



The World in Canada: Demographics and Diversity in Canadian Foreign Policy



Prepared by: Innovative Research Group

Prepared for: 2005 CDFAI Annual Conference

Released: October 31, 2005

Table of Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	3
METHODOLOGY	14
SECTION 1 – THE ROLE OF THE CANADIAN FORCES	15
1.1 – Role of Canadian Forces in International Affairs	15
1.2 – Role of Canadian Forces in Domestic Affairs	17
SECTION 2 – CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES	18
2.1 - The Canada – US Relationship	18
2.2 – Level of Canada – US Co-operation	19
2.2 – Level of Canada – US Co-operation	20
2.3 – Canada Should Shift Emphasis to New Growing Economies.....	22
SECTION 3 – AID TO FAILING STATES.....	23
3.1 – Foreign Aid versus Domestic Priorities.....	23
3.2 – Top Priority in Targeting Aid to Weak/Fragile States.....	25
3.3 - Democracy versus Stability for Canadian Foreign Aid	27
SECTION 4 – FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING	28
4.1 – Most Important Factor in Canadian Foreign Policy Decision Making	28
SECTION 5 – THE WORLD IN CANADA	30
5.1 – Issue of Ethnic Home Country Problems in Canada.....	30
5.2 – Need for Stricter Immigration Standards	31
5.3 – Fear of Abuse of Human Rights in the Name of Terrorism	32

Executive Summary

Canada has long held a vision of itself as a truly multi-cultural society, but for most of our history, Canadians have descended from either immigrants who came from Western Europe or the First Nations people who meet them. Canadian ethnicity related more to what European accent one had, rather than which continent someone was from. That has changed dramatically in recent years.

Before 1961, just over 90% of all immigrants came from Europe. Even in the 1960's 69% came from Europe. But Canada saw a dramatic shift in its patterns of immigration in 1970 with just 36% of all immigrants coming from Europe and 33% from Asia. In the 1980's, Asia rose to 47% of all immigrants and in the 1990's to 58%.

The CDFAI 2005 Annual Conference will examine the implications of this dramatic and sustained shift in the Canadian ethnic mosaic and this survey was designed with that conference in mind.

What We Did

The purpose of the survey was to look at ethno cultural differences on a diverse range of foreign policy issues. To do that, we began with a sample of 1,000 randomly, selected Canadian, and then added another 141 in order to bring the Quebec sample up to 300 and to bring smaller regions up to 100. With this enhanced sample, we ended up with 176 immigrants, 202 first generation Canadians, 244 established Francophones and 519 established Anglophones.

The survey covers four major topics:

1. The Role of the Canadian Military: We explore Canadians' views on the use of the Canadian Forces on the international stage as well as domestically.
2. The Relationship Between Canada and the United States: We ask Canadians their views on alternatives to our relationship with the United States as well as the current

level of co-operation between the countries on international affairs and defence policy.

3. Canadian Foreign Aid: We discuss with Canadians various issues regarding foreign aid, including the trade-off between increased aid and domestic spending, priorities in foreign aid, as well the trade-off between democratic elections and creating stability in a fragile country.
4. Canada and Immigration: We explore various issues dealing with Canadians' views on immigration, home country issues and terrorism.

The survey also asked Canadians a question on their perceptions of the basis of Canada's foreign policy decision making.

As a note, 'immigrants' refers to Canadian residents who were born in other countries and have immigrated to Canada, while 'first generation' Canadians refers to those who were born in Canada to at least one parent who immigrated to the country. 'Newcomers' is used to refer to the combination of immigrants and first generation Canadians. Established Canadians refers to Canadians whose families are second generation or longer in Canada. This group is further subdivided into 'Established English' and 'Established French' Canadians.

What We Found

There is generally a consensus among Canadians on foreign policy, at least in terms of direction. We found no major issue with a majority of any major ethno cultural group on one side and majorities in the other two opposed.

Where we did find differences in the levels of support for a particular policy direction, the major differences found Established French Canadians on one side and Established English Canadians and Newcomers on the other.

Where Newcomers were different from Established Canadians, First Generation Canadians are much closer to the norm than their parents.

This leaves us with the following conclusions:

1. On the issues we tested, the Canadian government does not have to worry about finding common ground, a consensus already exists.
2. Insofar as there are important ethno cultural differences – and there are important differences in degree of support – the key differences are the enduring differences between French and English, not new fractures between New Canadians and Established Canadians.
3. The differences that do exist between Newcomers and Established Canadians are likely to fade in succeeding generations.
4. One of the primary reasons for the lack of difference between Newcomers and Established Canadians is that Established Canadians appear to be embracing international priorities that reflect Canada's changing demographics.

Military: Key Findings

The French English divide stands out most clearly on military issues.

- Two-thirds (66% - 35% strongly) of Canadians *agree* that for Canada to play a significant role in international affairs, we must have an effectively military force and also be willing to use our military when needed.
 - A plurality of 49% of established French Canadians agree with this statement compared to 67% agreement among Newcomers and 72% among established English Canadians.

- There is a division between the views of first generation Canadians (72%) who rival established English Canadians in their support of this position and their immigrant parents (61%) who approach established French Canadian levels.
- Seven-in-ten (70%) Canadians indicate they are *confident* that in the event of a major national emergency, such as an earthquake in British Columbia or an ice storm in central Canada, the Canadian armed forces would be able to provide timely and effective assistance. However, a significant three-in-ten (28%) are *not confident*.
 - There is a significant difference in the *confidence* of established French Canadians (81%) in the military's non-marshal activities compared to established English Canadians (68%) and newcomers (66%).
 - Within the newcomer group, there is a difference between generations, with immigrant Canadians (71%) more likely to be *confident* in the ability of the Canadian Forces than their Canadian-born offspring (62%).

US-Canada: Key Findings

Canadians of all ethnic backgrounds share a skepticism of the United States as a trading and security partner. However, they also agree that Canada has found the right balance in terms of our cooperation on foreign policy and security issues.

- Just under three-quarters (72% - 39% strongly) *agree* with the view that “The United States has proven to be an unpredictable and unilateral trading and security partner and Canada would be better off deepening our relationships with other countries.” One-quarter (23% - 10% strongly) *disagree* with this proposition.
 - Established French Canadians (81%) are more likely to concur with this view than established English Canadians (72%) or newcomers (68%).
- A majority (59%) believe that our current level of co-operation with the United States on international and military issues is at the right level. One-quarter (26%) say we co-

operate *too much*, while half that proportion (13%) feel we co-operate *too little* with the United States on international affairs and defense.

- There is no statistical difference between newcomers and longer established Canadians.

Aid to Failing States: Key Findings

Canadians show a surprising degree of support for foreign aid to failing states, particularly compared to the lack of willingness to invest in regaining Canada's earlier international stature found in last year's conference study. Looking at priorities for that aid, Canadians tend to live up to their "do-gooder" stereotype. They give priority to democracy over stability and put helping countries with extensive loss of life well ahead of countries where our interests are at stake.

- One-half (49%) *agrees* Canada should increase aid to help in stabilization and recovery efforts in countries such as Haiti, Somalia, and Afghanistan with struggling or ineffective governments, even if it means doing without some things we would like in areas such as health and education. However, almost as many (48%) *disagree* with this position.
 - Immigrant Canadians (61%) are more likely than their first generation offspring (42%) or longer established (47%) Canadians to agree with this position.
- A majority (56%) of Canadians indicate that the top priority for Canadian foreign aid should be focused on countries where there has been a significant loss of life. One-in-five (19%) feel that foreign aid should be prioritized to important trading partners, while one-in-ten (10%) believe we should focus on countries where our allies are involved in military operations. Just one-in-twenty (5%) believes our focus should be on hemispheric neighbours in the Caribbean or Latin America.
 - First generation Canadians (15%) are more likely than their immigrant parents (5%) to say that the focus of foreign aid should be areas in which our allies are involved in military operations.

- Just under half (46%) of Canadians believe that Canada should give priority to promoting democratic elections in weak and unstable countries, even if it may increase instability in the short term. Slightly less (39%) hold the opposing view that Canada should give priority to stabilization and recover efforts, even if it means supporting undemocratic rule in the short term.
 - Established French Canadians (51%) are slightly more likely than established English Canadians (44%) to believe that Canada should give priority to the holding of democratic elections.

The World in Canada: Key Findings

Canadians new and old believe both that there is increasing trouble with ethnic groups bringing problems from their home country to Canada and that stricter immigration standards are needed to control the presence of known terrorists. However, Canadians from all walks of life also believe Canada must be careful that the fear of terrorism not result in the abuse of human rights. Finally, there is a strong consensus Canada should shift its priorities away from Europe and the US and towards growing Asian economies, although there is significantly less support for this among established French Canadians.

- Two-thirds (63% - 32% strongly) of Canadians *agree* that Canada is having increasing trouble with ethnic groups bringing problems from their home country to Canada. One-third (34% - 14% strongly) *disagrees* with this position.
 - First generation Canadians (70%) are more likely than either immigrant Canadians (60%) or longer established Canadians (62%) to agree with this assertion.
 - Within the group of established Canadians, established English Canadians (66%) are more likely than established French Canadians (54%) to agree with this view.

- Two-thirds (67%) of Canadians *strongly agree* that “We should have stricter immigration standards to control the presence of known terrorists”. A further 18% *somewhat agree* with this viewpoint. In total, just over one-in-ten (13% - 4% *strongly disagrees*).
 - Immigrant Canadians (78%) are less likely than their Canadian born children (87%) or longer established Canadians (86%) to agree with this statement.
 - Established English Canadians (88%) are more likely to agree than are established French Canadians (81%).

- There is a wide-spread fear that concern over terrorism could encourage the abuse of Arab- or Islamic- Canadians’ human rights. This concern is expressed by two-thirds (63%) of Canadians, while one-third (32%) *disagrees*.
 - Newcomers (65%) and longer established Canadians (62%) are statistically as likely to express agreement.
 - Established English Canadians (65%) are slightly more likely than established French Canadians (57%) to agree with this position.

- A majority (64%) *agrees* we should diversify our trading relationship away from such traditional partners as the United States, England and France towards countries such as China and India with growing economies.
 - Agreement with this view is consistent between newcomers (64%) and longer established Canadians (64%).
 - However, there is a difference between the views of established English Canadians (70%) and established French Canadians (51%).

The Foreign Policy Process

- Four-in-ten (40%) Canadians feel that the main factor in the creation of Canadian foreign policy is the long-term interests of Canada according to the analysis of foreign policy experts. In contrast, one-in-four (26%) believe that policy is based on the opinion of the general Canadian public regarding specific foreign affairs issues. The belief that the country's foreign policy is set based on the views of the party in government is held by 16%, while 11% say policy is set by the personal priorities of the current Prime Minister.
 - First generation Canadians (48%) are far more likely than either their parents (39%) or longer established Canadians (38%) to say that foreign policy should be decided on an expert evaluation of Canada's long-term interests.
 - There is a slight difference of views between established English Canadians (40%) and established French Canadians (34%) regarding the belief that foreign policy should be based on expert evaluation.
 - Established French Canadians (24%) are more likely than either newcomers (12%) or established English Canadians (15%) to believe that international policy is based on the views of the party in power.
 - Immigrant Canadians (31%) are slightly more likely than their first generation offspring (21%) to say that public opinion should be the main factor in foreign policy decisions.

Summary of Differences Between Immigrants and First Generation Canadians and Between Established English and Established French Canadians.

- In general, there are more differences between immigrants and their first generation offspring, and between established French Canadians and established English Canadians, then between the larger groups of newcomers and established Canadians overall.
- The following chart notes differences between immigrants and first generation Canadians, followed by a chart that notes the differences between established French Canadians and established English Canadians on various questions.

Question	Immigrants	1 st Generation
If Canada wants to be a significant force in international affairs, we need to have an effective military and the willingness to use it when needed.	61% Agree	72% Agree
How confident are you that the Canadian armed forces can provide timely and effective assistance in the event that a natural disaster in Canada such as an earthquake in BC or an ice storm in central Canada?	71% Confident	62% Confident
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Canada should increase its aid to provide stabilization and recovery operations in weak or fragile countries with struggling or ineffective governments like Haiti, Somalia and Afghanistan even if it means doing without some things we would like in areas like health and education	61% Agree	42% Agree
Which of the following list of items do you think should be Canada's top priority when it comes to targeting our foreign aid in weak or fragile states? Focus on countries where our allies are involved in military operations	5%	15%
Which of the following do you think tends to be the most important factor when the Canadian government sets foreign policy: The long term interests of Canada based on the analysis of foreign policy experts	39%	48%

Public opinion on specific foreign policy issues	31%	21%
<p>I am now going to read you a series of statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree</p> <p>We should have stricter immigration standards to control the presence of known terrorists.</p>	78% Agree	87% Agree

Question	Established French	Established English
How confident are you that the Canadian armed forces can provide timely and effective assistance in the event that a natural disaster in Canada such as an earthquake in BC or an ice storm in central Canada?	81% Confident	68% Confident
<p>I am now going to read you two statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.</p> <p>The United States has proven to be an unpredictable and unilateral trading and security partner and Canada would be better off deepening our relationships with other countries.</p>	81% Agree	72% Agree
<p>Which of the following list of items do you think should be Canada's top priority when it comes to targeting our foreign aid in weak or fragile states?</p> <p>Focus on countries where Canada has important trade interests</p>	13%	20%
<p>Which of the following do you think tends to be the most important factor when the Canadian government sets foreign policy:</p> <p>The policy of the party in government</p>	24%	15%
<p>I am now going to read you a series of statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree</p> <p>Canada is having increasing trouble with ethnic groups bringing</p>	54% Agree	66% Agree

problems from there home country to Canada.		
<p>I am now going to read you a series of statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree</p> <p>We should have stricter immigration standards to control the presence of known terrorists. .</p>	81% Agree	88% Agree
<p>I am now going to read you a series of statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree</p> <p>I am worried that concern about terrorism could create an environment that would encourage the abuse of the human rights of Canadians from Arabic or Islamic countries</p>	57% Agree	65% Agree
<p>I am now going to read you a series of statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree</p> <p>It is time for Canada to shift its resources from our traditional trading partners, the United States, England and France to countries with growing economies like China and India..</p>	51% Agree	70% Agree

Methodology

Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute engaged INNOVATIVE Research Group to conduct a public opinion study with Canadians 18 years of age and older regarding issues of Canadian foreign policy and aid, as well as domestic issues regarding our multicultural society for its Fall Conference.

A poll was conducted with 1,000 Canadians, 18 years of age and older, drawn from a proportionate random sample across Canada from September 16th to 20th, 2005. An oversample of 141 interviews was conducted to boost regional samples. A total sample of this size is accurate to within $\pm 3.1\%$, 19 times out of 20.

Section 1 – The Role of the Canadian Forces

For many Canadians' Canada's role in international affairs is linked to the strength and usefulness of the Canadian Forces. In fact, in a study conducted for the Canadian Defence & Foreign Affairs Institute 2004 Conference by Innovative Research Group, Canadians were split on the statement "In the world today, power still comes primarily from the barrel of a gun." (48% agree vs. 48% disagree.) Further, in last year's study, three-quarters (75%) of Canadians felt that Canada should play an active part in the world, rather than stay out of world affairs (20%).

So the issue is, do Canadians view a strong and effective military as an important tool in Canadian foreign policy? A second, but related question, is do Canadian's believe that the Canadian military would be of assistance in the event of a domestic natural emergency?

1.1 – Role of Canadian Forces in International Affairs

Overall, Canadians believe an effective military is a key tool in international affairs. In fact, two-thirds (66% - 35% *strongly*) agree that "if Canada wants to be a significant force in international affairs, we need to have an effective military and the willingness to use it when needed." However, close to one-third (31%) *disagrees* with this view.

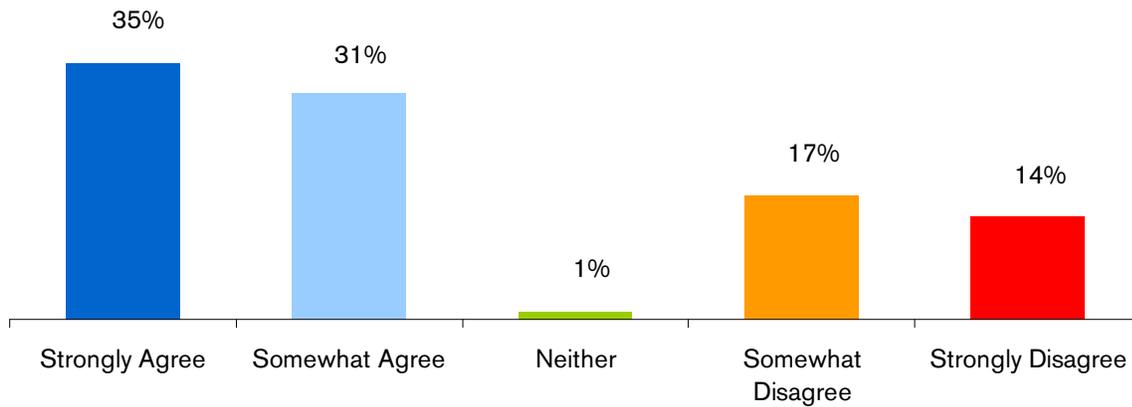
In general, agreement with this position is more likely to be held by the traditional power groups within Canadian society. That is, longer established English Canadians (72%), those who speak English at home (72%) and seniors (73%). In contrast, those least likely to *agree* are newcomers (67%), young adults (63%), those who speak neither English nor French at home (54%) and established French Canadians (49%).

While there is not a difference overall between newcomers (67%) and established Canadians (65%), there is interestingly a division between the views of first generation Canadians (72%) and their immigrant parents (61%) as to this proposition.

Regionally, Atlantic Canadians (81%) are the most likely to *agree* that if Canada wants to play a significant role in international affairs we need an effective military and to be willing to use it. This compares to just half (51%) of Quebecers.

I am now going to read you two statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree. (READ AND RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS)

CDF1. If Canada wants to be a significant force in international affairs, we need to have an effective military and the willingness to use it when needed.



1.2 – Role of Canadian Forces in Domestic Affairs

As Hurricane Katrina aptly illustrated, armed forces are not only used in foreign affairs but also in a variety of domestic emergencies. So how useful do Canadians believe the Canadian Forces would be in a domestic natural emergency? A majority (70%) are *confident* that the Canadian Forces can provide timely and effective assistance in the event of a major national disaster at home, here in Canada. One-in-four (25%) are *very confident*, while 45% are *somewhat confident*. However, 28% of Canadians are *not very* (21%) or *not at all* (7%) *confident* in the ability of the Forces to provide effective and timely help in such a situation.

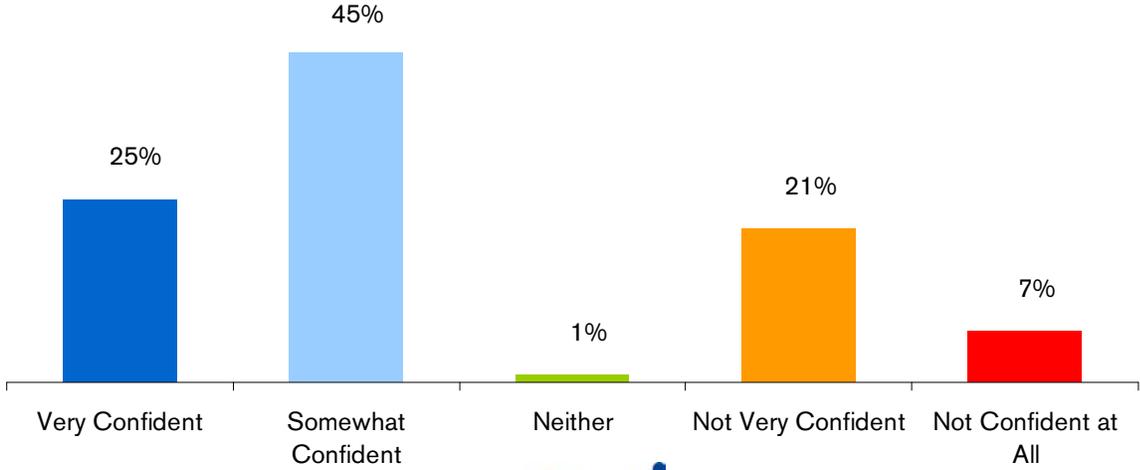
There is a significant difference in the confidence of established French Canadians (81%) and established English Canadians (68%) and newcomers (66%) in the Canadian Forces' ability to help out in domestic natural emergencies. Within the newcomer group, there is a difference between generations, with immigrant Canadians (71%) more likely to be confident in the ability of the Canadian Forces than their Canadian-born offspring (62%).

Regionally, residents of Quebec (81%), who have experienced such assistance during ice storms and floods in recent years, are the most *confident* that the Forces would be able to provide timely and effective help. British Columbians (56%) are least likely to be *confident* in the Canadian Forces' roll during such natural disaster emergencies.

Women (74%) are more *confident* than men (66%) that help from the Canadian Forces would be timely and effective.

Canadians in the lowest (less than \$40K: 76%) and the second highest (\$60K to \$79K: 75%) household income brackets are more likely than their counterparts in the highest (\$80K+: 65%) and second lowest (\$40K-\$59K: 64%) household income groups to be *confident* in the Canadian Forces in such a situation.

CDF3. How confident are you that the Canadian armed forces can provide timely and effective assistance in the event that a natural disaster in Canada such as an earthquake in BC or an ice storm in central Canada?



Section 2 – Canada and the United States

The United States has long been the key international relationship for Canada. However, while we may understand and appreciate our deep relationship with our southern neighbour, Canadians' also fear the dependency inherent in such a relationship. As such, it is important to understand where Canadians stand regarding our current relationship with the United States. To do this, we ask Canadians questions on three interrelated aspects of this complex relationship:

- Would Canada be better off deepening our relationship with other countries?
- Does Canada co-operate with the United States on international affairs too much, too little or is it just right?
- Should Canada shift trade from traditional partners, including the United States to other countries such as China and India?

2.1 - The Canada – US Relationship

The issue of Canada's dependence on our relations with the United States has been raised by politicians and the public almost since Confederation. Recently, disputes regarding trade and issues around unilateral moves by the United States against Canadian citizens, has raised some latent anti-American feelings. Just under three-quarters (72% - 39% *strongly*) agree with the view that "The United States has proven to be an unpredictable and unilateral trading and security partner and Canada would be better off deepening our relationships with other countries." One-quarter (23% - 10% *strongly*) disagree with this proposition.

Established French Canadians (81%) are more likely to concur with this view than established English Canadians (72%) or newcomers (68%).

Regionally, Quebec (81%) and British Columbia (79%) residents are the most likely to agree that we would be better off deepening our relationship with other countries, while residents in the Atlantic Provinces are the least likely (57%) to agree with this position. Those who speak French at home (82%) are more likely to agree with this viewpoint than are those who speak English at home (69%).

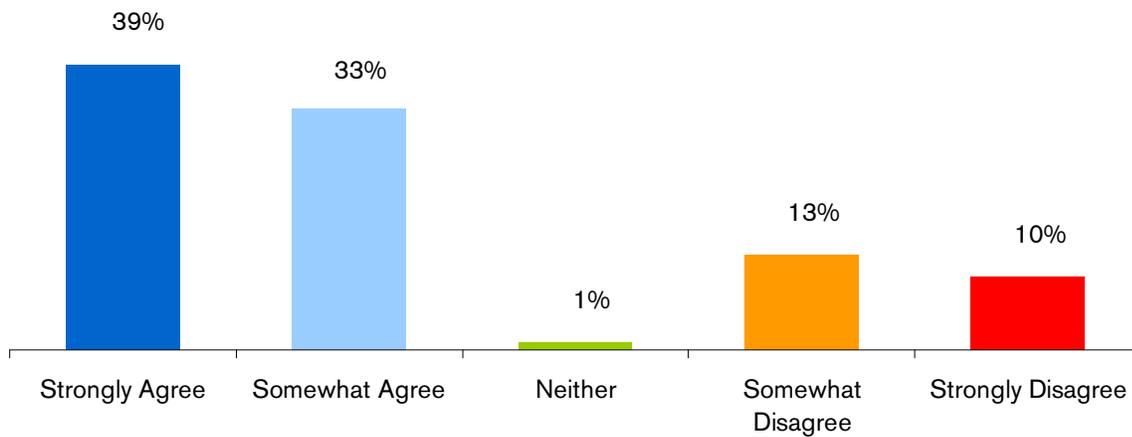
Senior Canadians (64%) are the least likely to agree that we should deepen our ties with nations other than the United States.

It appears that the ongoing lumber dispute as well as other cross-border irritants has increased a negative view of the United States among Canadians. In comparison, while three-quarters currently believe the United States has been an unpredictable and unreliable

partner, last year's study showed just half (51%) did not believe that the United States could be trusted to treat Canadian concerns fairly.

I am now going to read you two statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree. (READ AND RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS)

CDF2. The United States has proven to be an unpredictable and unilateral trading and security partner and Canada would be better off deepening our relationships with other countries.



2.2 – Level of Canada – US Co-operation

Despite the fact that a majority (72%) of Canadians feel that the United States has been an unpredictable and unilateral trading and security partner, just one-quarter (26%) of Canadians believe that Canada co-operates *too much* with the US on international affairs and defence issues. In fact, a majority (59%) say that the level of co-operation with the United States is the *right amount*. Just over one-in-ten (13%) feel we co-operate *too little* with the Americans.

There are a number of possible reasons for this seeming contradiction in positions. While Canadians may be wary of our level of interaction with America, they understand the important role that the United States plays in the national security of not just North America but the world in general. An alternative reason could be that over the past three years, Canada has refused to follow the Americans into war with Iraq, as well as declining involvement with the American Missile Defense project, resulting in a sense that while we co-operate with the United States in some areas of international affairs, we do not automatically follow the dictates of the United States.

It appears that the length of time established in Canada does not alter views on this question. There is no statistical difference question between newcomers and longer established Canadians.

Residents of Alberta (54%) are the least likely to say that Canada's current level of co-operation with the United States on international and defence issues is at the *right amount*. In fact, nearly one-quarter (22%) of Albertans believe that we co-operate *too little* with our southern neighbours on these issues.

Interestingly, just over the mountains, in British Columbia (39%), we find the highest proportion who says that Canada co-operates with the United States *too much* on military and international issues.

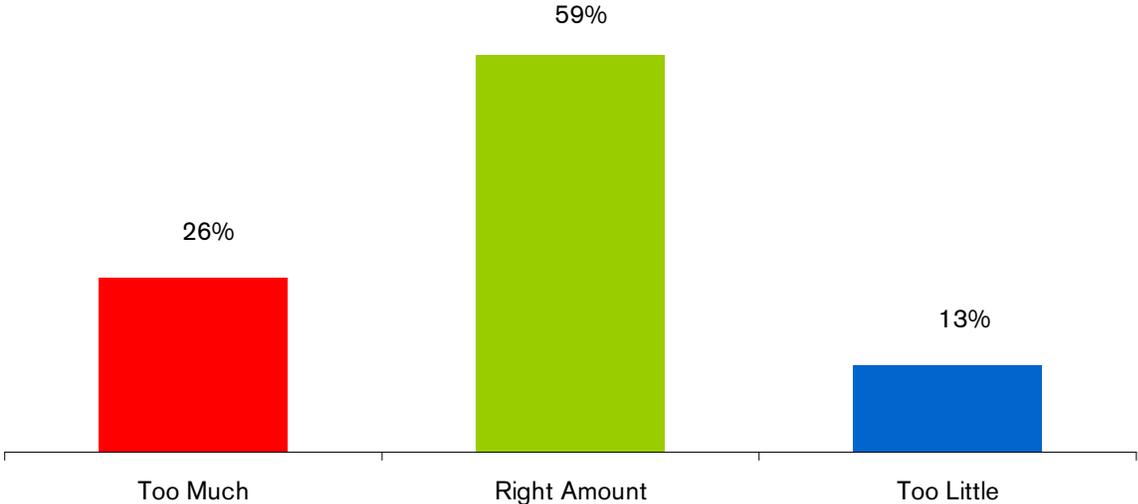
English speaking (14%) Canadians are more likely than francophones (8%) to say that we co-operated *too little* with the United States on these issues.

Support for the status quo is highest among young adults (63%), whereas senior Canadians (51%) are the least likely to share this view. Young adult Canadians (8%) are the least likely to say we co-operate *too little* with the US on international and military affairs.

Canadians from the lowest household income group (34%) are the most likely to believe that we co-ordinate *too much* with the United States on these issues. Meanwhile, Canadians in the high (\$80K+: 18%) and low-middle (\$40K-\$59K: 17%) household income groups are more likely to believe that Canada co-operates *too little* on international and military affairs than do their counterparts in the lower (Less than \$40K: 11%) or upper-middle (\$60K-\$79K: 7%) groups.

Close to nine-in-ten (88%) Canadians who hold the position that Canada co-operates *too much* with the United States on international affairs and military issues, also agree that the United States has become an unpredictable and unilateral trading and security partner. Of those who say we co-operated *too little*, half (51%) agree that the United States has become an unpredictable partner.

CDF6. When it comes to international affairs and defence issues, do you think Canada cooperates with the United States too much, the right amount of or too little



2.3 – Canada Should Shift Emphasis to New Growing Economies

With a small domestic market, trade is extremely important to the Canadian economy. The issue of Canada's lack of diversity in its trading partners has long been a concern for some people. To counteract this dependency on just a few major countries there has been a call to shift Canada's emphasis away from our tradition trading partners of the United States, England and France to countries with growing economies like China and India. When asked, two-thirds (64% - 22% *strongly*) of Canadians *agree* with this approach, while three-in-ten (30% - 11% *strongly*) do not.

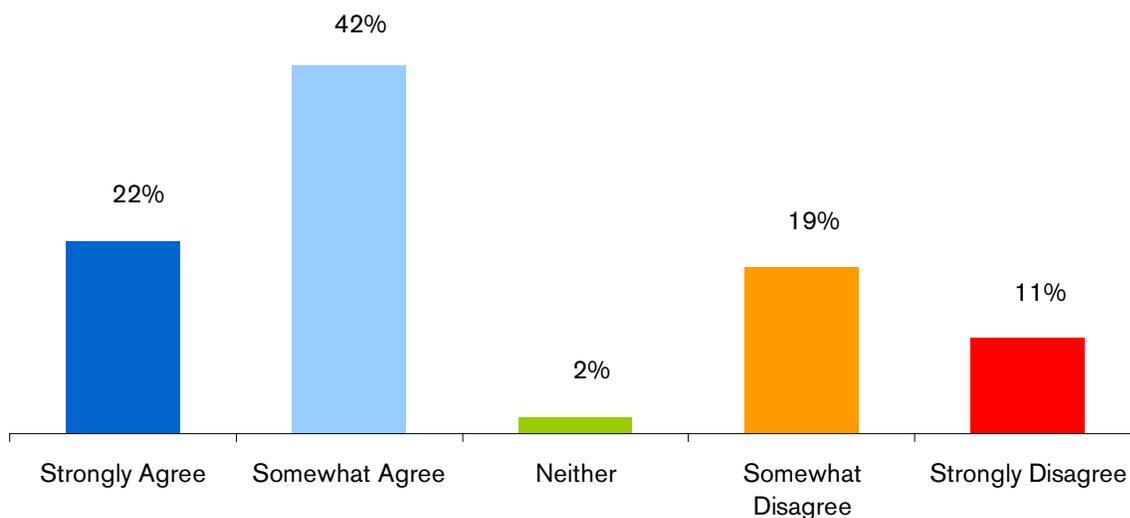
Agreement with this position is consistent between newcomers (64%) and longer established Canadians (64%). However, on this issue the divide is between established Canadians, with established English Canadians (70%) being far more likely to agree with this proposition than established French Canadians (51%).

Quebec (41%) residents are the most likely to *disagree* with the view that Canada should shift its emphasis away from traditional trading partners such as the US, Britain and France towards countries such as China and India with growing economies.

Senior Canadians (54%) are the least likely to *agree* with this proposition.

Canadians in the highest household income group (72%) are more likely to *agree* with this suggestion than are those in the lower-middle (62%) or lower (61%) household income groups.

CDF14. It is time for Canada to shift its resources from our traditional trading partners, the United States, England and France to countries with growing economies like China and India.



Section 3 – Aid to Failing States

Canada has long been associated with foreign aid. In fact, it was Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson who set the target for foreign aid of 0.7% of GDP that has become the rallying cry for many individuals, both in Canada and internationally. However, while Canada set this goal, it has never approached this level of aid. In order to understand where Canadians stand on the issue of foreign aid, we asked questions on the following topics:

- Agreement to increase in foreign aid even if it means doing without in domestic policy areas such as health care and education.
- What should be the top priority for Canadian foreign aid?
- Is it more important for Canadian aid to give priority to the holding of democratic elections in fragile countries or to assist in stabilizing and recovery efforts even if it means supporting undemocratic rule in the short term?

3.1 – Foreign Aid versus Domestic Priorities

One argument that is usually advanced opposing increased foreign aid is that funds should be spent on domestic Canadian issues such as health care or education. Canadians, in fact, are almost evenly divided on this issue. One-half (49%) *agree* that “Canada should increase its aid to provide stabilization and recovery operations in weak or fragile countries with struggling or ineffective governments like Haiti, Somalia and Afghanistan, even if it means doing without some things we would like in areas like health and education.” However, almost as many (48%) *disagree* with this position.

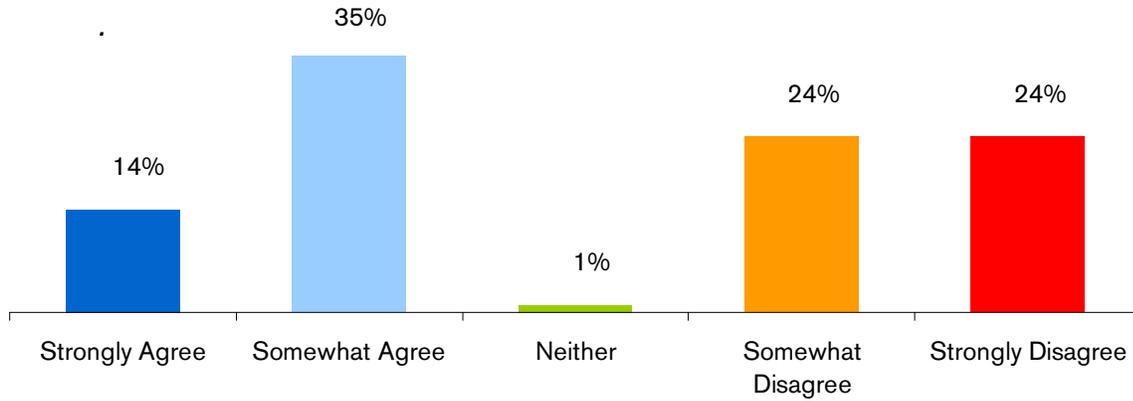
Interesting, when looking at the intensity of feeling (i.e. those who *strongly agree* or *disagree*), one-in-four (24%) *strongly disagree* compared to just 14% who *strongly agree*.

Immigrant Canadians (61%) are more likely than their first generation offspring (42%) or longer established (47%) Canadians to *agree* that we should increase foreign aid to struggling countries, even if it means less spending on domestic items such as health care or education.

Young adult Canadians (57%) are more likely than their senior counterparts (38%) to *agree* to this proposition.

In context, when asked in the 2004 survey if Canada should focus foreign aid spending on a smaller group of countries for a bigger effect rather than spreading aid around to all the countries in need, 51% opted for restricting spending of aid to a smaller group of countries.

CDF7. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Canada should increase its aid to provide stabilization and recovery operations in weak or fragile countries with struggling or ineffective governments like Haiti, Somalia and Afghanistan even if it means doing without some things we would like in areas like health and education.



3.2 – Top Priority in Targeting Aid to Weak/Fragile States

Over the years, a number of different priorities for Canadian foreign aid, and foreign policy, have emerged. When asked to select what Canada's top priority should be when it comes to targeting foreign aid in weak or fragile states, a majority (56%) believe we should "focus on countries where there is a significant loss of life."

One-fifth (19%) of Canadians place the importance on supporting important trading partners, while one-in-ten (10%) believe Canadian foreign aid should focus on countries "where our allies are involved in military operations."

Just one-in-twenty (5%) Canadians believes our aid should be focused on hemispheric neighbours in the Caribbean or Latin America.

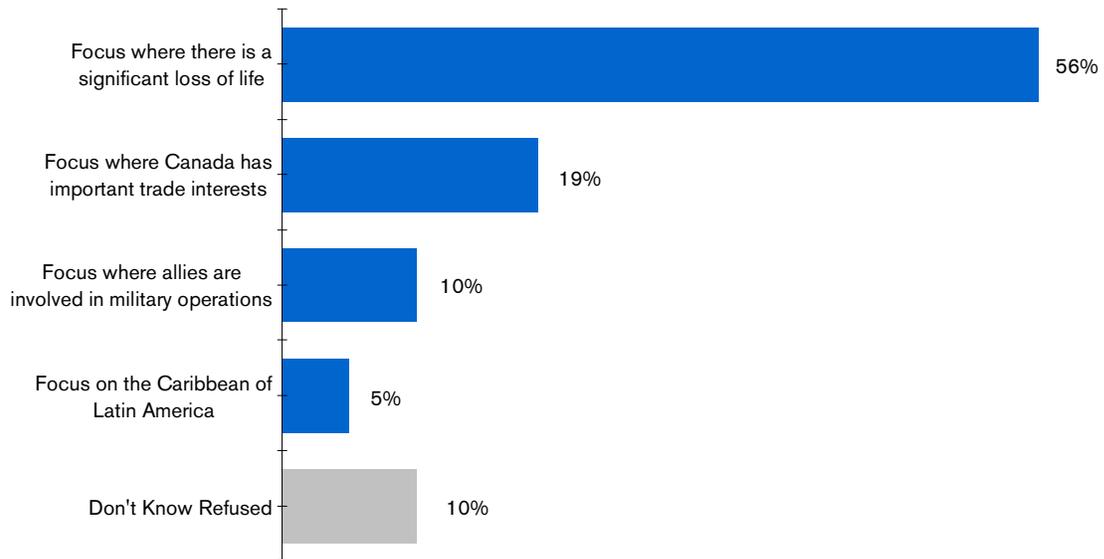
The only difference in views resulting from length of family residency in Canada is regarding the view that the top priority for aid should be focused in areas where our allies are involved in military operations. First generation Canadians (15%) are three times as likely to choose this focus as their immigrant parents (5%).

Regionally, residents of Alberta (18%) are the most likely to say that Canada should focus on providing foreign aid to countries where our allies are involved in military operations.

Canadians between 18 and 54 years of age (18-34: 60%; 35-54: 58%) are more likely than senior Canadians aged 65 and older (46%) to say that the focus of Canadian foreign aid should be on fragile countries where there is a significant loss of life. Just over half (52%) of Canadians aged 55 to 64 concur with this view.

Canadians in the lower mid range of household incomes (\$40K-\$59K: 13%) are the least likely to say foreign aid should be focused mostly on countries that Canada has important trade ties with.

CDF8. Which of the following list of items do you think should be Canada's top priority when it comes to targeting our foreign aid in weak or fragile states? (READ AND ROTATE STATEMENTS)



3.3 - Democracy versus Stability for Canadian Foreign Aid

In many states where Canada provides aid and support, the infrastructure and mindset for democratic rule is just beginning to emerge. In fact, “holding elections prior to the stabilization of the security situation and the development of a democratic political culture can contribute to instability.” When asked if Canada should give priority to the holding of democratic elections, even if it may increase short term instability or give priority to efforts to help a country stabilize and recover, even if it means supporting undemocratic rule in the short term, a plurality of Canadians opt for democratic elections (46%) over an emphasis on creating stability (39%). A significant proportion (13%) of Canadians indicate they don't know which option Canada's focus should be.

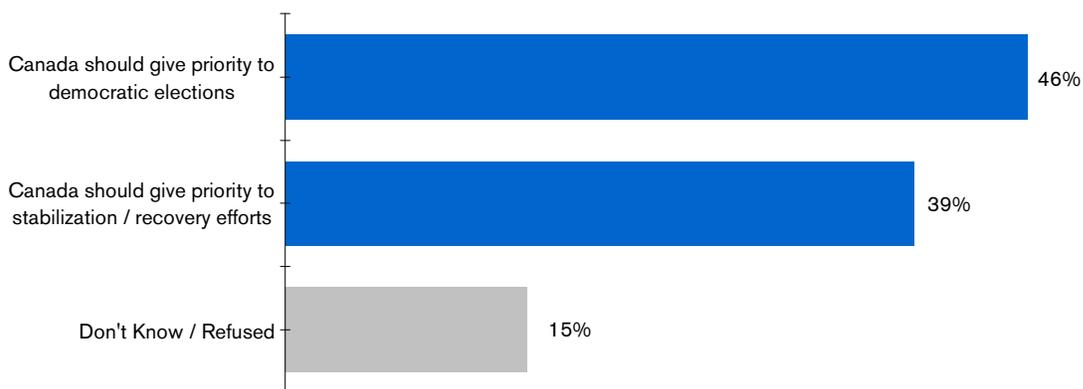
Length of family residency in Canada does not statistically affect the choice as to which position Canada should take. Within the subgroup of established Canadians, there is however, a slight difference of views, with established French Canadians (51%) being slightly more likely than established English Canadians (44%) to say that Canada should give priority to the holding of democratic elections even if it means short term instability.

Regionally, the belief that Canada should emphasize democratic elections even if it means possible short term instability decreases as you move from the east coast to the west coast of the country.

Men (51%) are more likely than women (42%) to believe that promoting democratic elections is more important than stabilizing and restoring a country if it means supporting undemocratic rule in the short run.

Canadian seniors (29%) are the least likely to say that Canada should give priority to providing stabilization and rebuilding aid to countries even if it means supporting leaders who are not democratically elected in the short term.

CDF9. Holding elections prior to the stabilization of the security situation and the development of a democratic political culture can contribute to instability. Which of the following statements is closest to your view? (READ AND ROTATE STATEMENTS)



Section 4 – Foreign Policy Decision Making

Over the years, a number of different priorities have been used as the basis for Canadian foreign policy. In order to understand Canadians opinions on the issue of international affairs, it is important to understand what Canadians believe our foreign policy is based on. As such we asked Canadians to choose from a list of alternative which one of a number of factors they felt was the most important in the creation of Canadian foreign policy.

4.1 – Most Important Factor in Canadian Foreign Policy Decision Making

When asked what the most important factor is when the Federal government develops foreign policy, a plurality of four-in-ten (40%) believes that policy is set based on the long-term interests of Canada according to the analysis of foreign policy experts. In contrast, one-in-four (26%) believe that policy is based on the opinion of the general Canadian public regarding specific foreign affairs issues. The belief that the country's foreign policy is set based on the views of the party in government is held by 16%, while 11% say policy is set by the personal priorities of the current Prime Minister.

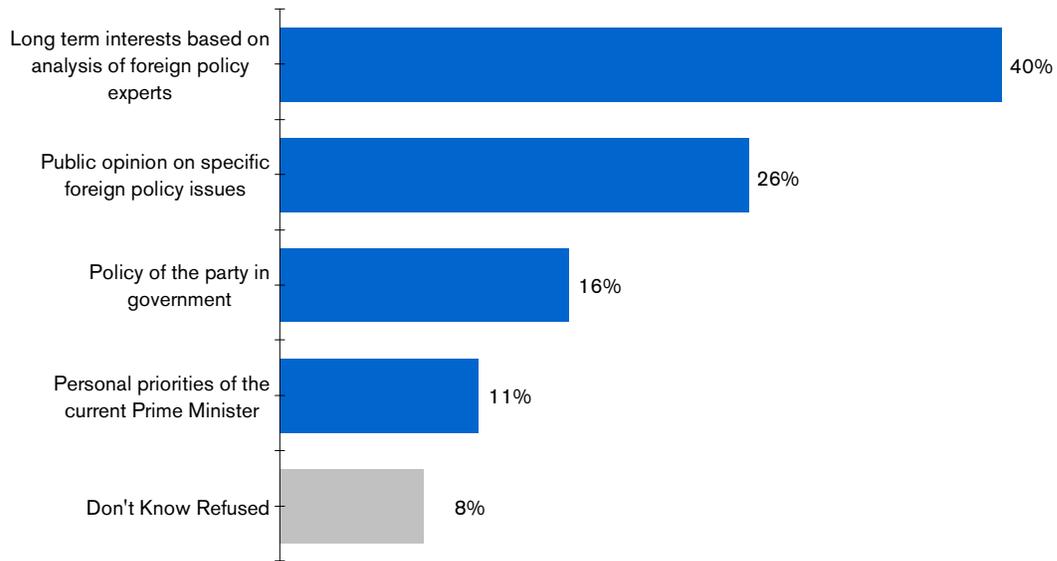
This position further supports the finding in the 2004 study in which half (51%) of Canadians agreed that foreign policy is so complicated that it is best to leave it up to the experts.

First generation Canadians (48%) are far more likely than either their parents (39%) or longer established Canadians (38%) to say that foreign policy is decided on an expert evaluation of Canada's long-term interests. There is a slight difference of views between established English Canadians (40%) and established French Canadians (34%) regarding the belief that foreign policy should be based on expert evaluation. Established French Canadians (24%) are more likely than either newcomers (12%) or established English Canadians (15%) to believe that international policy is based on the views of the party in power. Immigrant Canadians (31%) are slightly more likely than their first generation offspring (21%) to say that public opinion should be the main factor in foreign policy decisions.

Quebec residents (34%) are the least likely to believe Canadian foreign policy is based on the long term interests of Canada according to foreign policy experts. Quebecers (24%) are, however, the most likely to say that Canadian foreign policy is based on the policy of the political party in power.

Canadians from the lower-middle (50%) and upper-middle (48%) household income groups are more likely than their counterparts in the lowest household income group (34%) to believe that Canada's the long term interests, as set by foreign policy experts, tends to be the most important factor in the creation of Canadian foreign policy.

CDF10. Which of the following do you think tends to be the most important factor when the Canadian government sets foreign policy: (READ AND ROTATE)



Section 5 – The World in Canada

5.1 – Issue of Ethnic Home Country Problems in Canada

One issue in such a diverse multicultural society such as Canada is the fear that various ethnic groups will import disagreements and problems that plague their home country. In fact, two-thirds (63% - 32% *strongly*) of Canadians *agree* that Canada is having increasing trouble with ethnic groups bringing problems from their home country to Canada. One-third (34% - 14% *strongly*) *disagrees* with this position.

First generation Canadians (70%) are more likely than either immigrant Canadians (60%) or longer established Canadians (62%) to *agree* with this assertion. Within the subgroup of established Canadians, established English Canadians (66%) are more likely than established French Canadians (54%) to *agree* with this view.

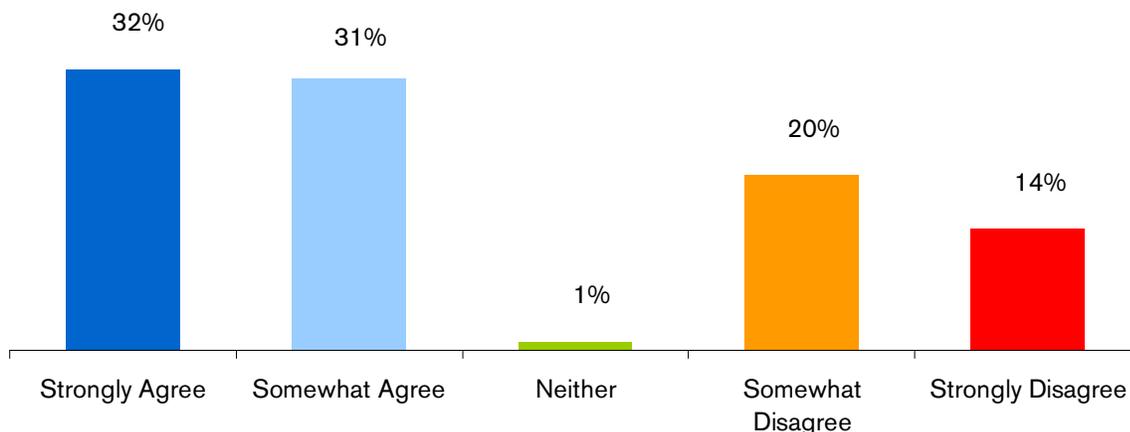
Residents of Atlantic Canada (50%) and Quebec (51%) are the least likely to *agree* with this proposition.

Younger Canadians (48%) are the most likely to *disagree* with this position.

Canadians in the highest household income group (39%) are more likely than those in the lowest household income group (30%) to *disagree* with this viewpoint.

I am now going to read you a series of statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree. (READ AND RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS)

CDF11.Canada is having increasing trouble with ethnic groups bringing problems from there home country to Canada.



5.2 – Need for Stricter Immigration Standards

Especially since 9/11, any country that allows relatively high levels of immigration fears that they will accidentally allow in terrorists. Canadians strongly reflect this concern. Two-thirds (67%) *strongly agree* that “We should have stricter immigration standards to control the presence of known terrorists”. A further 18% *somewhat agree* with this viewpoint. In total, just over one-in-ten (13% - 4% strongly) *disagrees*.

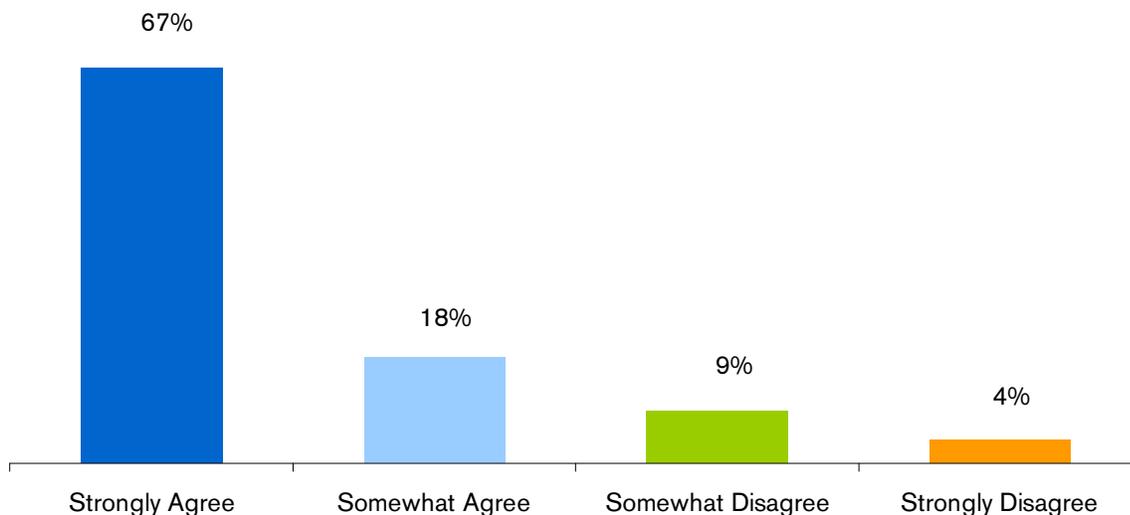
Immigrant Canadians (78%) are less likely than their Canadian born children (87%) or longer established Canadians (86%) to *agree* with this position. Established English Canadians (88%) are more likely to hold this position than established French Canadians (81%).

Over nine-in-ten (92%) Alberta residents *agree* that we should have stricter immigration controls in order to screen out terrorists. This compares to just eight-in-ten (80%) Quebec residents.

Younger Canadians (76%) are less likely than those in other cohorts to *agree* that we need stronger immigration standards.

I am now going to read you a series of statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree. (READ AND RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS)

CDF12. We should have stricter immigration standards to control the presence of known terrorists.



5.3 – Fear of Abuse of Human Rights in the Name of Terrorism

As reported previously, while the overwhelming majority of Canadians agree Canada should strengthen our immigration standards to keep out terrorists, there is however, a wide-spread fear that concern over terrorism could encourage the abuse of Arab- or Islamic- Canadians' human rights. This concern is expressed by two-thirds (63%) of Canadians, while one-third (32%) *disagrees*.

Length of residency in Canada does not alter agreement with this concern. Newcomers (65%) and longer established Canadians (62%) are statistically as likely to express agreement with this concern. However, established English Canadians (65%) are slightly more likely than their French Canadian counterparts (57%) to hold this position.

Just over half (54%) of Quebec residents are worried that concern over terrorism could result in the abuse of the civil rights of Arab- or Islamic- Canadians.

Women (67%) are more likely than men (59%) to share this concern regarding the possible treatment of Canadians originally from Arabic or Islamic countries.

I am now going to read you a series of statements. For each statement, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree. (READ AND RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS)

CDF13. I am worried that concern about terrorism could create an environment that would encourage the abuse of the human rights of Canadians from Arabic or Islamic countries?

