

## **A MEMO FROM CITIZENS OF THE NEAR FUTURE TO THE LEADERS OF TODAY:**

*A LITTLE LESS MORAL PANIC, A LITTLE MORE PUBLIC JUDGEMENT, PLEASE*

By Frank Graves

[Ottawa – October 28, 2014] If we were to pick one date that demarcates the period of Western decline (and upper North American decline in particular), it would be September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. On that fateful day, the triumphal optimism celebrated in the *End of History*<sup>1</sup> was halted by a whiplash-like inversion of the traditional balance of security and other issues such as civil liberties.

Although not obvious at the time, Canada participated at least as enthusiastically in this new normal (as did the United States), despite not having suffered terror on our soil.<sup>2</sup> The initial collective shock of the attack was quickly replaced with enormous resolve to solve this terrifying new problem. This resulted in a blend of effort to: a) protect ourselves at home; and b) reduce the external threats through some sort of viral democracy efforts that would root out the perpetrators and install some sanguine mix of democracy and free markets in the supposed source countries. This quickly degraded from the chauvinistic enthusiasm of the initial shock and awe period to a much grimmer and more pessimistic world view. This in turn fostered increased isolationism in America and a sclerotic economy hobbled by the unproductive and crushing weight of the new security ethic that permeated both Canada and the United States.

It is not merely coincidental that this period saw an inexorable shift from the End of History conclusion to what we have called an End of Progress<sup>3</sup> – or minimally what Tyler Cowan called the Age of Stagnation.<sup>4</sup> The shortfall between the first decade of NAFTA and the second (post 9/11) was an almost imponderable two trillion dollars.<sup>5</sup> Much, if not all of this, can be linked to the corrosive impacts of the security decade on the net output of an economy hobbled with the massive sludge of the security era and the enormous costs of several massive misadventures in the greater Middle East. In the rear view mirror, the vast majority of Canadians now see these missions as having achieved zero net gains and more likely to have moved the yardsticks backwards in terms of the original goals of a more secure North America and more democratic and productive Middle East.

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Fukuyama, "The End of History?", *The National Interest*, Summer 1989. Available online at: <http://goo.gl/Z7OH2Y>

<sup>2</sup> Frank Graves, "The Shifting Public Outlook on Risk and Security", *One Issue, Two Voices*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, October 2015, pages 10-15. Available online at: <http://goo.gl/bcR6o8>

<sup>3</sup> Frank Graves, "From the End of History to the End of Progress", September 19, 2014. Available online at: <http://goo.gl/9KLCpz>

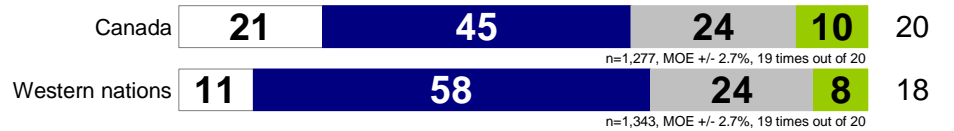
<sup>4</sup> Cowen, Tyler, "The Great Stagnation: How America Ate All The Low-Hanging Fruit of Modern History, Got Sick, and Will (Eventually) Feel Better", New York: Dutton, 2011. Print.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Robert. A. Pastor, "The NAFTA Promise and the North American Reality: The Gap and How to Close It", American University, Washington, D.C., October 31, 2013. Available online at: <http://goo.gl/MASf2c>

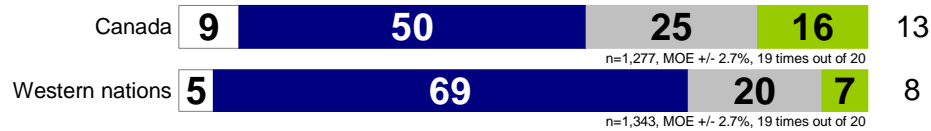
## Exhibit 1: Success of past military interventions

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?

### Libya



### Afghanistan



### Iraq



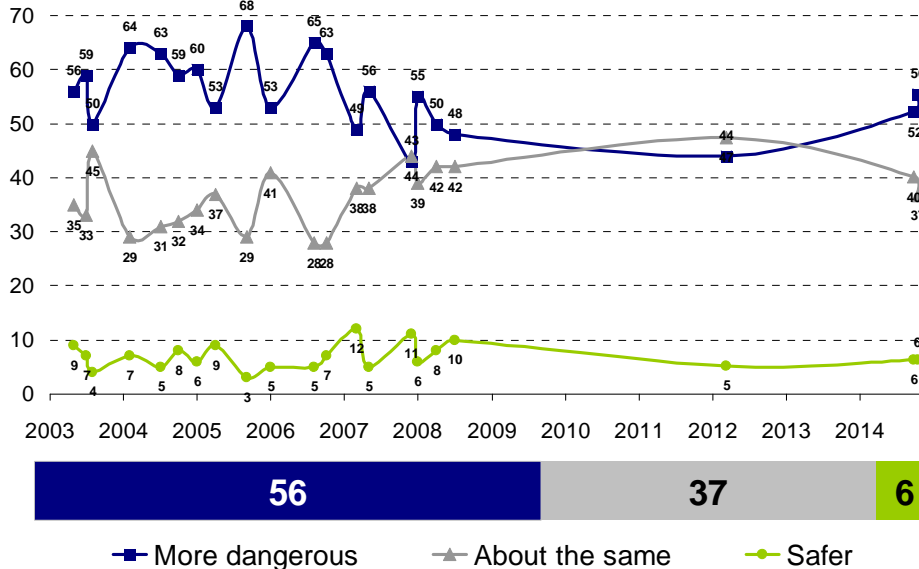
□ DK/NR   ■ Unsuccessful (1-2)   ■ Neither (3)   ■ Successful (4-5)

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No reproduction without permission **BASE:** Canadians (half-sample each); July 16-23, 2014 (n=1,277/1,343), MOE +/- 2.7%, 19 times out of 20

As the second decade of the twenty-first century unfolded, we began to see some important new shifts in the public environment. The overall tilt to security began to be replaced with a pattern of oscillation as the stranglehold grip which the security ethic exerted on North America began to relax its hold. Yes, there were still fluctuations upwards following disturbances and events but they were more modest and shorter lived. In Canada, that weakening of the security ethic was even more pronounced. It is notable below that the tendency to see the world as tilting to danger was once again on the rise under the threats of ISIS, Ukraine, and Ebola. The trend line will undoubtedly be lifted further based on events of last week in Ottawa, but we suspect it will return to a downward track fairly shortly.

## Exhibit 2: Perceived 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?

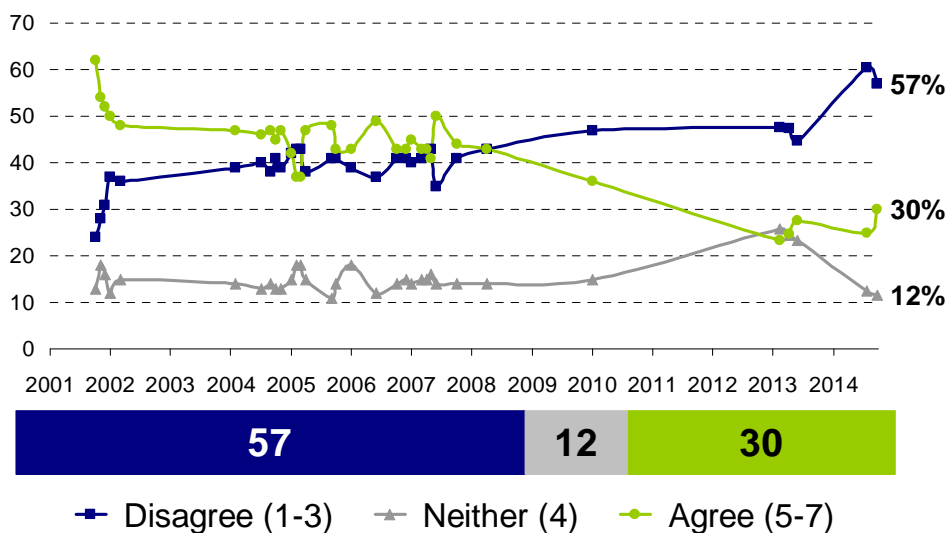


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BASE: Canadians; October 10-15, 2014 (n=1,671), MOE +/- 2.4%, 19 times out of 20

## Exhibit 3: More powers for law enforcement

Q. To what extent do 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?



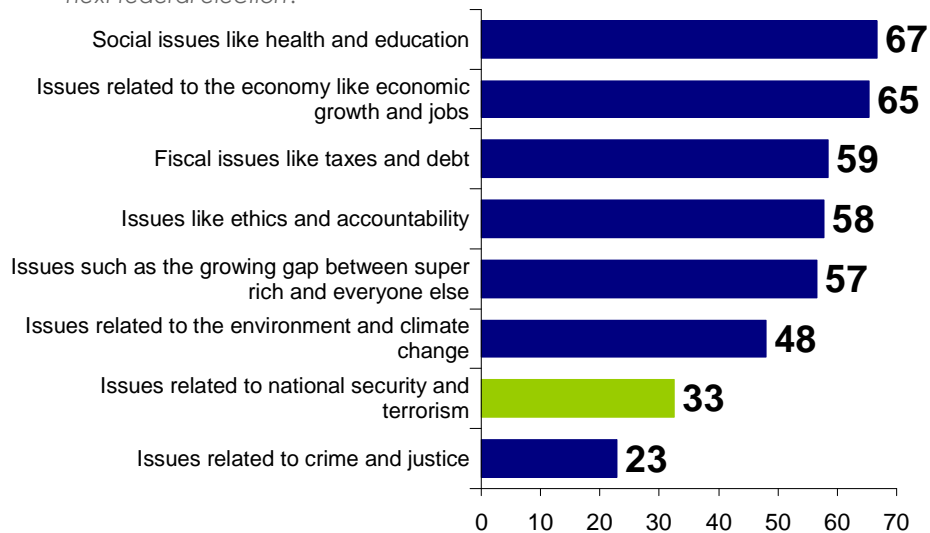
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BASE: Canadians; September 21-25, 2014 (n=1,549), MOE +/- 2.5%, 19 times out of 20

Consider, for example, the public trade-off across increased police powers and civil liberties. The pattern is dramatic. The overwhelming lean to providing further powers was replaced by a 180 degree shift where there was now a strong consensus that this was a bad idea. The public felt that the past adventures were ineffectual, perhaps even counterproductive. Also, the relative positioning of dealing with security and terror became much lower in the hierarchy of concerns.

## Exhibit 4: Most important election issue

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



Note: Presented in series of paired choices. Figures indicate how often each item was selected over the other items tested.

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BASE: Canadians; October 10-15, 2014 (n=1,671), MOE +/- 2.4%, 19 times out of 20

We may well have been poised to now start delivering the post security premium to a relatively moribund economy that needed new stimuli and redirection of resources. While less clear in the American public, the Canadian public seem ready to move to a new era where the dampening effects of the pervasive security ethic were lifted. It was not that we didn't continue to think that security was important or that terror wasn't something to be feared and confronted. Rather, there seemed to be a wiser and more balanced outlook which recognized that zero risks was implausible and that some of the very things we had done may have magnified risk and costs us the basic freedoms and spirit which underpinned the miracle of late twentieth century liberal capitalism in North America.

With this admittedly simplified synopsis of the evolution of public attitudes in this century in place, let's turn to what the lessons might be as we recover from the shock of the spectacle of shots ringing in our centre of government and the horror of young soldiers executed to fanatical causes. We stress that the sense of horror, resolve, and moral outrage which accompany such atrocities is real and that the responses to date have been authentic and commensurate with the shock. Yet we also think it important to recognise some of the emergent public judgement which preceded these latest atrocities.

First, we would remind the public and their leaders that our initial instincts in these affairs are nearly always wrong. They are not wrong in the sense of the justifiable outrage or moral imperative that such events produce. The rational admonition to do nothing but wait and reflect more carefully will inevitably be rejected in such circumstances. It is, however, very important to remind the public of where they have journeyed on these issues and to make them think clearly of where they are likely to be at some point in the future. What we do today, partly to assuage our justifiable sense of horror, anger, and outrage must be accountable to citizenry of the near future. From all we can assemble to make a reasoned conjecture about how the public will feel a few months from now, we would remind those deciding today of the following truths:

1. Virtually all responses to the spectre and reality of terror in the 21<sup>st</sup> century have been deemed to have failed in hindsight. Almost universally, the public sees these past interventions as yielding nothing or even worsening the very problems they were designed to solve.
2. There has been a clear and profound tendency to believe that the tools which emphasize military engagement, and which have profound costs to both public coffers and civil liberties should be rethought in order to come up with a more effective approach which embodies the practices which Canadians see as more reflective of past success and our core values.
3. The public have lost faith in the security agenda which says this is solvable through further restrictions to civil liberties and are seeking an approach which does not further weaken those. They are also looking for reconsideration and recasting which raises our emphasis on more traditional tools of diplomacy and development activities (see Exhibit 5).

## Exhibit 5: Foreign policy considerations

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



■ Don't know/No response ■ Defence ■ Diplomacy ■ Development and aid

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BASE: Canadians; September 21-25, 2014 (n=1,549), MOE +/- 2.5%, 19 times out of 20

So as we ponder the immediate allure of a tougher security agenda which has proven sorely wanting in recent history, we might want to remind the public and its leaders where we have evolved over the past decade and to consider where we are likely to be once any new measures taken today are in effect. If recent history and public judgements are any guide, the citizenry of the near future, who will have to live with their consequences, will rue and further emphasis on security over civil liberties, personal freedoms, and economic productivity.

## Detailed Tables:

<b>Perceived Success of Military Interventions: Libya (Canada)</b>						
<i>Q. How successful do you believe Canadian interventions have been in each of the following countries? Libya</i>						
	Unsuccessful (1-2)	Somewhat successful (3)	Successful (4-5)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>44.8%</b>	<b>23.9%</b>	<b>10.4%</b>	<b>20.9%</b>	<b>1277</b>	<b>2.7</b>
<b>REGION</b>						
British Columbia	51.7%	18.9%	11.1%	18.2%	220	6.6
Alberta	46.4%	21.2%	15.3%	17.1%	135	8.4
Saskatchewan	40.7%	30.4%	0.0%	29.0%	40	15.5
Manitoba	48.0%	17.9%	5.1%	29.0%	54	13.3
Ontario	42.0%	29.9%	12.1%	16.0%	519	4.3
Quebec	45.3%	17.0%	6.9%	30.8%	232	6.4
Atlantic Canada	46.2%	24.2%	11.6%	17.9%	68	11.9
<b>GENDER</b>						
Male	46.7%	28.3%	13.4%	11.7%	664	3.8
Female	42.8%	19.3%	7.3%	30.7%	613	4.0
<b>AGE</b>						
<25	36.7%	35.5%	5.5%	22.2%	20	21.9
25-44	39.3%	26.4%	9.4%	25.0%	273	5.9
45-64	49.4%	20.4%	12.5%	17.7%	599	4.0
65+	49.1%	20.9%	10.6%	19.4%	345	5.3
<b>EDUCATION</b>						
High school or less	41.0%	25.6%	8.7%	24.7%	207	6.8
College or CEGEP	46.6%	20.8%	11.8%	20.8%	471	4.5
University or higher	45.8%	26.5%	10.1%	17.6%	585	4.1
<b>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</b>						
Born in Canada	43.1%	24.7%	10.4%	21.7%	1101	3.0
Not born in Canada	56.3%	18.2%	10.2%	15.3%	172	7.5
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>						
Liberal Party	48.5%	26.8%	11.1%	13.6%	474	4.5
Conservative Party	32.1%	30.9%	17.8%	19.2%	307	5.6
NDP	49.8%	24.0%	5.5%	20.7%	248	6.2
Green Party	62.9%	10.7%	6.1%	20.3%	82	10.8
Bloc Québécois	47.4%	1.6%	0.0%	51.0%	27	18.9

### **Perceived Success of Military Interventions: Afghanistan (Canada)**

*Q. How successful do you believe Canadian interventions have been in each of the following countries?  
Afghanistan*

	Unsuccessful (1-2)	Somewhat successful (3)	Successful (4-5)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>50.4%</b>	<b>24.8%</b>	<b>16.0%</b>	<b>8.7%</b>	<b>1277</b>	<b>2.7</b>
<b>REGION</b>						
British Columbia	52.7%	29.3%	11.7%	6.3%	220	6.6
Alberta	40.5%	30.5%	24.8%	4.2%	135	8.4
Saskatchewan	38.9%	28.3%	22.1%	10.7%	40	15.5
Manitoba	39.4%	33.1%	16.4%	11.2%	54	13.3
Ontario	48.6%	26.8%	16.5%	8.1%	519	4.3
Quebec	57.1%	17.9%	10.7%	14.2%	232	6.4
Atlantic Canada	58.8%	15.2%	24.0%	2.0%	68	11.9
<b>GENDER</b>						
Male	53.6%	25.2%	17.0%	4.2%	664	3.8
Female	47.1%	24.4%	15.0%	13.5%	613	4.0
<b>AGE</b>						
<25	66.0%	11.5%	20.1%	2.4%	20	21.9
25-44	47.7%	24.9%	15.3%	12.1%	273	5.9
45-64	49.2%	26.7%	16.4%	7.7%	599	4.0
65+	50.3%	27.9%	15.7%	6.1%	345	5.3
<b>EDUCATION</b>						
High school or less	45.4%	21.9%	20.7%	12.0%	207	6.8
College or CEGEP	49.2%	24.9%	17.8%	8.2%	471	4.5
University or higher	56.4%	27.1%	10.4%	6.1%	585	4.1
<b>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</b>						
Born in Canada	50.1%	24.9%	16.4%	8.6%	1101	3.0
Not born in Canada	52.6%	23.9%	13.5%	9.9%	172	7.5
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>						
Liberal Party	54.4%	26.6%	15.9%	3.1%	474	4.5
Conservative Party	36.1%	34.8%	19.5%	9.6%	307	5.6
NDP	62.0%	21.7%	7.9%	8.5%	248	6.2
Green Party	55.5%	19.8%	21.3%	3.5%	82	10.8
Bloc Québécois	45.9%	8.9%	7.7%	37.6%	27	18.9

### **Perceived Success of Military Interventions: Libya (Western Nations)**

*Q. How successful do you believe Western interventions have been in each of the following countries? Libya*

	Unsuccessful (1-2)	Somewhat successful (3)	Successful (4-5)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>57.6%</b>	<b>23.8%</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>10.8%</b>	<b>1343</b>	<b>2.7</b>
<b>REGION</b>						
British Columbia	59.3%	24.0%	6.0%	10.7%	213	6.7
Alberta	56.4%	17.9%	18.7%	6.9%	172	7.5
Saskatchewan	36.7%	37.6%	17.8%	7.9%	43	14.9
Manitoba	47.3%	33.4%	6.8%	12.6%	51	13.7
Ontario	58.0%	22.8%	7.8%	11.5%	545	4.2
Quebec	68.3%	14.0%	4.0%	13.6%	231	6.5
Atlantic Canada	39.3%	52.2%	1.8%	6.6%	81	10.9
<b>GENDER</b>						
Male	58.1%	27.7%	8.5%	5.7%	641	3.9
Female	57.2%	20.6%	7.2%	15.0%	702	3.7
<b>AGE</b>						
<25	36.7%	49.2%	10.2%	4.0%	27	18.9
25-44	53.0%	22.0%	7.9%	17.1%	260	6.1
45-64	63.2%	20.8%	7.6%	8.5%	595	4.0
65+	66.1%	16.6%	7.2%	10.1%	407	4.9
<b>EDUCATION</b>						
High school or less	54.6%	26.9%	5.3%	13.2%	259	6.1
College or CEGEP	55.9%	23.5%	10.2%	10.4%	493	4.4
University or higher	62.5%	21.3%	7.8%	8.4%	583	4.1
<b>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</b>						
Born in Canada	58.2%	23.0%	8.1%	10.6%	1163	2.9
Not born in Canada	53.5%	30.0%	5.5%	10.9%	174	7.4
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>						
Liberal Party	56.2%	29.9%	6.7%	7.2%	477	4.5
Conservative Party	55.2%	21.7%	14.5%	8.7%	372	5.1
NDP	56.7%	25.6%	6.2%	11.6%	227	6.5
Green Party	73.2%	10.6%	5.0%	11.2%	69	11.8
Bloc Québécois	66.9%	22.1%	3.7%	7.3%	40	15.5



### **Perceived Success of Military Interventions: Afghanistan (Western Nations)**

*Q. How successful do you believe Western interventions have been in each of the following countries?  
Afghanistan*

	Unsuccessful (1-2)	Somewhat successful (3)	Successful (4-5)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>68.9%</b>	<b>19.5%</b>	<b>6.6%</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>1343</b>	<b>2.7</b>
<b>REGION</b>						
British Columbia	66.5%	25.3%	5.3%	2.9%	213	6.7
Alberta	64.2%	17.8%	16.3%	1.6%	172	7.5
Saskatchewan	69.4%	19.1%	11.5%	0.0%	43	14.9
Manitoba	62.7%	36.6%	0.7%	0.0%	51	13.7
Ontario	70.0%	18.4%	5.5%	6.1%	545	4.2
Quebec	76.6%	9.2%	4.8%	9.4%	231	6.5
Atlantic Canada	56.8%	37.1%	5.2%	0.9%	81	10.9
<b>GENDER</b>						
Male	73.8%	18.6%	5.4%	2.3%	641	3.9
Female	64.8%	20.2%	7.6%	7.3%	702	3.7
<b>AGE</b>						
<25	74.7%	17.5%	7.8%	0.0%	27	18.9
25-44	62.9%	19.0%	8.6%	9.5%	260	6.1
45-64	69.9%	20.1%	5.8%	4.2%	595	4.0
65+	74.0%	19.2%	4.3%	2.5%	407	4.9
<b>EDUCATION</b>						
High school or less	63.6%	22.7%	5.0%	8.7%	259	6.1
College or CEGEP	71.7%	16.7%	6.8%	4.9%	493	4.4
University or higher	71.1%	19.6%	8.3%	1.1%	583	4.1
<b>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</b>						
Born in Canada	68.6%	20.3%	6.7%	4.4%	1163	2.9
Not born in Canada	71.8%	14.2%	5.9%	8.1%	174	7.4
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>						
Liberal Party	66.8%	24.1%	6.3%	2.8%	477	4.5
Conservative Party	59.7%	26.1%	10.3%	3.9%	372	5.1
NDP	80.1%	12.5%	4.4%	3.0%	227	6.5
Green Party	80.1%	13.6%	2.4%	3.9%	69	11.8
Bloc Québécois	86.3%	5.1%	2.6%	6.0%	40	15.5

### **Perceived Success of Military Interventions: Iraq (Western Nations)**

*Q. How successful do you believe Western interventions have been in each of the following countries? Iraq*

	Unsuccessful (1-2)	Somewhat successful (3)	Successful (4-5)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>75.9%</b>	<b>13.9%</b>	<b>4.4%</b>	<b>5.7%</b>	<b>1343</b>	<b>2.7</b>
<b>REGION</b>						
British Columbia	79.6%	12.4%	4.1%	3.9%	213	6.7
Alberta	70.8%	21.4%	5.0%	2.8%	172	7.5
Saskatchewan	68.4%	15.1%	8.7%	7.9%	43	14.9
Manitoba	71.2%	28.8%	0.0%	0.0%	51	13.7
Ontario	78.3%	10.7%	4.3%	6.7%	545	4.2
Quebec	77.0%	7.8%	5.9%	9.3%	231	6.5
Atlantic Canada	69.6%	28.2%	1.3%	0.9%	81	10.9
<b>GENDER</b>						
Male	81.8%	12.9%	2.9%	2.3%	641	3.9
Female	71.0%	14.7%	5.7%	8.6%	702	3.7
<b>AGE</b>						
<25	70.9%	25.7%	3.4%	0.0%	27	18.9
25-44	72.1%	11.7%	5.4%	10.8%	260	6.1
45-64	77.7%	13.2%	4.5%	4.5%	595	4.0
65+	83.1%	9.7%	3.5%	3.6%	407	4.9
<b>EDUCATION</b>						
High school or less	68.5%	17.5%	4.2%	9.8%	259	6.1
College or CEGEP	75.7%	13.3%	5.6%	5.4%	493	4.4
University or higher	84.1%	11.0%	3.4%	1.6%	583	4.1
<b>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</b>						
Born in Canada	75.4%	15.0%	4.5%	5.1%	1163	2.9
Not born in Canada	80.1%	6.8%	4.0%	9.1%	174	7.4
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>						
Liberal Party	78.3%	13.1%	4.6%	4.0%	477	4.5
Conservative Party	67.3%	23.1%	4.8%	4.7%	372	5.1
NDP	83.5%	7.7%	5.8%	3.0%	227	6.5
Green Party	83.1%	10.6%	2.4%	3.9%	69	11.8
Bloc Québécois	86.3%	5.1%	2.6%	6.0%	40	15.5

### **Perceived 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?*

	More dangerous	About the same	Safer	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>55.5%</b>	<b>36.7%</b>	<b>6.3%</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>1671</b>	<b>2.4</b>
<b>REGION</b>						
British Columbia	58.4%	33.3%	8.3%	0.0%	159	7.8
Alberta	66.6%	28.5%	2.9%	2.0%	115	9.1
Saskatchewan	59.7%	33.1%	2.2%	5.1%	41	15.3
Manitoba	51.5%	42.4%	4.4%	1.7%	41	15.3
Ontario	51.4%	37.1%	9.9%	1.7%	487	4.4
Quebec	55.6%	41.6%	1.9%	0.8%	721	3.7
Atlantic Canada	55.7%	35.3%	6.3%	2.6%	107	9.5
<b>GENDER</b>						
Male	49.4%	40.0%	10.2%	0.4%	785	3.5
Female	61.4%	33.5%	2.6%	2.4%	879	3.3
<b>AGE</b>						
<45	41.1%	47.0%	10.8%	1.1%	619	3.9
45-64	62.0%	32.5%	3.6%	1.9%	627	3.9
65+	75.9%	21.5%	1.9%	0.7%	355	5.2
<b>EDUCATION</b>						
High school or less	60.7%	28.4%	9.3%	1.6%	288	5.8
College or CEGEP	58.2%	36.1%	3.8%	1.9%	661	3.8
University or higher	47.3%	45.9%	6.3%	0.4%	706	3.7
<b>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</b>						
Not born in Canada	58.3%	30.0%	10.7%	1.0%	183	7.2
Parent(s) not born in Canada	55.1%	35.3%	8.6%	1.1%	303	5.6
Both parents born in Canada	55.2%	38.7%	4.8%	1.3%	1176	2.9
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>						
Liberal Party	49.8%	39.4%	9.9%	0.8%	548	4.2
Conservative Party	71.0%	26.0%	2.0%	1.0%	367	5.1
NDP	49.6%	41.9%	7.6%	0.9%	407	4.9
Green Party	49.3%	43.7%	6.3%	0.7%	76	11.2
Bloc Québécois	55.9%	43.1%	1.0%	0.0%	77	11.2

### **Additional Powers for Law Enforcement**

*Q. Please rate the degree 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 I have to give up some personal privacy safeguards.*

	Disagree (1-3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Agree (5-7)	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>57.0%</b>	<b>11.6%</b>	<b>29.9%</b>	<b>1.6%</b>	<b>1549</b>	<b>2.5</b>
<b>REGION</b>						
British Columbia	66.1%	8.0%	24.8%	1.0%	185	7.2
Alberta	53.9%	10.3%	34.8%	1.1%	154	7.9
Saskatchewan	47.7%	19.3%	31.0%	2.0%	45	14.6
Manitoba	54.3%	6.6%	35.8%	3.3%	63	12.4
Ontario	58.2%	10.8%	29.6%	1.3%	503	4.4
Quebec	56.0%	14.6%	28.0%	1.4%	408	4.9
Atlantic Canada	44.5%	14.5%	36.9%	4.1%	181	7.3
<b>GENDER</b>						
Male	61.2%	9.6%	28.2%	1.1%	776	3.5
Female	52.8%	13.6%	31.6%	2.0%	769	3.5
<b>AGE</b>						
<45	66.6%	9.7%	22.2%	1.5%	537	4.2
45-64	51.7%	13.1%	34.0%	1.2%	631	3.9
65+	44.6%	12.6%	41.1%	1.7%	328	5.4
<b>EDUCATION</b>						
High school or less	50.2%	13.8%	33.8%	2.2%	271	6.0
College or CEGEP	58.0%	10.8%	30.1%	1.1%	625	3.9
University or higher	62.7%	10.2%	25.8%	1.3%	643	3.9
<b>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</b>						
Not born in Canada	53.7%	12.6%	32.2%	1.5%	195	7.0
Parent(s) not born in Canada	57.4%	9.8%	32.1%	0.7%	310	5.6
Both parents born in Canada	57.3%	12.1%	28.7%	1.9%	1033	3.1
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>						
Liberal Party	59.0%	11.6%	28.8%	0.6%	565	4.1
Conservative Party	42.0%	10.8%	46.2%	1.0%	342	5.3
NDP	66.4%	11.1%	21.2%	1.3%	318	5.5
Green Party	70.3%	11.9%	16.4%	1.5%	91	10.3
Bloc Québécois	62.2%	15.5%	22.2%	0.0%	59	12.8

### **Most Important Election Issue (Part 1 of 2)**

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

*[Presented in series of paired choices. Figures indicate how often each item was selected over the other items tested]*

	Social issues like health and education	Issues related to the economy like economic growth and jobs	Fiscal issues like taxes and debt	Issues like ethics and accountability
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>66.8%</b>	<b>65.3%</b>	<b>58.5%</b>	<b>57.8%</b>
<b>REGION</b>				
British Columbia + Territories	64.9%	58.0%	52.9%	68.8%
Alberta	61.2%	50.7%	49.2%	73.4%
Saskatchewan	77.9%	65.6%	68.2%	47.3%
Manitoba	61.7%	79.7%	78.1%	42.3%
Ontario	67.8%	73.5%	68.5%	59.2%
Quebec	69.2%	58.6%	49.2%	45.1%
Atlantic Canada	60.4%	72.6%	54.3%	51.5%
<b>GENDER</b>				
Male	61.0%	68.3%	64.7%	62.6%
Female	71.6%	62.6%	52.3%	53.3%
<b>AGE</b>				
<45	69.8%	64.6%	64.1%	63.4%
45-64	66.3%	66.3%	58.1%	54.9%
65+	64.6%	63.9%	47.2%	54.1%
<b>EDUCATION</b>				
High school or less	69.1%	62.9%	65.5%	56.4%
College or CEGEP	63.6%	70.6%	56.6%	59.5%
University or higher	68.9%	62.2%	54.0%	56.3%
<b>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</b>				
Not born in Canada	71.0%	60.7%	63.4%	58.6%
Parent(s) not born in Canada	60.7%	65.4%	57.3%	68.6%
Both parents born in Canada	67.6%	66.4%	57.8%	53.8%
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>				
Liberal Party	67.5%	63.3%	53.6%	61.0%
Conservative Party	58.4%	79.5%	74.5%	48.0%
NDP	69.3%	53.1%	48.4%	59.3%
Green Party	77.7%	53.4%	58.5%	67.8%
Bloc Québécois	75.3%	38.1%	41.2%	41.5%

### **Most Important Election Issue (Part 2 of 2)**

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

*[Presented in series of paired choices. Figures indicate how often each item was selected over the other items tested]*

	Issues such as the growing gap between super rich and everyone else	Issues related to the environment and climate change	Issues related to national security and terrorism	Issues related to crime and justice
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>56.6%</b>	<b>47.9%</b>	<b>32.5%</b>	<b>22.9%</b>
<b>REGION</b>				
British Columbia + Territories	46.2%	63.1%	39.9%	15.5%
Alberta	64.9%	29.9%	53.3%	25.2%
Saskatchewan	67.3%	32.0%	15.7%	29.8%
Manitoba	52.9%	58.1%	0.0%	48.2%
Ontario	55.4%	39.8%	35.8%	19.8%
Quebec	58.4%	59.8%	23.4%	26.1%
Atlantic Canada	59.2%	52.4%	29.6%	24.0%
<b>GENDER</b>				
Male	56.1%	46.3%	31.4%	21.5%
Female	57.0%	49.2%	33.5%	24.5%
<b>AGE</b>				
<45	70.7%	55.7%	33.9%	23.6%
45-64	49.1%	42.4%	24.2%	23.3%
65+	49.6%	40.1%	45.0%	19.1%
<b>EDUCATION</b>				
High school or less	56.6%	34.1%	35.2%	30.4%
College or CEGEP	56.8%	45.0%	32.1%	17.9%
University or higher	56.7%	62.1%	29.5%	19.4%
<b>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</b>				
Not born in Canada	67.4%	35.0%	35.6%	20.3%
Parent(s) not born in Canada	54.6%	52.5%	32.6%	20.0%
Both parents born in Canada	55.6%	48.8%	31.7%	24.5%
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>				
Liberal Party	65.5%	52.6%	30.3%	13.9%
Conservative Party	32.5%	15.2%	55.4%	38.1%
NDP	70.0%	71.0%	17.3%	22.5%
Green Party	68.6%	53.7%	25.3%	28.9%
Bloc Québécois	72.6%	69.9%	21.5%	6.4%

### **Most Important Foreign Policy Consideration**

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

	Development and aid	Diplomacy	Defence	DK/NR	Sample Size	Margin of Error (+/-)
<b>NATIONALLY</b>	<b>39.8%</b>	<b>37.3%</b>	<b>16.3%</b>	<b>6.6%</b>	<b>1549</b>	<b>2.5</b>
<b>REGION</b>						
British Columbia	38.0%	39.3%	13.6%	9.1%	185	7.2
Alberta	35.8%	37.8%	24.1%	2.4%	154	7.9
Saskatchewan	36.5%	34.2%	27.5%	1.8%	45	14.6
Manitoba	38.0%	31.2%	24.1%	6.7%	63	12.4
Ontario	34.9%	41.2%	18.0%	5.9%	503	4.4
Quebec	53.1%	33.7%	7.3%	5.9%	408	4.9
Atlantic Canada	34.1%	28.3%	19.6%	18.1%	181	7.3
<b>GENDER</b>						
Male	37.6%	44.3%	15.8%	2.3%	776	3.5
Female	41.5%	30.8%	16.9%	10.7%	769	3.5
<b>AGE</b>						
<45	41.8%	40.6%	11.0%	6.5%	537	4.2
45-64	38.2%	32.6%	22.7%	6.5%	631	3.9
65+	39.1%	38.3%	15.6%	7.0%	328	5.4
<b>EDUCATION</b>						
High school or less	38.9%	28.9%	19.9%	12.3%	271	6.0
College or CEGEP	39.2%	38.6%	18.0%	4.2%	625	3.9
University or higher	41.3%	44.2%	10.9%	3.6%	643	3.9
<b>COUNTRY OF BIRTH</b>						
Not born in Canada	37.9%	39.1%	15.1%	7.9%	195	7.0
Parent(s) not born in Canada	37.4%	41.0%	16.5%	5.1%	310	5.6
Both parents born in Canada	41.0%	35.7%	16.6%	6.7%	1033	3.1
<b>CURRENT VOTE INTENTION</b>						
Liberal Party	41.5%	44.1%	10.0%	4.4%	565	4.1
Conservative Party	20.5%	33.6%	42.6%	3.3%	342	5.3
NDP	51.2%	36.2%	7.9%	4.6%	318	5.5
Green Party	48.3%	32.6%	5.0%	14.0%	91	10.3
Bloc Québécois	51.8%	41.5%	0.0%	6.7%	59	12.8

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## Methodology:

This article draws on results from three separate surveys, all of which were conducted using EKOS' unique, hybrid online/telephone research panel, *Prob/it*. Our panel offers exhaustive coverage of the Canadian population (i.e., Internet, phone, cell phone), random recruitment (in other words, participants are recruited randomly, they do not opt themselves into our panel), and equal probability sampling. All respondents to our panel are recruited by telephone using random digit dialling and are confirmed by live interviewers. Unlike opt-in online panels, *Prob/it* supports margin of error estimates. We believe this to be the only probability-based online panel in Canada.

The field dates for the first survey are July 16-23, 2014. In total, 2,620 Canadians aged 18 and over responded to the survey. Of these cases, 2,448 were collected online, while 172 were collected by computer assisted telephone interviews (CATI). The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/-1.9 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

The field dates for the second survey are September 21-25, 2014. In total, 1,549 Canadians aged 18 and over responded to the survey. Of these cases, 1,401 were collected online, while 148 were collected by CATI. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/-2.5 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

The field dates for the third survey are October 10-15, 2014. In total, 1,671 Canadians aged 18 and over responded to the survey. Of these cases, 1,511 were collected online, while 160 were collected by CATI. The margin of error associated with the total sample is +/-2.4 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

Please note that the margin of error increases when the results are sub-divided (i.e., error margins for sub-groups such as region, sex, age, education). All the data have been statistically weighted to ensure the sample's composition reflects that of the actual population of Canada according to Census data.