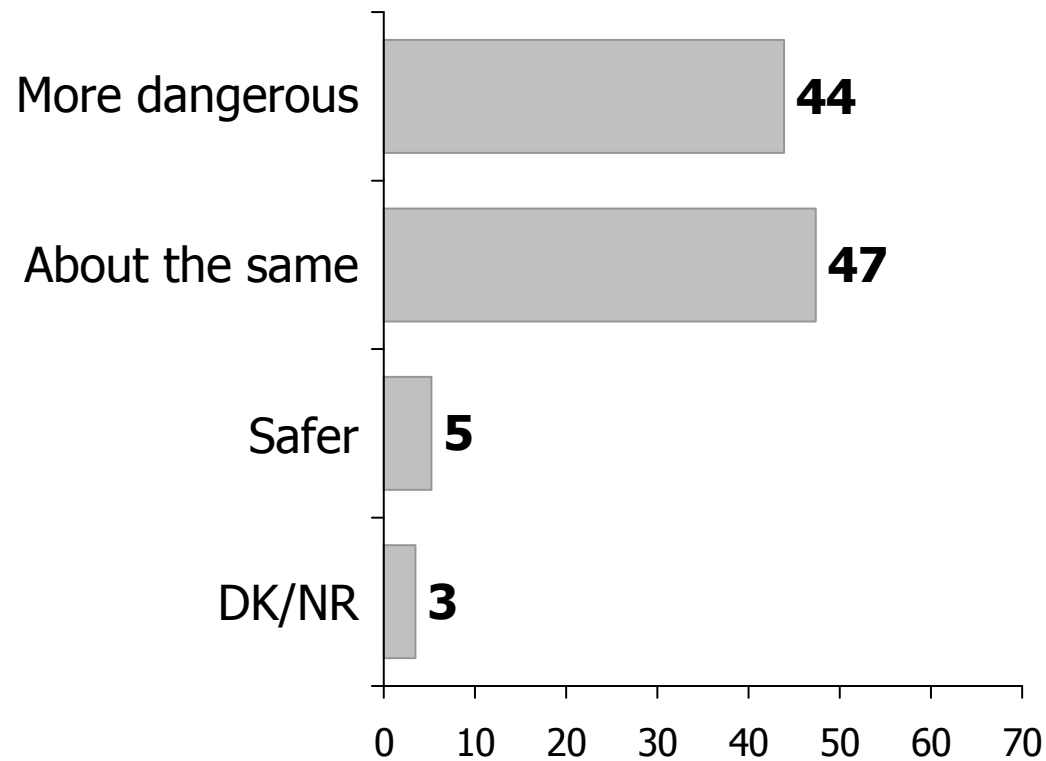


Security Evolving

- Gradual calming of fears of security/terrorism as September 11th recedes
- Civil liberties / security fulcrum swinging to civil liberties
- Public judgement of both Canadian and Western decade of interventions is negative
- Afghanistan, our most followed public topic for several years, has ended in major disappointment
- No appetite for further military adventure in Iran
- Little confidence in positive impact of Arab Spring
 - Sense of futility and despair following last decade?
- Consensus that last decade was a failure and little appetite for more
- Growing consensus that the security era needs to give way to a new era

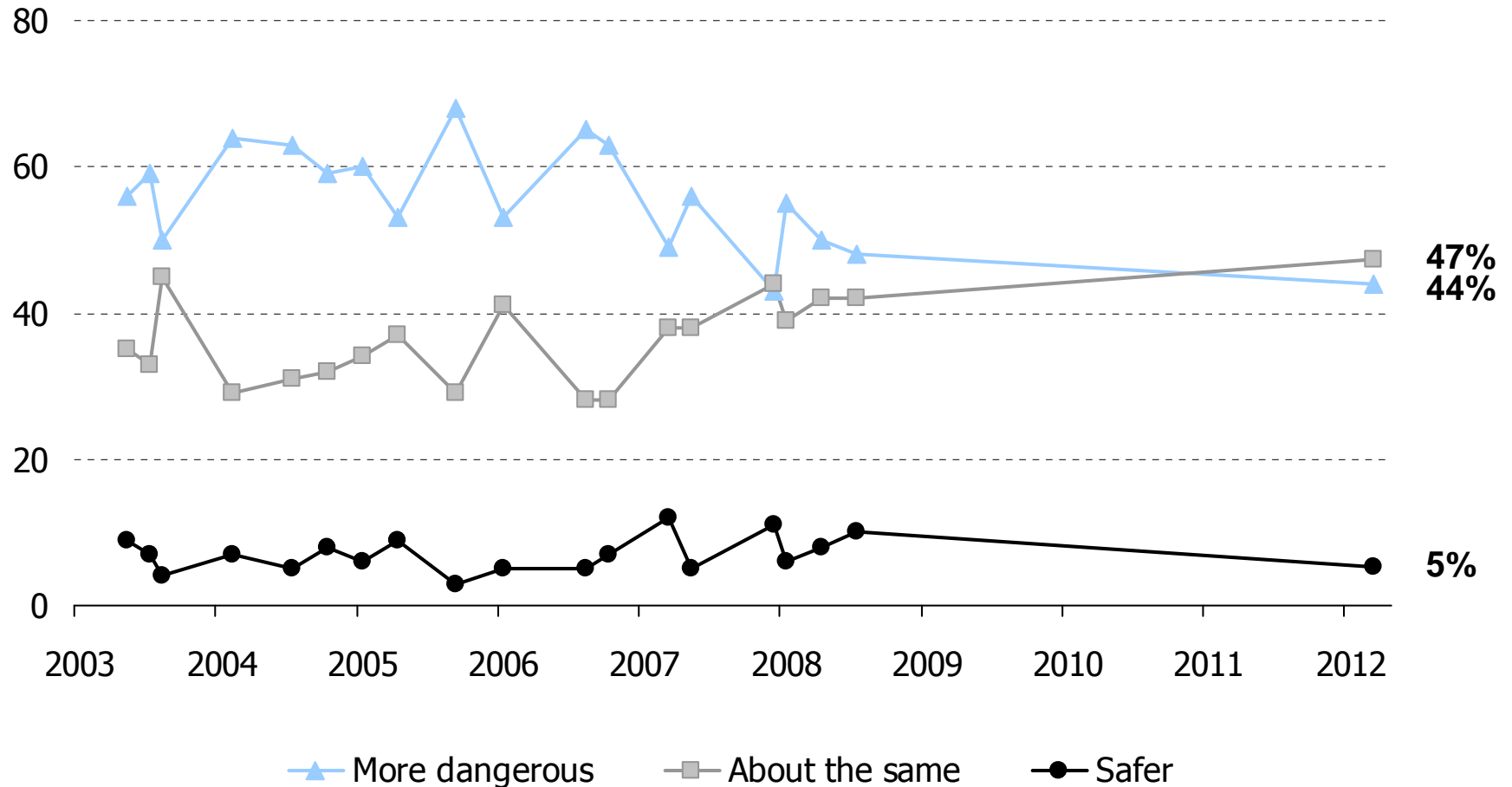
Perceived danger/safety of the world

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?



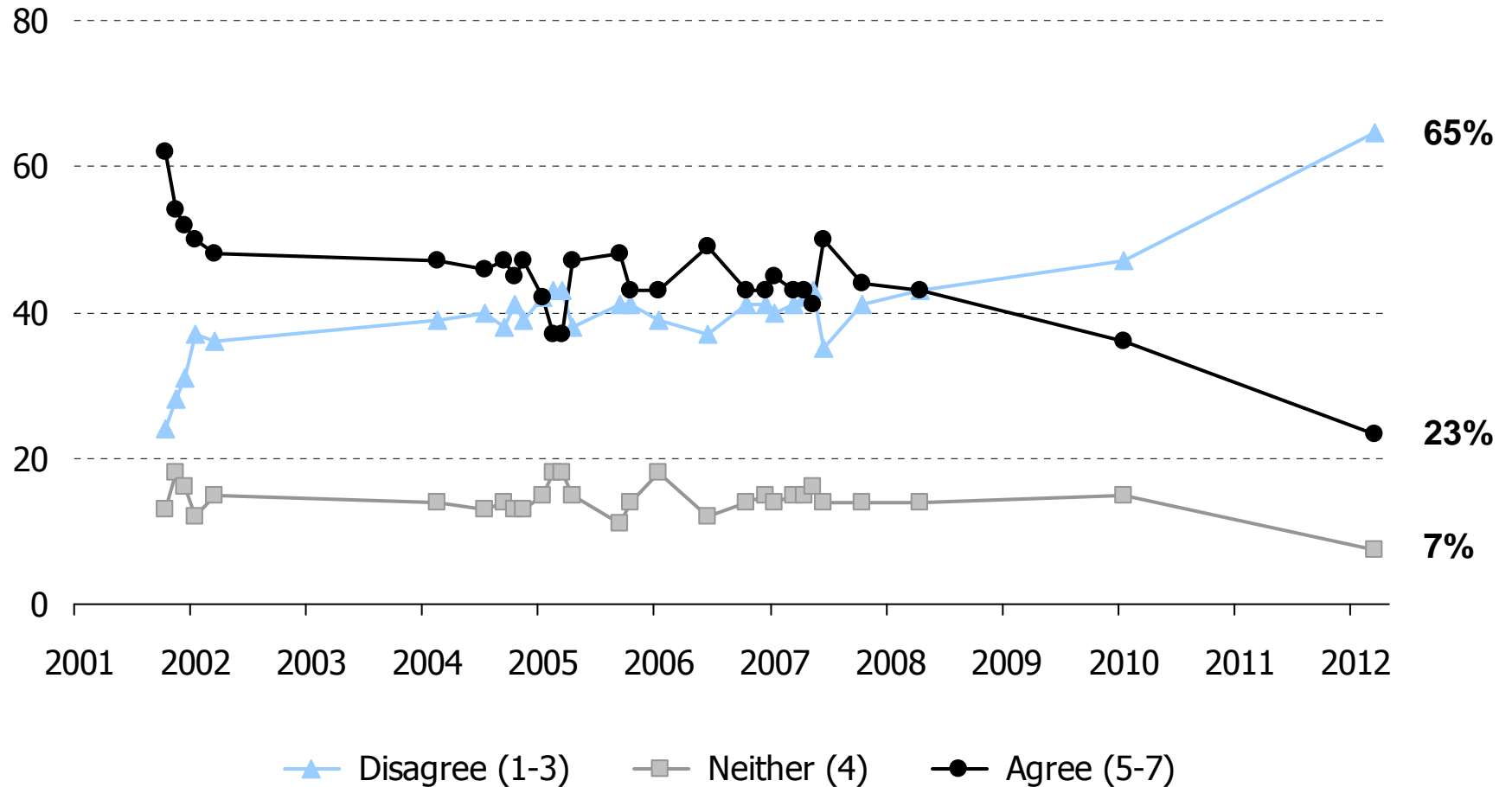
Tracking perceived danger/safety of the world

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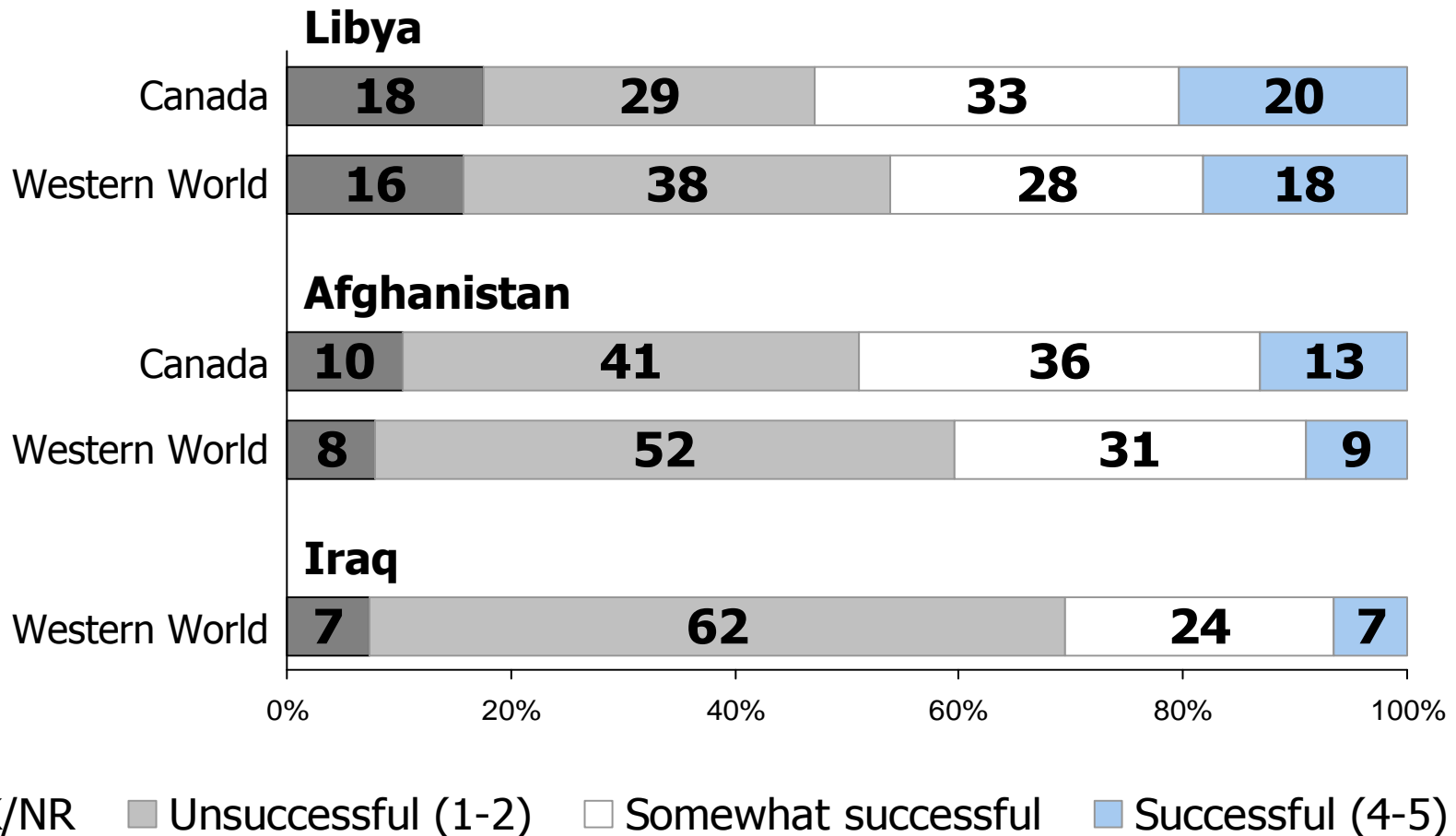
Tracking additional powers for police/intelligence agencies:

Q. Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: 'Police and intelligence agencies should have more powers to ensure security even if it means Canadians have to give up some personal privacy safeguards.'



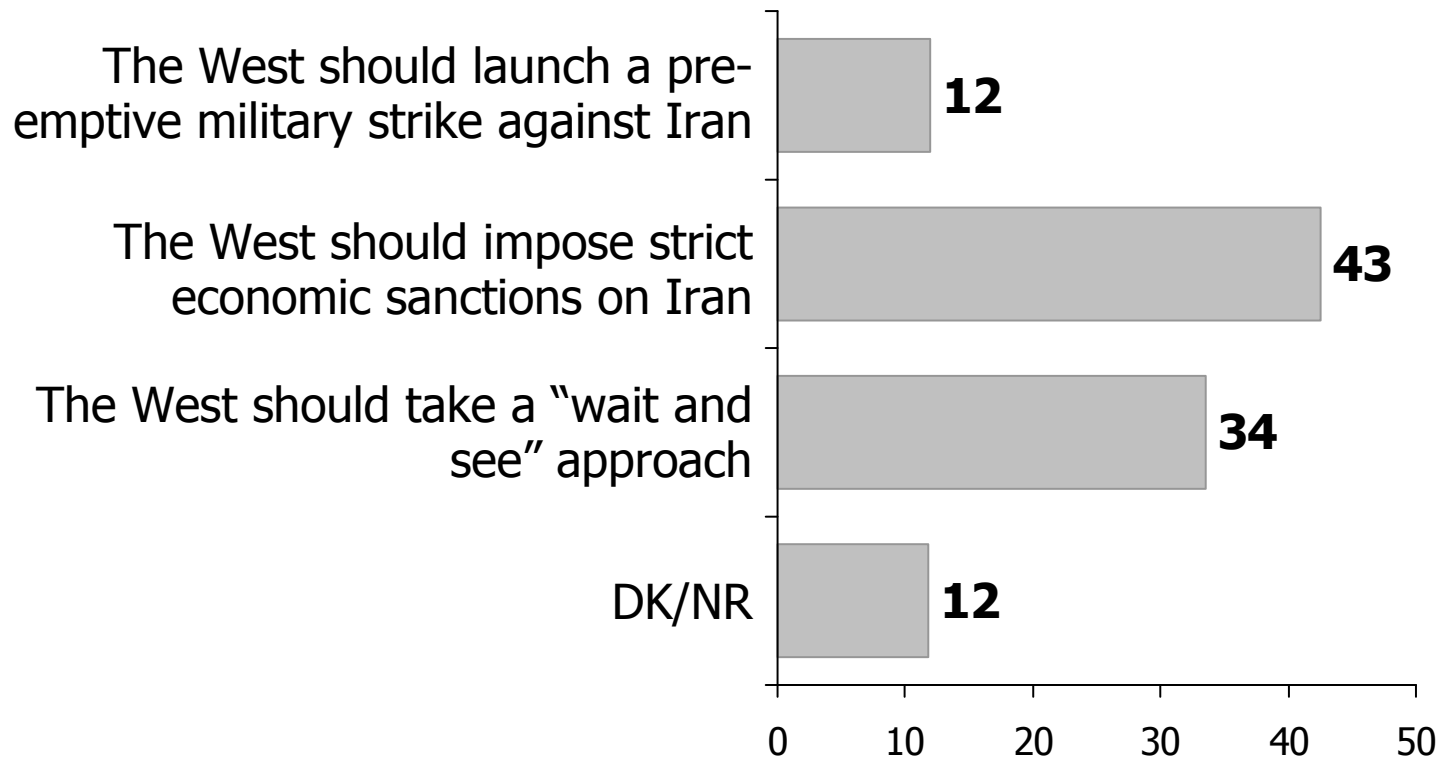
Success of Canadian and Western military interventions

Q. Over the course of the last decade, Canada has/Western nations have launched military interventions in a number of countries. How successful do you believe Canadian/world interventions have been in each of the following countries?



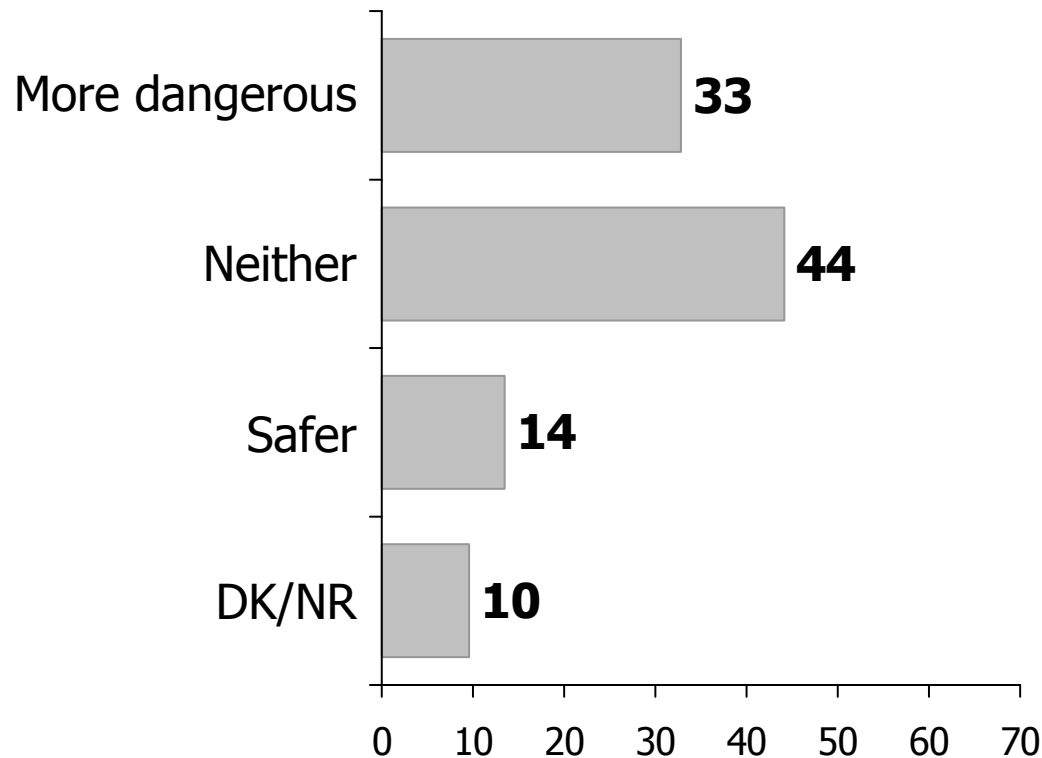
Preferred action in Iran

Q. As you may know, Iran is currently creating enriched uranium which it claims it will use only for development of nuclear power. Western governments are worried that Iran may use this enriched uranium to create nuclear weapons, something that Iran vehemently denies. How do you believe that Western governments should respond?



Perceived impact of the “Arab Spring” on world safety

Q. As you may know, starting in December 2010, a wave of demonstrations and protests, known as the “Arab Spring” has occurred in much of Northern Africa and the Middle East. To date, rulers have been forced from power in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen, while civil uprisings have erupted in Bahrain and Syria. Do you believe that these uprisings have made the world safer or more dangerous?



4. Seeking New Balancing: Little Consensus



Seeking New Balance? Little Consensus (1/2)

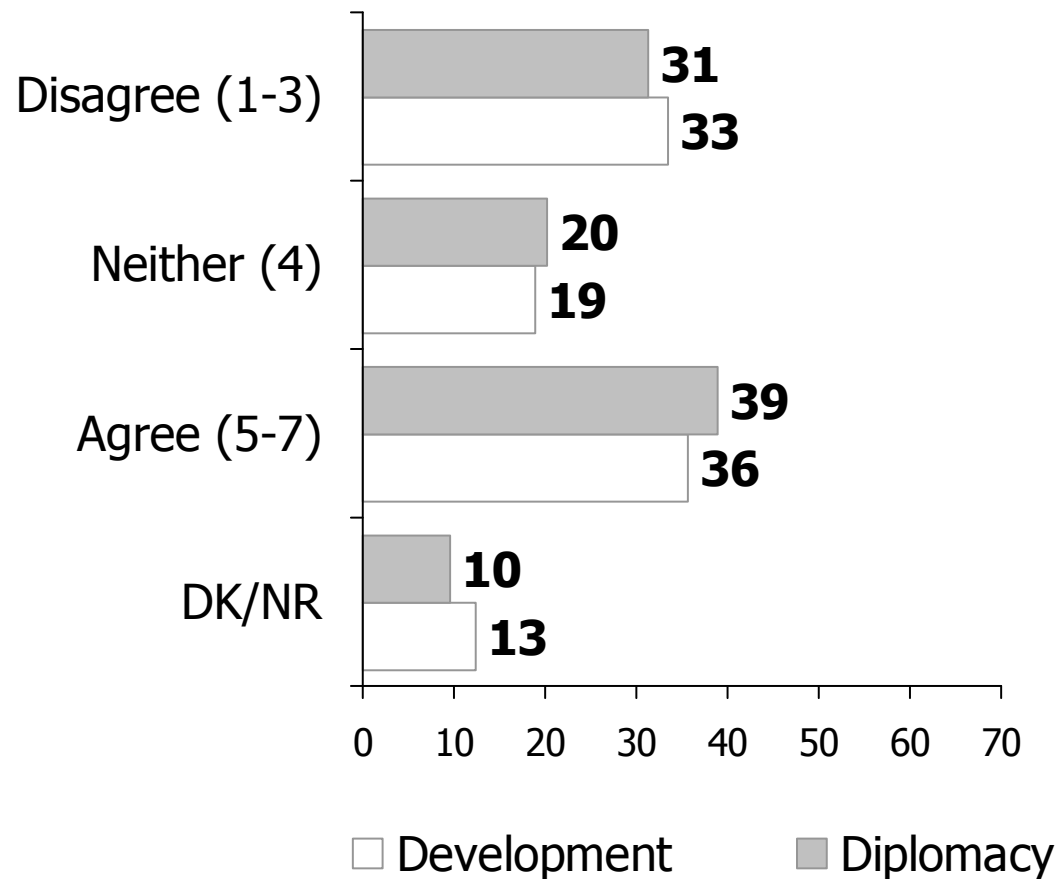
- Deep division over a “harder” (militaristic) versus a “softer” (humanitarian) approach
 - Harder approach favoured by college educated, Conservative supporters, and Albertans
 - Softer approach favoured by university educated, seniors, and seculars
- Similar division over our new, more muscular foreign policy (split down middle)
- Broad satisfaction with emergency response:
 - Humanitarianism = Success
 - Military = Failure?

Seeking New Balance? Little Consensus (2/2)

- Lean to a more regionally focussed foreign aid
- Gross overestimate of foreign aid, but broad sense of balance
 - Average of “should be” = average of “is”
- Much higher score card for humanitarian effort
 - Military efforts judged unsuccessfully
 - Doesn't seem to produce a clear new path forward

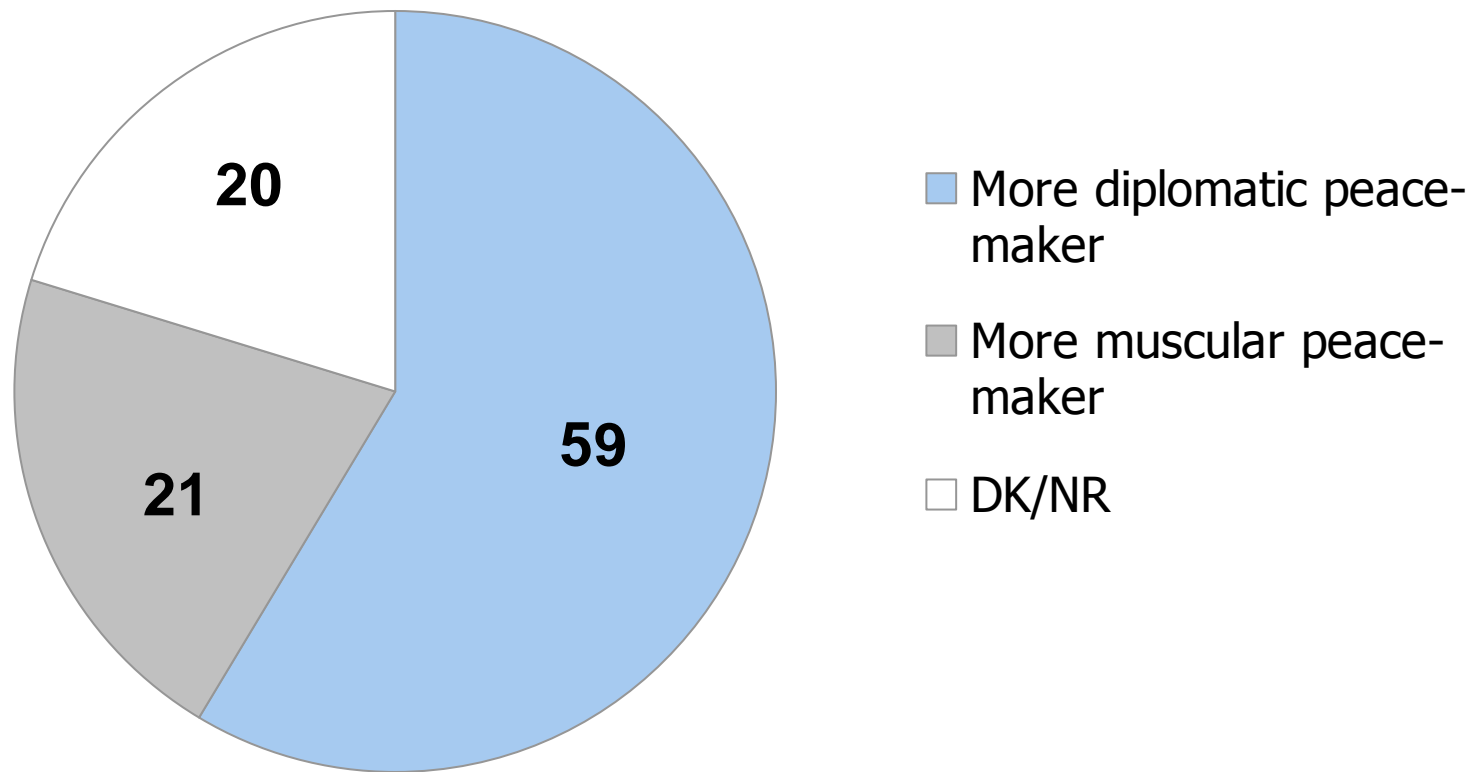
Perceived balance in Canada's foreign policy

Q. Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: 'Canada's foreign policy is focusing too much on defence to the exclusion of development/diplomacy.'



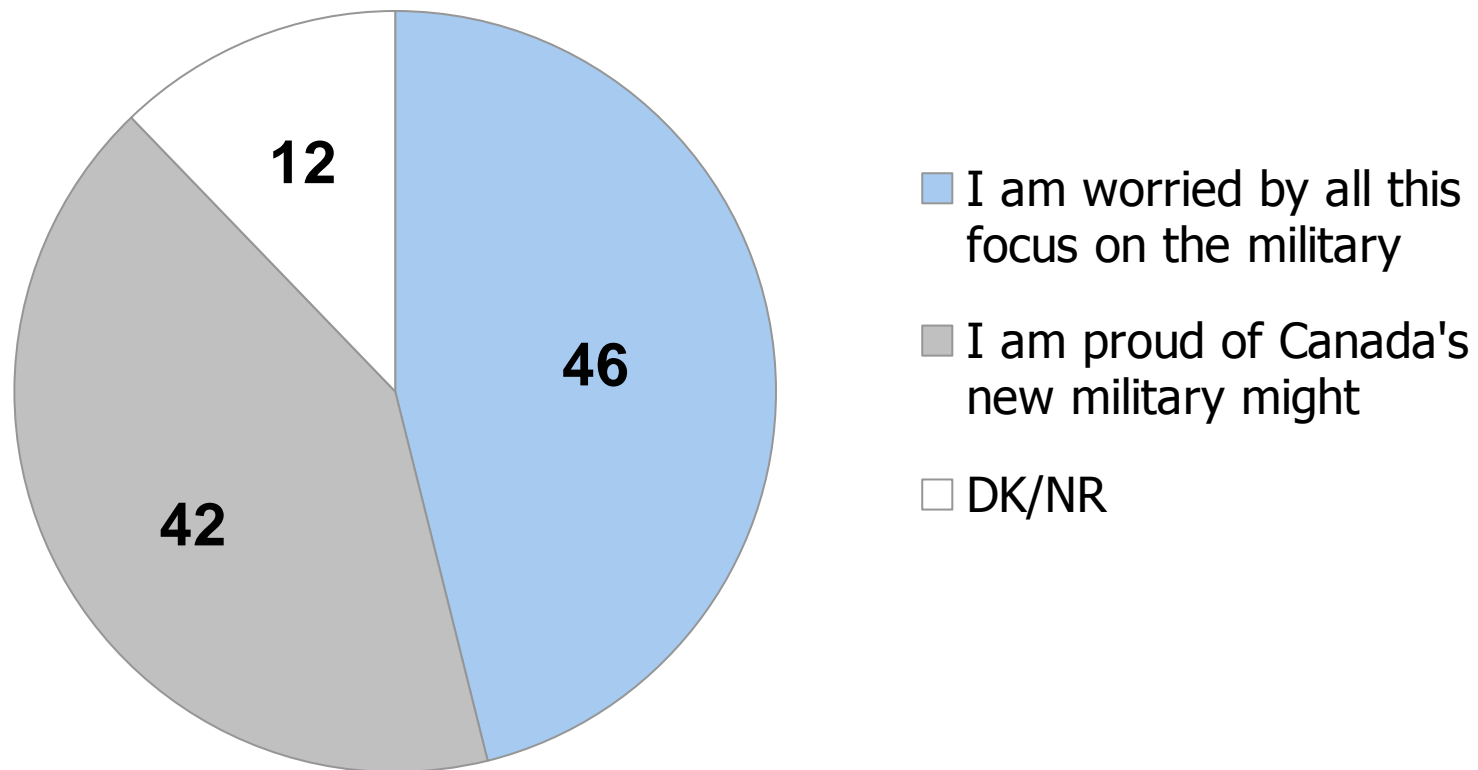
Public views on Canada's foreign policy

Q. Which of the following best describes Canada's foreign policy?



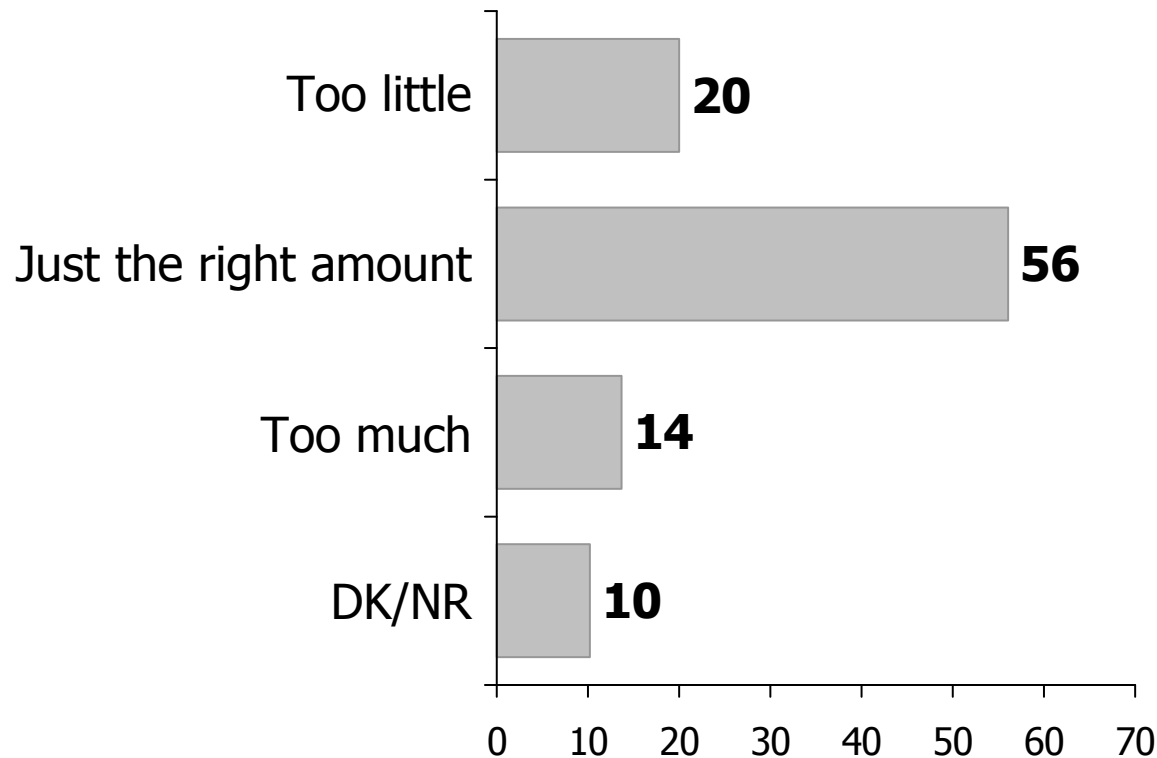
Attitudes towards recent investments in the military

Q. As you may know, Canada has made a number of major investments in its military over the last few years. Which of the following statements comes closest to your own point of view?



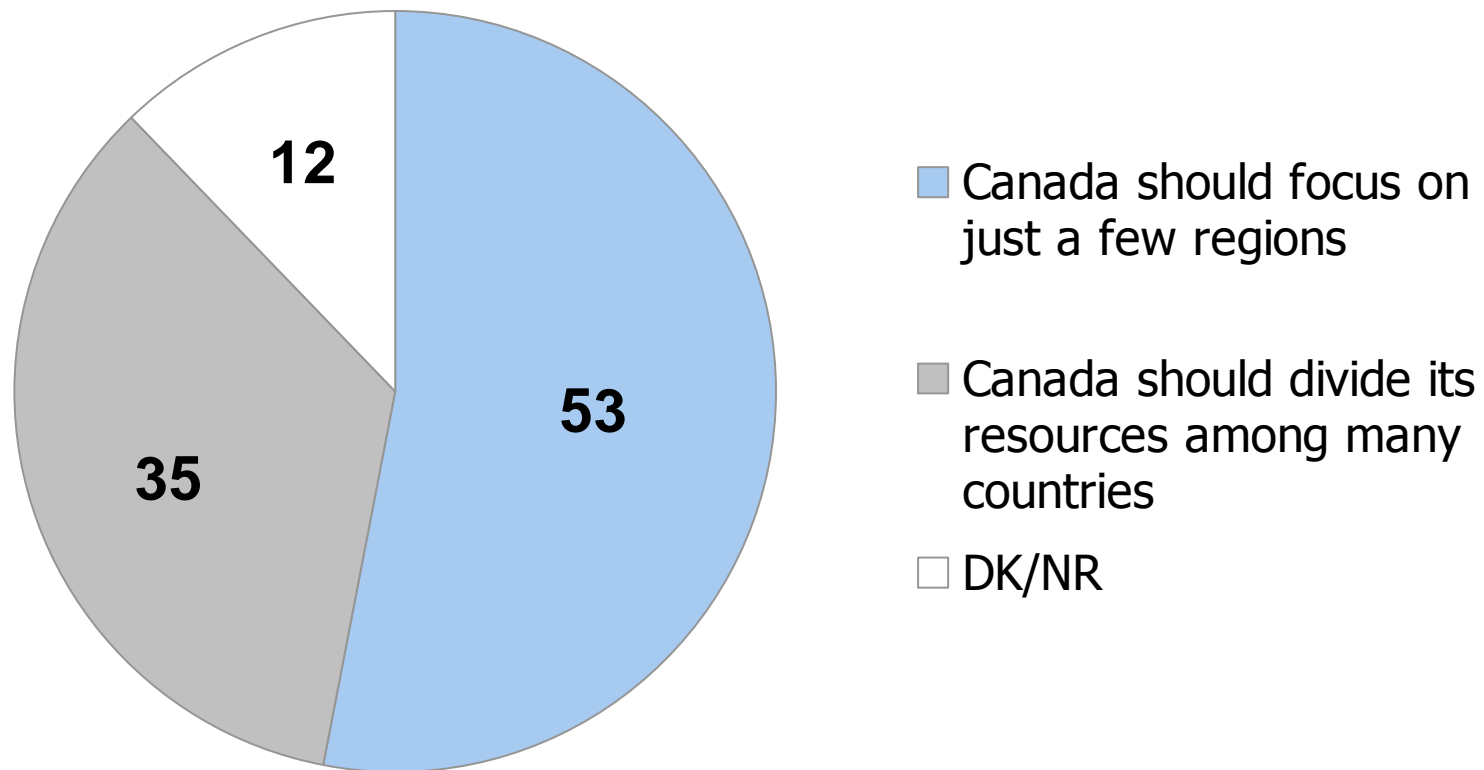
Attitudes towards Canada's emergency aid record

Q. Over the last decade, Canada has provided emergency aid in response to a number of natural disasters, including the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, the 2005 Kashmir earthquake, and the 2010 Haiti earthquake. Do you think that Canada has provided too much, too little, or just the right amount of emergency aid?



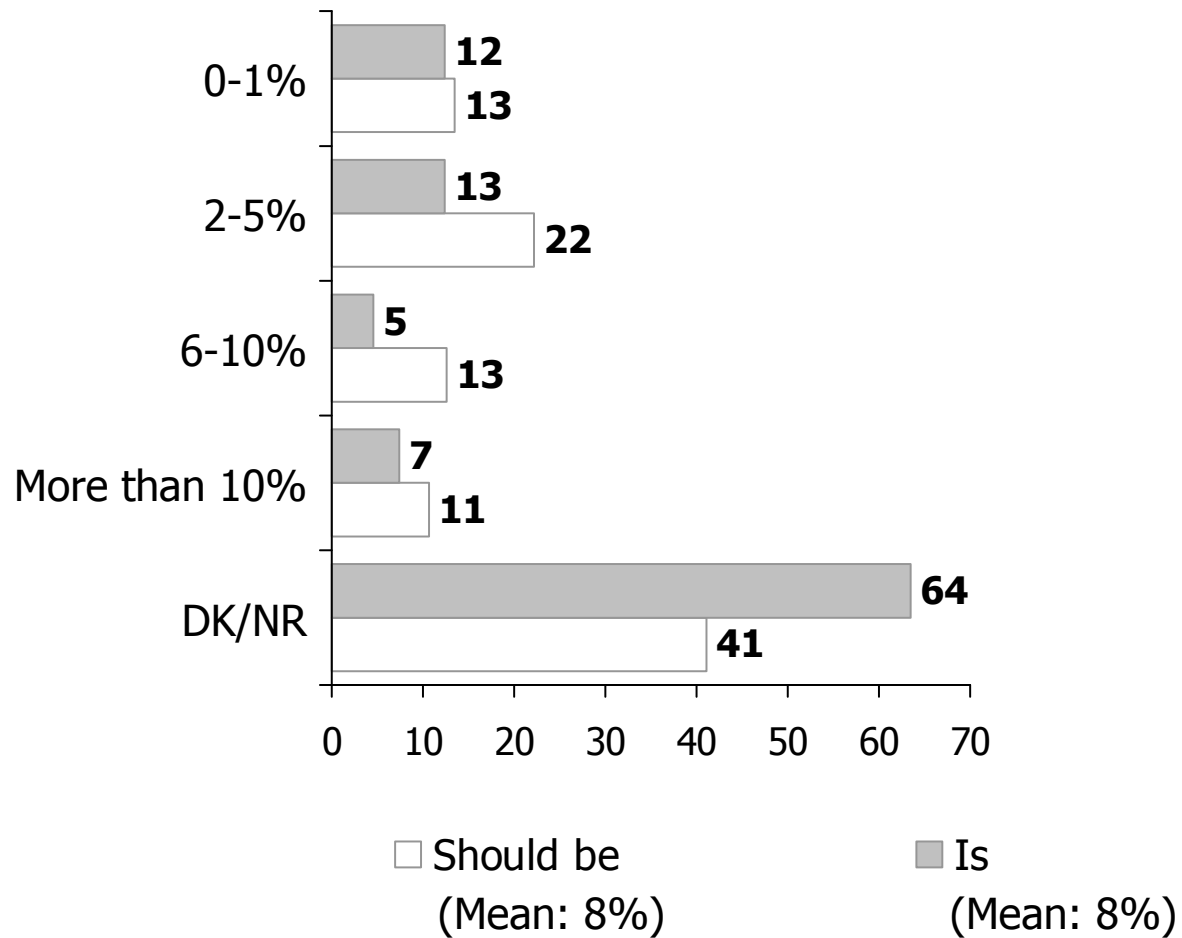
Preferred focus of Canada's foreign aid

Q. When it comes to foreign aid, should Canada focus its resources on helping just a few countries/regions where it can make a difference or should we be dividing our resources to help as many countries/regions as possible?



Perceived versus preferred spending on foreign aid

Q. In your opinion, what percentage of the federal budget is/should be spent on foreign aid?



5. Sustainability in a Post-Kyoto World?

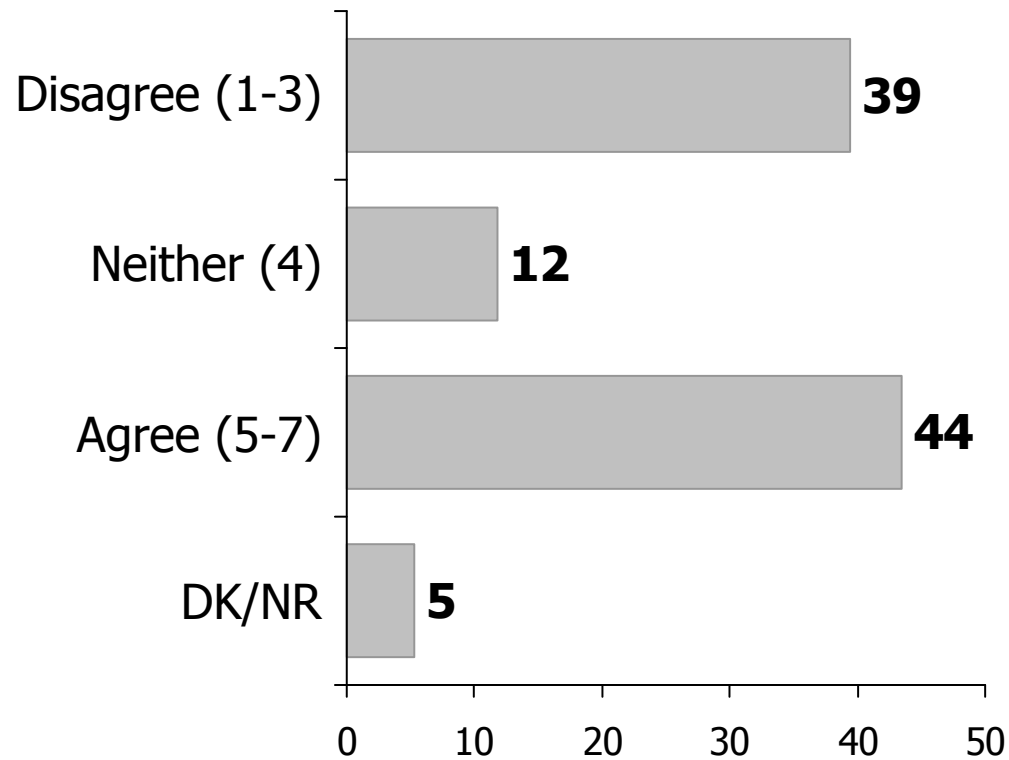


Sustainability in a Post-Kyoto World?

- Post-carbon era produces highly split views
- Strong lean to be abashed about corrosive impact of our environmental record on international reputation
- Majority opposition to Kyoto withdrawal, but much stronger in under 45 Canada
- General embarrassment and disagreement with environmental foreign policy (less so in Conservative Party camp)

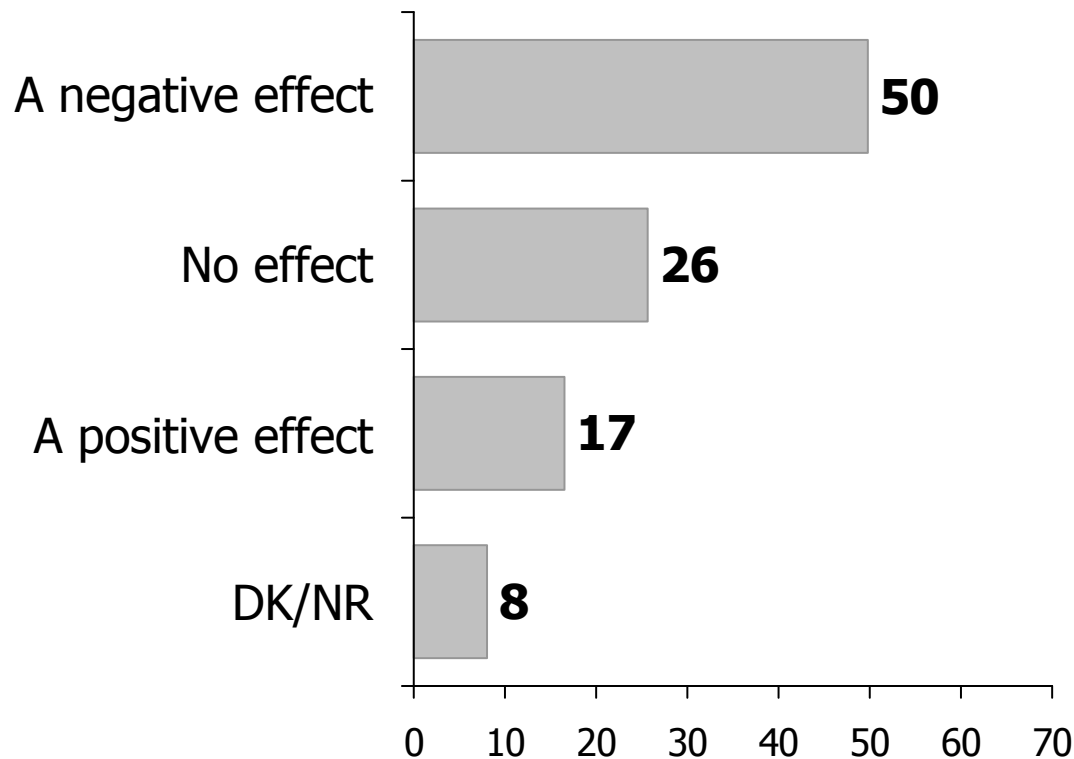
Perceived shift to a post-carbon era

Q. Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statement: 'The world is quickly shifting to alternative energy sources and we are facing the end of the carbon era.'



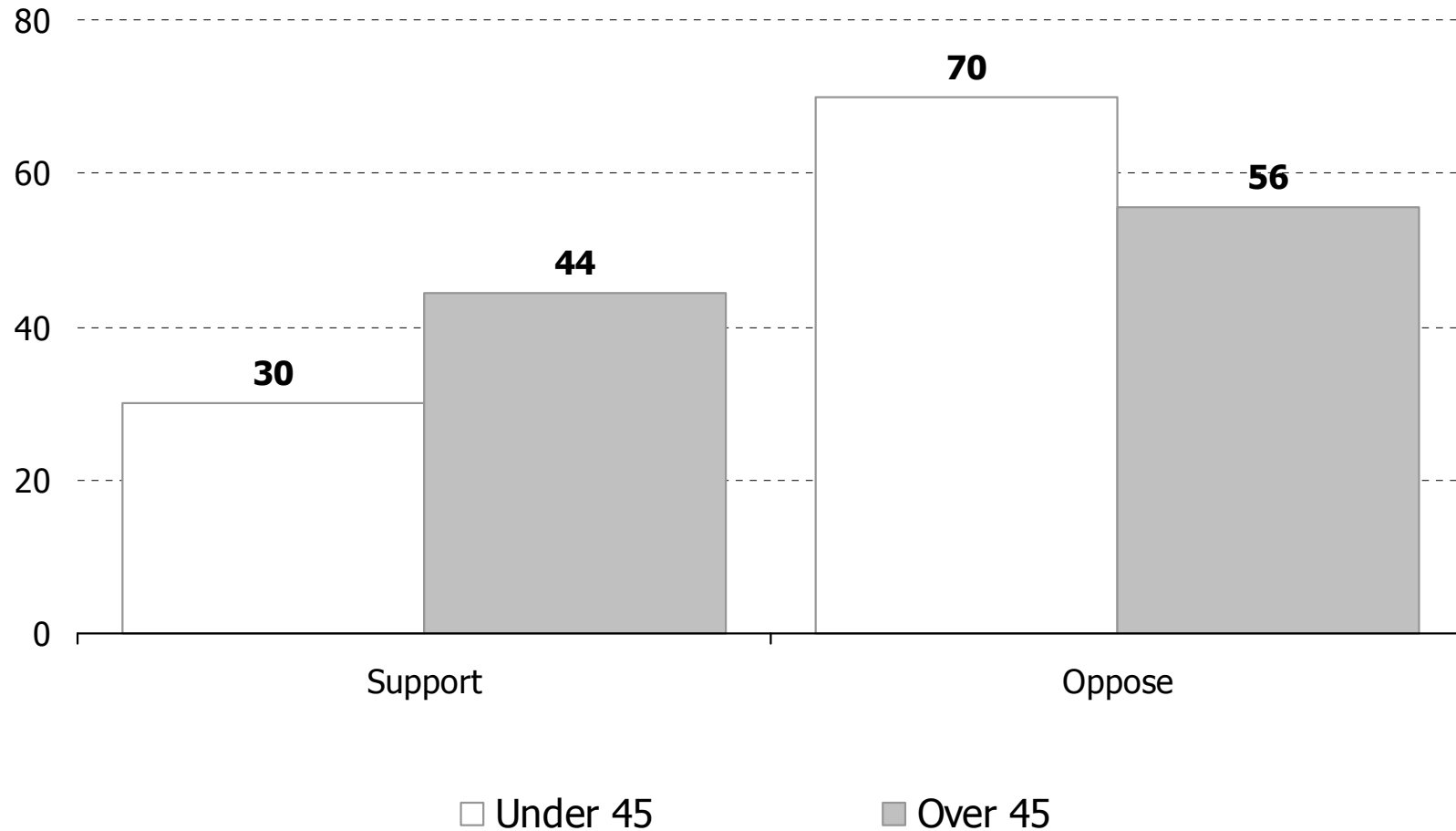
Effect of Canada's environmental record on its reputation

Q. Do you believe that the Government of Canada's current record on the environment has had a positive effect, a negative effect, or no effect on Canada's international reputation?



Support for Kyoto withdrawal by age

Q. Lately, there has been a lot of debate over the Kyoto Protocol and whether or not Canada should officially withdraw. Would you support or oppose withdrawing from the Kyoto Protocol?



Note: Figures exclude those who replied DK/NR. Fourteen per cent of respondents did not express an opinion.

6. Multilateralism in Steep Decline

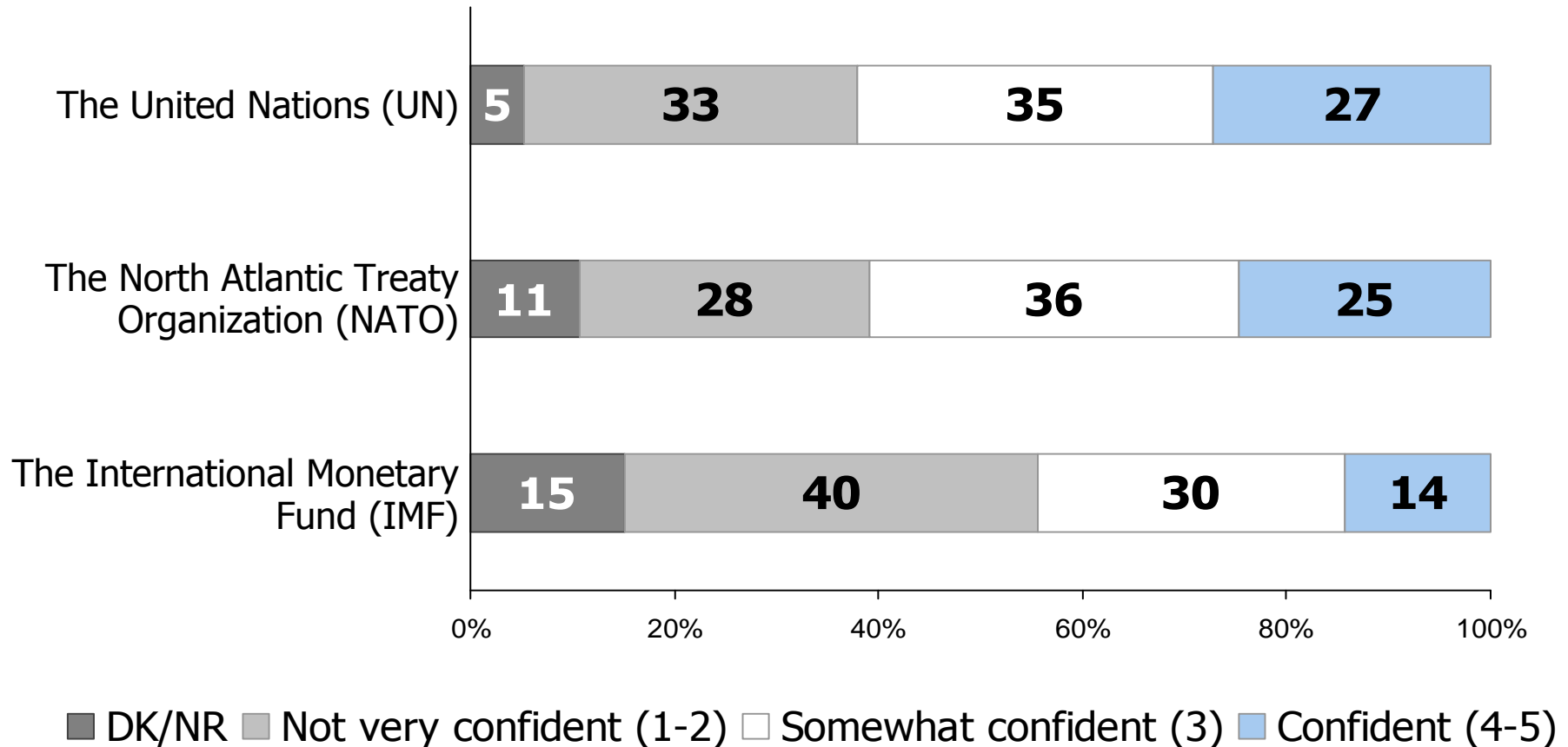


Multilateralism in Steep Decline

- All multilateral organizations produced mixed results with low levels of positive confidence
- Confidence in the United Nations has plummeted over past decade (73 per cent versus 49%)

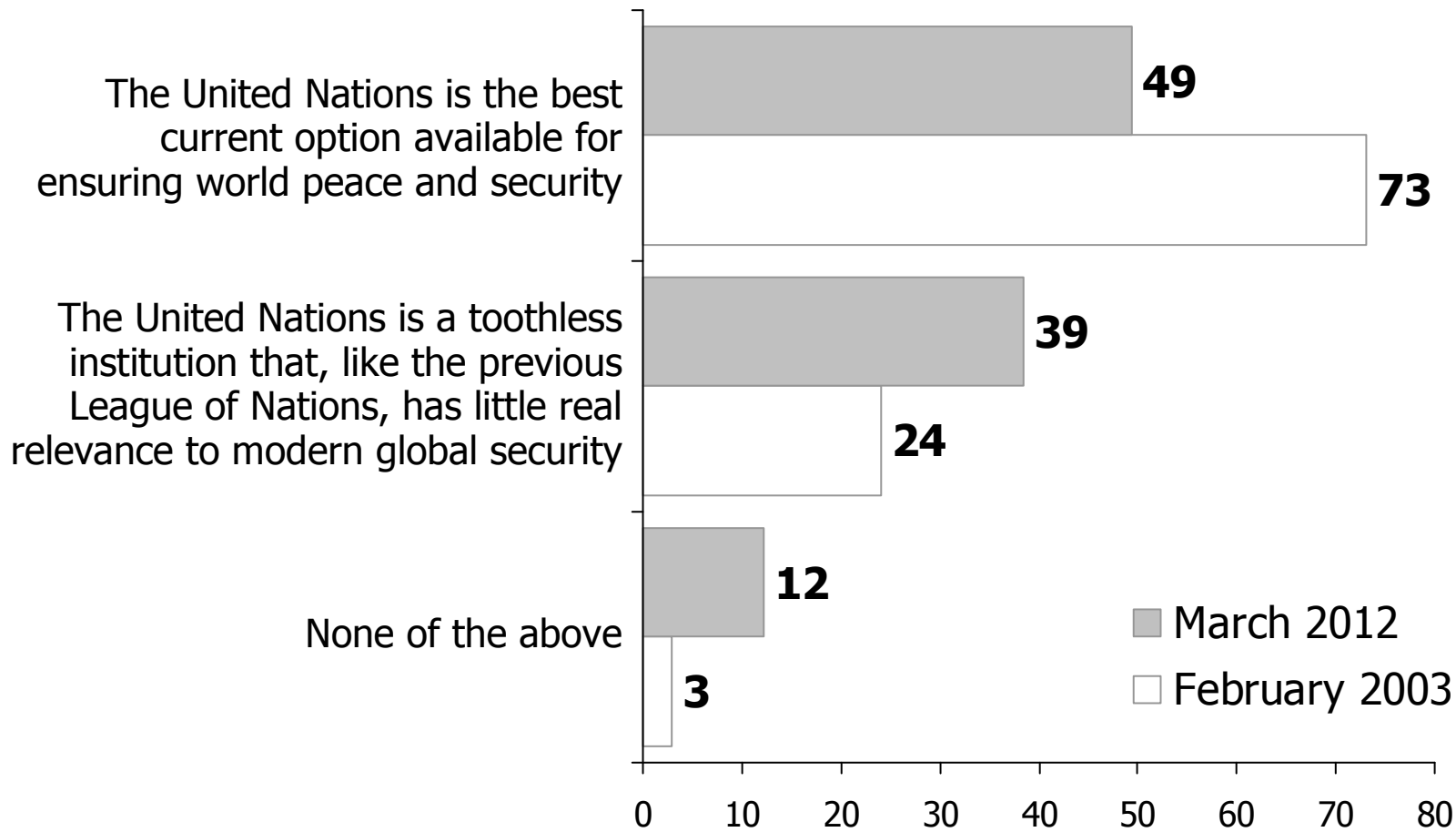
Confidence in multinational organizations

Q. How much confidence do you have in the following multinational organizations?



Attitudes towards United Nations

Q. For much of the last century, Canada's economy has been closely tied to the United States. Over the last few decades, however, Canada has been opening up trade with other countries. Which of the following partners do you believe Canada should be trying to tie itself to more?



7. Conclusions



Conclusions (1/2)

- Canadians remain open and positive regarding the outside world
- World seen as less dangerous but huge fears of economic stagnation and Western decline
- No common outlook on the basic goals or methods of foreign policy
- Government supporters favour a harder, “Canada-first” approach; others prefer a softer, humanitarian shift
- Environmental record a source of deep concern with a lean to embarrassment

Conclusions (2/2)

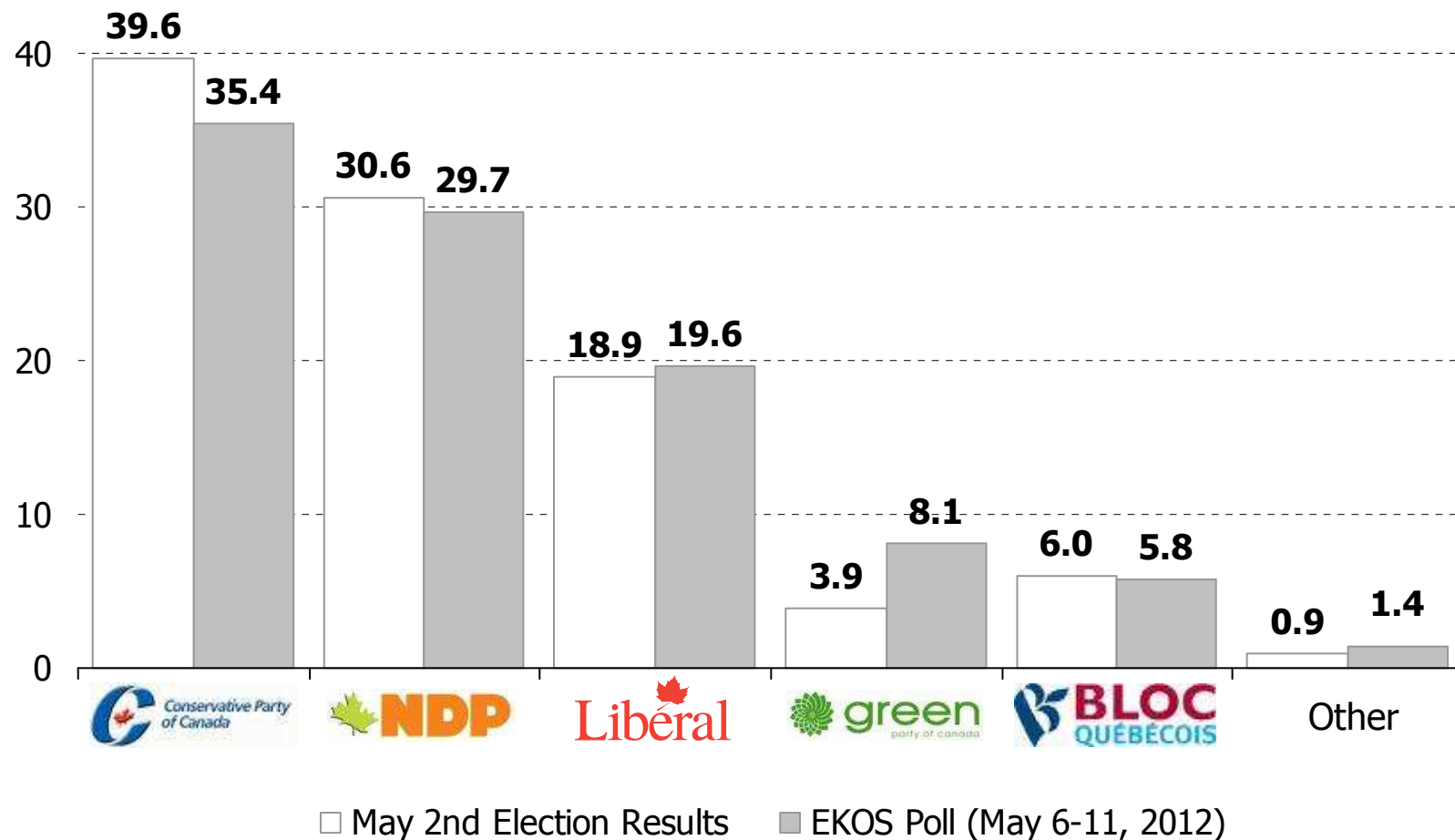
- The military part of the security decade judged a failure; humanitarian efforts seen on positive light (but some celebrate stronger military)
- Confidence in multilateralism, particularly the United Nations, very low; perhaps better than nothing?
- Public fearful of tectonic shifts in global economic order; anxious to decouple from United States, which is seen in steep relative decline
- Uneasy mixture of new fears/regrets with little consensus regarding future direction
- Muddled, anxious, divided outlook

ANNEX A: Political Outlook



Federal vote intention

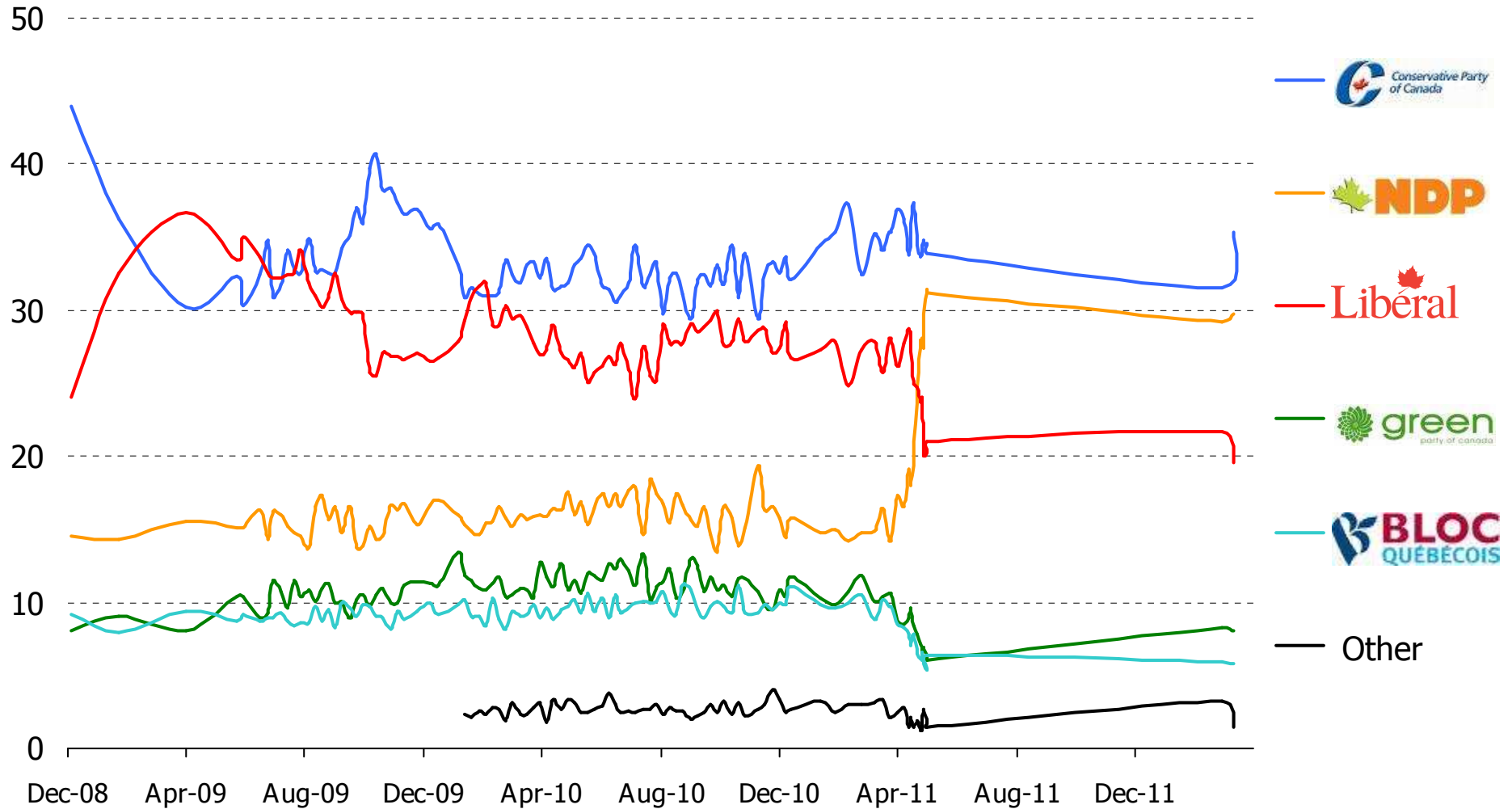
Q. If a federal election were held tomorrow, which party would you vote for?



Note: The data on federal vote intention are based on decided and leaning voters only. Our survey also finds that 13.5% of Canadians are undecided/ineligible to vote.

Tracking federal vote intention

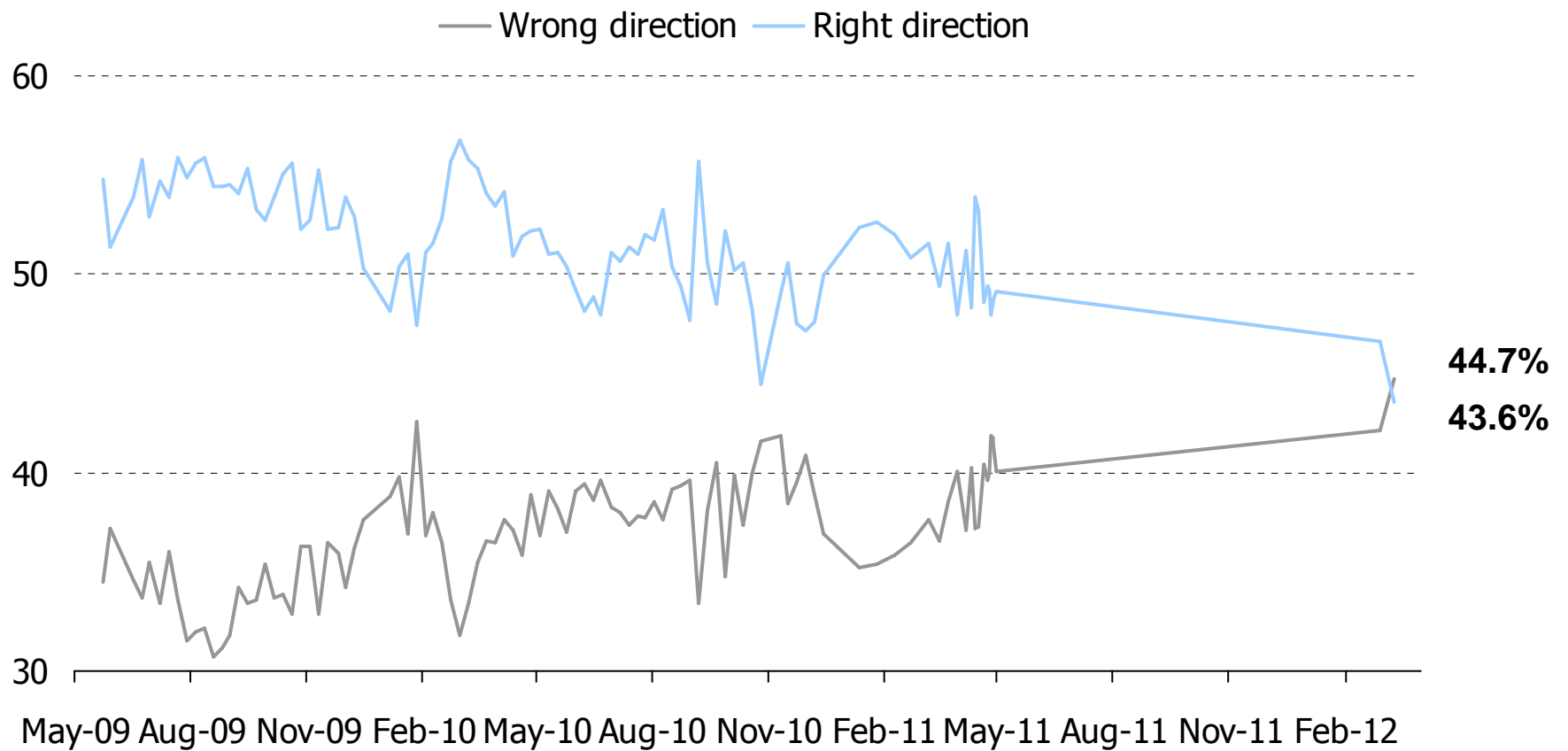
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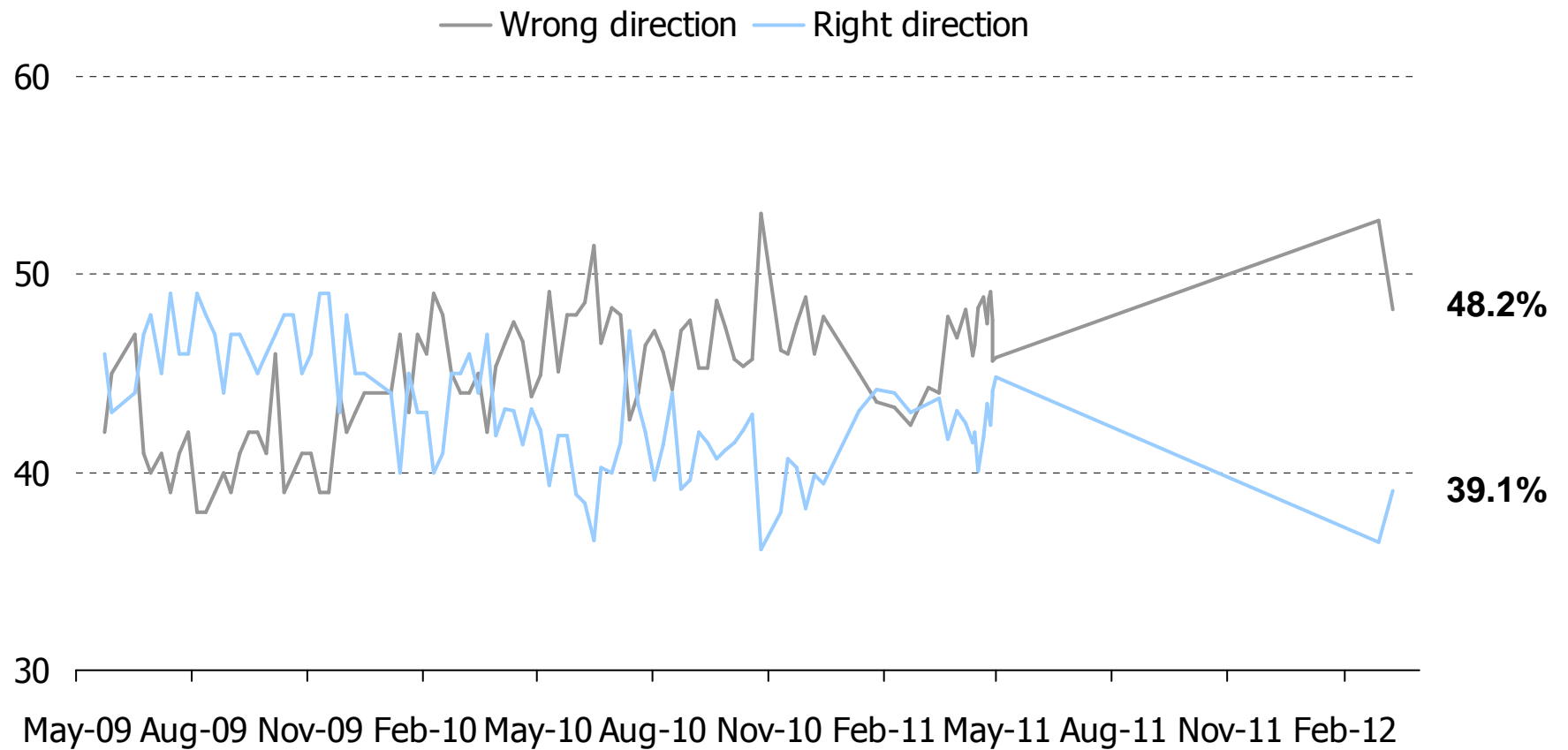
Direction of country

Q. All things considered, would you say the country is moving in the right direction or the wrong direction?



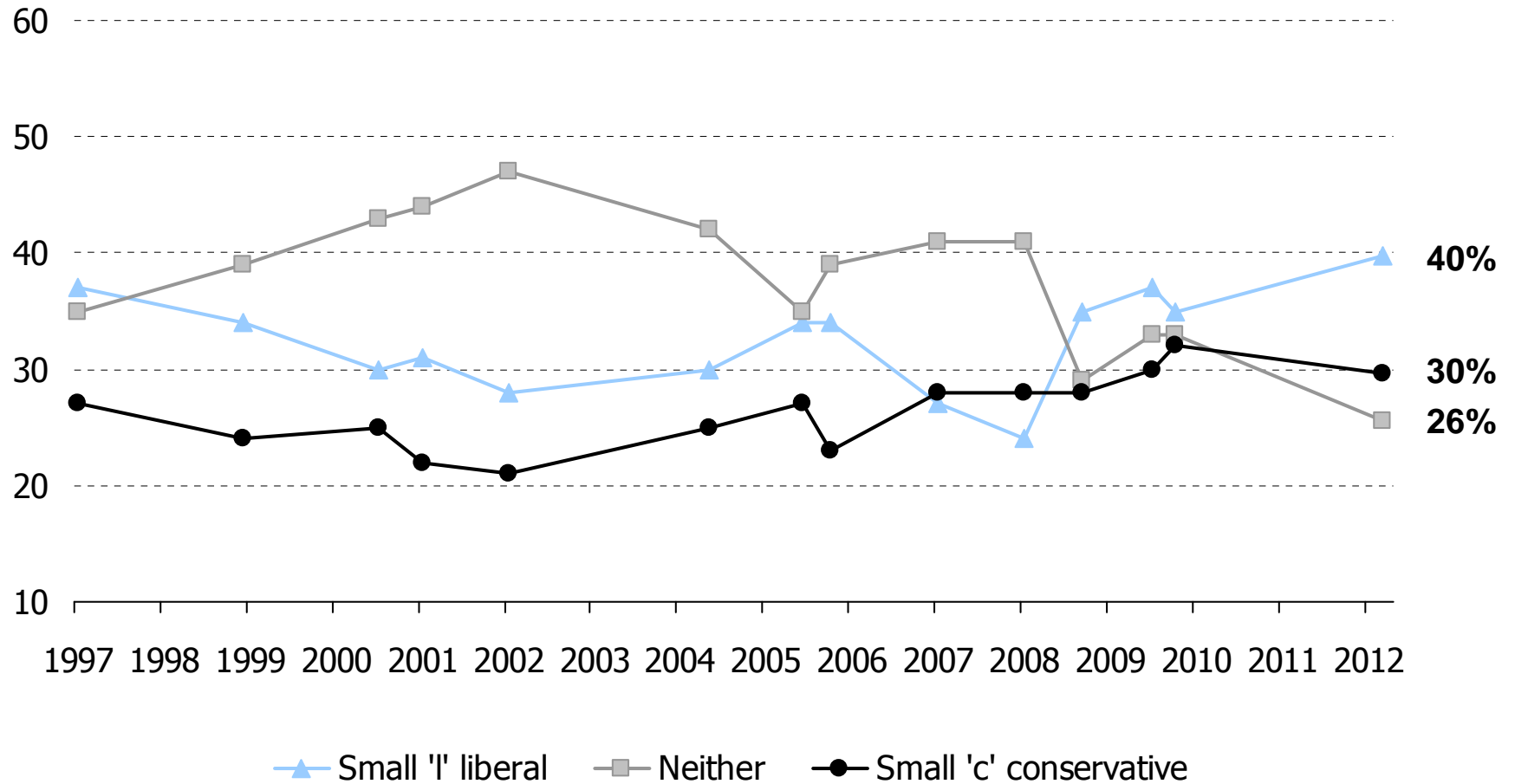
Direction of government

Q. All things considered, would you say the Government of Canada is moving in the right direction or the wrong direction?



Political ideology

Q. Do you consider yourself a small "c" conservative or a small "l" liberal?

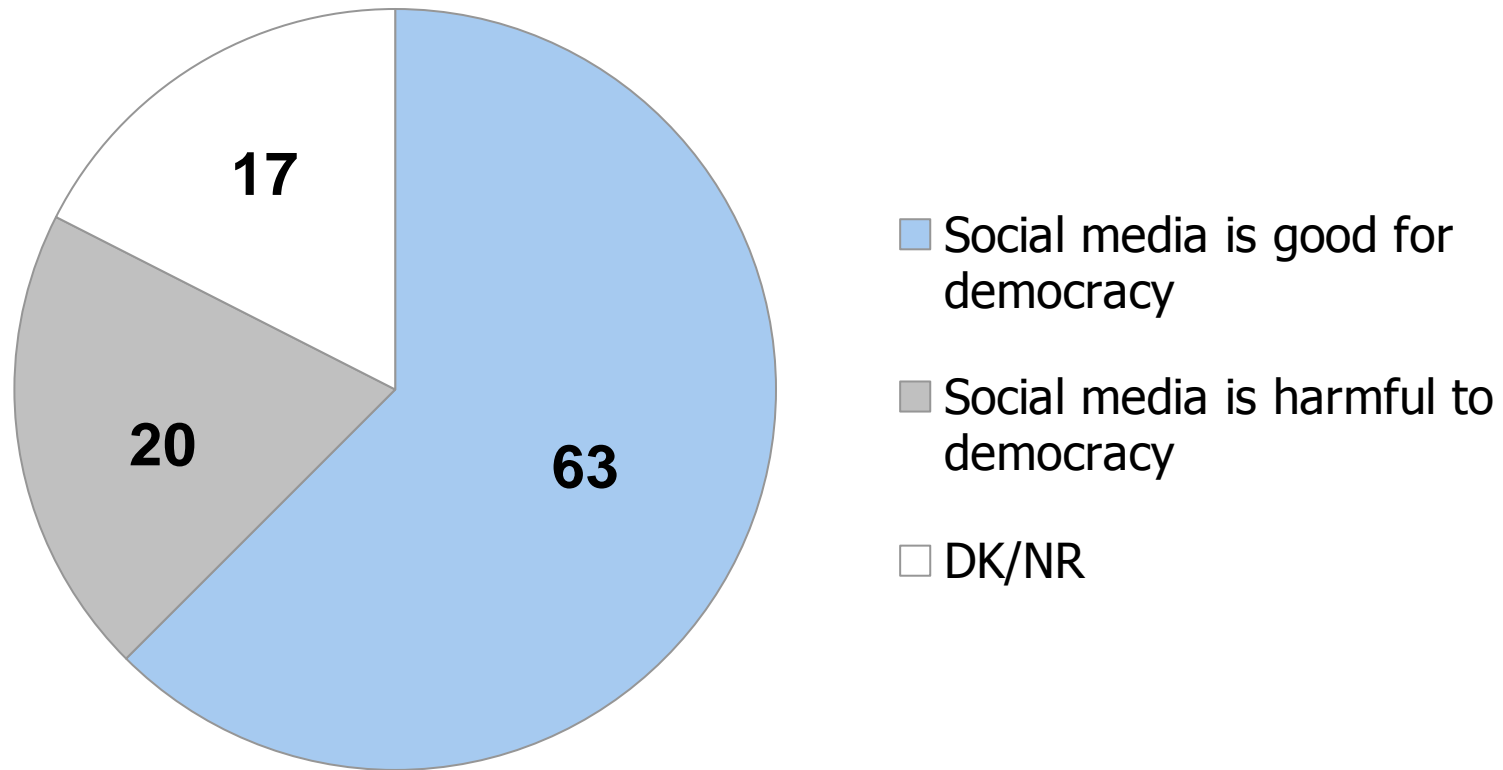


ANNEX B: Social Media



Perceived impact of social media on democracy

Q. As you know, the use of social networking websites such as Facebook and Twitter has increased dramatically in recent years. Some people argue that social media is good for democracy, pointing to the Arab Spring protesters who have used social media to organize, communicate, and raise awareness. Other people argue that social networking is harmful to democracy, since many people will use these websites as a substitute for real world action. Which of these statements comes closest to your own point of view?



FOR MORE INFORMATION:



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