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Rethinking Government 1995

Final Report

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* See Annex D for a complete project team list.

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RETHINKING GOVERNMENT II
(August 1995 to April 1996)
A YEAR-END REVIEW

Background

It is difficult to consider the issue of rethinking government in isolation from the broader question of rethinking Canada. Even a discussion of such major reforms as social program renewal seem insignificant in light of the more fundamental question of the very survival of the country. Hence the difficulty of discussing the continued evolution of rethinking government against the backdrop of national rupture. Yet it is possible to locate the unity crisis within the context of the problem of rethinking government. In fact, the current crisis vividly underlines some of the central themes evident in our broader research on *Rethinking Government.*

Quebeckers are struggling with many of the same questions about the relevance of government facing other Canadians. The sense of what the federal government now seems able to provide, and what it will be capable of providing in the future, is clearly at odds with Quebeckers' sense of what it should be providing. Although there is an important layer of complexity added by Quebec's historical pursuit of recognition as a people, the underlying strains on the federal model in Quebec are precursors of pressures which are beginning to affect other parts of the country. As the ongoing *Rethinking Government* project unambiguously reveals, there is deep dissatisfaction with the current system of government, declining expectations and a corresponding loosening of national integrity.

The *Rethinking Government* project is a major research initiative aimed at injecting a societal perspective into the debate about government renewal in Canada. The first year of the study (*Rethinking Government 1994*) focused on defining a role for government and describing the changing relationship between government, business and citizens. The second year of the study (*Rethinking Government* II) continued to examine the public perspective on the future of government. We tried to move to more concrete issues such as preferred divisions of roles and responsibilities and "defining results". The purpose of this essay is to provide an overview of the key themes in this second year of *Rethinking Government.*

Project Methodology and Process

The *Rethinking Government* project was formally launched early in 1994. The study is a horizontal partnership of a number of government and private sector organizations. The idea was to provide a research vehicle for examining overall and client-specific issues about the future of government. The project also involves a commitment to public reporting.

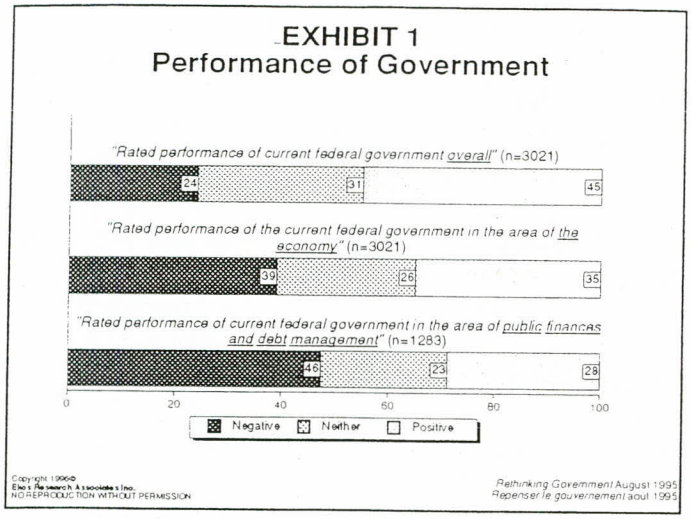
The methodology for the second year of the study involved the following components:

- A detailed telephone interview (over 200 questions) with a random sample of 3,000 Canadians 16 years and over (August 1995). A total of 1,006 Quebec respondents were interviewed in this first wave.
- A re-survey of some 400 Quebec respondents 48 hours after the referendum. The survey consisted of 30 questions.
- A panel-based survey of some 1,200 Canadians (400 in Quebec) for Citizenship and Canadian Identity (CCI) concerning their attitudes about diversity, tolerance, and unity. This survey was conducted during the referendum campaign. The data was linked to the August *Rethinking Government* findings.
- Follow-up focus group sessions with respondents from both *Rethinking Government* and CCI.
- A survey of the top governing and economic decision-makers in Canada. Approximately 600 self-administered questionnaires were returned from elected, bureaucratic and corporate elites in Canada.
- A second detailed telephone interview (over 150 questions) with approximately 1,400 of the original 3,000 public survey respondents (April 1996).

Pervasive Dissatisfaction with Government

There is little evidence that governments are recovering from the broad based public hostility of the past few years. Overall ratings of federal performance are mixed at best, dropping from a split rating for overall performance to predominantly negative ratings for economic and fiscal management (Exhibit 1). Canadians continue to be underwhelmed by the federal government. Other levels of government do not escape these negative views although the hostility is strongest at the most senior level of government.

In considering the overall performance of the current systems for delivering selected key public services across the two senior levels of government, only one area produces positive satisfaction (Exhibit 2). Ironically, health care is seen as the one winner at a point in time when it is increasingly obvious that governments will be very hard pressed to maintain current levels of services. In crucial labour market areas such as unemployment, job creation and skills, the public is universally critical of government performance. Perhaps this is why we encounter the seemingly paradoxical finding that the public's rating of federal priority for jobs and unemployment issues has *declined* while fears of job loss



have *increased*. It is not that the problem is going away, rather it is people's confidence in government to solve the problem which is declining.

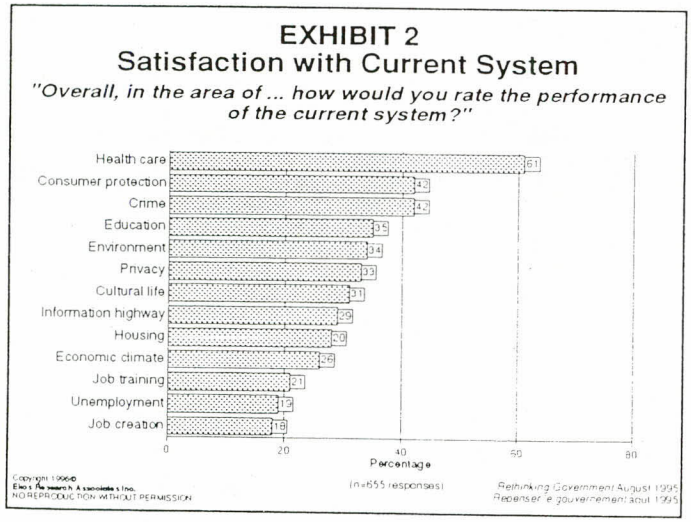
Negative ratings of the federal government are higher amongst younger Canadians, Quebeckers and the economically distressed. For somewhat different reasons, these three groups pose formidable challenges for the federal government in the next couple of years.

Shifting Priorities and Expectations

Once again we asked Canadians to rate a broad set of priorities which they felt should guide the federal government over the next five years. The pattern of public priorities has remained relatively stable over the last year. Investment in people themes continue to have great resonance among the public. Four of the top six priorities for the federal government are related to human investment: education, health care, unemployment and job creation. The evidence also suggests that the public's resolve to get the debt under control is strengthening. Lower priorities for the federal government include: defence, arts and culture, and foreign aid.

There is a strong class split underlying Canadians' ratings of priorities for the federal government. Those who are less economically secure tend to be more pro-activist, providing higher ratings for priorities overall. The exception is the rated priority for the debt and deficit where the economically secure rate this priority higher than the economically distressed.

The most significant changes in the societal context are not always the most dramatic or obvious. Although the overall public hierarchy of federal priorities remains remarkably stable, there is an important but subtle shift. For virtually every area we tested, rated priorities this year are slightly lower than for last year's sample. Some



priorities achieve almost the same priority ratings as last year (i.e., health, deficit) but the overall pattern is towards diminished ratings.

Sadly, our preliminary conclusion cannot be that declining priorities are a signal of improving social and economic circumstances; in fact, the evidence shows otherwise. Rather, this reduction is conditioned by declining expectations of governments in general, which is more pronounced in the case of the federal government. Canadians are investing less faith in the federal government and greater hope in the provinces and the non-governmental sector. The growing interest in a "third sector" solution is an interesting trend which has yet to clearly define itself.

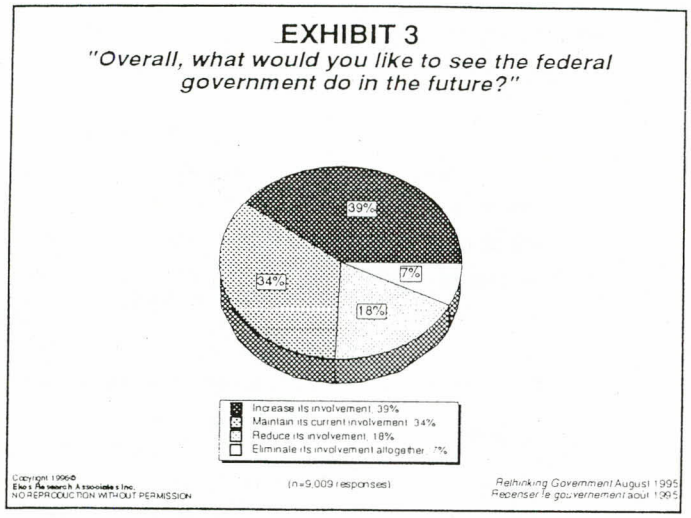
The deterioration in faith in the federal government may reflect Canadians' newfound belief that the federal government is financially incapable of making a difference any more. The irony is that after years of effort to convince Canadians that the deficit is a real crisis, the government may have been too successful in selling this notion. The predominant image of the federal government as tax collector and (not terribly competent) debt manager is quite disconnected from the public's core expectations of government. Some of these expectations are being shifted to other players[1] and sectors but the net impact is a general loosening of attachment to the federal government. This trend is relatively modest in scale and not readily obvious from casual observation. When coupled, however, with the fact that the loosening attachment to federal government is considerably more advanced amongst younger Canadians, we are not optimistic about the future prospects for federalism.

Continued Ambivalence and Public Attachment to Goals of Government

There continues to be considerable evidence of ambivalence in the public's reconciliation of fiscal and social priorities. The public believe the debt and deficit should be a top priority, but at the same time express considerable resistance to further reductions in program areas. Only three of 18 tested priorities are rated below at least a "moderate" priority (*viz.* defence, arts and culture, and foreign aid). In recent years, however, we have tracked a steady rise in debt concern, and a slight lessening of public expectations of the federal government. Canadians are also showing growing approval of real cuts as the reality of the deficit and associated economic insecurities grow. For example, a (slight) majority of Canadians now approve of a clawback on Old Age Security whereas the majority opposed this same reform in last year's study.[2]

The extent of public ambivalence to debt and government activities is evident elsewhere in our research. Across all tested federal priority areas only 25 per cent of respondents want to see a reduction or elimination of the federal role (Exhibit 3). About three in four select a maintained or increased role (with a plurality of 39 per cent selecting increased). These findings, which are consistent with a broad range of alternative wordings and tests, underline Canadians' continued attachment to a strong central government. Once again, we find the public reasonably committed to the current *form (and goals) of government.* It is the results and costs which are troublesome.

This strong evidence from the public is an important antidote to the new received wisdom that Canadians are demanding devolution,

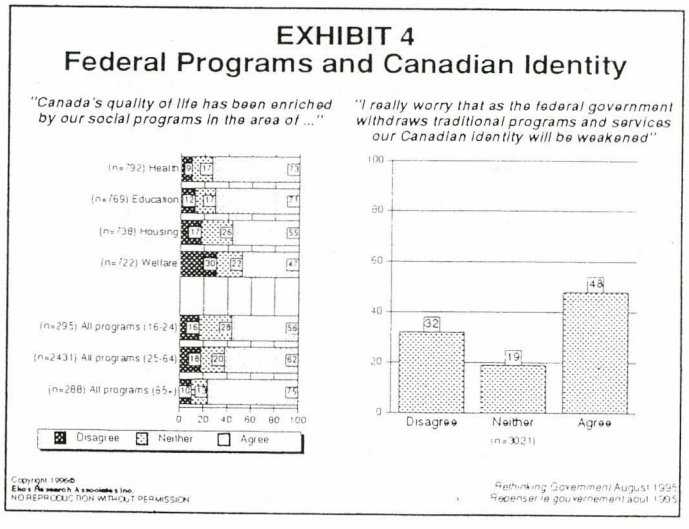


decentralization and government withdrawal. In the rush to meet the imagined public thirst for devolution it might be helpful to pause and reflect carefully on the hard public evidence. Even in Quebec, the designated vanguard of decentralization, we find strong majority support for increased or maintained federal role in most areas tested.

Canadians' reluctance to approve a broad retrenchment of the federal role may reflect a number of issues. Perhaps the public are sceptical about how provinces or local governments are going to be more efficient or effective spenders and programmers. There is also residual concern about where equality of access and standards will appear in the reconstructed world of decentralization. As an illustration of the importance of equal access, we note that in a forced choice between costs, quality and equal access, the clear majority select access as the *sine qua non* for the health care system. It is important to understand, as well, that the country provides a crucial source of belonging for Canadians — a point vividly illustrated in the late stages of the referendum campaign, and in the current data.

In a country with such enormous geography and so little history, government has served to provide some of the social and cultural cement usually provided by a common ethnolinguistic nationality and or strong shared history/mythology. The somewhat unstable character of Canadian society has always relied on government to act as a catalyst to counteract the centrifugal forces produced by diverse ethnicity and geography.

Canadians indicate that the country's identity is strongly linked to traditional government programs and services. A large plurality (48 per cent) worry that as the federal government withdraws traditional programs and services our Canadian identity will be weakened (Exhibit 4). Moreover, the majority believe that social programs have enriched Canada's quality of life. This positive sentiment towards the federal government is much weaker amongst younger Canadians. Residents in the Atlantic, allophones, older



Canadians and those with less education and income are particularly concerned about government withdrawal.

This is not to argue that there is no search for change; in fact, it is the profound dissatisfaction with the *status quo* which drives newfound receptivity to alternative models of government and partnership. Citizens are looking for real change but this does not mean federal withdrawal. Federal presence and authority should not be reduced to spending — a conclusion supported by our detailed analysis of public preferences on divisions of roles and responsibilities.

On an overall basis (i.e., summing across all activities and priority areas), the federal government is chosen most often (27 per cent), followed closely by the provincial government (25 per cent) (Exhibit 5). The federal government is assigned a preferred role in areas of setting policies and goals and providing funding. As one shifts from the abstract to more concrete — such as providing services — there is more emphasis on provincial and local governments.

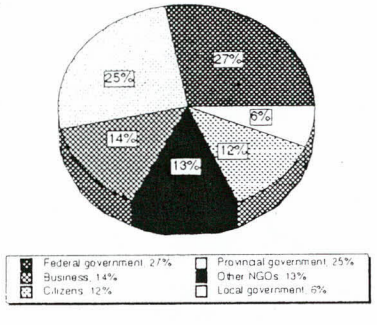
The narrowness of the federal preference, and the considerable responsibility assigned to non-traditional players[3] reflects the diminishing expectations of the federal government. This finding also underlines the general public's preference for the federal government to realign its role from parent to partner.

Canadians' attitudes toward health care are illustrative of their demand for cooperation over confrontation. While 89 per cent of respondents agree that the federal government should work *with* the provinces to help improve the health care system, only 26 per cent agree that the federal government should withdraw from health care and have the provinces run the system themselves. On the other hand, only 16 per cent favour the federal government running the health care system without the provinces. These findings are typical of Canadians' insistence that both the provinces and federal government learn to cooperate in real partnership. The discrete division of responsibility being championed in many circles is simply and fundamentally at odds with public preferences.

The real trouble with the current debate on decentralization is that the relative advantages/ disadvantages of renewed federalism versus alternatives are not being carefully examined from the perspective of the overall public interest (and public preferences). Answers to questions concerning the relative advantages surrounding the issues of devolution and decentralization look quite different through a public lens.

EXHIBIT 5

"Who should be primarily responsible for...?"
(across all areas and activities)



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(n=54,055 responses)

Rethinking Government August 1995
Repenser le gouvernement août 1995

The aftermath of the narrow No victory has produced accelerated pressures to further devolution. This impulse to devolve is supported by the crisis of results, legitimacy and costs of the current system. If government is broken then we must make changes. The federal

government is the most visible layer of government — hence the most obvious target. Despite the surface appeal of this logic, such serious issues require more careful deliberation.

As we stumble over ourselves in the rush to sacrifice the federal government on the altar of public hostility, we might reflect on the question of whether this offering will expiate past sins or perhaps exacerbate the root problem. The answers to this question are complex and uncertain. No one doubts that the federal government will be smaller in the future. Whether wholesale devolution will produce better results at less cost, or a more stable and successful country, is unclear.

Diversity, Tolerance and Multiculturalism

The murky realm of symbols and culture is a crucially important domain of modern life. Although the secular world seems to focus on the material and rational aspects of human life, it is often the softer realm of meaning and symbols which provides the ultimate framing for most individuals. Past research has documented the profound gap between the rational-material priorities and values of the governing and corporate elite in Canada and the emotional-humanistic priorities and values of the general public (see *Rethinking Government '94*).

The second year of *Rethinking Government* also examined the worlds of culture, tolerance and identity. It is increasingly obvious that we must gain a better understanding of this domain if we are to reduce the growing disconnection between citizens and governments. We argue that there is an intimate connection between the state and culture (in the broad anthropological sense). In Canada, there is a symbiotic connection between government and societal identity. In the absence of shared ethnolinguistic affiliations, and given relatively shallow historical foundations set against an impressive geography, Canadians have historically looked to their national governments to forge a sense of identity and purpose. Richard Gwyn (1995:17-18) refers to this phenomenon as *"state-nationalism"*. This connection has been under considerable stress in Canada in recent years, and the latest national unity fissure is just a particularly acute expression of this strain.

The research explored three broad, interrelated, substantive topics:

(i) multiculturalism;
(ii) tolerance; and
(iii) identity.

Identity, tolerance and multiculturalism concerns are at the very core of the debate about the future of Canada. The issues are much bigger than the government programs involved and the public issues map very poorly to specific government activities.

There are strong interdependencies amongst these three core concepts (*viz.* identity, tolerance and multiculturalism). The nature of these interdependencies is complex with the strength and direction of relationships varying in different segments of Canadian society. The relationship between multiculturalism and tolerance is more straightforward. Multiculturalism is seen largely as a social fact — a reflection of increasing cultural diversity in society. For most, this diversity is a positive feature and multiculturalism *embodies* the notion of tolerance for most members of the public.

Despite the clear overall predisposition to look at multiculturalism and tolerance as positive, linked assets, there is continuing evidence of hardening attitudes and an increased emphasis on the priority of "Canadian" values and interests. Driven by rising levels of cultural insecurity and nostalgia for "traditional" Canadian ways of life, there is a growing guardedness about just how much diversity is desirable. This connects the debate to the far more difficult and complex questions of national identity and sense of belonging.

The issues of identity and belonging are arguably the core question in understanding the debate surrounding diversity, tolerance and the role of the state. The equilibrium of diversity and integration is considerably more complex; Canadians actively seek and enjoy diversity (particularly in the more cosmetic realm of lifestyles). On the other hand they are increasingly wary about dissonant values/ beliefs and would like to see other cultures incorporated within a broader normative framework while retaining some of their individuality. This complex search for unity through diversity reveals a mosaic of apparently conflicting goals and values. Nonetheless it remains a key defining feature of Canadian society.

The issue of identity/belonging is a crucial link to the unity debate — not in the narrower sense of public programs but as a social fact where "Canada" (as a polyethnic community of values) enjoys primary attachment. However, in Quebec (among francophones) this case is less persuasive to citizens who reveal mixed allegiances (with Canada more often subordinate to Quebec attachment). The key problem is the potential incommensurability in the idea of Canada across the two solitudes. Although the sheer size of the gap is daunting, there is also a sense of growing recognition of the real nature of the differences across the two solitudes. In Quebec, identity and belonging are linked principally to a sense of community based on a mixture of both "blood and belonging" (consanguineal community) and common language and culture. There is a subordinate, but important link to Canada (which is highly polarized along sovereignty lines). In the rest of Canada, identity is more powerfully and exclusively linked to Canada in a more normative, polyethnic model which is largely ahistorical and sees diversity as a facet of a mosaic unity. The attachment to province is clearly subordinate in most parts of Canada, arguably by a broader margin than the Canada-province gap in Quebec.

Unity: Looking Backward: Looking Forward

In the aftermath of October 30th, we find a resurgence of Canadian nationalism, particularly in English Canada. This continues the trend of what we labelled cultural insecurity in our earlier report on *Rethinking Government*. Cultural insecurity is a combination of a number of concerns and values which translate into a growing level of anxiety that the Canada that many imagined as our idyllic past is in danger of disappearing. This insecurity is felt particularly strongly amongst older Canadians, English-speaking Canadians and those from lower and middle socio-economic status backgrounds.

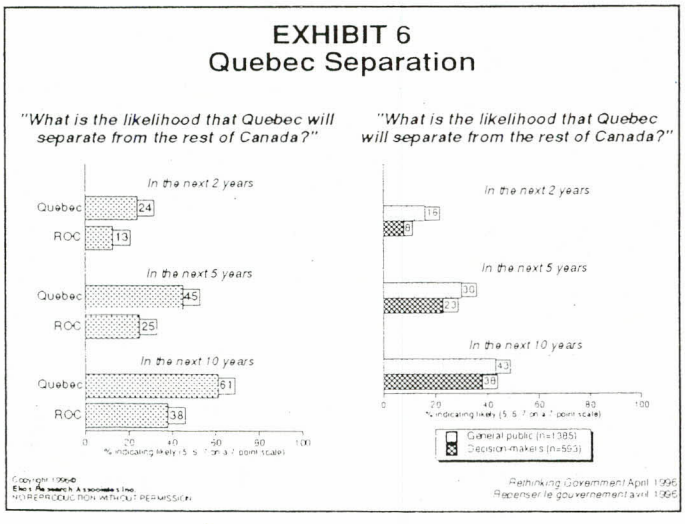
Notwithstanding strong pronouncements to the contrary, we find Canadians insistent on the existence and importance of a unique Canadian personality, identity and culture. Although the content and nature of this identity may be somewhat vague, its existence is a point of consensus, particularly in English Canada. Somewhat ironically, given the importance of the themes of insecurity and humiliation in Quebec political culture, we find

Quebeckers considerably more confident and secure in the existence of a unique Quebec identity, and somewhat less likely to acknowledge the existence of a unique "Canadian" identity. The rising consolidation of Canadian nationalism links clearly to October 30th and broad-based anxieties about the future viability of Canada in an era of federal diminution. As noted earlier, Canadians acknowledge the crucial role of the federal government in constructing our national identity. In the absence of the more conventional linguistic, racial and historical basis for nationhood, Canadian identity is rooted to the activities of the federal government particularly in areas such as the CBC, CN, Canada Post, medicare, etc.. As these visible illustrations of Canadian collective identity atrophy and disappear, Canadians are increasingly fearful about the future viability of Canada.

We find that there is a growing sense of not only the plausibility of national rupture, but the inevitability of national dissolution (Exhibit 6). This negativity about the prospects for the future has not improved over time.

Despite ominous signals on the unity front, there is also room for cautious optimism. There is an unprecedented desire to find a solution to the problem, particularly in English Canada. There is also a strong appetite to turn the page within Quebec and a recognition that even modest but discernable progress on historical grievances of Quebec would produce clear majority support for renewed federalism. On the other hand, the disappearance of the *status quo* as a viable option suggests that real progress on these grievances is a pre-condition for success in a future Quebec referendum.

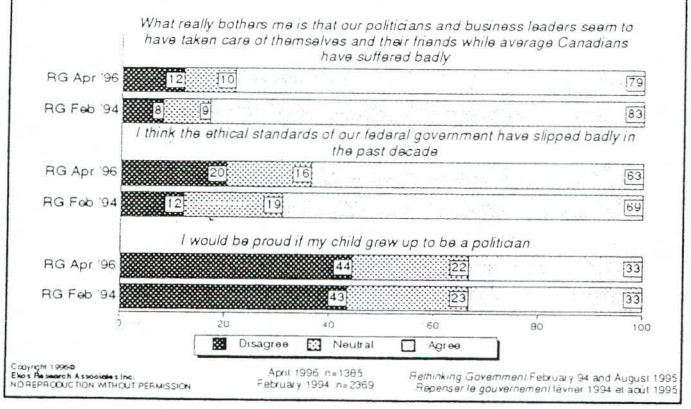
In the rest of Canada, the acute anxieties about the future of the country have actually increased sense of identification and attachment to Canada, although this is clearly not a recommended long-term strategy for stimulating identity. There is, however, growing recognition and acceptance of the possibility of Canada without Quebec and Quebec without Canada, if a deal is not possible. At the same time, this is clearly not the preferred option for the vast majority of Canadians.



Trust and Legitimacy (Images of Government)

Trust and legitimacy are basic questions which are plaguing governments in Canada and abroad. *Rethinking Government* asked some representative questions which we now have had the opportunity to reproduce at different points in time (Exhibit 7). The first question captures a key problem that governments are facing today: 79 per cent of Canadians feel that what really bothers them is that politicians and business

EXHIBIT 7
Tracking Trust in Government and Institutions



leaders are busy taking care of themselves and their friends while average Canadians are suffering badly. A sense that governments have lost focus on the public interest and have become self-serving rather than focusing on the interest of average Canadians is exhibited. The current government has set as a major priority re-establishing some of this sense of trust and ethics.

It is mildly encouraging to see that a modest recovery in trust in government is exhibited in our data. Somewhat lost in the debate about trust in government is the sharpening of the focus of hostility at politicians. Public servants actually enjoy moderately positive trust levels. Fifteen per cent of Canadians have positive trust in politicians *versus* 41 per cent for federal public servants, and 35 per cent for provincial public servants. Moreover, 33 per cent of respondents indicated they would be proud if their child grew up to be a politician, while 45 per cent would be proud if their child grew up to be a public servant. In the process of rebuilding citizen confidence, governments might consider giving public servants a more prominent role.

Citizens are also wary of the new lexicon of government reform. Past research shows most Canadians understood social policy reform as "cuts" and we now find the clear majority of Canadians think devolution and decentralization are codes for federal withdrawal and abandoning responsibilities.

Stark polarization exists concerning whether government is an overall positive force — older, less educated and lower income Canadians are most positive about the influence of government. This provides continued evidence of the growing fragmentation of public attitudes towards government along generational and social class lines.

Governance

The public's reaction to the new lexicon of rebalancing, devolution, decentralization is confused and contradictory. There is apparently superficial support for the concept of devolution which co-exists with a high level of cynicism and unease about the real meaning and implications of devolution for average citizens. It would appear that the public are considerably behind the political class in terms of their relative levels of enthusiasm for devolution. As noted earlier, when we turn to preferences for specific divisions of responsibility, we find the public to be fairly vague on current divisions of roles and largely supportive of the *status quo*. This varies by region with Quebeckers being more supportive of greater powers for the provinces. We also find in all parts of Canada continued desire for a strong federal role, though perhaps more as a partner than as executive or parent. The public shows a clear preference for complementarity and partnership and explicitly

rejects the recent doctrine of discrete compartmentalization of responsibilities across the different senior levels of government. The public feels *both* the federal government and provincial governments should continue to play strong roles in all of the key big-ticket items such as health care, job creation and social programs. We also find that there are enormous levels of territorial fatigue and a growing frustration with the spectacle of federal-provincial disputes where Canadians clearly want them to cooperate.

We also find that despite the strong consensus that public finances need to be brought under control, and a growing sense that we are making some progress on that front, there is a new appetite for nation-building. We also find the public increasingly insistent on higher levels of accountability, transparency and demonstration of results on the performance of government. It is almost as if, in the absence of the traditional sources of legitimacy underlying the relationship between citizens and the state, Canadians look for a performance warranty to accompany government to replace traditional sources of legitimacy. In this new era of "show-me" politics, those who can demonstrate performance will secure higher levels of public confidence. There is also receptivity to alternative service delivery models, with the public now indicating a preference that the federal government "steer" more and "row" less.

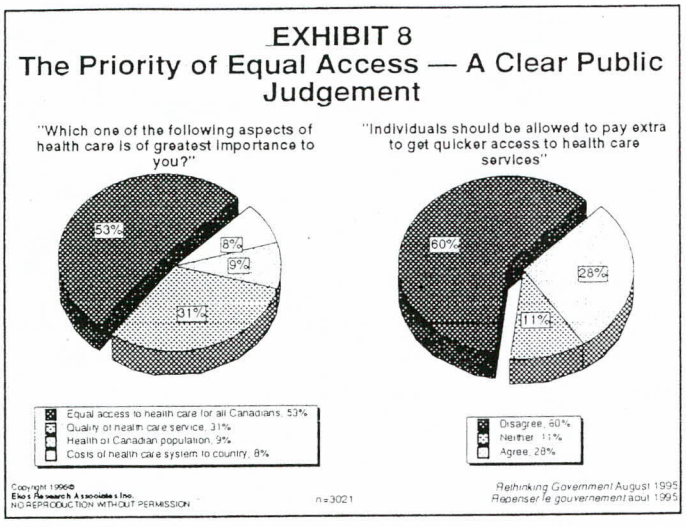
Health Care: Growing Resistance to Change

Health care is a top government priority (along with deficit and education), and the current system's performance is viewed positively by the Canadian public. Receptivity exists to new approaches but basically Canadians remain attached to the *status quo*. Anxieties, insecurities and declining confidence in health care exist despite satisfaction with the system. Accordingly, health care is seen as a prime area meriting increased or maintained federal commitment.

Health care will increase in importance given demographics (i.e., an aging population). It is part of a human investment factor (along with education, training and jobs) with links to the identity and unity debate. Preservation of health care is an area of consensus across Quebec and the rest of Canada. Further, health care is seen as a powerful contributor to quality of life in Canada and many Canadians see health care as a basic facet of Canadian identity.

Aversion to a two-tier system exists among many members of the general public. Clearly, the ultimate goal or virtue of the system is *equality* of access (Exhibit 8); this has both symbolic and practical significance for Canadians. Health care transcends class barriers, although there is stronger support for a two-tier system amongst wealthier respondents.

The federal role in health care remains strong and legitimate but there are considerable pressures, flux and uncertainties. Federal-provincial complementarity in health care is not only desirable, it is mandatory according to the public. This preference for the involvement of both levels of government reflects Canadians' desire for checks and balance in this crucial area, as well as Canadians' desire for partnership and fatigue with territorialism.



The disparity of labour market prospects between youth and their older counterparts is a source of concern among the Canadian public. Youth employment is currently viewed by the rest of Canadians as a societal and government priority. Canadians are also concerned that today's youth will end up paying both for a deficit they did not create and pensions from which they will not be able to draw. This concern for youth translates into a desire for federal government intervention in order to reconnect youth to mainstream society.

Youth

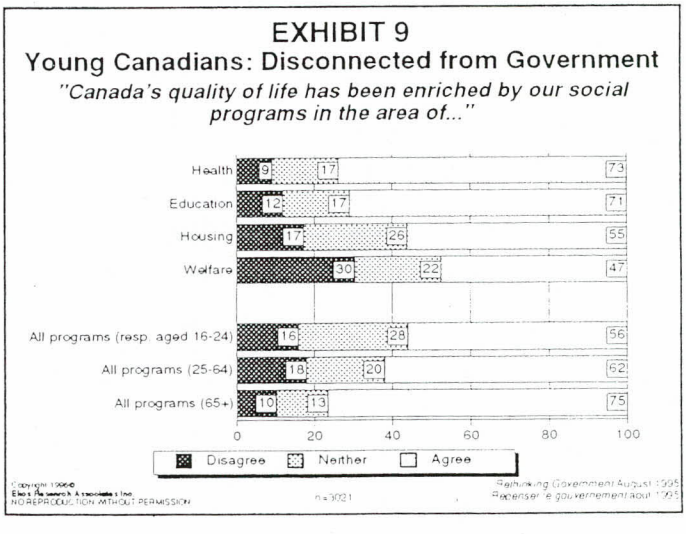
Younger Canadians are experiencing serious difficulties in the labour market. High rates of unemployment, poor quality jobs and a prolonged school to work transition characterize the employment experiences of many of today's youth. Young Canadians also appear quite disconnected from the federal government. They are increasingly cynical about the ability of the federal government to solve social and economic problems. There is also evidence that youth are transferring their faith from the federal government to provincial and local governments: youth are much more likely to endorse devolution of federal responsibilities to provincial and local governments as a means of improving government in Canada.

They are also much less likely to feel that social programs have contributed to Canada's quality of life (Exhibit 9).

Labour Market Anxieties

Economic anxieties remain extremely high in Canada. Worries about the economic future are pervasive and provide a key lens for filtering people's perceptions of government.

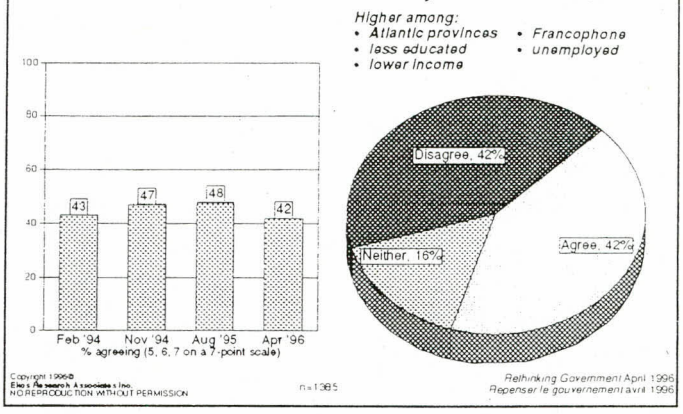
It is discouraging to note that 42 per cent of Canadians continue to agree that they have



lost all control over their economic future and only 42 per cent feel comfortable disagreeing with this proposition (Exhibit 10). This reveals the stark level of polarization which exists in terms of economic insecurity in Canadian society.

These levels of economic insecurity persist despite numerous indicators that the economy has actually undergone a fairly significant recovery.

EXHIBIT 10
Economic Insecurity (General Public)
"I feel I have lost all control over my economic future"



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The anxieties surrounding the labour market translate into a strong desire among the Canadian public for active government to deal with insecurity and human investment themes. However, despite the high priority assigned to labour market areas, the public rates the government's performance in these areas at a dismal level.

The public rejects a discrete division of roles and responsibilities across federal/provincial governments in labour market areas. They feel the stakes are too high. As is the case in other social policy areas (i.e., health care), the Canadian public desire cooperation between the two senior levels of government.

Conclusions

Fundamental change is imminent. In fact, turbulence is the new constant in Canadian society. The opportunities and risks are profound. If we are to avoid the tragedy of erecting even more spectacular monuments to past errors then we must collect ourselves, pause and carefully deliberate on the nature of the problem and the prospects for success associated with various options.

Without commenting on the specific content of any possible changes, we emphasize that the solutions must possess strong resonance with public interests and public values. We continue to underline the gap separating the core values and priorities of the general public and those of insiders and elites. The process of change should carefully reflect public values and provide innovative vehicles for allowing public deliberation and judgement to have a real influence on the process of change.

There is a real danger of serious missteps in the treacherous post-referendum landscape. Governments should resist the strong temptation to act decisively on impulse. The somewhat harrowing nature of the campaign has produced tremendous tensions and the desire to act is strong. There is, however, little evidence that immediate action is either seen as necessary or prudent by Quebeckers. What is needed is *short term prudence followed by boldness and vision* to deal with the structural problems plaguing government in Canada.

The *Rethinking Government* study does not provide a mechanical set of specific recommendations. The challenge of translating Canadians' diverse attitudes, values and expectations into a vision for the future is

daunting. Strategic guidelines must reflect the ambiguities and uncertainties evident in the Canadian public. The search for a consensus-based blueprint for the future of government is a chimera. There are some areas of consensus — particularly with respect to the limits of the traditional model of government. There are, however, profound disputes about the short term and longer term solutions to the "problem" of government.

Given the imprecisions and contradictions in public perspectives on government some might question the value of trying to apply public perceptions to this problem. Whereas no one seriously argues that public attitudes and preferences should be the sole determinant of the shape and direction of government, *it is the apparent disconnection of government from public interests and values which lies at the heart of the current crisis of government.* Acknowledging the occasionally irrational and uninformed quality of public attitudes, it is still incumbent on government to recognize the broad preferences and aspirations of the citizenry.

Like disgruntled restaurant clients who need not know culinary science in order to find their food unsatisfying and exorbitantly priced, Canadians' shared conviction that government no longer works has important implications for the future. Without specifying a precise recipe for better government, it is important to hear the voice of the public in terms of their broad values, preferences and expectations. In these areas that voice is often quite clear and distressingly divergent from the current directions proposed by our economic and governing leaders.

It may be necessary to examine the future of government from both a harder business perspective and a softer vision-making perspective. Both are in need of urgent action.

Business of Government

Often the term reinvention is a synonym for imposing business-like models on public sector. Although there are serious limitations to the direct application of private sector principles/models to the public sector, there is no question that a strategic business review is an important and useful way of examining the future of the federal government. Although the "ultimate" problems are located more in the realm of symbols and values, there is much to learn from a critical business appraisal (Exhibit 11).

Key Environmental Threats

The external environment for the federal government is extremely turbulent and challenging. The overall demand/market for government products and services is in decline. Following a virtual explosion of government during the Post WWII expansionary period, there has been a gradual swing to retraction (with the potential of less orderly implosion in the near future). A scan of the environment would suggest that declining demand is unlikely to reverse in the near future. The combination of aging, economically anxious populations and acute fiscal pressures suggest further pressures for decline. This is linked to low legitimacy, poor brand loyalty and low levels of customer satisfaction — a daunting challenge where the fiscal mess has almost halved the real purchasing power of a tax dollar (*vis-à-vis* the 80's). Increased competition from aggressive provincial and local government competitors, a growing "third" sector and a hungry private sector looking for growth opportunities further complicate the business environment for the federal government. The unity fracture of the country only exacerbates an already formidable set of environmental challenges.

EXHIBIT 11
The Future (I): The Business of Government

Key Environmental Threats

- diminishing market share
- low customer satisfaction
- increased competition from governments and other players
- aging population
- globalization
- market fragmentation
- territorial disputes

Key Internal Threats

- shrinking resources/poor financial position
- difficulty in rewarding/motivating public servants
- aging workforce/greying survivors
- management of the survivor syndrome
- antiquated delivery system
- diffuse responsibilities/accountability challenges
- management by results in a politicised environment
- balancing employees and public interest

The federal government of the future will tend toward being

- a symbolic analyst rather than a front line delivery agent
- focussed on strategic partnership rather than control
- more productive/efficient
- more focussed on accountability and results (rather than process and spending)
- smaller
- smarter
- using technology to achieve these goals
- focus on the core mission: "people" investment

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Add to this the pressure of globalization, underemployment and an aging client base and we begin to grasp the depth of the environmental challenge.

Key Internal Threats

In addition to the environmental threats confronting the federal government, a strategic business review reveals a number of difficult internal challenges. The financial position of the federal government is desperate with a burgeoning debt, still growing annually despite savage cuts to operations.

There are a number of significant human resource management issues plaguing the federal government. The federal public service is now filled with "greying" survivors of a previous era. There is also difficulty in rewarding and motivating public servants in a period where the traditional reward system is obsolete.

People used to pursue careers in the public service because it provided reasonable intrinsic rewards in the form of stimulating, socially useful work and a modicum of occupational prestige associated with public service. The extrinsic rewards included moderate salaries but high levels of employment security. The old reward system is now a distant memory. Public servants have had pay levels frozen for several years and are more likely to work on eliminating services rather than coming up with new programs. Current occupational prestige levels for public servants are at an historical nadir. There are also serious questions whether the current work force has the flexible skills needed to deal with the new challenges of technology and changing roles.

In addition to managing the survivor syndrome associated with the largest workforce reduction

in Canadian history, the federal government also has too many antiquated delivery systems which fail to meet the challenge of the modern marketplace. It is also difficult to achieve the public's new insistence on results and accountability in a politicized environment which features ever more diffuse divisions of responsibilities amongst governments and other players.

Future Tendencies

In order to manage this formidable combination of environment threats and internal threats, the successful business of government in the future will tend to be symbolic analysis rather than front line delivery. In the language of Robert Reich, the future public service will work in the realm of abstract symbols and analyses rather than concrete operations.

Future government will be focused more on strategic partnership rather than bureaucratic control. The federal government must leverage greater efficiencies and higher production levels by acting as a strategic broker, with a range of other governments and players in the private sector. The future government must be more focused on accountability and results rather than processes and spending. Inevitably future federal government will be smaller and smarter, but not necessarily less influential.

The future government must employ creative applications of new technology and partnerships in order to be leaner and smarter. The use of new electronic kiosks, single wicket delivery systems and sectoral partnership models are just some of the examples of these new approaches. Ultimately, the business of government must be consolidated to dispense with the discretionary and non-viable parts of its operations and to focus on its core mission of investment in people (i.e., health care, skills, protection, etc.)

The Future Heart of Government

There is little doubt that we must fundamentally rethink the business of government. It is, however, a paucity of vision which is at the heart of the current problems plaguing government. One of the central conclusions of our research is that insiders and elites tend to either miss or undervalue this problem. A rational-economic framework is essential to sound management — but on its own, it misses the ultimate public *telos* of government (Exhibit 12).

The Quebec referendum vividly underlines the limits of economic rationality in understanding the meaning of government. Many believed that a safe "No" was an inevitable by-product of the most cursory appraisal of benefit-cost ratios. Quebeckers were not wildly deluded on this front — they were well aware that sovereignty would not meet the positive economic claims made by leaders of the movement. It was cultural motivators, a sense of purpose, meaning and belonging which galvanized support, despite the obvious economic perils of this adventure. Even the final public reactions in the rest of Canada showed disdain for a rational calculus of confederation and the search for the emotional-idealistic roots of country.

Canadians reveal a powerful connection between self-identity, source of belonging and country. Our research shows that from a long list of potential sources, it is country that provides the second most important source of identity and belonging (after family). In English Canada, it is actually the first source of belonging. Unlike other societal settings, which emphasize neighbourhood, community or social groups, it is country which provides a fundamental framework for Canadian's sense

EXHIBIT 11
The Future (II): The Heart of Government

Key Threats

- fading vision
- normative disconnect/ideals are primary
- growing internal cleavages (class, linguistic, regional, generational, ethnic)
- unity fissure
- youth disengagement
- literacy and citizenship
- economic anxieties

Key Roles

- guardian/protector
- ally/broker/partner/harmonizer
- symbol/moral steward
- visionary planner/next generation
- economic steward
- equalizer (with merit and opportunity)/access assurance

Toward a New Vision

- focus on public interest/openness and transparency
- focus on people/human issues/access
- focus on moral community, sense of belonging, shared values
- a return to nation building
- develop shared projects across divisions
- stimulating crosscutting loyalties/better flow of knowledge/information/values
- must make real partnerships emerge (avoid rhetoric and bypassing)
- re-engaging young Canadians
- reinforce optimism
  - *skills/knowledge*
  - *technology*
  - *small business*
  - *partnerships and self-investment*
  - *next generation*
- economic security/fiscal responsibility

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of place and connection in an increasingly bewildering and frightening world of uncertainty. In large measure, the malaise of government is the vacuum left by the waning sense of higher order mission and societal project. In the secular, post-modern world, country provides the most important vehicle for pursuing a collective source of moral community. We cannot continue to assume that we are designing national government as if citizens were merely attendees at a *Wealthy Barber* seminar.

If the federal government is to survive and flourish in the next century, it must reestablish a sense of national vision, purpose and ideals. Canadians will not passively accept the reduction of their unique national identity to a colder, more indebted version of the United States. So how can a sense of higher order national ideals be rebuilt in an era of fiscal crisis and economic uncertainty?

Key Threats

The threats have been enunciated earlier. The country is suffering from a vision lacuna. The old vision embodied in Trudeauesque federalism is no longer resonant. Rapid technological, economic and social changes have rendered many aspects of this model anachronistic. The neo-conservative alternatives, while more timely, fail to capture the public's heart because they are rooted in materialism whereas the public places emotional-idealism at the top of its ultimate values for government. It is interesting to observe that the new right has managed to make recent progress by shifting its emphasis to a moral appeal (e.g., declining family values, the problems of youth violence, the critique of welfare as dependency). These advances still fall considerably short of the core ultimate values held by Canadians (e.g., freedom,

health, environment) but they have successfully entered the normative domain.

One of the continued threats to rebuilding the heart and soul of government is the value disconnection between the elite and broader society. The narrow pursuit of economic rationality is not seen as the purpose of government by most citizens, despite the apparent consensus amongst our leading decision-makers. The problem is complicated further by growing cleavages across social class, ethnolinguistic, regional and generational lines. There is no master narrative to guide decision-makers on which core values to build upon. This fragmentation of ideals is most vividly evident in the national unity fissure separating Quebec and the rest of Canada. It is interesting to note that underlying these apparently insurmountable divisions, our research shows an abundance of shared core values, mutual empathy and affection.

The heart of the government must beat in its youngest citizens. There is clear evidence of youth disengagement from both governments and, more disturbingly, labour markets. Young people in Canada display appallingly low levels of political literacy and are largely disconnected from the process of government. This may partially explain their poor fate in the economy.

The problem of low levels of government fluency is not restricted to young people. In general, there is a distressing lack of even basic knowledge of how government works which in turn is connected to a lack of interest and involvement in the political sphere. It is difficult to imagine how a new era of inclusive politics can occur when even the most rudimentary levels of knowledge and interest in public issues are lacking in many parts of society.

Finally, the heart of government is weakened by a pervasive and near paralytic fear about the economy. Whether the fears are a product of anxiety about public finances, or worries about the labour market, Canadians reveal unprecedented levels of economic insecurity. These economic insecurities are major forces producing declining commitment to some of the traditional compassionate and tolerant activities of government.

Toward a New Vision

If government is to recapture the heart of its citizens, it must reestablish a focus on the overall public interests and commit to a new era of openness and transparency. In a period where it is difficult to encourage sharing and cooperation, even within the same government department, it is hard to believe that this new commitment will be forthcoming. Nonetheless, openness is a precondition for rebuilding public legitimacy. The new vision must provide a focus on human issues and the real world concerns of people. Nation building, with a human face, must reflect the public's insistence on quality of access and human investment. A new vision must explicitly recognize the priority of values and the pursuit of moral community through government. For Canadians, country provides a crucial source of belonging and, although they expect sound economic management, they see the final purpose of government in the realm of the pursuit of core societal values (e.g., freedom, health, environment).

The recent Quebec referendum harshly revealed the lack of a sense of national societal project. This left the federal forces exposed to the allure of the more optimistic sense of nation building driving the "Yes" campaign. The future of government needs to support economic and political association but there must also be new shared societal projects, which cut across the divisions

fracturing Canadian society. We must stimulate cross-cutting loyalties and multiple role affiliations which permit unity within diversity. This requires new or revised vehicles supporting a better flow of knowledge, information and values across the solitudes and divisions within our society.

Real partnerships need to emerge. These should reflect the public insistence on cooperation across different levels of government and across other sectors of society. It is not sufficient to employ rhetoric or clever methods of bypassing other players. Government must engage in the more difficult, but ultimately mandatory, process of harmonizing the different players and fields operating in the public realm. The interest and faith of young Canadians who are currently alienated from both the economy and polity must be re-engaged.

Governments must also reinforce those few key areas of optimism which shine in an otherwise bleak economic environment. The recurring themes for optimism make up a very short list. They include: skills and knowledge, particularly as they relate to the labour market; new technologies; small business; partnership and self-investment; and a focus on the next generation. We must also secure a new vision in the heart of government without abandoning a commitment to producing economic security and fiscal responsibility.

Finally, the federal government should consolidate and focus its roles in society and economy. Our research suggests that these roles should include:

(i) guardian/protector;
(ii) ally/broker;
(iii) symbol/moral steward;
(iv) visionary planner;
(v) economic steward; and
(vii) equalizer.

1. About half of Canadians (52 per cent) agree that more and more they are looking to their provincial government rather than the federal government to solve social and economic problems.

2. In late 1994 a majority (53 per cent) indicated that senior citizens should not be asked to contribute to reducing the deficit; the most recent data indicate that 45 per cent now support this position.

3. Business, non-governmental organizations and individual citizens are assigned primary responsibility 39 per cent of the time.

CHAPTER

1 INTRODUCTION

(a) Background

Concern about the future of government has reached unprecedented levels. Many of our central debates about budgets, public finances, social programs and the Quebec issue are particular expressions of the underlying theme "what will be the shape of government in the future?".

Growing levels of public cynicism and hostility towards government have been reinforced by acute economic anxieties. Despite a moderate economic recovery, any recovery of economic confidence has been extinguished by rising fears about the poor state of public finances. At the same time the country's protracted internal struggle over the Quebec issue, and the issue of the future unity of the country, has once again rising to the top of the public agenda.

This report summarizes the data collected as part of the second year of the *Rethinking Government* study. This iteration of the study builds carefully on the evidence and conclusions of *Rethinking Government 1994*.

This research is presented with a view to uncovering the public perspective(s) concerning *Rethinking Government*. Unless these perspectives are incorporated into the process of renewing government, we risk missing the point of the exercise.

(b) Project Methodology and Process

The *Rethinking Government* project was formally launched early in 1994. There were a number of different federal government clients/sponsors for the research in this second year of the study. The idea was to provide a research vehicle for examining overall and client-specific issues about the future of government. The questions included in the *Rethinking Government* survey were a combination of client-designed and Ekos-designed items.

The methodology for this year of the study involved the following components:

- A detailed telephone interview (over 200 questions) with a random sample of 3,000 Canadians 16 years and over (August 1995). The sample size was increased by 350 Quebec respondents (a total of 1,006).
- A re-survey of some 400 Quebec respondents 48 hours after the referendum. The survey consisted of 30 questions.
- A special instalment involving a panel-based survey of some 1,200 Canadians (400 in Quebec) for CCI concerning their attitudes about diversity, tolerance, and unity conducted during the referendum campaign. This data was linked to the August *Rethinking Government* findings.
- Follow-up focus group sessions with respondents from both *Rethinking Government* and CCI.
- A survey of the top governing and economic decision-makers in Canada. Approximately 600 self-administered questionnaires were returned from elected, bureaucratic and corporate elites in Canada.

- A second detailed telephone interview (over 150 questions) with approximately 1,400 of the original 3,000 public survey respondents (April 1996).

This report is a synthesis of some of the main themes drawn from the second year of the project. It is not a self-contained summary of all findings. Reports from earlier phases of the research provides more details and the foundation for this synthesis[1]. The balance of this report is organized around the following core themes:

- Trust and Legitimacy;
- Governance and National Goals;
- Health Care;
- Public Service and Service Delivery;
- Youth Issues;
- Diversity and Tolerance;
- Technology Issues;
- Labour Market Anxieties;
- Quality of Life; and
- the Unity Debate.

1. See *Rethinking Government 95-1* (the first wave of the public survey conducted in August 1995) and the CCI Survey (conducted in October 1995).

CHAPTER

2 TRUST AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS GOVERNMENT

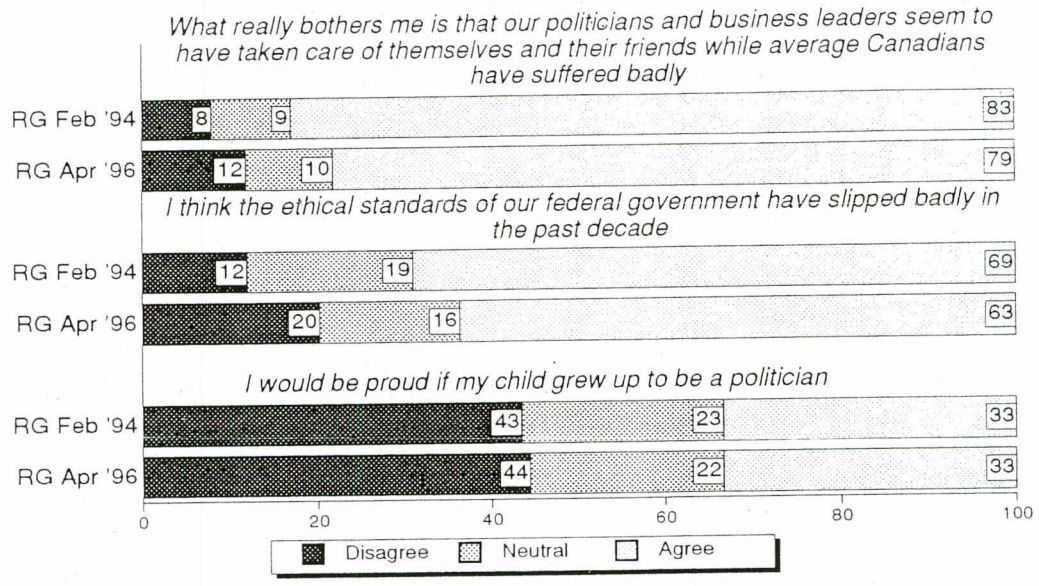
2.1 Trust and Legitimacy

Trust and legitimacy of federal government remains mired at very low levels. There is a broad conviction that the federal government is in ethical decline, has lost sight of the public interest and is taking care of itself and its friends at the expense of average Canadians (Exhibit 2.1). Low trust in government is associated with low trust in corporations and institutions.

There has been a modest recovery in trust in government according to our tracking. Although the improvement is inauspicious it may be that despite the inertia attached to low levels of legitimacy, the level of mistrust has "bottomed out" and is now moving in a more positive direction.

These trust and legitimacy problems are not unique to Canada and are evident in most other advanced industrial countries. Common factors include aging populations, rapid social and technological change, increased pluralism and poor public finance. Perhaps at the core is a sense of failure for governments to manage the broad insecurities felt by citizens in most of these countries.

EXHIBIT 2.1
Trust in Government and Institutions



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Rethinking Government February 1994/August 1995
Repenser le gouvernement février 1994/août 1995

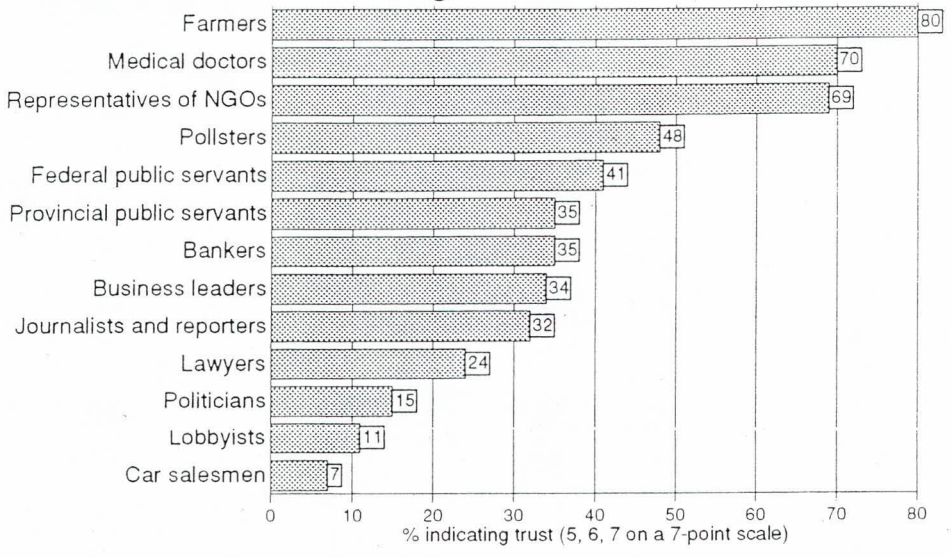
Somewhat confused in the current debate about government are different trust levels in politicians *versus* bureaucrats. Our research suggests that politicians are the lightening rod for mistrust and hostility. In fact, much of the anger/mistrust is directed to politicians and institutions.

Less obviously, public servants enjoy moderately positive trust levels (far better than for politicians — Exhibit 2.2). For example, only 15 per cent of Canadians have positive trust in politicians *versus* 41 per cent for federal public servants, and 35 per cent for provincial public servants. Moreover, 33 per cent of respondents indicated they would be proud if their child grew up to be a politician, while 45 per cent would be proud if their child grew up to be a public servant.

In the process of rebuilding citizen confidence governments might consider giving public servants a more prominent role.

EXHIBIT 2.2
Trust in Occupational Groups

"How much trust do you have in each of the following occupational groups? Please use a scale from 1, no trust at all, to 7, a great deal of trust with 4 meaning a moderate amount of trust."



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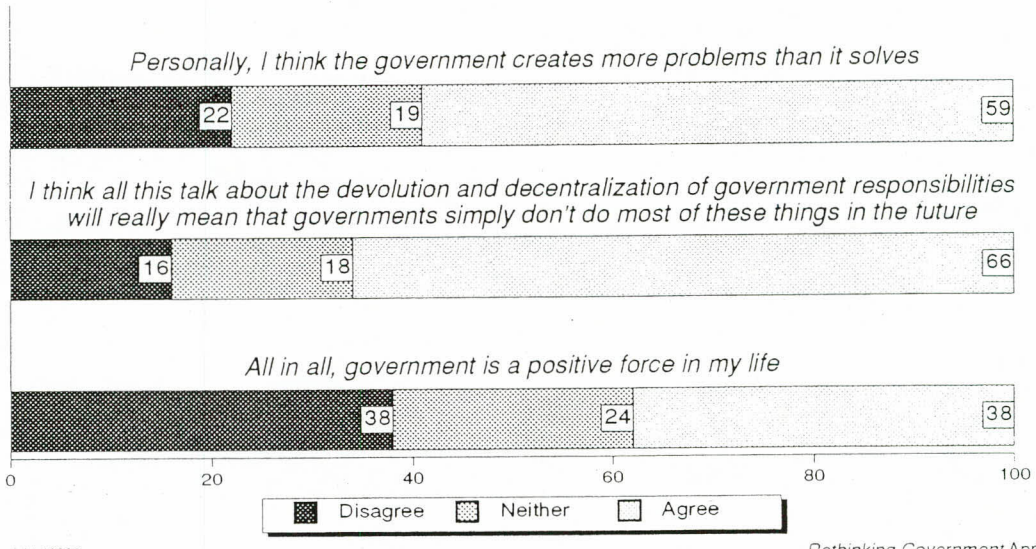
It is also instructive to note that very few of the occupations tested secured positive trust. Highest overall levels of mistrust are found amongst Reform party supporters, who on a number of indicators reveal themselves as being angry with the federal government. Other groups feeling especially mistrustful are the economically insecure — in particular the unemployed and poorly educated who feel that they are the collateral damage of the new economy.

2.2 Broader Attitudes Towards Government

Overall attitudes towards government tend to be negative and cynical (Exhibit 2.3). This negativity is rooted not only in mistrust, a sense of declining ethics and a lack of focus on the public interest, but also a conviction that governments are

neither effective nor efficient. The sense that government is in ethical decline and inefficient is felt strongest among older Canadians, those with less education, those with lower income and the unemployed.

EXHIBIT 2.3
Attitudes Toward Government



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Citizens are also wary of the new lexicon of government reform. Past research shows most Canadians understood social policy reform as "cuts" and we now find the clear majority of Canadians think devolution and decentralization are codes for federal withdrawal and abandoning responsibilities. In fact, public responses to devolution and decentralization is interesting and apparently contradictory. Most say these are positive steps while also saying there should be increased or maintained federal presence. Moreover, when asked where devolution or decentralization should occur there is little specific evidence of support for real shifts. Devolution and decentralization have become symbols of change. People are casting about for

solutions because they are convinced major repairs are needed. But, on reflection the surface support for devolution is flimsy and highly ambivalent.

Stark polarization exists concerning whether government is an overall positive force — older, less educated and lower income Canadians are most positive about the influence of government. This provides continued evidence of the growing fragmentation of public attitudes to government on generational and social class lines. As our past research has shown those members of the growing economically insecure classes are more supportive of activist government. The economically secure see government as more wasteful and ineffectual. It is also the case that in a post-universalistic system they are less likely to see personal benefits for their tax contribution. The age divide is more difficult to explain — younger Canadians are less attached to the federal government and more likely to see it as a benefit-less mortgage on their future.

CHAPTER

3 GOVERNANCE AND NATIONAL GOALS

3.1 Governance

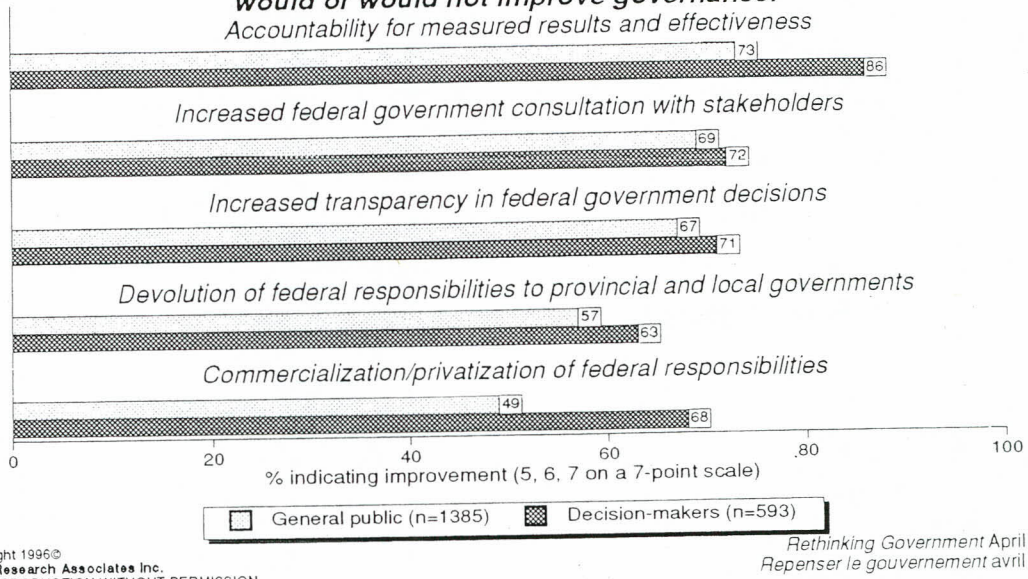
A number of propositions for improving governance in Canada were tested in the latest round of *Rethinking Government*. Respondents (both general public and decision-making elites) were asked whether or not they thought each of a number of distinct propositions would make a contribution to better governance in Canada (Exhibit 3.1).

In the absence of more traditional trust and legitimacy where governments and leaders retired in quiet isolation to make decisions on behalf of citizens, the public are now looking for more tangible, objective and visible measures of effectiveness and results. It is almost as if the public are seeking an objective performance contract with government in the absence of the traditional trust that governments may have enjoyed in the past.

The same items were tested with members of the elite decision-making cadre in Canada and although there are some interesting and important differences in comparing elites and general public there is also a high level agreement.

EXHIBIT 3.1
Improving Governance in Canada
Elite/Public Comparisons

"Listed below is a list of criteria which might improve governance in Canada. Using a scale from 1, no improvement at all, to 7, a great deal of improvement, with 4 meaning neither, please rate whether you believe each of these criteria would or would not improve governance."



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The most popular item for improving governance for both elites and the general public is accountability for measured results and effectiveness. Seventy-three per cent of the public believed this would produce a positive improvement and fully 89 per cent of elites believed the same. Amongst the general public, this desire for improved accountability is also carried over into a desire for increased levels of federal government consultation with stakeholders. Elites and general public basically demonstrate the same levels of support for this notion with about 70 per cent of each group seeing this producing an improvement to governance in Canada.

The appeal of the notion of accountability for results and effectiveness is much stronger amongst the more educated and politically literate members of the population, with university graduates and upper income groups demonstrating greater enthusiasm for this idea.

There is strong support (67 per cent) for increased transparency in federal government decisions. Once again university graduates are more likely to support this change. Elites show essentially the same overall levels of support for transparency (71 per cent) as the general public. Parallel research indicates that government is making little progress towards the publically sought goal of more openness and transparency.

Somewhat down the ladder is the issue of devolving federal responsibilities to provincial and local governments. Amongst the general public, about 57 per cent think this would produce an improvement whereas a somewhat higher per cent (63 per cent) of elites feel that this would be an improvement in governance in Canada.

The issue of devolution and the companion issues of commercialization or privatization enjoy even smaller support amongst the general public with only 49 per cent thinking these issues would produce an improvement in governance. However, a fairly striking 68 per cent of elites support privatization of federal responsibilities. Not surprisingly, elites in the public sector are somewhat less attracted to the idea of commercialization than those in the private sector. However, there is still a greater number of public sector decision-makers who support commercialization than members of the general public.

The notions of devolution, decentralization, commercialization and privatization are part of the core lexicon of government renewal. These terms produce somewhat confused reactions in the general public. For example, the notion of devolution enjoys moderately positive support on the surface. In further questioning, a majority of Canadians feel that devolution would be a source of improvement to Canada's problems in government. On the other hand, this public support for devolution is considerably lower than that exhibited by many senior government leaders and politicians who feel that in post-October 30 Canada devolution and

decentralization are the magic bullet to solve the problems of governance and unity in Canada.

Earlier research has shown repeatedly that in spite of the public's apparent superficial support for devolution, they also hold apparently contradictory attitudes with respect to the desire for the preservation (or increase) of government responsibility in key areas of concern to Canadians. About 73 per cent of Canadians support either increased or maintained levels of federal presence in most key areas and in fact, the most common simple response is to increase federal involvement. By the same token, when asked specific questions about division of roles and responsibilities, there is far less support in the concrete for altering the current division of roles and responsibilities.

3.2 Results

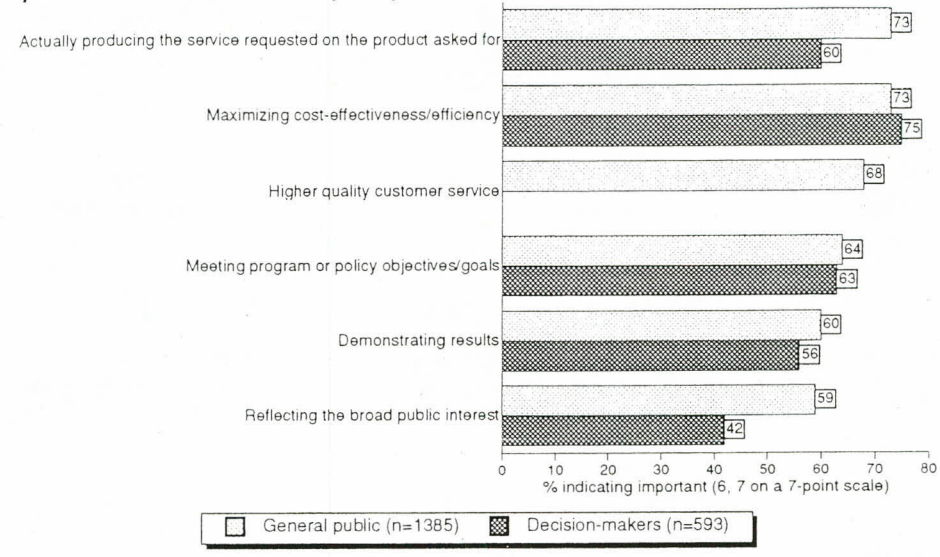
The section dealing with results in government produces some predictable findings (Exhibit 3.2). There is an clear thirst for a more result-oriented federal government. The dimensions of results which are seen as most important are actually delivering the service requested and maximizing cost effectiveness and efficiency (73 per cent feel these issues would produce a more results-oriented government).

Moving down the list, we find higher quality customer service and meeting program and policy objectives are next in importance. Actually demonstrating the results or reflecting the broad public interest is selected by about 60 per cent of Canadians as being important to producing an improved results-oriented government.

In comparing these results to the elites, we find that there are reasonable levels of similarity and support for these items exist with only two notable differences as compared to the public: (1) the support for actually delivering the goods is seen as somewhat less important by members of the decision-making elite with 60 per cent

EXHIBIT 3.2
Improving Results in Government

"Please rate how important each of the following results is to producing an improved results-oriented government, using a scale from 1, not at all important, to 7, extremely important with 4 meaning moderately important"



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citing it as an improvement *versus* 73 per cent in the general public; and (2) a somewhat larger gap in the area of reflecting the broad public interest where we find almost a twenty-point difference between elites and the general public.

There are few important group differences on most of these variables; however, concern with higher quality customer service is stronger in Quebec and the focus on the broad public interest is stronger in Ontario.

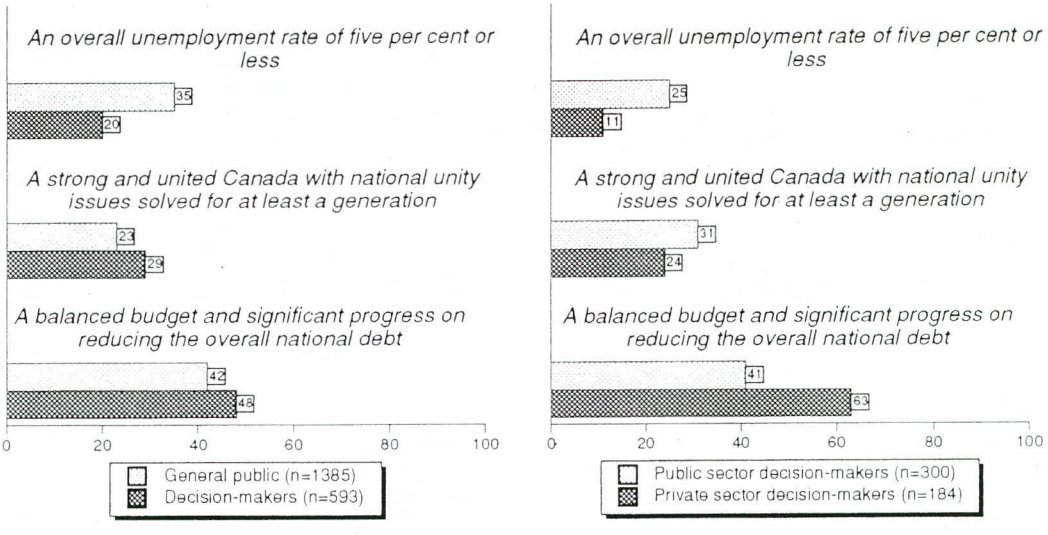
3.3 National Projects

Previous iterations of *Rethinking Government* have explored in depth the issue of core values that are important to Canadians and how they are expressed in the activities of the federal government and provincial governments. In this current

edition of *Rethinking Government* and in continuation of the theme of national projects, the study examines how Canadians would pick between three possible overall goals for Canada (Exhibit 3.3). Recognizing the highly artificial nature of this choice, it is nonetheless instructive to see how Canadians would hypothetically pick between three clearly desirable alternatives. It is also interesting to make comparisons between the way these choices are made amongst the general public and the way that our senior decision-makers would make the same choice.

EXHIBIT 3.3
National Goals

"If you had to choose among the following three goals for Canada in the year 2001, which would you pick?"



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The three alternatives were (1) to produce an overall employment rate of five per cent or less, (2) to solve the national unity problem in a relatively permanent fashion, or (3) to produce a balanced budget and significant progress on reducing the overall national debt. Amongst the general public, a narrow margin selected the balanced budget and significant progress on the national debt as a first choice (42 per cent). A five per cent unemployment rate was picked by 35 per cent of

general public respondents. But, there are systematic differences between those who pick unemployment goals *versus* debt goals. More affluent and secure members of the Canadian society are more supportive of the debt goal whereas those more insecure members are more supportive of the unemployment goal. Despite the profound stakes attached to the job and debt issues, 23 per cent of Canadians opt for the choice of a strong and united Canada (anglophones, residents from outside Quebec, older respondents and those with high school education are particularly likely to select the unity goal). These findings indicate that Canadians have great difficulty in wrestling with these three issues and in fact very sizable fractions of Canadian society select each of these goals.

There is a growing consensus, which we noted in earlier research, surrounding the issue of national debt. It is no longer seen as an issue of debate whether or not we can afford to continue to maintain the large levels of public debt which are hobbling the country. In virtually all the research engaged in this year, the level of resolve around public finances and reducing public debt problems has increased substantially. We also find that the gap between rhetoric and commitment in the general public has narrowed dramatically.

Turning to the way the choices were made by the senior decision-makers, some significant differences are revealed in the results. The issue of debt is picked by over half of the senior decision-makers and the margin between this first choice and the second choice is substantially wider than with the general public. Once again, there is a higher level of consensus amongst elites about the priority of debt.

The other notable difference is that for the elites, a strongly united Canada appears as the second most important choice with 29 per cent selecting this option as compared to 23 per cent among the general public. Similarly, the overall unemployment rate of five per cent is selected by only 20 per cent of the elites, almost half the per cent of the general public.

Part of the differences between elites and the general public in the importance of unity and unemployment may be that unity is seen as a pre-condition for prosperity and economic progress by the elites. As such, elites view this solution as being very much in the interest of preserving the country and their privileged position in it.

Similarly, a low unemployment rate, although important, is clearly much less important to the elites who are unlikely themselves to ever be afflicted with this problem. In fact, some argue that a large standing army of unemployed increase the flexibility of labour markets and improves the situation of those more affluent in Canadian society.

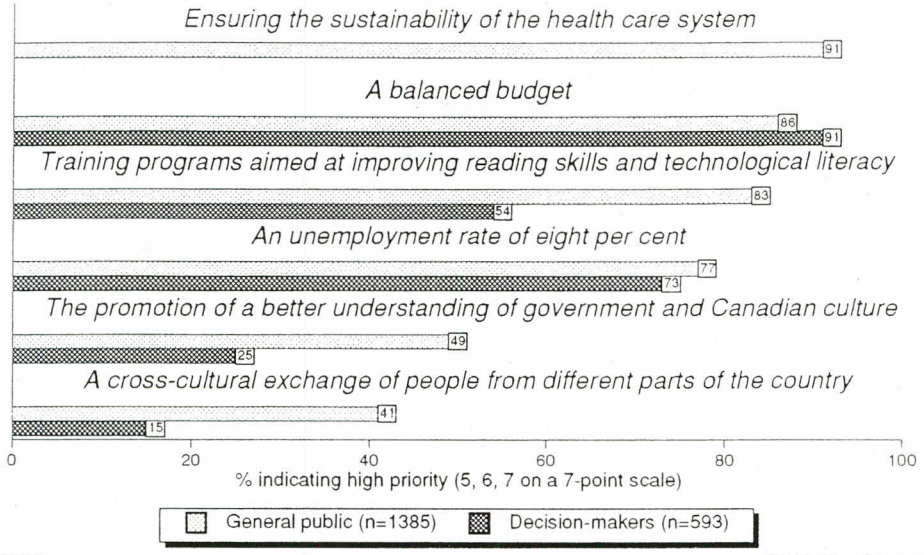
Comparing public sector and private sector decision-makers, there are some fairly significant differences. The most notable difference concerns the balanced budget — 61 per cent of the private sector pick this as their first goal, only 11 per cent of this group chose low unemployment as their goal. In other words, almost six times as many senior corporate executives pick balancing the budget as pick low unemployment; a striking difference from the narrow gap between these two goals within the general public. Forty-five per cent of public sector decision-makers pick balanced budget (which is more than that of the general public, but much more closely in line).

Continuing the theme of national projects, we asked Canadians to rate the level of priority they feel the federal government should assign to a range of different projects which could be used to restore optimism in them personally (Exhibit 3.4).

The hierarchy is similar to that revealed in earlier research. Once again, the health care system dominates the public's sense of what could be done to restore optimism with 91 per cent saying that ensuring and sustaining the stability of the health care system would make them feel more optimistic about the federal

EXHIBIT 3.4
National Goals

"What priority should the federal government place on each of the following projects or goals using a scale from 1, lowest priority, to 7, highest priority with 4 meaning middle priority?"



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government. Balancing the budget is also a major source of restoring optimism. Eighty-six per cent of the general public feel this should be a high priority compared to 91 per cent of elites.

A fairly striking difference exists between elites and the public regarding the issue of training programs. These findings are very instructive in light of the current debate about federal involvement in training and the federal government's involvement in skills in general. Eighty-three per cent of the general public say that training programs would help produce a sense of restored optimism, while only 54 per cent of the elites feel the same way. This gap may be even more important in light of the changes that have occurred with the federal government's announcement of its intention to withdraw from the training field and make this an area of provincial jurisdiction.

The public have yet to undergo the same epiphany which seems to have occurred amongst federal planners and decision-makers following the October 29 referendum. Given the prominence of training as an example of active labour market support and an act of springboard, we wonder whether or not the public won't be troubled that the springboard is now poised over an empty swimming pool.

An unemployment rate of eight per cent seems to produce only a modest restoration of optimism with 77 per cent and 73 per cent of general public and elites respectively saying this should be of high priority. It is suspected that it would be even higher except that many of the public feel that eight per cent is not a worthy goal in the country which talked about full employment as little as five years ago.

The promotion of a better understanding of government and Canadian culture is picked by almost fifty per cent of Canadians as a high priority whereas a fairly meagre 25 per cent of the elites feel this is important. Similarly a cultural exchange of people from different parts of the country is seen as important by 41 per cent of the public and only 15 per cent of the elites.

Once again these findings accent the broad gap in priorities and values which we have consistently found across elites and the general public.

3.4 Trade-Offs

The *Rethinking Government* project attempts to identify priorities in a number of different ways. One of the more demanding tests is to ask Canadians to be Prime Minister for a day and engage in a hard trade-off between different paired choices (Exhibit 3.5). The computer randomly generates a number of binary trade-offs from a list of 14 possible choices.

The choices are based on hypothetical $100 million public investment "chips". The respondent is asked to place his or her investment where they think it

will best serve the overall public interest. Last year some quarrelled with the size of the chip ($10 million) as being too little to make a real dent on deficits. Accordingly, we increased the chip to $100 million. Some of the choices are only very roughly equivalent to $100 million (e.g., NFB is closer to $65 million today).

EXHIBIT 3.5
Prime Minister for A Day

"If you were Prime Minister for one day and you had to choose how to allocate $100 million, which of the following two $100 million alternatives would you choose in the best public interest?"	
Provide job training for 50,000 workers	70%
Invest $2 million on a repayable basis in each of 50 small- and medium-sized business in the high technology and information industry	61%
Reduce the annual deficit by $100 million	61%
Ensure the safety of Canada's blood supply	60%
Help relocate 5,000 unemployed workers to areas with better employment prospects	60%
A summer employment program for students	58%
Create about 5,000 partially subsidized jobs	58%
Buy 42,000 day care places for unemployed parents so they can look for a job	52%
Invest in national health promotion programs to reduce tobacco, drug and alcohol use by youth	50%
Help 100,000 people become computer literate	50%
Decrease taxes by $100 million	48%
Maintain CBC regional programming including news	32%
Maintain the National Film Board	23%
Buy two helicopters for national defence	9%

The examples are by no means exhaustive or representative of the range of choices truly confronting the government. Nonetheless, they provide an interesting, alternative perspective on the question of public preferences. Whereas wants are infinite, public resources clearly are not. This exercise injects a little forced fiscal discipline in the exercise. Coupled with other preference and priority data we see this

exercise reinforces and completes the themes evident in broader preferences and priorities.

Perhaps disconcerting for the government, training emerges as the number one hard preference (by a fairly significant margin). In keeping with a wealth of consistent quantitative and qualitative evidence we have collected training remains something of a touchstone for the public. While recognizing the limits of training (e.g., "training for what...?") the public still sees skills as the key to the new economy. Training is seen as the example *par excellence* of an active labour market adjustment strategy in an era where the other traditional economic levers available to governments have largely disappeared (e.g., capital and technology are footloose and ignore national borders, at light speed). Human capital remains as one of the few levers of national economic stewardship.

The trade-off analysis reinforces the priority Canadians attach to human capital, deficit and health care issues. In addition to job training, investing in the high technology sector, reducing the deficit, ensuring the safety of Canada's blood supply, and relocating unemployed workers were also selected by a high percentage of respondents. The high priority assigned to deficit reduction reinforces other findings which indicate consensus has emerged concerning the necessity to get the debt under control. The high priority given to stimulating the high technology industry suggests that Canadians see technology as a source of optimism and an engine of economic (job) growth.

Day care has dropped from its relatively high placement in last year's trade-off analysis (down from fifth out of 24, selected 67 per cent of the time to 8th out of 14, selected 52 per cent of the time). In the wake of controversy surrounding the Ontario government's decision to reduce taxes, it is interesting to note that decreasing taxes was ranked 11th out of the 14 public action options. The right may be overestimating apparent tax fatigue among the Canadian public. Maintaining CBC regional programming and the National Film Board are ranked towards the bottom of

the list, however a sizeable per cent of Canadians still selected these options (32 per cent and 23 per cent respectively). At the very bottom of the list, and selected only nine per cent of the time, is the purchase of helicopters for national defence.

Overall, all priority areas tested (except defence) receive enough support to justify expenditures in these areas.

3.5 Job Creation

Continuing in the theme of actions which serve the public interest, respondents were asked how successful each of a range of strategies aimed at business in Canada would be in leading to job creation (Exhibit 3.6).

EXHIBIT 3.6
Stimulating Job Creation

"How successful do you think each of the following would be in leading to job creation?"

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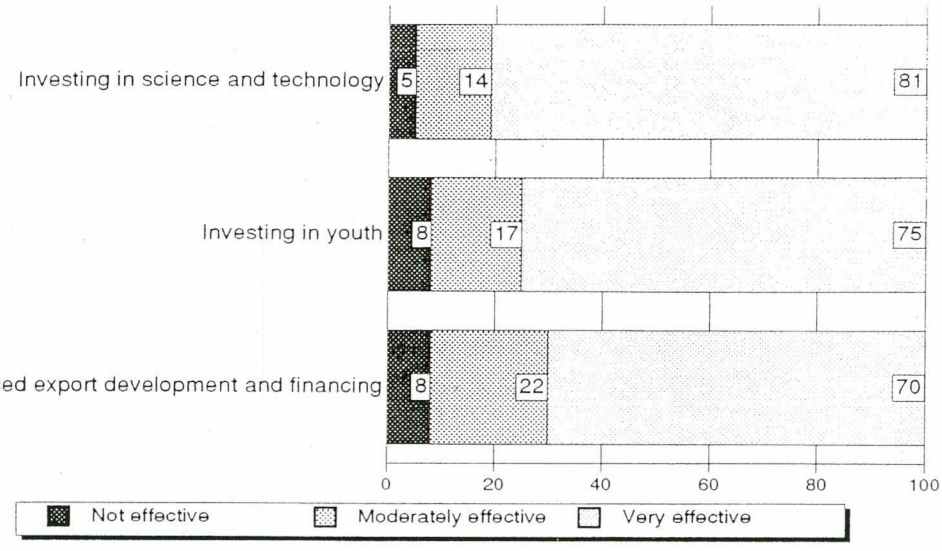
Canadians most strongly endorse helping Canadian companies develop and use new technologies (89 per cent) and investing in Canadian research and development (89 per cent) as being successful in creating employment. These options were followed closely by more indirect support: providing small business with strategic information and simplifying government regulations for business. Giving money directly to business is by far the least popular option. It is believed to be successful by less than half of respondents (40 per cent).

Moving from ongoing government initiatives to approval of the federal government's action plan for creating employment for Canadians reinforces the finding that Canadians believe that technology is an economic touchstone. When asked how effective each element of the federal government's jobs and growth strategy will be in creating employment for Canadians, investing in science and technology was believed to be the most effective (Exhibit 3.7). The other two elements of the jobs and growth strategy, investing in youth and enhanced export development financing, are also believed to be effective in creating employment in Canada.

EXHIBIT 3.7
The Speech from the Throne

"Looking at each of the elements of the federal government's jobs and growth strategy, how effective do you think each will be in creating employment for Canadians?"



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CHAPTER

4 HEALTH CARE

The importance of health care issues to the Canadian public has been documented throughout the *Rethinking Government* study. It is given high priority and receives the highest satisfaction levels. This chapter will synthesize much of the data collected about health care and the Canadian public.

Referring back to the discussion about governance and national goals, preserving the health care system consistently ranked among the top actions that government could take in restoring a sense of optimism to Canadians. Ensuring the sustainability of the health care system was the most popular action in terms of keeping the country together (see Exhibit 11.10), and was given top priority among a list of items aimed at instilling hope in Canadians (see Exhibit 3.4). It was also among the top five areas for the allocation of $100 million aimed at best serving the public interest (see Exhibit 3.5).

4.1 Rationale For a Public Perspective

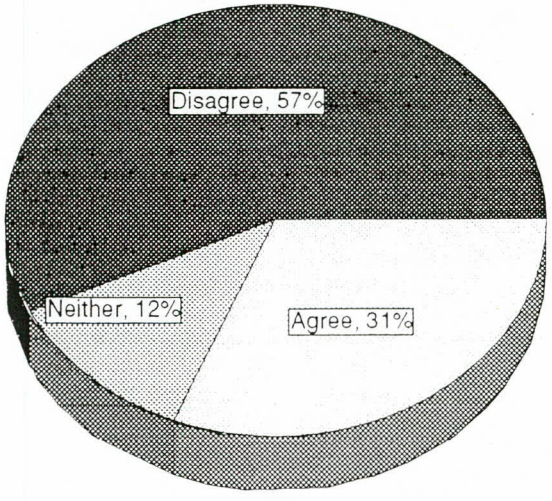
Current public judgements are not based on high fluency about the "facts". D. Yankelovich (in H. Aaron *et. al*, 1994:48-50) notes "there is a huge gap

between the experts and the public on the burning issue of health care." He notes that this gap is a source of considerable frustration in debates about health care reform.

The *Rethinking Government* findings suggest that the gap is no smaller in Canada; nor any less likely to be a source of heat rather than *light* in a discussion of health care reform. It is not only a question of public literacy of the "issues"; there are also fundamental conflicts of values and vested interests underlying this debate. Many experts and stakeholders find public attitudes and values unhelpful or even threatening. It is often the tensions between their values and knowledge, and those of the public which cause these problems; there is no single point of consensus. There is a tendency to discount the public perspective, yet it is this very tendency which is at the very heart of the crisis of legitimacy plaguing governments and institutions in Canada today. Exhibit 4.1 taps the public's wariness of elite prescriptions.

EXHIBIT 4.1
Rationale for a Public Perspective

"Reforming health care is so complex that average Canadians should leave decisions entirely in the hands of experts"



Higher among:
- *Atlantic provinces*
- *older*
- *less educated*
- *less income*

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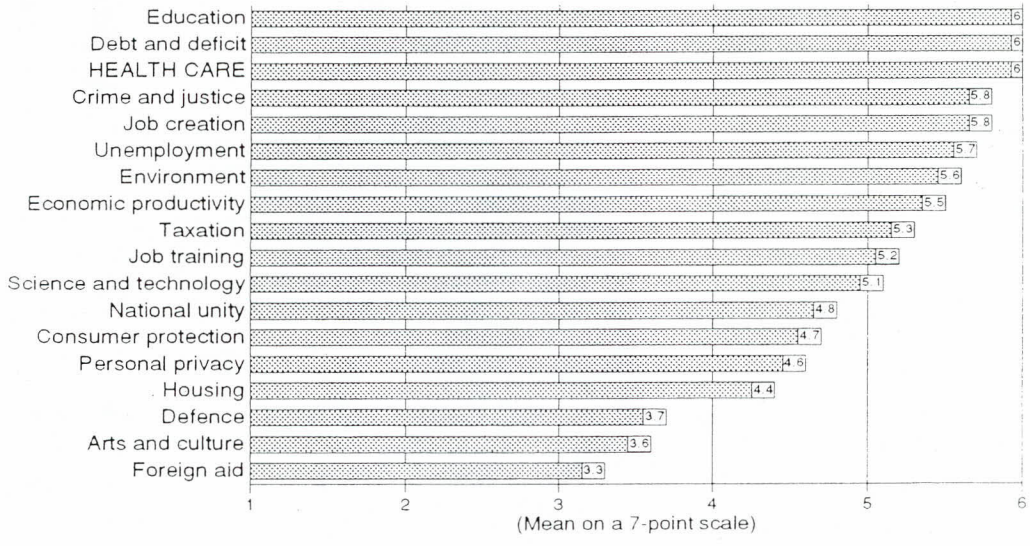
Only 31 per cent of Canadians accept the notion of leaving this huge issue to the "experts". In the wake of a series of elite prescriptions (e.g., Charlottetown accord) which have either failed of left "average" Canadians feeling abandoned or betrayed, the old model of quiet elite accommodation is no longer valid. Therefore, incorporating the public perspective, for all its limitations and frustrations, is a precondition for meaningful health care reform.

4.2 The Priority of Health Care

Exhibit 4.2 shows health care tied as the pinnacle federal priority with deficit and education.

EXHIBIT 4.2
Priorities for Federal Government — 1995



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Interestingly, human capital themes like education, health care and training all bundle together (statistically) in the public's mind. Priorities are stable over time (see *Rethinking Government 1994*); however, a slight but discernable decline is exhibited. This is conditioned by declining expectations/faith in federal government. It is ironic that the debt message may have convinced Canadians that the federal government is merely a tax collector resulting in increased hope being invested in the provinces. Declining confidence is strongest amongst youth; older are more nostalgic.

4.3 Satisfaction Levels: Health Care as a Singular Success Study

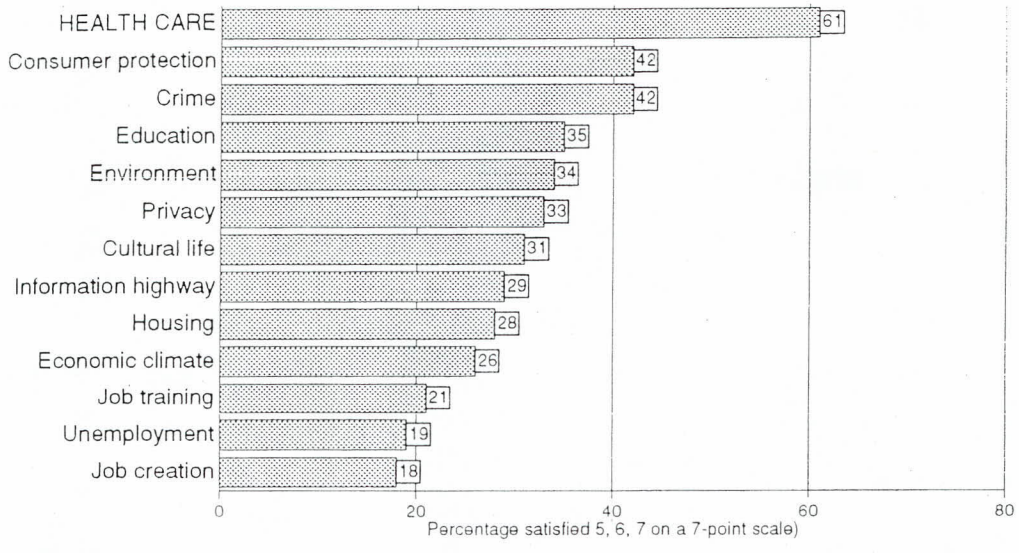
Exhibit 4.3 shows that the majority (61 per cent) of Canadians express satisfaction with the overall system of health care.

This inauspicious majority becomes much more impressive when cast against the relative satisfaction enjoyed by all other priority areas. No other area secures majority support and the other crucial human capital areas (jobs, skills) fare dismally.

This positive rating is a two-edged sword. It is encouraging that we have a success story in such a crucial area. It is disconcerting to think that this singular success story is no longer going to be available in the future.

EXHIBIT 4.3
Satisfaction with Current System

"Overall, in the area of ... how would you rate the performance of the current system?"



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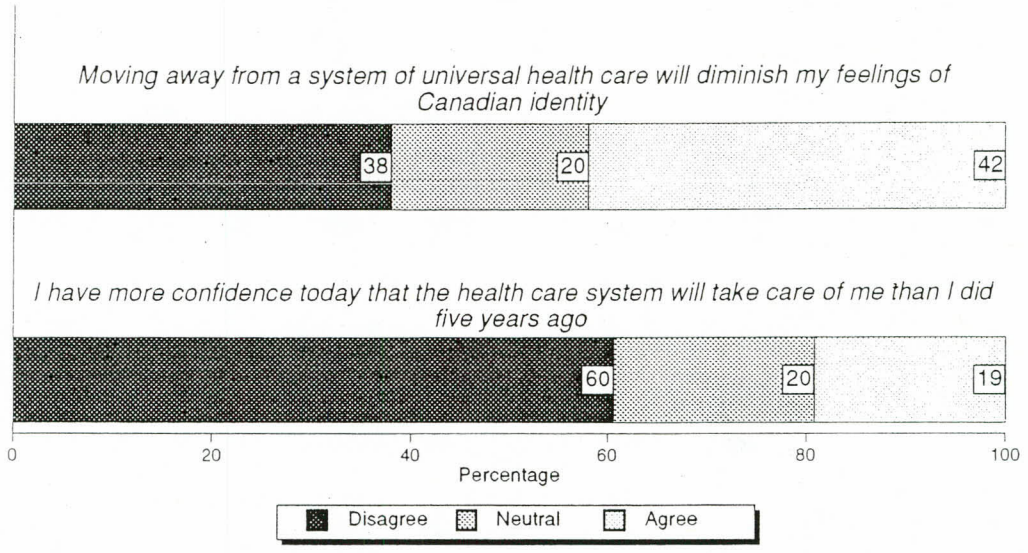
4.4 Wariness and Anxiety

The debate about health care, and the ominous signals about its fragility, have registered on the public (Exhibit 4.4). Less than one in five agree that they are more confident today than five years ago; most (60 per cent) disagree. Interestingly, anxieties are highest in Alberta — perhaps the most concrete and advanced illustration of "reform". A plurality of Canadians also feel that erosion of universality will diminish their sense of national identity; this symbolic domain is of major significance in the current environment. For both practical and symbolic reasons Canadians are expressing basic anxieties about health care reform and strenuous resistance to further change.

EXHIBIT 4.4
Wariness and Anxieties About Health Care System



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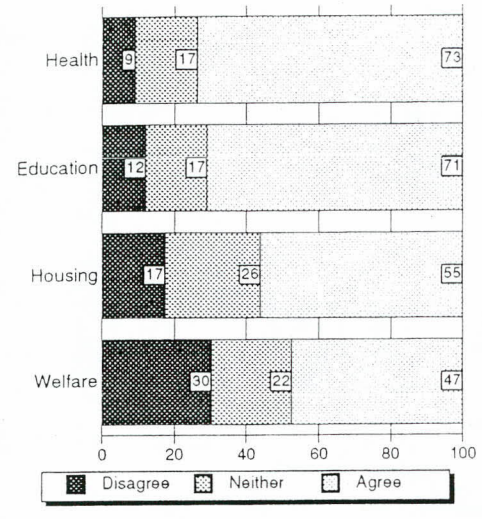
4.5 Quality of Life

Exhibit 4.5 shows that health care is linked to the softer realms of symbols, identity and quality of life. Of all social programs, health care is seen as having made the most profound contribution to Canada's quality of life. There is also a growing sense of regret and insecurity about our very sense of identity and belonging in light of rapid social change.

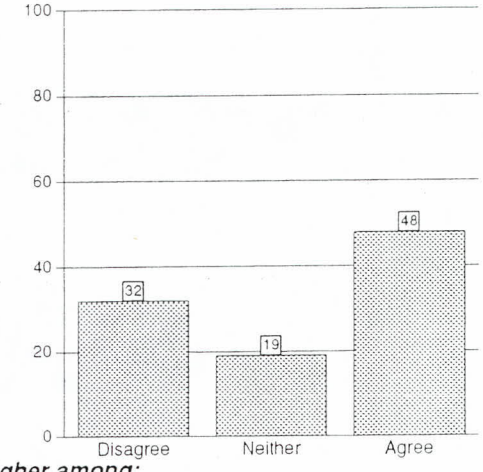
This growing sense of cultural insecurity and nostalgia for the passage of "old Canada" is particularly pronounced amongst older, English-speaking Canadians. This is a powerful social force which has been substantially strengthened by the October 29 Referendum. In English Canada, "country" is now the most potent

EXHIBIT 4.5
Influence of Social Programs on Canada's Quality of Life

"Canada's quality of life has been enriched by our social programs in the area of ..."



"I really worry that as the federal government withdraws traditional programs and services our Canadian identity will be weakened"



Higher among:
- *older*
- *less educated*
- *non-francophone*
- *less income*

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source of identity and belonging (from a broad list including community, family and province).

The debate about health care must be connected to this additional layer of complexity. In questions of who are we and where are we going, public health care may serve as an anchor against the growing sentiment that we are simply becoming somewhat colder, more indebted Americans.

4.6 Symbols and Values

Exhibit 4.6 illustrates the strong symbolic significance of public health care. Of 30 items tested, medicare rates third in Quebec and fourth in the rest of Canada as a source of Canadian identity.

EXHIBIT 4.6
Symbols and Values

*"How strongly do you think each of the following events, objects and values detract or contribute to your sense of Canadian identity?"**

Top 5 in Quebec
- Freedom
- A clean environment (8th in ROC)
- MEDICARE
- The Charter of Rights and Freedoms
- The U.N.'s recognition of Canada (6th in ROC)

Top 5 in rest of Canada
- Freedom
- The maple leaf
- O Canada
- MEDICARE
- The mounties

Bottom 5 in Quebec
- The Queen
- The Grey Cup
- American popular culture
- The Quebec unity debate
- The beaver

Bottom 5 in rest of Canada
- American popular culture
- The Quebec unity debate
- The Fleur de lys
- The Free Trade Agreement
- The Queen

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* 30 ITEMS TESTED

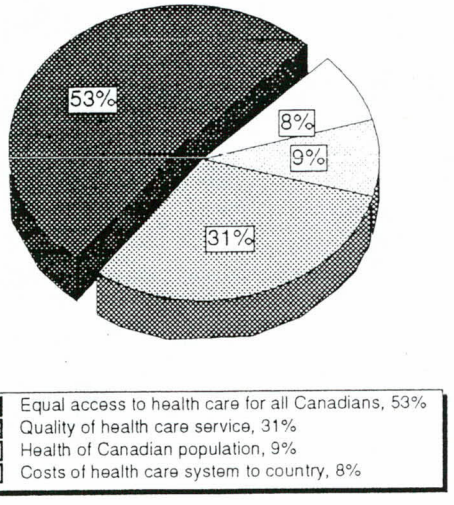
In a setting where there is a paucity of shared icons this important resonance across our two solitudes should not be lost on political leaders.

4.7 The Public *Sine Qua Non*: Equal Access

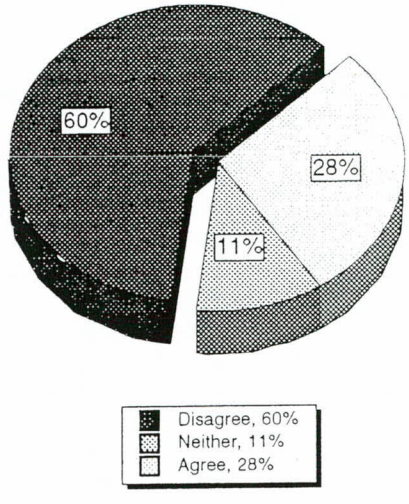
Exhibit 4.7 gets to the heart of the debate. In general, equity of access is seen as the ultimate *telos* of health care. As with the earlier chart on core values we see the clear priority of values over economic rationality in the public's mind.

EXHIBIT 4.7
The Priority of Equal Access — A Clear Public Judgement

"Which one of the following aspects of health care is of greatest importance to you?"



"Individuals should be allowed to pay extra to get quicker access to health care services"



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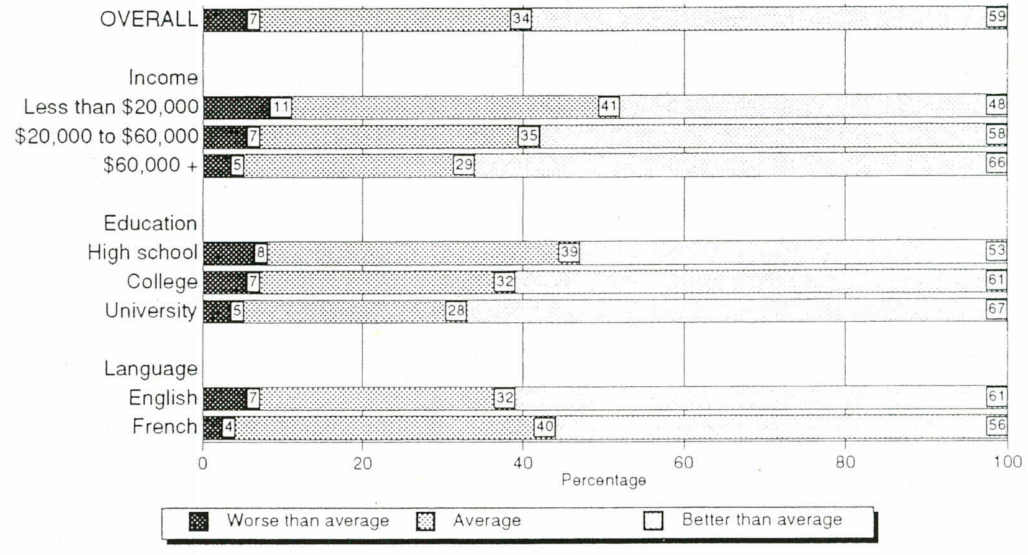
Whereas 53 per cent select equal access, only nine per cent select the actual health of the population. This public judgement is consistent with the more specific rejection of queue jumping seen in the second diagram. This finding is both remarkable and important.

We find some connection between these views and social class. The more secure classes are more receptive to user-pay and rationality. Instructively, we note that even amongst the more powerful and affluent there is still a preference for equity and a rejection of user pay. Both strong values and interests are at play here. Unlike the case of welfare one doesn't know where one will end up in the health care system (Rawl's notion of primitive justice). It is not just self-interest; there is also a real desire to preserve this symbol of universality in a threatening world of change.

4.8 Influences on Health

Self-rating (although positively skewed) of health, as illustrated in Exhibit 4.8, is a surprisingly strong predictor of actual health. As well, there are strong interdependencies between wealth, labour markets and education. Factor analysis of priorities indicates a link between health and other human capital investments (e.g., education, training).

EXHIBIT 4.8
Health of Canadian Population
"How would you rate your physical health compared to the average Canadian?"



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Rethinking Government August 1995
Repenser le gouvernement août 1995

Does health cause wealth or the reverse? It is probably the case that a mutual causal relationship exists. The point is that health care policy cannot be discussed in a vacuum; it profoundly shapes broader economic, social and cultural issues. Multivariate analysis suggests that variables such as income, wealth and education (although interrelated) each exert individual influences on health. New data

from the U.S.A. (Exhibit 4.9) shows exactly how strong the relationship between health and wealth really is.

EXHIBIT 4.9
Health and Wealth: Recent U.S. Data

	Median Net Worth	Median Income
If husband and wife both rate health as excellent	$205,000	$70,000
If husband and wife both rate health as poor	$22,200	$13,439

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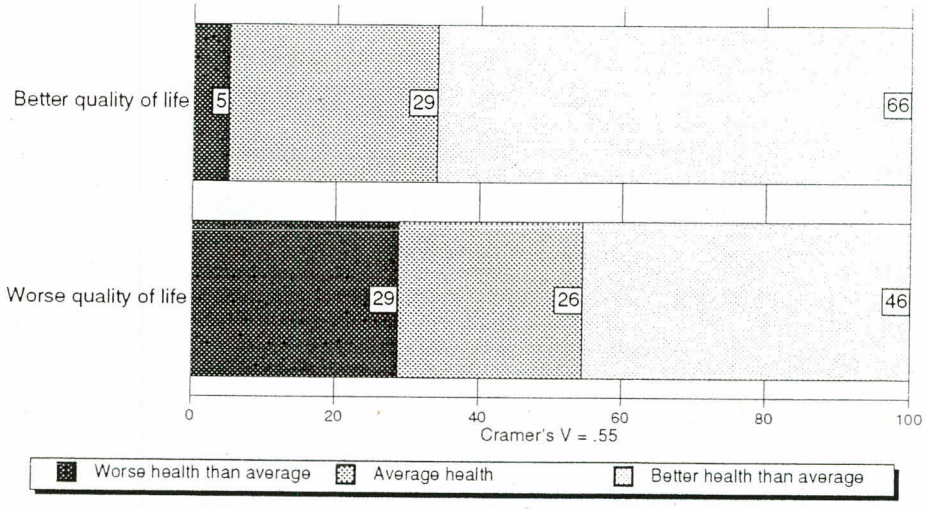
Data drawn from Moon and Juster, *Economic Status Measures in the Health and Retirement Study*. The Journal of Human Resources 30: S149. 1995

Those spouses who both rate their health as excellent have a median income which is five times higher and a net worth which is nine times higher than those with poor health. We know that the economic realm is interdependent with health policy but the strength of the connection is startling.

The research measures subjective quality of life, which is surprisingly high (despite the Greek Chorus concerning government and institutions). Only seven per cent of Canadians rate their quality of life as below average. Moreover, as illustrated in Exhibit 4.10 below, quality of life is strongly linked to health (V=.55) and, in turn, other socio-economic variables. Thus, it is not just about physical health, it is the basic structure of well-being which is linked to this debate.

EXHIBIT 4.10
Examining the Relationship Between Self-Rated Health and Quality of Life



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4.9 Conclusions

Health care is a top government priority (along with deficit and education). It is also a core value. It will increase in importance given demographics (i.e., an aging population). Health care may emerge as the defining issue. Part of a human investment factor (along with education, training and jobs) with links in the real world, health policy is highly interdependent with broader social and economic policy.

Health care receives the greatest satisfaction levels. Receptivity exists to new approaches *but* basically attachment to *status quo*. Anxieties, insecurities and declining confidence in the system exist despite satisfaction. Health care is seen as a prime area meriting increased or maintained federal commitment.

Of all social programs, health care is seen as the strongest contributor to quality of life in Canada (all programs are viewed favourably); many see health care as a basic facet of Canadian identity. Health care survives as the last bastion of universality.

Clearly, the ultimate goal or virtue of the system is *equality* of access. This has both symbolic and practical significance for Canadians. Health care transcends class barriers, although there is stronger support for a two-tier system amongst more wealthy respondents.

Federal role remains strong and legitimate but there are considerable pressures, flux and uncertainties. Federal-provincial complementarity is not only desirable, it is mandatory according to the public.

The preferred division among players is:

- federal — funding, standards, harmonizing, policy/goals;
- provincial — service delivery, monitoring, policy/goals;
- professionals — service delivery, policy/goals;
- business — mixed but less receptivity here than in other areas, service delivery; and
- other players (e.g., NGO's, private citizens) — highest rating is in policy/goals and monitoring (but still low).

Underlying desire for both federal and provincial involvement reflects a desire for checks and balances (hedging bets given health care's profound significance), as well as Canadians' desire for partnership and fatigue with territorialism.

4.10 Fitting the Public Perspective to the Future

The collapse of the old parental model of government has resulted in the following opportunities:

- growing receptivity to partnerships and openness to private sector delivery;
- deficit resolve is strong, a new fiscal realism exists;
- willingness to fund (trade-offs/new resources); and
- receptivity among public towards innovation but without any perceived further degradation.

The following threats and challenges also exist:

- Canadian are still highly attached to the *status quo;*
- the high stakes attached to health care (health, quality of life, economy, core values/identity) breeds caution;
- scepticism exists about rhetoric of "reform", many believe that this is a euphemism for cuts;
- the elite-public gap in values and goals that is evident in broader social debate also exists in health care.

Canadians express a desire for involvement of both senior levels of government (lean to increased or maintained government role). The ultimate goal is equality of access. Aversion to a two-tier system exists among many members of the general public. Health care reform will link to identity and values debate. Preservation of health care is an area of consensus across English Canada and Quebec.

CHAPTER

5 PUBLIC SERVICE AND SERVICE DELIVERY

5.1 Perceptions of the Federal Public Service

The *Rethinking Government* study examined perceptions of public servants in general, as well as the performance of the federal public service, both in terms of hiring criteria and desirability of working for the federal government.

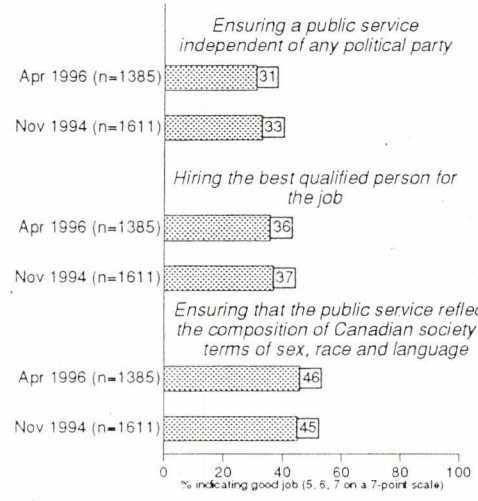
Recall from the discussion of trust and legitimacy in government (Chapter 2) that while the Canadian public express antipathy toward government, much of this hostility is aimed at politicians, rather than public servants. In fact, public servants are among the occupation groups which receive the highest levels of trust (see Exhibit 2.2). Furthermore, only 33 per cent of Canadians would be proud if their child grew up to be a politician, compared with 45 per cent who would be similarly proud if their child grew up to be a public servant.

The public's perception of the performance of the federal public service itself is more mixed. Perceptions of the federal public service's performance have been examined by the *Rethinking Government* study over the past couple of years using three criteria: political independence, fairness in hiring, and reflecting the composition of Canadian society (Exhibit 5.1). Comparing the most recent data with previous findings

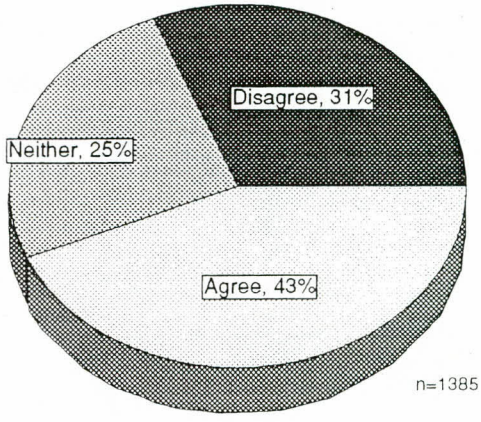
suggests that the public perceptions of the federal public service's performance across these three criteria are fairly stable over time.

EXHIBIT 5.1
Perceptions of the Federal Public Service

"How good or bad a job is the federal public service doing right in terms of hiring people according to the following criteria?"



"I would encourage a member of my family to work in the federal public service"



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Repenser le gouvernement avril 1996

The performance of the federal government in ensuring a public service independent of any political party and in hiring the best qualified person for the job shows a slight decline between November 1994 and April 1996. Federal government performance in ensuring that the public service reflects the composition of Canadian society in terms of sex, race and language shows a slight improvement over the same time period.

Respondents from Quebec, respondents aged between 16 and 24, and those with a high school education are the most likely to feel that the federal government is doing a good job in ensuring the political independence of the public service and in hiring the most qualified person. The youth effect is particularly

noteworthy: fully 44 per cent feel that the public service is doing a good job of ensuring political independence, and 66 per cent believe that the federal government is hiring the most qualified individual.

Few sub-group differences are exhibited with respect to the federal government's performance in reflecting the composition of Canadian society. Although university-educated are more likely than their counterparts to feel the government is doing a good job in this area.

A large minority (43 per cent) agree with the statement "I would encourage a member of my family to work in the federal public service". Respondents in the Atlantic provinces, those with high school education, the unemployed and those with lower incomes are particularly likely to agree with this notion.

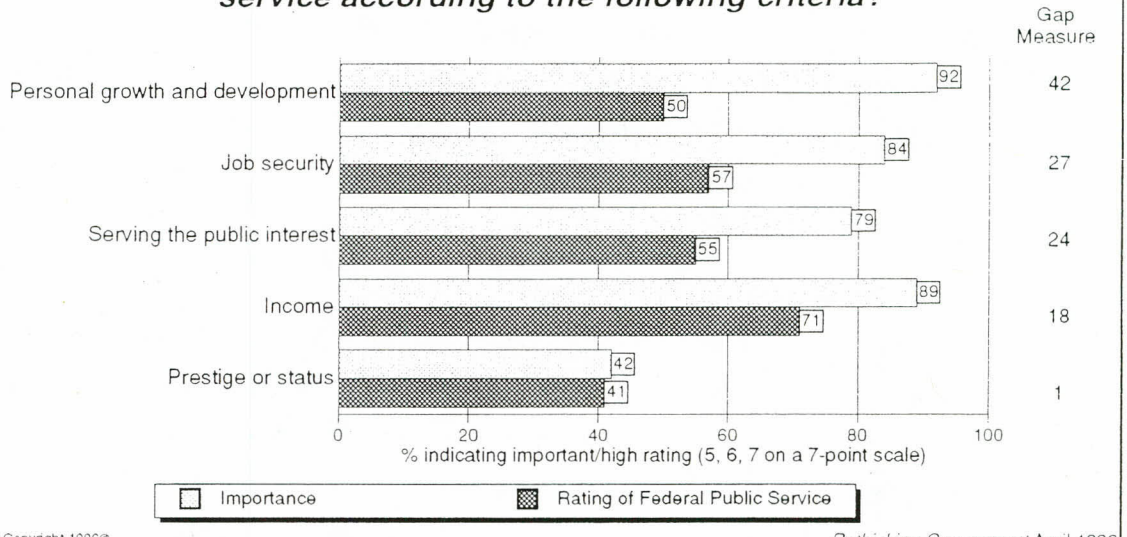
The desirability of working for the federal public service was further examined by comparing the importance of a variety of job selection criteria (e.g., income, prestige, personal growth) and the rating of a job in the public service across these same criteria (Exhibit 5.2).

Personal growth and development was given the highest rating in terms of its importance in the job selection decision — 92 per cent rate it as important. The largest gap between importance and rating is also exhibited across this criteria. In fact across all of the job criteria except prestige, a job in the public service is rated at least 18 points below its importance. What is also somewhat disconcerting about these findings is that across all of the job selection criteria (except income) less than 60 per cent of the general public accords high ratings to working in the federal government.

These findings suggest that the Public Service Commission may have difficulty recruiting the best people in the future as there is a perception among the general public that working in the public service is not a desirable occupation.

EXHIBIT 5.2
Gap Between Importance of Job Criteria and Rating of Federal Public Service Job

"Please rate how important each of the following criteria is to your job selection decision/how would you rate a job in the federal public service according to the following criteria?"



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5.2 Research on Behalf of the Task Force or Service Delivery Models

This chapter also draws upon recent research conducted for the Task Force on Service Delivery Models.[2] This research examines federal public servants' understanding and perceptions of client service, as well as influences on service delivery. A comparison with client views about service and their interactions with public servants is also conducted as part of this study.

2. This section summarizes the major findings from the Government Service Delivery study. Complete details of the methodology and findings can be found in the Government Service Delivery Final Report (April 30, 1996).

The surveys reveal a mixture of positive and negative findings. Running throughout this research is a disturbing gap between the views of public servants and the clients they serve. Although the gap often favours a flattering self-image of public servants — and particularly the quality of their service efforts — there are important exceptions where public servants maintain exaggerated notions of client antipathy. A number of crucial gaps characterize this area: gaps between self-rating and client-ratings; gaps between client expectations and client experiences; and gaps between management and front line views on service. These differences are not merely curious; they define some of the crucial challenges interfering with a healthier client-government correction.

One of the more striking findings of the study is the apparent strength of the commitment to excellent service to the public. In several survey items, and in the focus groups, public servants united in a virtual consensus that service to the public was the essence and *telos* of their job. This notion that serving the public is what their job is all about is also linked to a conviction that, given the practical constraints, they (personally) are doing an "excellent" job of serving the public. This strong service ethic appears to be resilient compared to Ekos' 1990 Service to the Public (STP) study. In fact there is some evidence that public servants feel that service to the public, and their commitment to client service, have improved in the past several years. Other survey indicators suggest that public servants believe that they are more open and transparent and placing more emphasis on consultation than in the 1990 research. This commitment to service is clearly genuine. There are, however, some non-trivial problems underlying this broad service ethic.

There is a growing sense that public servants feel themselves under seige. The broad based hostility to governments which has become an entrenched public mood in the nineties has clearly registered on public servants. But worse yet, public servants have seriously exaggerated perceived public hostility towards public servants such that 78 per cent believe that their clients think of them as "lazy and uncaring". In fact, slightly less than one in five (17 per cent) clients really hold this view. The

Rethinking Government research suggests that while public servants are not immune to the broad resentment to government, the greatest anger and alienation from government is directed toward politicians and the entire institution of government. In fact, as presented in Chapter 2, trust in federal public servants is significantly higher than trust in politicians. About 60 per cent have little trust in politicians versus only 25 per cent who have little trust in federal public servants (29 per cent have little trust in provincial public servants, suggesting that federal public servants are slightly more trusted than their provincial colleagues — see Exhibit 2.2).

In addition to perceived public hostility, public servants are acutely aware of the impacts of retrenchment and restraint. Downsizing and other resource constraints are salient concerns raised in group discussions. All of these forces have coalesced to produce a significant decline in the overall morale of the public service. Yet in spite of these difficulties commitment to service has remained strong and perhaps even strengthened. Nearly 90 per cent of public servants agreed that "providing excellent service is what my job is all about". Many focus group participants took it as a point of honour or pride that they maintained this focus despite the *travails* of public service. There was a sense that many public servants, particularly at the front line and in the regions, were transferring allegiance from their Minister, Deputy or manager to their client or the public.

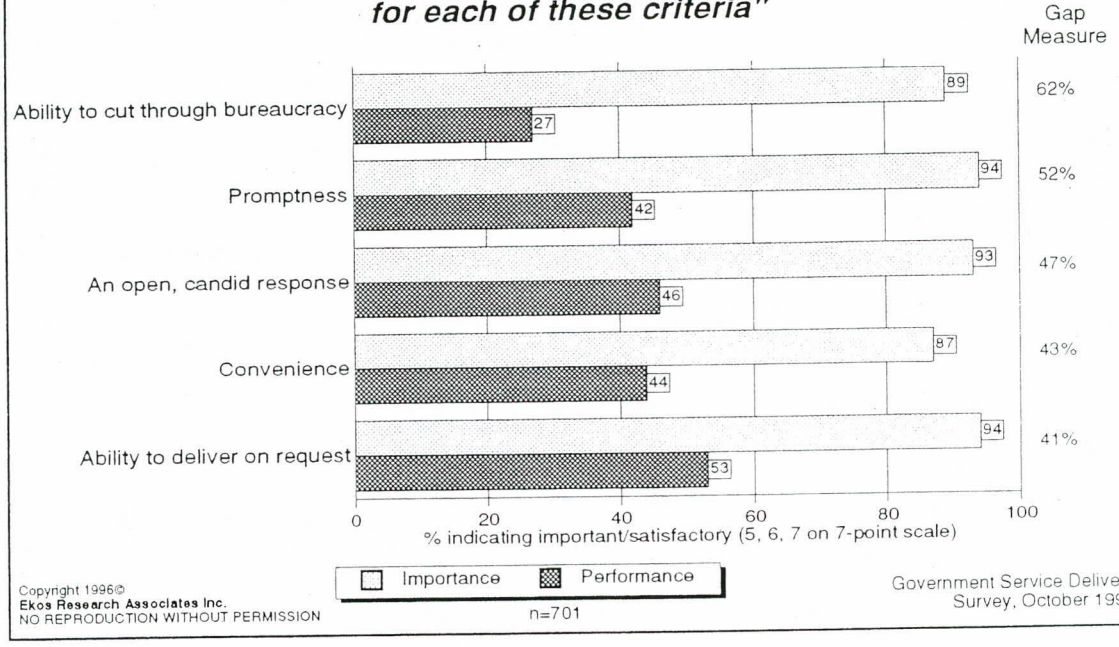
5.3 The Client Perspective: A Reality Check

Although it is impressive that this service ethic is so resilient, there is also reason to be concerned by this finding. The key problem is that, as described below, *the current system is not working*. Despite the sense within the public service that progress is occurring, and that service performance is great given constraints, clients do not share this flattering self-image. For whatever reasons, the experiences of clients mirror broader public disaffection with government as an institution (see Chapter 2). Only a minority of clients (34 per cent) agree that public servants are doing an

excellent job — even recognising resource constraints. In fact, when comparing client expectations on the key dimensions of the service transaction rated by clients, there is a huge gap between recent experiences and going in expectations (Exhibit 5.3). Clients place a premium on cutting through red tape, timeliness, transparency and openness and getting results. On all of these crucial dimensions of the service transaction client satisfaction levels are depressingly low (25 to 50 per cent satisfaction).

EXHIBIT 5.3
Gap Between Importance of Service Element and Performance of Government Delivery

"Please rate how important/the performance of government service for each of these criteria"



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Government Service Delivery Survey, October 1995

Without exploring demographic variations in satisfaction with government in any depth here, it is important to note a particularly strong and disturbing age effect. Younger Canadians have a *much* more negative view of the federal government in general (see Chapter 6), as well as the quality of service delivery (see the Government Service Delivery Final Report, p. 44). In past research it was speculated that lower rates of contact and political literacy may have accounted for this antipathy. It is disconcerting to note that in a sample of clients who have recently

dealt with the federal government, the negativity of young clients of the federal government may be even more pronounced (than those who have not recently dealt with government).

Even when comparing satisfaction levels on these same dimensions with the concrete example of one's last visit to a bank a sizable deficiency (about 30 per cent lower satisfaction) is noted. Recognizing that banks are not the most popular institutions in Canada today, it is quite discouraging to note this wide performance gap. Some of the gap can be attributed to the paper burden and accountability requirements of government but this cannot explain all of this shortfall (or any of the 21 per cent shortfall on "courtesy").

It is possible to chart the gap between client expectations and the record of real world delivery in greater depth. However, it is also important to note that if only two per cent of public servants rate their personal service performance as less than "excellent" this may be an obstacle to fixing the problem. There should be no doubt about the nature and severity of the problem itself. The public perspective on the federal government, whether judged from the specific vantage point at the last service episode, or from the broader perspective of public attitudes, reveals a level of disaffection which can only be characterised as a crisis. This crisis cannot be addressed, much less solved, in a world where it is seen as unavoidable and unrelated to the efforts of public servants.

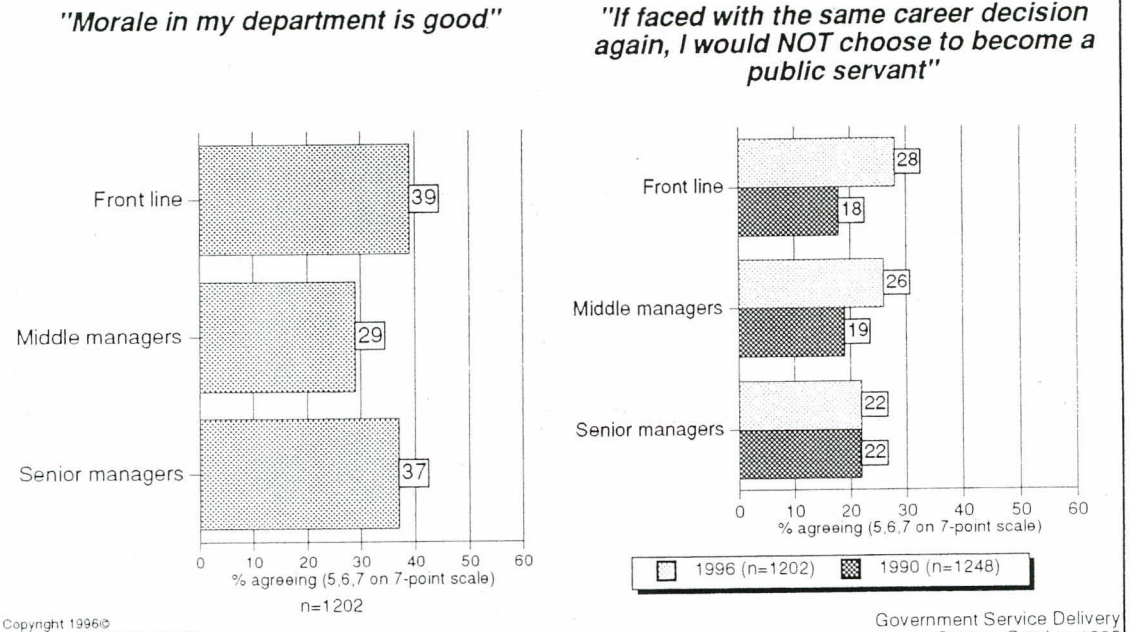
5.4 Linking Morale, Planning and Innovation: Creating an Organizational Service Edge

It is useful to examine the internal connections between service and other human resource and organisational issues. Beginning with the issue of morale we offer the unsurprising but clearly documented conclusion that poor departmental morale is

a ubiquitous feature of the current federal public service (with some very sizable variation across different departmental settings).

Morale in the public service was examined on both a departmental and a personal basis. Only 35 per cent of participants feel that morale in their department is good. Middle managers are particularly pessimistic in their view of departmental morale (Exhibit 5.4). Departmental morale varies significantly across government departments.

EXHIBIT 5.4
Morale in the Public Service



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Government Service Delivery Survey, October 1995

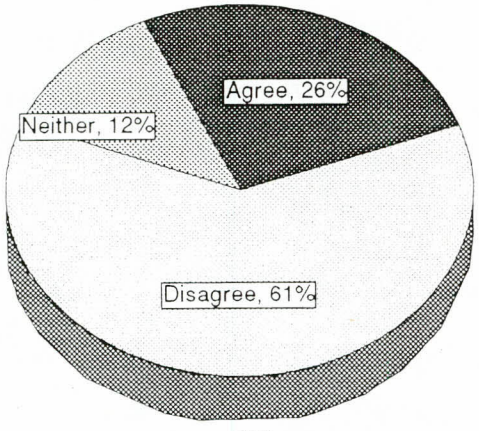
It is also possible to make conclusions on the state of personal employee morale and where it is going. Only a minority (26 per cent) of participants indicated that if faced with the same career decision they would not choose to become a public servant. However, tracking this question from the 1990 Service to the Public survey reveals a significant increase in the percentage of both front line staff and middle

managers indicating that they would not choose to become a public servant if given the same career decision.

It is instructive to note that while morale has clearly declined according to this indicator it also appears to be somewhat higher than for the average ratings across all other occupational groups. In the *Rethinking Government* survey, 29 per cent of Canadians agreed that they would *not* choose their career area again (Exhibit 5.5).

EXHIBIT 5.5
Satisfaction with Career Choice

"If faced with the same career decision again, I would NOT choose to become a public servant"



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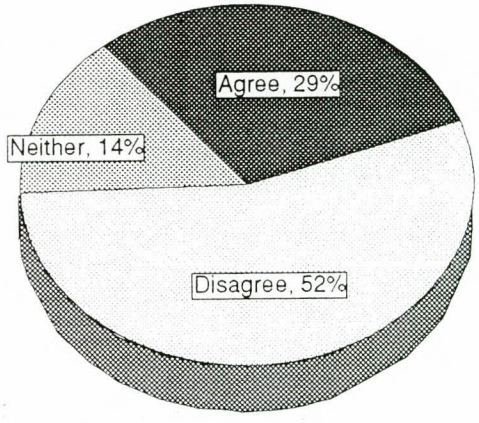
Government Service Delivery Survey, October 1995

"If faced with the same career decision again, I would NOT choose the career I am currently pursuing"



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Rethinking Government April 1996
Repenser le gouvernement avril 1996

5.5 Service in the Public Sector

The concept of service is at the heart of this discussion. The term is often treated as a primitive, a concept which is fundamental and somewhat obvious. After

all, government is synonymous with civil or public service. Most employees agree that service to the public is the essence of their job. But is the concept that obvious? Are discussions of service in this context somehow different than in other settings?

The answer is both yes and no. The key transactional elements of modern service are fairly obvious. They really don't vary that much whether we are talking about mufflers, fast food or legal advice. The key transactional service model is basically common to the modern consumer society. The research shows that both clients and public servants agree on the dimensions of the service model (if not the performance achieved). As the single greatest expenditure area, citizens should expect at least as much of this sort of service when they visit their government office as they do when they deal with a restaurant, a courier or a bank. Clearly against these yardsticks, the results are woefully deficient.

This post-modern era shows government and public service to be undergoing a fundamental transition. There is widespread hostility and disaffection with government (see Chapter 2). But it remains the case that the state plays a universally important role in the post-modern world and the essence of this role still revolves around the notions of public interest, reason and knowledge. The future of government may be smaller, but not necessarily less significant. Our broader research shows that Canadians remain committed to the goals of government but not the results (or value for money equation).

Is service essentially about results or the quality of the transaction? From the public's perspective, both are important and they fail to see these as choices. Nearly 90 per cent of Canadians believe that "higher quality customer service" is important to producing a "results-oriented" federal government. Indeed, accountability for measured results and transparent decision-making are seen as the most important criteria of a list of five ideas that might improve governance in Canada.

CHAPTER

6 YOUTH ISSUES

Recent findings from the *Rethinking Government* study, reveal high levels of alienation among youth from the current government system and declining expectations and confidence in the federal government. Despite these negative views of the system, youth also espouse extremely tolerant and compassionate attitudes and views. These differences are described below.

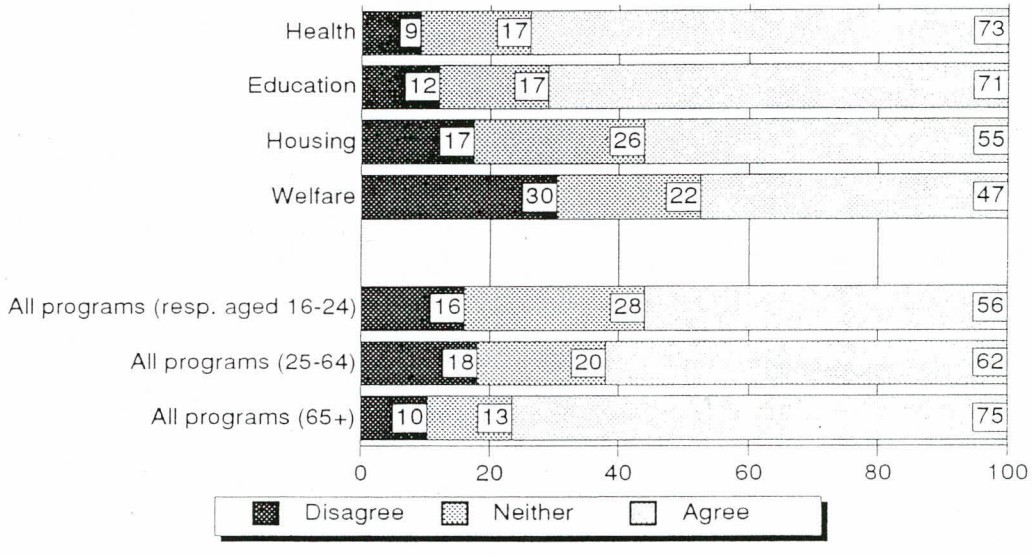
6.1 Attitudes toward Government

Youth are increasingly cynical about the ability of the federal government to solve current social and economic problems. In fact youth are transferring their faith from the federal government to provincial and local governments. When asked for their preferred division of responsibilities in a variety of areas (e.g., job training, housing, health care) among the different levels of government, the private sector, non-governmental organizations and citizens themselves, youth are the least likely to assign responsibility to the federal government. In fact, those aged between 16 and 24 are the only respondents to assign a higher level of responsibility to the provincial rather than the federal government.

Youth are also much more likely to endorse devolution of federal responsibilities to provincial and local governments as a means of improving governance in Canada.

Youth are much less likely to feel that social programs (health care, education, housing, welfare) have contributed to Canada's quality of life (Exhibit 6.1).

EXHIBIT 6.1
Young Canadians: Disconnected from Government
"Canada's quality of life has been enriched by our social programs in the area of..."



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Rethinking Government February 1994 and August 1995
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In terms of political literacy, a summary scale indicated that 16 to 24 year olds were much less knowledgeable than older Canadians. These lower levels of literacy suggest a detachment from broader society among Canadian youth. This finding may also point to a failure of the education system to impart even a very basic level of political literacy upon students.

6.2 Tolerance

Youth tend to be more liberal in their views about multiculturalism and diversity. In general, most dimensions of multiculturalism are more strongly endorsed by younger Canadians.

Youth are also more likely to feel that multicultural programs have positively influenced Canadian society (e.g., enriched Canada's culture, provided greater equality to people who are of neither British nor French origin).

Youth are the most likely to express feelings of generosity and compassion. They are much less likely to feel there are too many immigrants coming to Canada, and provide the strongest support for the idea that the government should do more to help the needy even if it means going further into debt.

6.3 Work and School

The Canadian population as a whole exhibits economic insecurity: 44 per cent feel they have lost all control over their economic security (Exhibit 6.2). Youth, however, are not as concerned about their economic prospects as their older counterparts. Only 35 per cent of 16 to 24 year olds agreed with the statement "I feel I have lost all control over my economic future" compared to 45 per cent of 25 to 64 year olds.

When asked to rate the importance of various criteria in their career decision, those aged between 16 and 24 again exhibit differences from their older counterparts (Exhibit 6.3). Youth assign much more importance to prestige or status and job security, and less importance to serving the public interest.

EXHIBIT 6.2
Economic Insecurity

"I feel I have lost all control of my economic future"

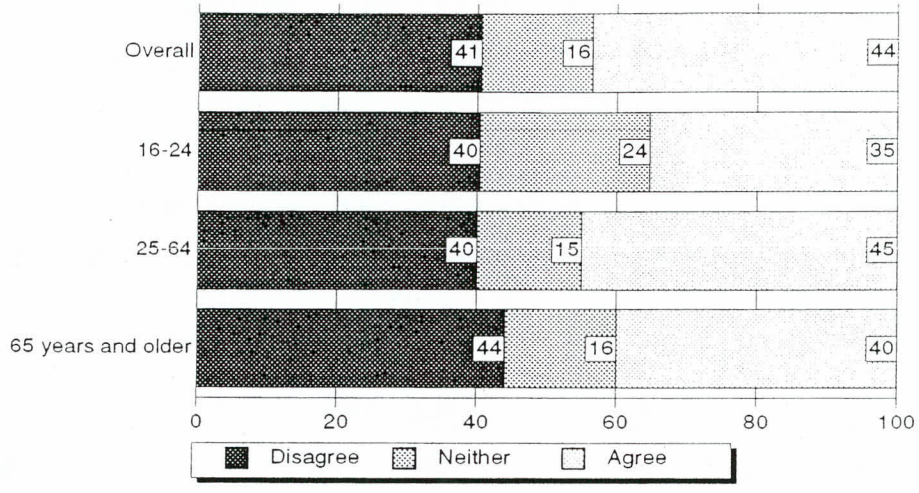

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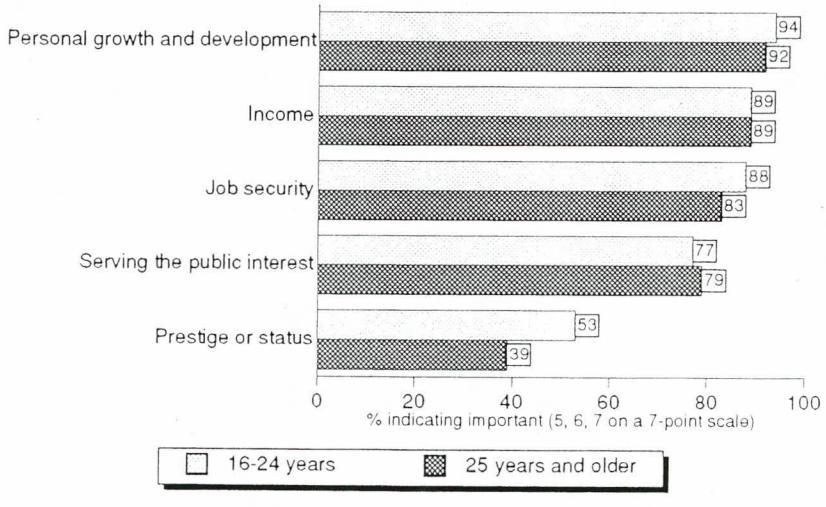
EXHIBIT 6.3
Job Preferences

"How important is... to your job selection decision?"



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6.4 Concern for Canadian Youth

Findings from *Rethinking Government* suggest that the disparity of labour market prospects between youth and their older counterparts is a source of great concern among the Canadian public. In fact, much of the declining benevolence and optimism which remains in Canadian society is bestowed upon young people. Findings from last year's *Rethinking Government* study indicate that planning for future generations is one of the highest rated roles for government to pursue. Canadians also attach a great deal of importance to the problem of child poverty: it is surpassed only by education and deficit reduction as warranting highest priority from the federal government over the next five years. It is also instructive to note that youth training is assigned higher priority in the minds of the Canadian public than is job training in general.

More recent *Rethinking Government* findings confirm the concerns among the Canadian public about the marginalization of youth in society (Exhibit 6.4). More specifically:

- ninety-one per cent worry about young people's ability to enter the job market;
- there is concern that today's youth will end up paying both for a deficit they did not create and for pensions they will not be able to draw from; and
- three in four believe that today's young Canadians can expect to have a lower standard of living than their parents.

Canadians also express a desire for federal government intervention in order to reconnect youth to mainstream society (Exhibit 6.5):

EXHIBIT 6.4
Concern for Canadian Youth

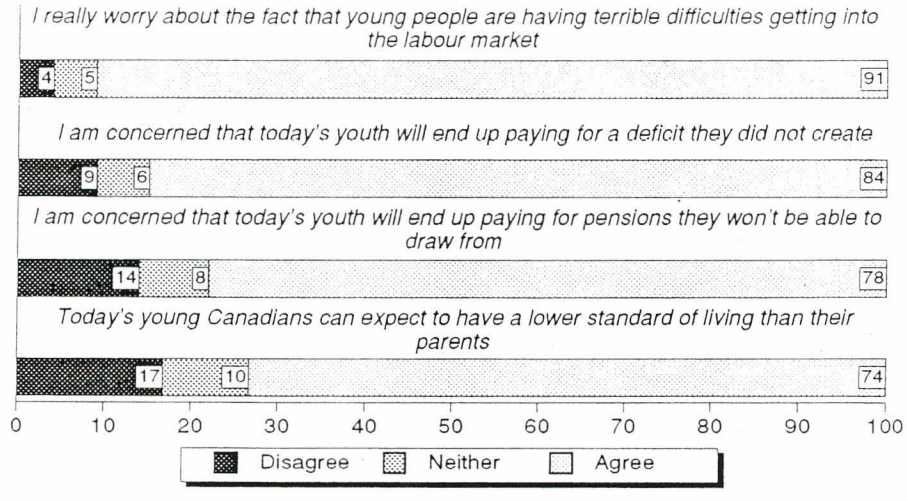

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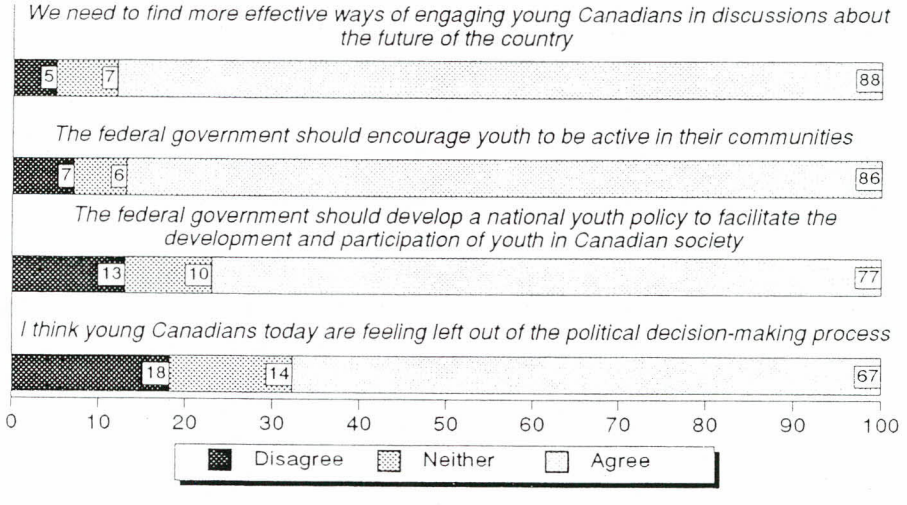
EXHIBIT 6.5
Desire for Federal Action



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- eighty-six per cent feel the federal government should encourage youth to be active in their communities and 77 per cent feel that the government should be actively involved in developing youth policies to facilitate the participation of youth in Canadian society;

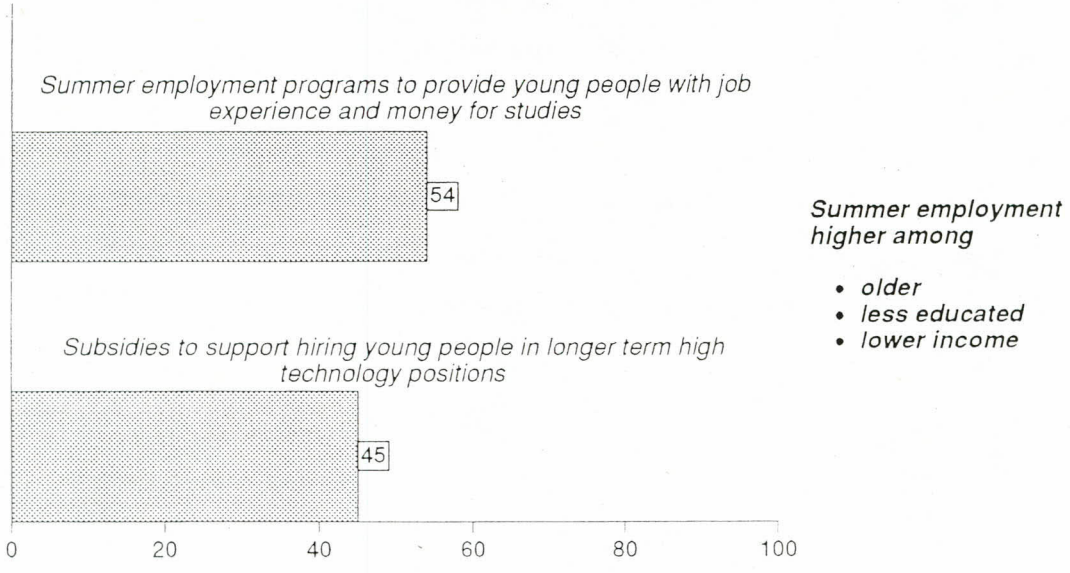
- it is perceived that youth are feeling left out of the political decision-making process;

- it is believed that society needs to find more effective ways of engaging youth in discussions about the future of the country; and

- when forced to choose between summer employment programs which provide students with experience and money versus subsidies to support hiring young people in high technology positions, Canadians select summer employment programs by a slight 55/45 margin (Exhibit 6.6).

EXHIBIT 6.6
Preferred Approach to Help Youth

"Given the overall problems facing young Canadians today, which of the following two approaches do you think makes more sense?"



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CHAPTER

7 DIVERSITY AND TOLERANCE

7.1 A Typology of the Canadian Public

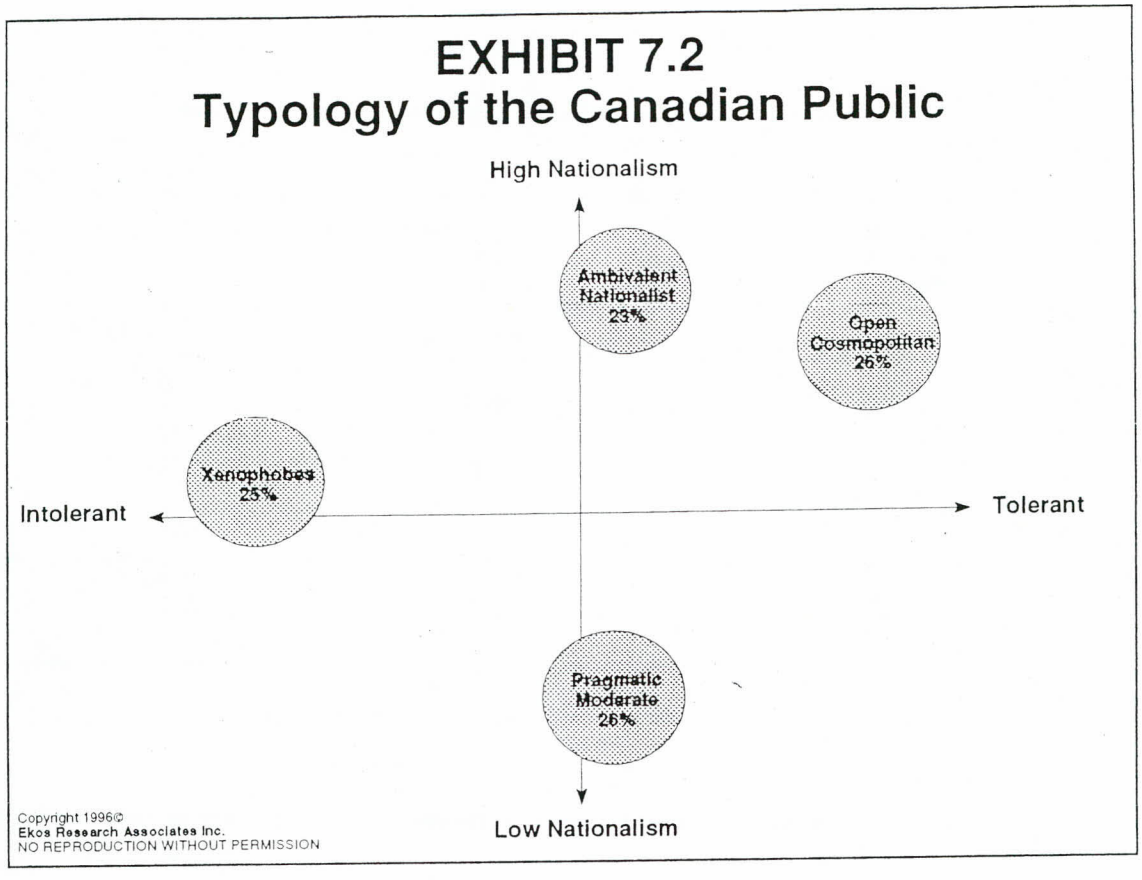
In examining attitudes to diversity and identity, the Canadian population can be split into four relatively even sized psychographic segments (a brief description of the methodology used in constructing this typology is contained in Annex A). These segments, or ideal types, are quite different in their character and concerns. The typology used 12 factor scales or dimensions summarizing responses to 61 individual variables in the Citizenship and Canadian Identity (CCI) data set. These dimensions and their mean scores across each of the four clusters are summarized in Exhibit 7.1. The content of these dimensions are detailed in Annex B.

EXHIBIT 7.1
Mean Scores for Clusters

	Xenophobe	Open Cosmopolitan	Ambivalent Nationalist	Pragmatic Moderate
Traditional funding and pro-diversity	3.14	5.05	5.08	4.26
Positive impacts of multiculturalism	3.45	5.22	5.17	4.33
Negative impacts of multiculturalism	4.82	2.90	4.63	3.81
Promoting tolerance	4.70	6.04	5.84	5.20
Concern about racism	3.92	4.32	4.68	4.34
Canadian identity (through diversity)	5.48	6.06	6.12	4.70
Cultural insecurity	4.70	2.87	4.72	4.04
Anglophone icon/symbols	5.65	5.65	5.94	4.14
Symbol values	5.53	6.15	6.20	5.23
Quebec nationalism symbols	3.18	5.10	5.31	4.53
Bilingualism as a bridge	3.87	5.66	5.94	4.92
Reverse discrimination	5.74	4.09	5.31	4.75

The public can be arrayed across two key dimensions — tolerance and (Canadian) nationalism (Exhibit 7.2). The types are described in terms of: (1) their psychographics, (2) attitudes to policy, (iii) demographics, and (iv) media consumption and political profile. (Annex C contains a profile of the four clusters across these demographic and attitudinal characteristics.)

1. *Xenophobes (25 per cent).* According to this typology about one in four Canadians displays attitudes which can be labelled xenophobic. This group is largely intolerant of other cultures and many of their attitudes border on racism. These types tend to discount most positive impacts of diversity while accentuating the downside. They tend to be concerned about funding of multicultural activities and insecure about the declining pre-eminence of British-descent culture in Canada. This group is also troubled by Quebec and bilingualism. Although a plurality support the proposed new mandate, they are by far the most strenuously opposed to multicultural policy. Not surprisingly, this group also features the highest levels of opposition to immigration.



This group is dominated by white, middle-aged anglophones. Notably, white "ethnic" groups are slightly overrepresented here. They are also overrepresented in B.C., the Prairies and Ontario and underrepresented in Quebec and Atlantic Canada. Somewhat surprisingly, they are not particularly low socio-economic status (SES). Indeed, there is an overrepresentation of upper income and average education. This group considers itself politically interested and are the most likely to follow political affairs on television and newspapers.

2. *Ambivalent Nationalists (23 per cent).* This group is torn with a number of internal tensions. Although basically "multiphiles" their strong attraction to diversity is tempered by real concerns about overall national identity. They are highly attached to Canada, its symbols and values. The contradiction between favouring tolerance and diversity and worrying about an overall national identity leads to deep internal contradictions. This group supports the Trudeauesque notion of a multi-ethnic federal state unified at the level of common values. They also strongly endorse bilingualism and biculturalism. Yet they are wary of the rapidity of changes and worried about whether their conception of Canada will survive this change. Their reactions will be more emotional and idealistic than rational or cerebral.

The Ambivalent Nationalist group is dominated by somewhat less educated, economically insecure individuals. They are overrepresented in Atlantic Canada. This segment also contains a high incidence of women and an overrepresentation of both younger and older Canadians. There is a high incidence of visible minorities in this segment. With average levels of claimed political interest, this group is fairly typical in its political media consumption (although underconsumers of magazines).

3. *Pragmatic Moderates (26 per cent).* This group represents the middle of the road on many issues. The more notable features are relative indifference to the emotionally charged, idealistic portions of the debate. Their views are more rational and pragmatic. This pragmatism is partly due to inherent rationality and partly due to much lower levels of Canadian nationalism. They tend to be relatively less connected to most sources of identity, but relatively more connected to province. They are largely supportive of the new program direction, but most likely to be indifferent to the changes. Their overall attitudes to immigration are fairly open and they are fairly tolerant in general.

   Their most important demographic feature is a high concentration of francophones (although 40 per cent are anglophones). Almost 60 per cent of this segment lives in Quebec. Somewhat younger and male, they are also slightly better educated. This group is somewhat politically apathetic. Their political media consumption patterns are average.

4. *Open Cosmopolitans (26 per cent).* This group strongly endorses diversity and immigration. They see the impacts as positive and highly approve active state stewardship of this mandate. They are culturally secure and welcoming of diversity. They are strongly committed to national identity, core Canadian values and see tolerance and diversity as central expressions of Canadian identity and values.

   There are remarkably few notable demographic differences about this group. They tend to be much more highly educated and slightly more likely to be women. They tend to be more likely to consume political affairs through the radio. They are also the top consumers of magazines.

7.2 Trends in Attitudes Toward Immigration

Perceptions of immigration must be placed in the context of broader social changes. Rapid and dramatic changes have occurred in Canadian society:

- an aging population, a pluralistic society;
- increased labour market anxieties, globalization; and
- worsening public finances.

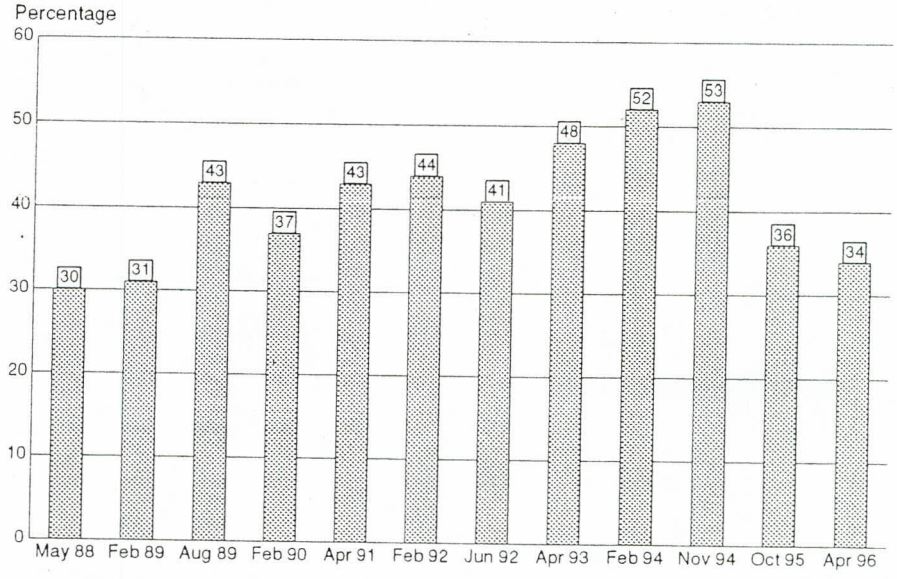
Strong linkages exist surrounding concerns about identity, unity and diversity. These issues are at the very heart of the debate about the future of the country. However, competing definitions of "country" exist. Images of diversity and immigration are changing; a strong majority sense that diversity is a source of strength and identity. However, for many, there are increasing concerns about the limits and context for diversity.

The key exposure is tension between overall national identity and pluralism; most feel this problem is resolvable at the level of core values. Beneath the surface of pro-diversity ethic, there is growing evidence of the stresses of rapid pluralism. Cosmopolitan variety (spice and colour) is accepted but wariness about more threatening symbols also exists. These concerns are aggravated in largest urban centres absorbing the majority of new immigrants.

There is strong support for societal action to promote integration (not assimilation) and combat racism. Citizenship is emerging as a possible vehicle for defining these issues. The tolerance picture is confused; however, Canada remains a tolerant society. Recent evidence suggest a softening in attitudes to immigration levels (Exhibit 7.3).

The real magnitude of change is difficult to gauge but there has been a significant decline in opposition to levels of immigration. This finding may be a product of the high profile debate about immigration. As a result, we may have to rethink the view that sharing alarming social research with public will worsen the problems documented.

EXHIBIT 7.3
Tracking Canadian Attitudes: "Too Many Immigrants"



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CHAPTER

8 TECHNOLOGY ISSUES

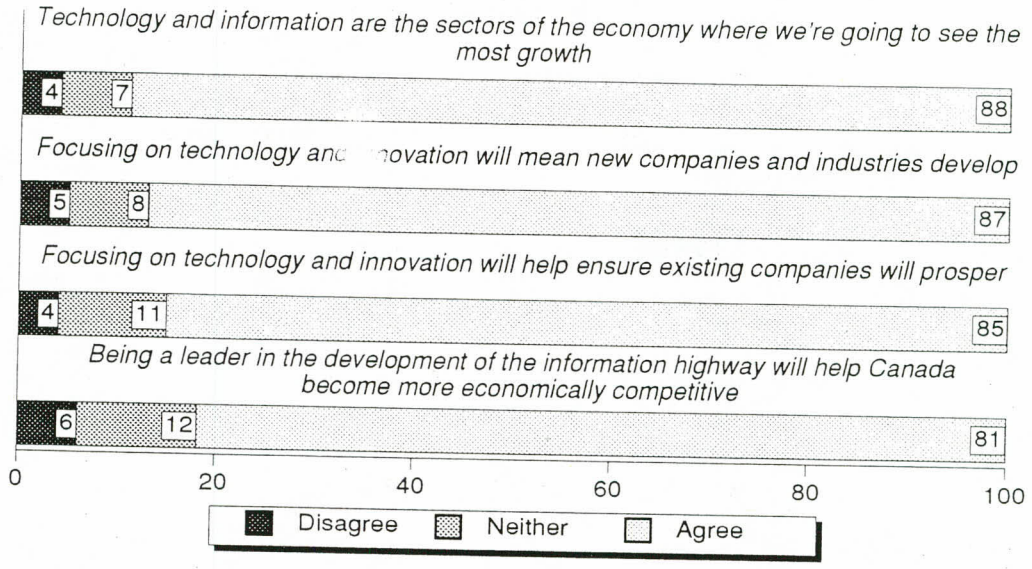
8.1 Technology as a Source of Optimism

As discussed in previous sections of this report, technology is seen as a touchstone for economic growth. Findings from this iteration of the *Rethinking Government* project further reinforce the Canadian public's belief that technology is a source of salvation for Canadian industry (Exhibit 8.1). For a large majority of Canadians (88 per cent), it is believed that the technology sector will experience the greatest economic growth.

It is also believed that focusing on technology will result in the development of new companies and ensure that existing companies prosper. Technological prowess is also believed to be helpful in making Canada more economically competitive.

Residents of the Atlantic provinces and younger Canadians are particularly positive in their assessment of the impacts of technology (the connection between youth and technology is more fully discussed in Section 8.3).

EXHIBIT 8.1
Attitudes Toward Technology



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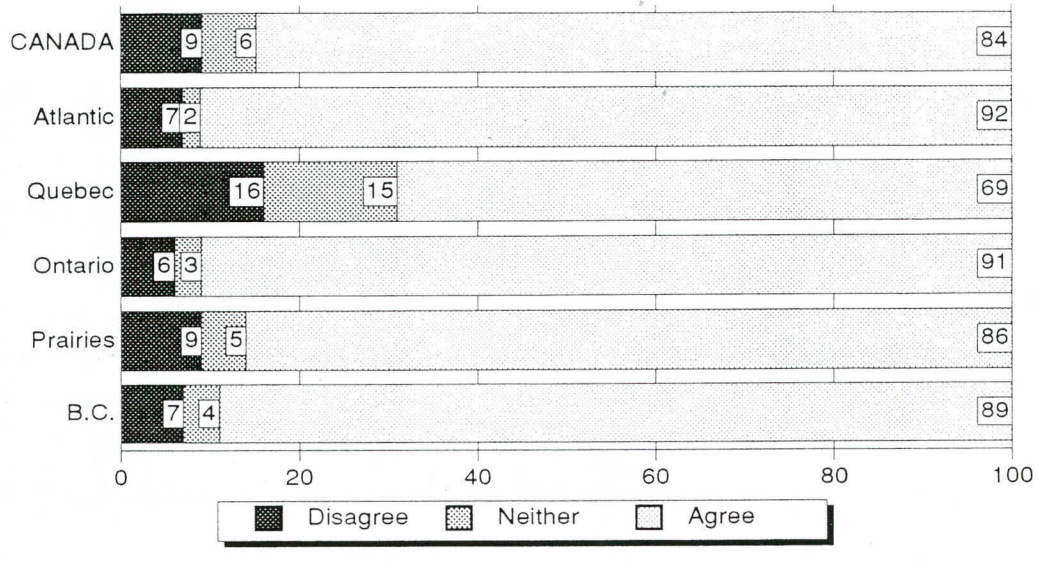
8.2 Concerns about Technology

Despite the optimism that technology instills in most Canadians, there are some concerns expressed about the impact of technology, particularly the possibility that technology will increase polarization in Canadian society (Exhibit 8.2). Fully 84 per cent feel that as technology becomes more important to the economy some people/older workers are going to be left behind.

Atlantic region and Ontario residents are the most likely to feel this way. Quebeckers are much less likely than their counterparts to feel negative implications may result from a technologically-driven economy (although a majority still express concerns).

EXHIBIT 8.2
Concerns About Technology

"I think that as technology becomes more important in the economy, some people/older workers are going to be left behind"



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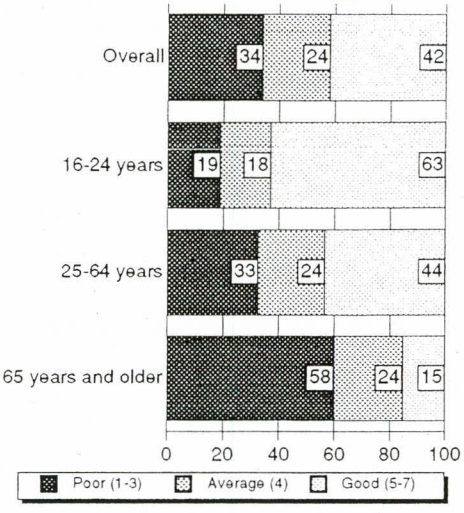
8.3 Technological Literacy: The Age Divide

Youth rate their ability to work with computers at a much higher level than do their older counterparts (Exhibit 8.3). This comfort with technology translates into much more favourable attitudes about the potential for technology to benefit the Canadian economy.

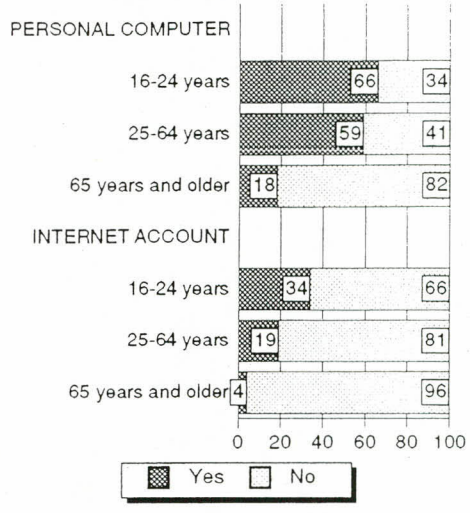
Youth are the most likely to feel that being a leader in the development of the information highway will help Canada become more economically competitive, and that technology and information are the sectors where the economy will experience the most growth.

EXHIBIT 8.3
Young Canadians: Comfortable with Technology

"How would you rate your ability to work with computers?"



"Do you personally own any of the following computer equipment or networks?"



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Youth also believe to a greater extent than older Canadians that the development of new technologies will lead to job creation.

8.4 Technology, Innovation and the Public Service

Technology and innovation also influence service in the public sector. Indeed, public sector organizations which place a greater premium on innovation, technology, consultation and formal planning for better service tend to feature these elements in a mutually reinforcing pattern. Furthermore, these elements are linked to better departmental morale and a higher service ethic.

Public servants are ambivalent about the benefits and costs of technology, however. Although not a particularly technophobic cohort, some public servants do carry notions of ideal service delivery which are increasingly anachronistic. For example, the vast majority of public servants believe that in-person service is the model *par excellence* of ideal service. All other models are seen as pale emulations and most public servants believe clients would prefer in-person service (even if it is slower or more expensive).

It is the case that most clients do prefer in-person service *but* their preference is much weaker. Eighty-seven per cent of public servants believe the general public would rather deal with a person than a computer or voice mail even if it means slower service; only 68 per cent of the general public actually express such a preference. Furthermore, this preference for in-person service weakens for younger, more technologically comfortable clients (63 per cent for under 30 versus 83 per cent for over 60 years of age). It should also be noted that clients comparatively rated their last service episode at a bank much more highly than with the federal government, notwithstanding the fact that many of these transactions were with Automated Banking Machines.

There is also the recognition among public servants that new information technologies are alternatives for human labour (47 per cent of public servants are concerned that recent technological advances in servicing the public could result in their losing their job). Thus, it is not surprising that public servants' enthusiasm for new service technology may be muted by the recognition that electronic kiosks may result in job loss.

8.5 Connections Between Technology and Broader Society

Technology is also linked to a range of other societal areas: respondents who are more confident of their ability to work with computers differ from those who are less uncomfortable with technology in the following ways:

- those who are comfortable with technology tend to be less nationalistic and less attached to Canadian symbols, perhaps because they are more global oriented;
- the technologically comfortable are less cynical about government;
- they are also more open and tolerant of diversity (although this may be a youth effect);
- they are more likely to assign priority to a balanced budget; and
- the technologically comfortable are more willing to support change in order to keep Quebec in Canada (however they are also more pessimistic about the possibility of Quebec separating).

CHAPTER

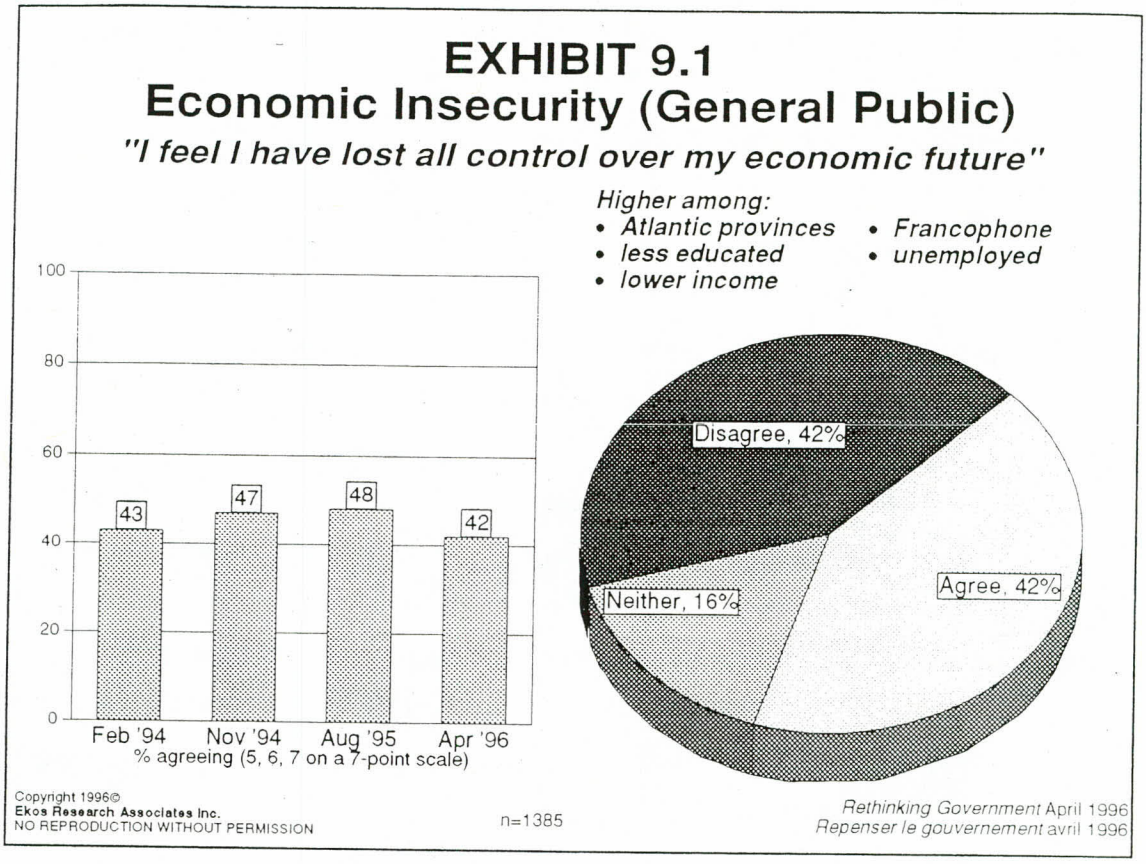
9 LABOUR MARKET ANXIETIES

Economic anxieties remain extremely high in Canada. Worries about the economic future are pervasive and provide a key lens for filtering people's perceptions of government.

It is discouraging to note that 42 per cent of Canadians continue to agree that they have lost all control over their economic future and only 42 per cent feel comfortable disagreeing with this proposition (Exhibit 9.1). This reveals the stark level of polarization which exists in terms of economic insecurity in Canadian society.

The 42 per cent figure is down marginally from our last data collection in August of 1995 when it was 48 per cent, but basically in agreement with the 43 per cent achieved in February 1994.

These levels of economic insecurity persist despite numerous indicators that the economy has actually undergone a fairly significant recovery.



It remains the case that despite any strength in the objective economy, Canadians remain lost in depths of economic anxiety, really not seen since the last great depression. In fact, this sense of lost control has been a dominant feature of the Canadian public opinion landscape since the recession at the outset of the 90s.

Routes to economic insecurity are two-fold with some arriving at this position as a response to concerns about their capacity to cope with the changing Canadian labour market and parallel fears about whether they have the skills to cope in the new global economy.

Others arrive at a sense of lost control of their economic future over concerns about the woeful state of public finances; "a sense that despite my best effort,

my economic future continues to remain clouded by the desperate state of public finances".

Underneath this sense of despair and gloom, we do get a sense that Canadians are eager to start feeling a little more confident about their economic futures and that, as with other indicators, the slight drop in the percentage of those saying they have lost all control may reflect an inauspicious, but nonetheless significant, reversal of the directions seen in recent years.

It is interesting to note that a sense of lost control is strongest as one moves from east to west: optimism about one's economic future is revealed in British Columbia and the west, while the lowest levels of confidence exist in the Atlantic. We also find that those who come from lower socioeconomic status backgrounds (e.g., less education, less income), are more likely to feel economically alienated. Finally, francophones and the unemployed are more likely to locate themselves in the lost control dimension.

This dimension remains crucial to understanding views about the role of the state because, perhaps more than any other indicator, we find that those who class themselves as having lost all control tend to be those who are most supportive of a stronger active role for government as a means of correcting some of these problems.

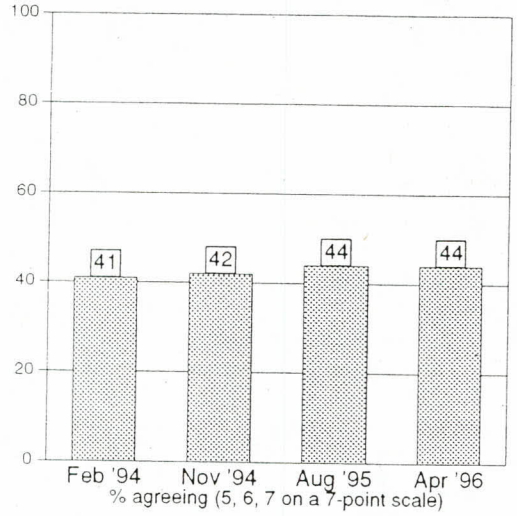
On the other hand, and by corollary, those who feel relatively secure are less supportive of further government spending, perhaps because they are unwilling to shoulder the economic burden, or perhaps because they feel that in the new post-universal Canada, they are not likely to see any benefits from this investment. Whatever the case, it appears that this level of anxiety and polarization will be an enduring feature of the Canadian social landscape for the foreseeable future.

For most Canadians, the salient dimension of economic insecurity is jobs. The Canadian economy has undergone a fairly significant recovery in the past few years, and has actually generated a fairly impressive number of incremental new jobs, and a slight but significant decline in unemployment rates from 11 to 9.6 per cent. On the other hand, levels of perceived job insecurity have actually risen.

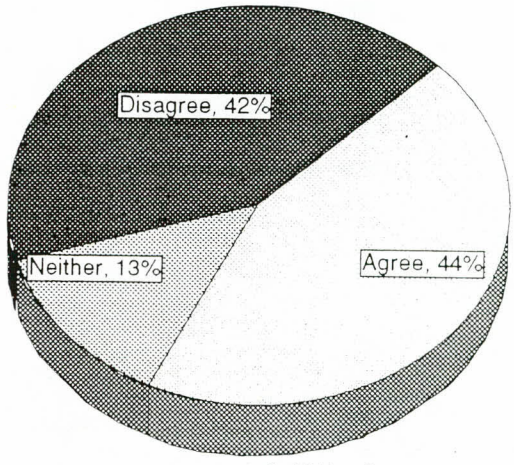
In fact, fully 44 per cent of Canadians think that there is a good chance that they could lose their job in the next couple of years, stable since August 1995, but up a few points up from February 1994 (Exhibit 9.2). It is ironic to note that while concerns about job loss have risen slightly, Canadians are assigning less priority to the federal government in the job creation area.

EXHIBIT 9.2
Job Insecurity (General Public)

"I think there's a good chance I could lose my job in the next couple of years"



Higher among:
- *Atlantic provinces*
- *25-44 years old*
- *$40-$60K income*



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This finding is probably conditioned more by diminished expectations of the federal government than by any decline in the sense of urgency surrounding the job issue.

Concerns about job loss are (unsurprisingly) highest in the Atlantic provinces. Less obviously, we also find that insecurities are higher, not amongst the lowest income group, but amongst the $40,000-$60,000 income group. This shows the pressure being felt by the middle class due to the inexorable advances of polarization and the so-called hollowing of the middle. Somewhat younger Canadians, in the 25-44 age category, are more likely to accent their fears about job loss, reflecting the serious problems that younger Canadians are experiencing in finding jobs or keeping jobs.

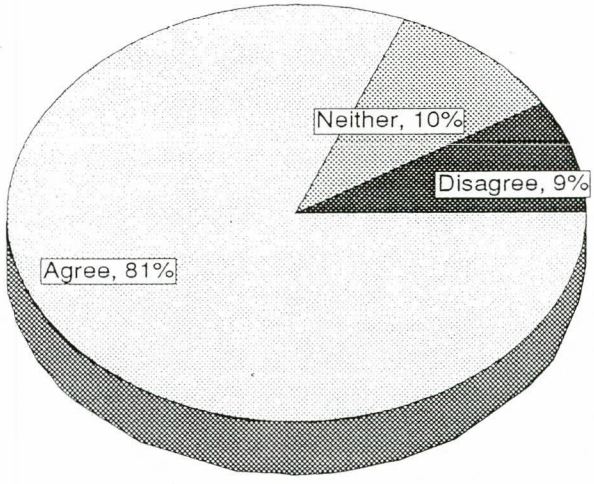
The *Rethinking Government* study continues to catalogue the growing levels of polarization around issues such as economic security and future role of government. Canadians were asked directly whether they worry at all about the movement to a more polarized society. It is instructive to note that 81 per cent of Canadians say that they are "really worried", that we are moving to a more divided society of haves and have nots; less than 10 per cent feel comfortable disagreeing with this proposition (Exhibit 9.3).

This sense of increased division is felt more strongly by those in the economically insecure portions of society and perhaps most notably in Ontario, which is currently in the throes of the "Common Sense Revolution".

Concerns about polarization are high and likely to diminish as the real consequences of social policy reform at the federal level and retrenchment at the provincial level lessen some of the buffers which were serving to cushion polarization in the Canadian economy. As transfers between rich and poor become smaller under renewed social programs, it is likely that this problem will become even more important in the Canada of the future.

EXHIBIT 9.3
Anxiety and Pessimism

"I really worry that we are moving to a more divided society of haves and have nots"



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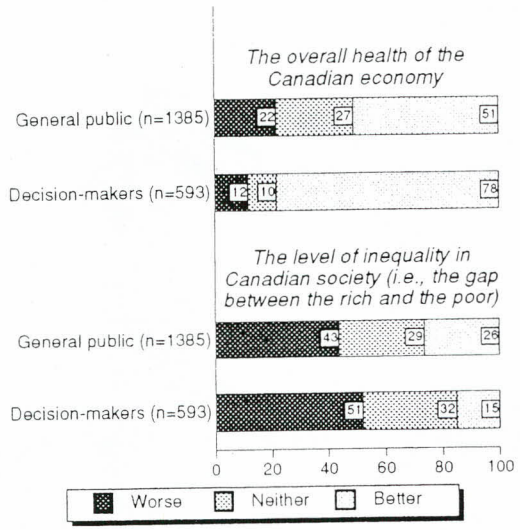
Both the general public and the elite sample of senior decision-makers in the public and private sectors were asked whether they thought things would be getting better or worse in various social and economic areas, and also to project what they thought would be happening to unemployment rates over the next decade (Exhibit 9.4).

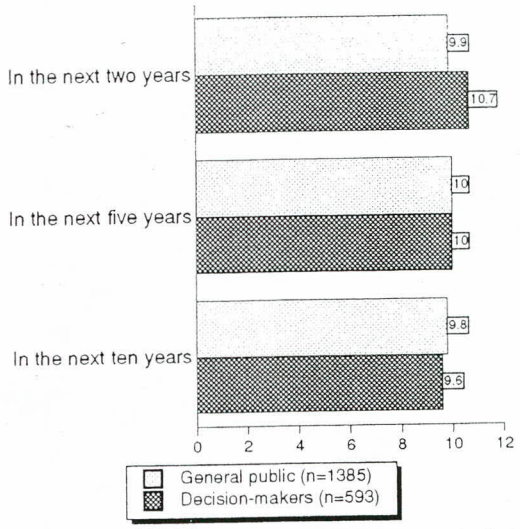
Continuing with the theme of rising inequality, it is instructive to note that the general public are somewhat polarized in their views about whether the gap between rich and poor will be better or worse ten years from today. The lean is towards being worse (43 per cent chose this option), but over one in four believe that it, in fact, will be better. A sizable portion (29 per cent) have no opinion.

EXHIBIT 9.4
Predictions for the Future

"In each of the following social and economic areas do you think the situation will be better or worse ten years from now?"



"What do you think the national unemployment rate will be across each of the following timeframes?"



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Comparing this general public perspective with the view from the elites, we find that, overall, the pattern is similar with the exception that the majority of the elites pick worse (51 per cent), and only 15 per cent feel that things will be better.

Coming to the broader question of the overall health of the Canadian economy, the general public are mildly optimistic, perhaps reflecting the desire to break out of the protracted period of economic anxiety and pessimism which has gripped the country for the past five years. Fifty-one per cent of Canadians believe that the overall health of the Canadian economy will be better ten years from today, with only 22 per cent thinking it will be worse. So there is some impressive optimism percolating beneath the current predominantly pessimistic mood.

Amongst decision-makers, the views are positively ebullient, perhaps bordering on Pollyanish with only 12 per cent thinking things will be worse and 78 per cent thinking things will be better ten years from now.

Having been in the unusual position of presenting mildly optimistic data, and perhaps wildly optimistic data in the case of the elites, we turn to the projections about unemployment rates. Some might argue that the projections of the general public are to be treated with as much confidence as those of macroeconomic forecasters (given their past performance). But in any case, they provide an interesting sense of where people think things are going.

We find that in the area of asking people what they think national unemployment rates will be in the next two years, the next five years and the next ten years, the sense amongst the general public is that it will be pretty stable. Most Canadians seem to agree with Kim Campbell that unemployment rates will remain mired at the same level for at least the next ten years although the pattern is for a slight decline from 9.9 to 9.8 per cent.

The decision-makers and senior elites are a little more pessimistic than the general public about the short term (two year) prospects for unemployment (10.7 per cent). However, most decision-makers believe that there will be a slight but significant decline over the next few years. The elites' projections decline to 10 per cent for five years and 9.6 per cent for ten years.

All in all, it is difficult to square the confidence exhibited in predictions above the overall health of the Canadian economy with some of the relatively flat projections about what will be happening in terms of labour markets. Perhaps the answer lies in the prediction of polarization. People may believe that the overall health of the Canadian economy can advance, but that this advance will be highly focused amongst a fraction of Canadian society, and that there will be a large group of Canadians who will not participate in this economic advance either through jobs or

wealth. This problem may become the predominant social policy issue for Canada over the next ten years.

CHAPTER

10

QUALITY OF LIFE

Against the Greek chorus which seems to accompany discussions of government and labour markets, it is rather surprising and encouraging to find that most Canadians are quite pleased with their personal quality of life. In fact, the striking gap between a sense of personal well-being and high levels of distress about our public and political life remain one of the key puzzles that researchers are left to explain in the current public opinion landscape.

In the last iteration of *Rethinking Government* (based on August 1995 data), the majority of Canadians felt that their quality of life was actually much better than that of an average Canadian. Similarly, most Canadians thought that they enjoyed substantially better personal health than other Canadians and, in fact, there was a strong level of interdependence between a sense of health and a sense of overall quality of life.

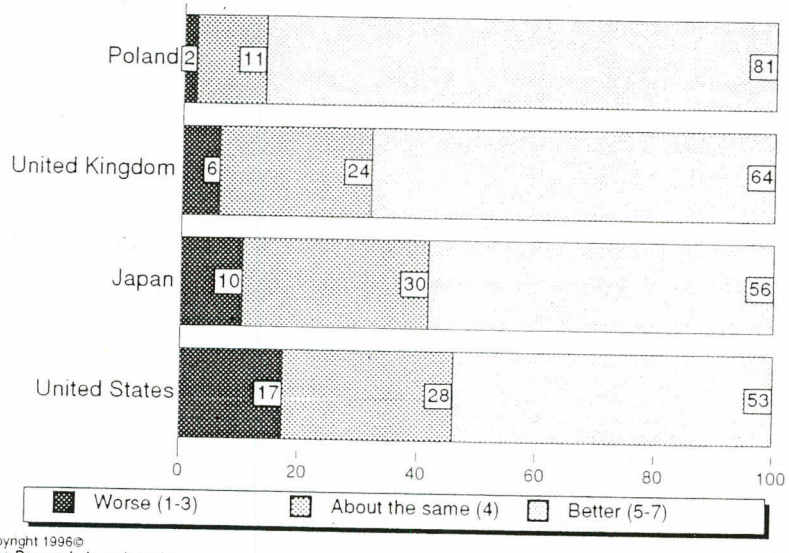
These issues were further explored in the current instalment of *Rethinking Government*. Often comparisons about quality of life are against some impossible internal or theoretical standards which seem perhaps to reinforce the sense of shortfall between reality and expectations.

The *Rethinking Government* study attempted to overcome these pitfalls by placing the comparisons in a concrete comparative framework.

Canadians judged their overall quality of life in terms of some summary of income, education and overall intangible quality of life on whole to be much better than the countries we tested against (Exhibit 10.1). For example, 53 per cent of Canadians feel that our overall quality of life is better than the residents of the United States and only 17 per cent feel it is worse. The numbers are even more favourable in comparison to Japan, the United Kingdom and Poland.

EXHIBIT 10.1
Perceptions of Canada's Relative Quality of Life

"Taking into account your income level, education and overall quality of life, how do you think you compare to someone living in...?"



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We find that amongst anglophones and upper socioeconomic status Canadians, there is a stronger sense that Canada's quality of life is superior to other countries, however, this pattern holds true for virtually all members of Canadian society.

Recent research with young people in the labour market asked Canadian youth to consider the question of how their quality of life compares to the last generation (i.e., their parents). In terms of economic opportunity, not necessarily quality of life, today's young people remain convinced that their outlook is considerably bleaker than it was for their parents. On the other hand, they do feel that their opportunities and outlook is substantially better than it was for their grandparents.

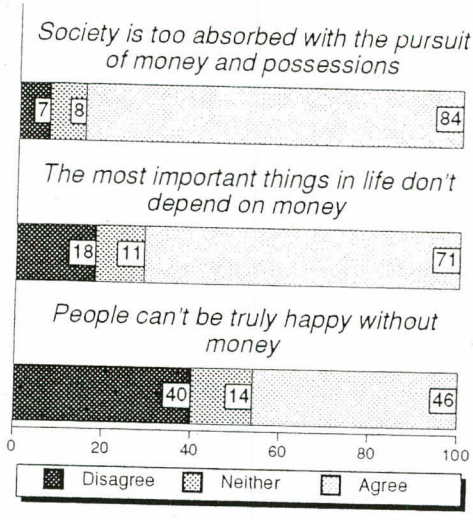
This being said, they also benchmark their situation as being better than for any other country. Once again the Canadians indicate that despite high levels of anxiety and pessimism about problems in the country, they feel that Canada is the worst country in the world, except for all the others.

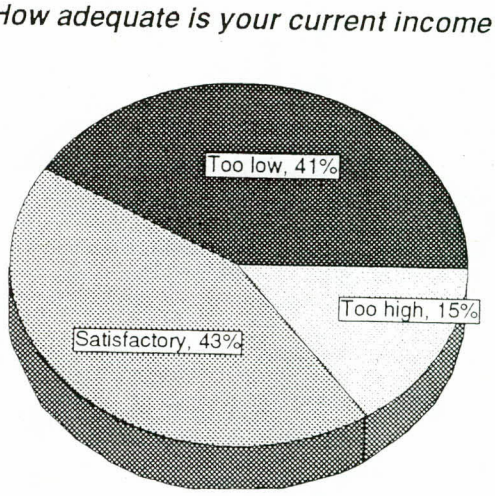
The issue of the balance between materialism and quality of life in Canadian society was explored in more detail. It is interesting to note that overall quality of life, although associated with economic well-being, is even more strongly connected with one's personal health. (Although it should be noted that personal health is highly affected by income, education and labour force status.)

We explored the issues of the relative balance of money and other factors in quality of life in a number of ways in the most recent *Rethinking Government* survey. As noted earlier, Canadians identify personal development as more important than income in terms of motivation for a career. Further, 84 per cent of Canadians agree that society is too absorbed with the pursuit of money and possessions and 71 per cent agree that the most important things in life don't depend on money (Exhibit 10.2).

However, the slightly tougher question that asked whether people cannot be truly happy without money receives a split response with 46 per cent agreeing and only 40 per cent disagreeing with the notion that people can't be truly happy without money.

EXHIBIT 10.2
Materialism in Canadian Society





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We also asked people how adequate their current income was and found that 41 per cent felt that their income was too low. But contrary to the popular public myth that one cannot be too rich or too thin, 15 per cent of Canadians felt that, in fact, their income was too high. Forty-three per cent were satisfied with their current income level.

CHAPTER

11 THE UNITY DEBATE

Issues surrounding national unity, identity, values and symbols have been a major focus of the *Rethinking Government* project this year. In fact, an entire instalment of *Rethinking Government* was devoted to this topic (the CCI Survey).

Building on these results, some useful indications of directional shifts in Canadian society can be documented. It remains the case that national unity has vaulted from a middle priority position as little as a couple of years ago to one of the crucial priorities for the country (perhaps the most important priority for the country). For the first time in our history, there is a real sense that national rupture is a distinct possibility, if not a probability (see Exhibit 11.3). This belief has registered important impacts on Canadians. Although the immediate emotionalism which characterized the conclusion of the referendum campaign in Quebec has abated, there are residual deep anxieties and concerns about this issue throughout Canada.

When asked to look forward to the year 2000, a relatively permanent solution to unity problems is picked by roughly a quarter of Canadians as their choice of three ultimate goals for Canada (see Exhibit 3.3). This sense is shared by decision-makers with about 29 per cent selecting this option. Whatever the indicator, the unity issue remains close to the top of the public agenda and undoubtedly will rise to the

pinnacle of public concern as a more concrete deadline associated with the next *rendez-vous* with the Quebec issue is placed on the public agenda.

At the same time, English Canadian nationalism has risen significantly as a response to anxieties about the future unity of the country. This nationalism can also be seen as a response to growing anxieties about the diminished role of the federal government in a country which has been constructed on the basis of state nationalism and the activities of the federal government, as opposed to the more conventional basis of nation-building such as shared race, history or language.

Canadians are increasingly concerned and worried about the disappearance of the concept of Canada. More and more Canadians are fearful that the accomplishment of Canada will be lost and that if Canada survives it all, it will do so purely as a somewhat colder, more indebted version of the United States.

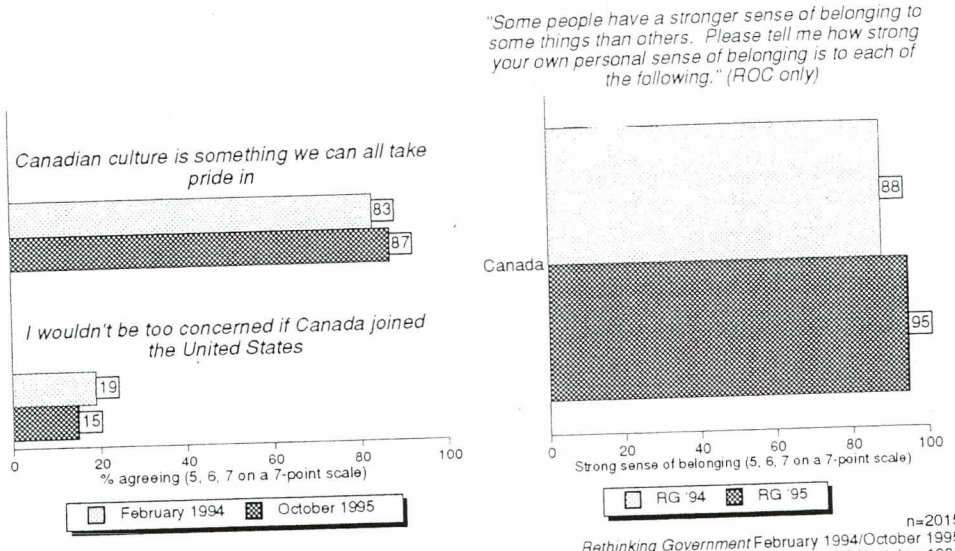
The tracking indicator which asked if Canadian culture is something we can all take pride in, has risen from an already impressive 83 per cent in February 1994 to 87 per cent in October 1995 (Exhibit 11.1).

Similarly, the percentage who would not be concerned if Canada joined the United States has declined from 19 per cent to 15 per cent. On all indicators that were tracked, concern about Canada and attachment to Canada has risen.

This rising attachment and concern is largely concentrated in English Canada. Quebeckers, although attached and positive on most of these indicators, show considerably higher levels of ambivalence than other members of Canadian society.

In comparing the elites and decision-makers, the level of concern and attachment on the cultural dimensions, or the value dimensions, are substantially lower amongst the elites although they also register high levels of concern (Exhibit 11.2).

EXHIBIT 11.1
Tracking Perceptions of Canadian Culture



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Rethinking Government February 1994/October 1995
Repenser le gouvernement février 1994/octobre 1995

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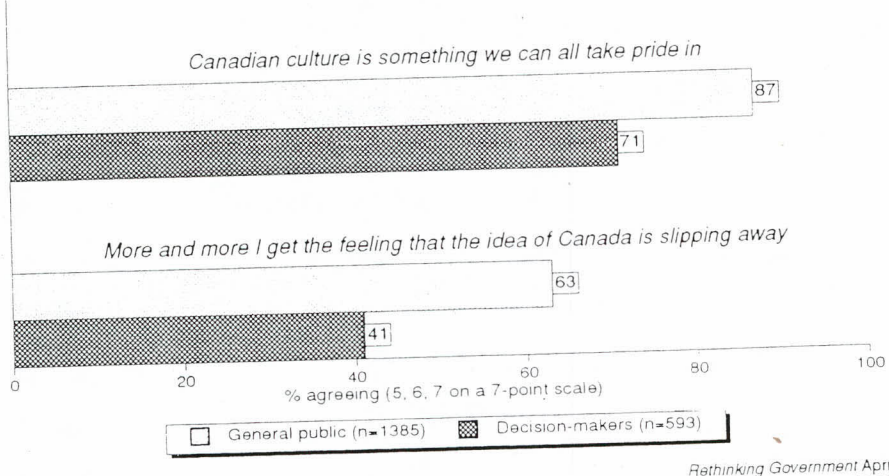
EXHIBIT 11.2
Elite-General Public Differences Regarding Canadian Culture



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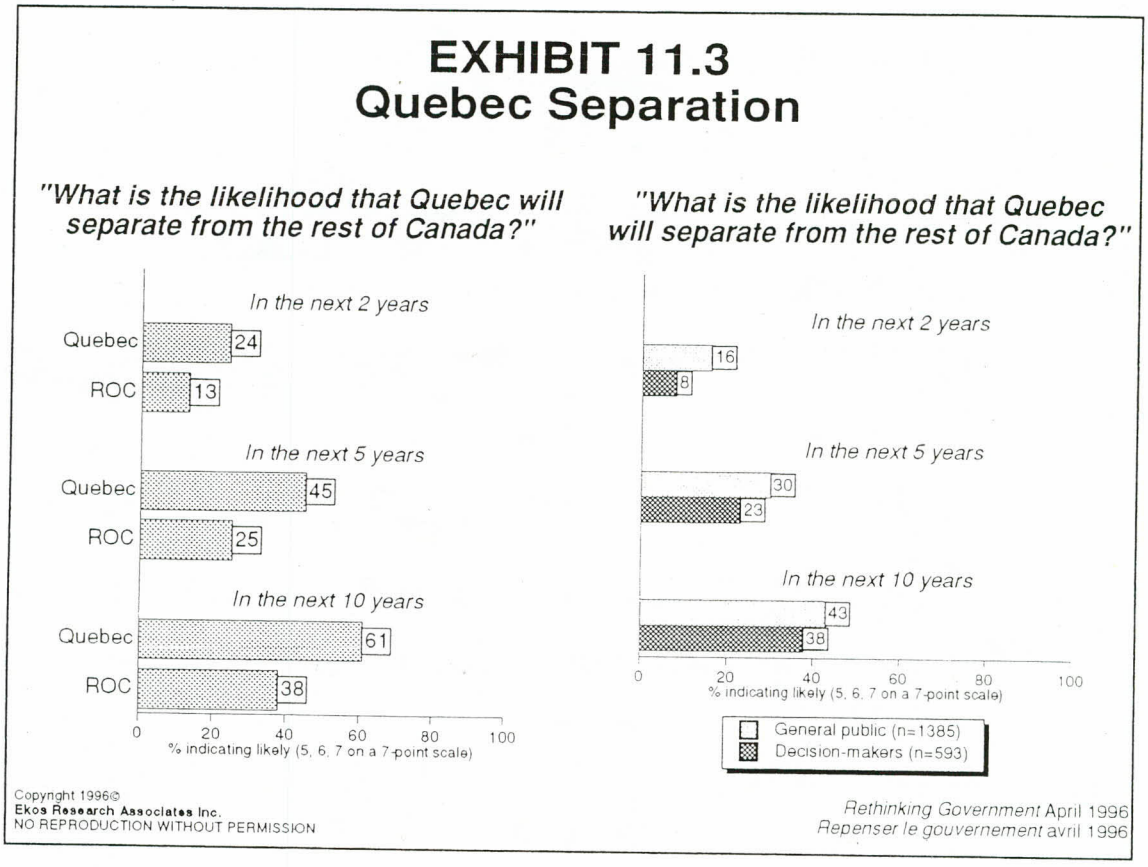
It is important to note that the perception of the demise of Canada, which was seen as a remote possibility by most Canadians as little as a year and a half ago, has been replaced by a growing concern that, in fact, this is both plausible and perhaps even probable.

Within Quebec, the perception is that although it is not likely in the next two years, the possibility of Quebec separation increases over time. The number saying that it is likely in the next five years rises to 45 per cent and fully 61 per cent of Quebeckers feel that it will occur in the next ten years (Exhibit 11.3).

EXHIBIT 11.3
Quebec Separation



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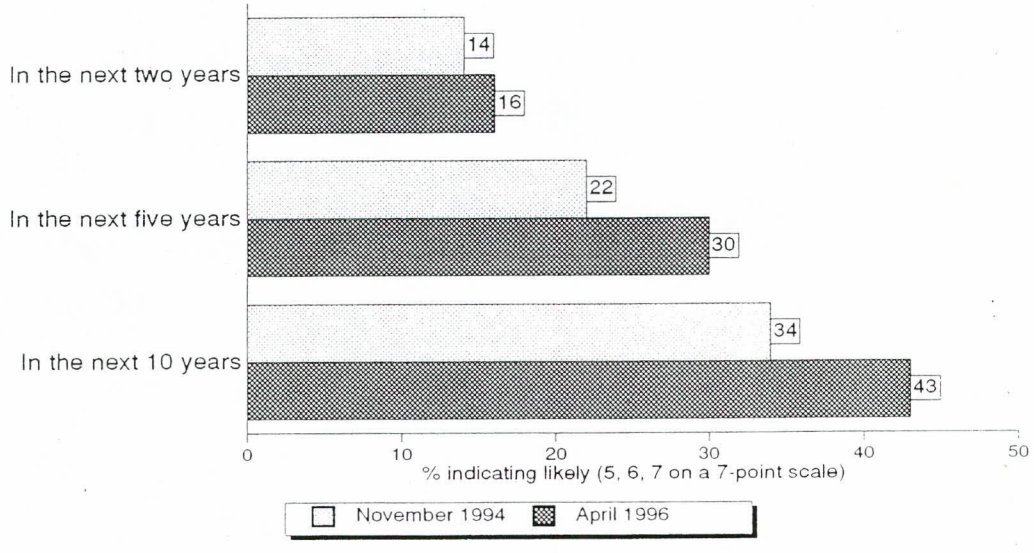
For English Canadians, the numbers are substantially lower but still rising from 13 per cent in the next two years to 25 per cent who feel it is likely the next five years and 38 per cent in the next ten years.

Overall, Canadians have become much more negative about the prospects for Canadian unity: the number believing Quebec will separate some time over the next ten years is substantially higher than the number who felt this way when they were asked these questions in November 1994 (Exhibit 11.4).

EXHIBIT 11.4
Tracking Perceptions of Quebec Separation

"What is the likelihood that Quebec will separate from Canada within the following time frames?"



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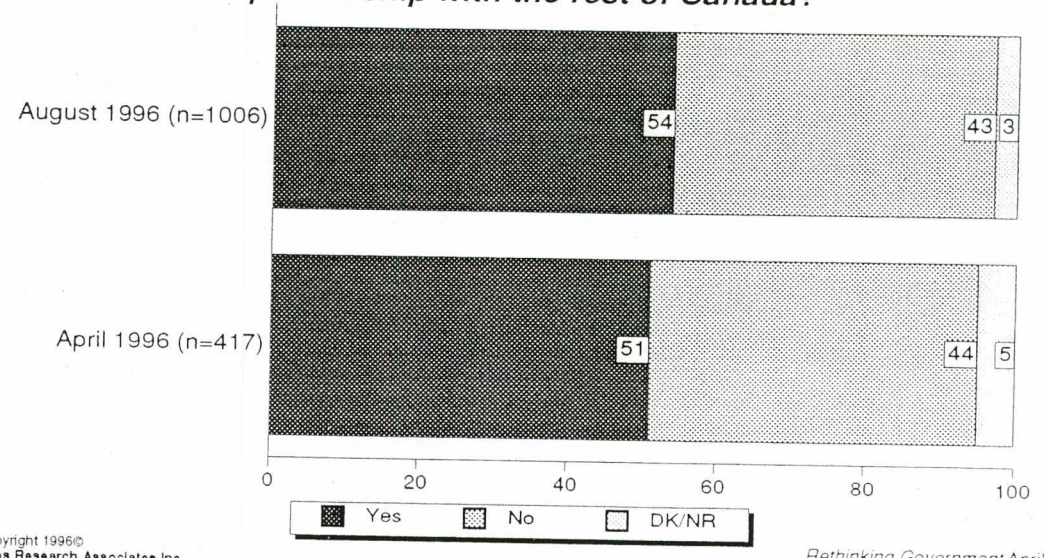
Decision-makers are less likely than the general public to feel that separation will occur over the three time frames. However, the numbers reveal a similar rising pattern with eight per cent feeling it is likely in the next two years to 23 per cent in five years, and 38 per cent in ten years. Quebec decision-makers are particularly pessimistic in their assessment of the unity of the country: fully 48 per cent of Quebec elite felt that Quebec will separate within the next ten years, compared to 36 per cent of residents of the rest of the country.

The sharp polarization in Quebec society over the future of Canada remains fairly entrenched. We find that a number of those who say they would be in favour of sovereignty of Quebec combined with a formal offer of a new economic and political partnership is basically very similar to what was found in the period before the referendum (Exhibit 11.5).

EXHIBIT 11.5
Tracking Referendum Voting

If the referendum were held today, would you vote Yes, or would you vote No to this question, "Are you in favour of the sovereignty of Quebec combined with a formal offer of a new economic and political partnership with the rest of Canada?"



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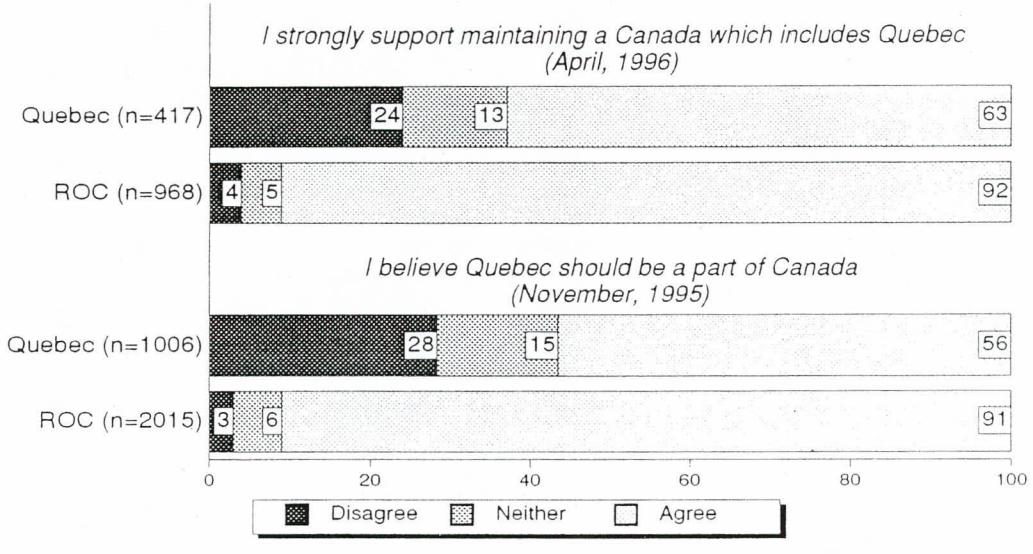
In August 1995, 54 per cent said yes, 43 per cent said no, and three per cent were undecided. In April 1996, 51 per cent said yes, 44 per cent said no and five per cent were undecided. The conclusion from these data is that there really has been no resolution of this debate or no real important directional shifts following the referendum, or following the debate which has occurred since.

It also remains the case that there is a strong desire to preserve the country (Exhibit 11.6). Within Quebec, only 24 per cent disagree with the proposition

that they strongly support maintaining a Canada which includes Quebec and 63 per cent outright agree with the proposition. In English Canada, fully 92 per cent strongly support this notion of a Canada which includes Quebec and only four per cent disagree. Comparing these findings to a similar indicator from August 1995 there are few differences.

EXHIBIT 11.6
Desire to Preserve the Country



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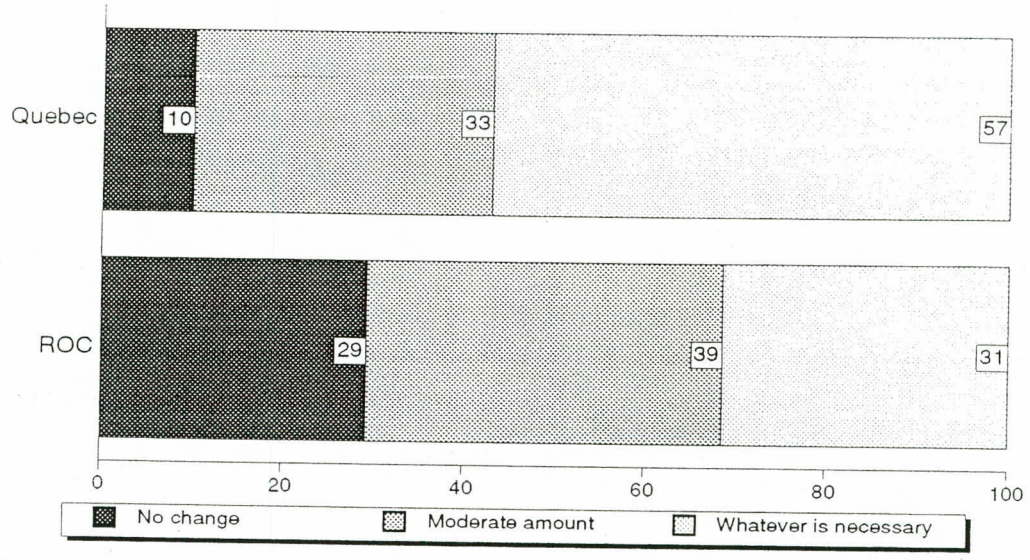
Thus the desire to preserve the country remains strong and stable in spite of discussions surrounding the issue of constitutional change and future referendum. The issue of accommodating Quebec also shows some possible changes and can be linked to qualitative research done on this topic. There may be a growing, if somewhat grudging, receptivity to making changes in order to preserve the country. Nonetheless, the amount of change perceived as necessary or desirable clearly varies in Quebec compared to the rest of the country (Exhibit 11.7).

EXHIBIT 11.7
Accommodating Quebec

"How much change would you be willing to support in order to keep Quebec in Canada?"



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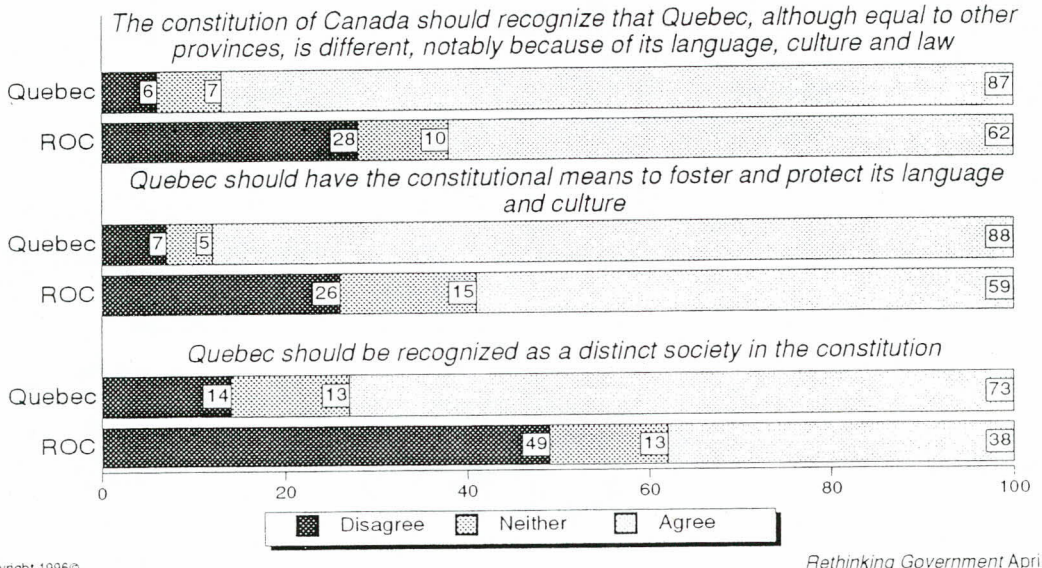
Within Quebec, fully 57 per cent say we should make whatever change is necessary to keep Quebec in Canada, only ten per cent feel that no change is necessary and 33 per cent support a moderate amount of change. Within the rest of Canada, we find 29 per cent in the no change position, the plurality of 39 per cent supporting a moderate amount of change and an impressive 31 saying do whatever is necessary.

The *Rethinking Government* findings suggest that the level of fatigue with the issue, particularly in English Canada, is at an all time high. There is a real sense that the issue should be solved with a solution which preserves Canada, but also receptivity to proceeding with some kind of other solution if this is not possible. The lean is toward doing whatever is necessary and even holding one's nose on some issues (which would have previously been unacceptable) in order to turn the page on this protracted and painful episode in Canadian history.

Turning specifically to some issues surrounding Quebec and the constitution, there is a surprising variety of views on issues such as whether the constitution of Canada should recognize Quebec as different because of its language and laws (Exhibit 11.8).

EXHIBIT 11.8
Quebec and the Constitution



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This is a point of consensus in Quebec with 87 per cent agreeing. A sizable majority of 62 per cent in the rest of the country also agree with this notion. Even more surprising, 59 per cent of residents of the rest of Canada agree that Quebec should have the constitutional means to foster and protect its language and culture, a point which is seen as obvious by 88 per cent of Quebeckers.

The more troubling conclusions arise when one turns to the issue of distinct society where only 38 per cent of the rest of the country agree with this

proposition and 49 per cent disagree. Conversely, 73 per cent of respondents within Quebec believe Quebec should be recognized as distinct in the constitution.

In detailed qualitative testing on this issue, it appears that there is a possible solution, once the trade-offs are clearly understood and the nature of distinct society is explained. In focus group testing, there is a somewhat difficult, but nonetheless impressive consensus, that perhaps Quebec should be recognized as distinct if this would, in fact, turn the page on this issue. But this is premised on the assumption that this would be a relatively permanent solution and not just another episode in ongoing bargaining. Therefore, there is evidence of a strong desire to arrive at a solution even if it means engaging in some type of constitutional reform such as distinct society.

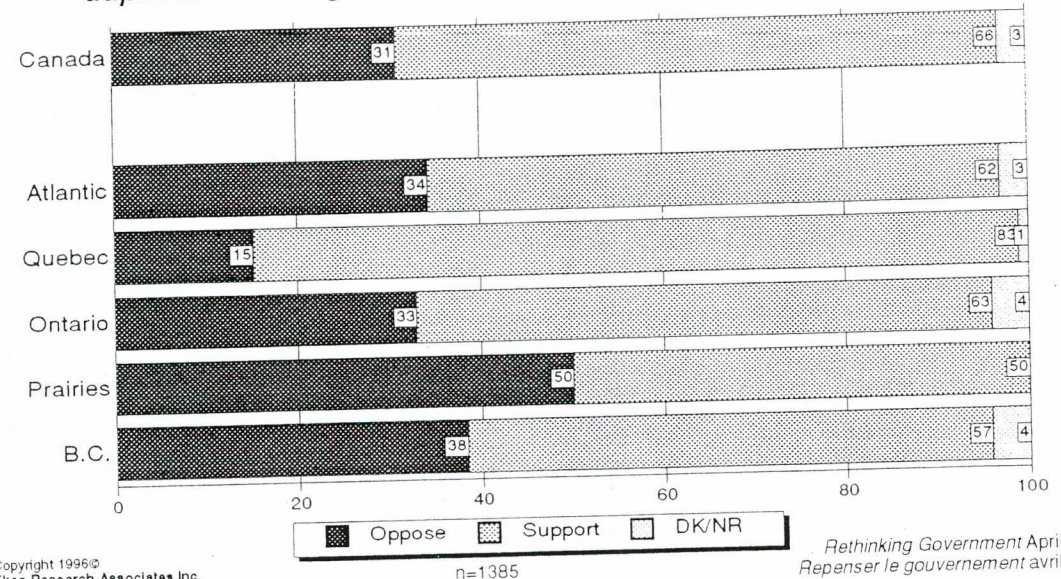
There is also evidence in other indicators of hardening of English Canadian attitudes and rising confidence in the integrity and viability of the rest of Canada as an alternative in a post-independent Quebec scenario.

The rising level of English Canadian nationalism may be a two-edged sword which also, in some senses, weakens the sense that there is a need to preserve the country with Quebec, although that clearly is the overwhelming preference for most English Canadians.

The *Rethinking Government* study also asked a more specific question, testing a combination of plausible ingredients for a unity package including recognition of Quebec as a distinct society in the constitution, a restoration of constitutional veto to Quebec and all regions of Canada and the elimination of duplication through decentralization of powers to the provinces (Exhibit 11.9). Overall, 66 per cent of Canadians would support this package, 31 per cent would oppose and only three per cent are unsure.

EXHIBIT 11.9
Support for Unity Package

"The federal government is considering a unity package which would include recognition of Quebec's distinct society in the constitution, a restoration of a constitutional veto to Quebec and all regions of Canada, and elimination of duplication through decentralization of powers to the provinces"



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Not surprisingly, there are strong regional variations from the level of support with a very impressive 83 per cent of Quebeckers saying they would support this, suggesting that this particular package may well provide a way out of the current impasse. After that, support is highest in Ontario and Atlantic Canada at 62 and 63 per cent respectively. Fifty-seven per cent of residents of British Columbia support this unity package and an equal split of 50-50 in the Prairies support and oppose the package.

Although these findings would seem to be encouraging, and we do not want to discount the optimistic aspect of these findings, there are a couple of key caveats to keep in mind.

First of all, the experience with the Charlottetown Accord showed a similar high level of enthusiasm for the package which evaporated as the debate

ensued in Canadian society. In light of the growing divide across elites and the general public and the growing mistrust of elites and politicians which exists in post-Charlottetown Canada, there is a distinct possibility that this would be the case again.

A second important proviso lies in the area of devolution and decentralization which are seen as very different things by different Canadians. In some sense, people support devolution and decentralization because they will repair what is obviously a system that doesn't work, as judged against obvious performance indicators such as the overall health of the economy, labour markets and levels of national unity.

On the other hand, when asked to look at these issues through the lens of specific substantive divisions of powers, there is little appetite in English Canada for major devolution or decentralization. Even in Quebec, which does lean more to a lead provincial role, there is still a desire for a continued strong partnership role between both senior levels of government.

In some respects, devolution and decentralization have become codes or symbols for change which may have meanings different from the actual substantive implications of rearrangement of powers in specific areas of endeavour.

Finally, the *Rethinking Government* results suggest that many Canadians feel that devolution and decentralization are just codes for abandoning responsibility.

11.1 National Reconciliation

The current debate about national unity has risen to the top of the public agenda. Unfortunately, much of the debate is dominated by questions of trade-offs, negative costs, economic implications, fears, risks, and so forth.

What is conspicuously absent from the debate is a discussion of positive actions which could provide a foundation for national reconciliation. Positive actions can include both policy reform, symbolic gestures, specific projects or programs, and other actions which can be seen as moving forward. For a long time, Canadians have been mired in a deep trough of pessimism and paralysis. The sense from the research is that Canadians are anxious to break out of this sense of negativism and torpour and to move forward.

In fact, part of the Yes and Bouchard appeal during the referendum campaign was to provide a sense of optimism and possibility which moved the Yes campaign from its initial dormancy to a much more positive and excited state which left the federalists reeling in terms of offering up some kind of positive image (see *Rethinking Government* 95-2).

This iteration of *Rethinking Government* explored the issue of positive actions in pursuit of national reconstruction in a number of different ways (Exhibit 11.10).

One of these ways was to ask Canadians how likely it would be that each of a number of actions would make Canadians want to keep Canada together (in the rest of Canada it was phrased as "keep Canada together"; in Quebec it was phrased as "want to stay in Canada.")

The items which dominate this list of potential actions for maintaining national unity are clear and instructive. They reflect the dominant human capital concerns that have been recurring themes in *Rethinking Government* and Canadian society for the last few years. Not surprisingly, at the top of the list, the top three items are all human capital investment themes.

The most popular item, by a slight margin, is the preservation of medicare. Eighty-four per cent feel this would help unite the country. This is

EXHIBIT 11.10
Actions for National Reconciliation

"How likely is it that each of the following actions would make you want to stay in Canada/keep Canada together, using a scale from 1, much less likely, to 7, much more likely, with 4 meaning neither?"

1. Preserving medicare at its current level of quality and access (84%)
2. Improving the quality and access to post-secondary education throughout Canada (83%)
3. Reducing unemployment by the year 2000 (80%)
4. Strengthening Canadian culture so it is more distinct from the U.S. (72%)
5. Engaging in a process of scientific public consultation where a random sample of Canadians are given the opportunity to think, reflect and offer solutions to our current problems (71%)
6. Strengthening Canadian foreign policy so it is more distinct from U.S. foreign policy (66%)
7. Raising the profile of Canadian national symbols (like the flag) in everyday life (63%)
8. Strengthening bilingualism (50%)
9. Eliminating the Senate (47%)
10. Eliminating the Queen as our head of state (37%)

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% indicating likely (5, 6, 7 on a 7-point scale)
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consistent with past research which showed that both as a symbol and as a specific program area health care and medicare are at the pinnacle of areas available for unifying the country. The health care system in Canada is seen across both solitudes as a source of pride, and as a source of symbolic achievement which provides unity and a sense of shared accomplishment.

A virtually identical per cent (83 per cent) feel that improving the quality and access to post-secondary education throughout Canada would also be likely to keep the country together.

Both health care and post-secondary education are rated higher by women and lower socioeconomic status Canadians; health care is selected most often by residents of British Columbia as helping unite the country.

The other crucial area of public concern, reducing unemployment by the year 2000, is selected by 80 per cent of Canadians as an action which would help keep the country together. Once again, this item is selected more often by those who come from the economically-insecure portions of Canadian society.

Moving down the list somewhat reveals a middle level set of priorities which revolve around a number of themes such as preserving Canadian culture and protecting it from U.S. influences. Strengthening Canadian culture by preserving its distinctness from the United States is selected by 72 per cent of respondents.

This sense is stronger amongst those Canadians who are undergoing what has been labelled earlier as cultural insecurity (e.g., older Canadians, those of anglophone descent, Ontarians, and those with lower socioeconomic status).

Somewhat out of place with the rest of the ten items tested is engaging in a process of scientific public consultation where a random sample of Canadians are given the opportunity to think, reflect and offer solutions to our current problems. Seventy-one per cent of Canadians feel that this is likely to help keep the country together. This is a somewhat impressive figure in light of the sheer magnitude of the resources required to accomplish all the other actions tested in pursuit of national reconciliation. It once again reflects the sense that Canadians want to be included and to have a voice in the issue of the future of the country.

The next most popular item was strengthening Canadian foreign policy to make it distinct from the U.S. with 66 per cent supporting this notion.

Raising the profile of Canadian national symbols in everyday life was seen as an important way for keeping the country together for 63 per cent of Canadians, but this was seen as much less important in Quebec than it was in English Canada.

Among the remaining suggestions, strengthening bilingualism was selected by 50 per cent of respondents as increasing the likelihood of keeping the country together. Forty-seven per cent felt that eliminating the Senate would help unite the country. Somewhat surprisingly only 37 per cent felt that eliminating the Queen as head of state would improve the unity of the country although this was strongly divided across French and English lines.

CHAPTER

12 ELITE AND GENERAL PUBLIC DIFFERENCES

This chapter examines differences between decision-maker and general public attitudes surrounding issues such as trust in government, priorities for government and national unity. Please note that this chapter focuses on elite-public differences which have not already been discussed in preceding chapters of this report.

12.1 Composition

The selection criteria, population, sample and response rate to this survey are presented in Exhibit 12.1 below.

Overall, 593 completed questionnaires were received before the cut-off date of May 30, 1996, resulting in a response rate of 20 per cent (two respondents could not be identified because they removed the cover page of the questionnaire). This response rate is fairly good for a survey of this type (a mail-out to opinion leaders). This response rate is somewhat lower than that of last year's study. This lower response rate may be due to the fact that we increased the number of CEOs and decreased the number of municipal officials sampled. In both *Rethinking Government 1994* and this year's iteration of this study, CEOs were among the least likely decision-

makers to respond to the survey, while municipal officials were the most likely to complete the questionnaire.

EXHIBIT 12.1
Completion Rates by Target Group

Target Group	Selection Criteria	Population	Sample	Response
Federal MPs	All	295	295	30 (10%)
Provincial MPPs	Random	764	350	28 (8%)
Municipal Reeves/Mayors	Descending city size	4500	255	70 (27%)
Federal DMs/ADMs	All	151	151	41 (27%)
Provincial DMs/ADMs	All DMs and random ADMs	625	425	101 (24%)
Municipal Clerks	Descending city size	4500	225	96 (43%)
CEOs	Top 1300 total revenues	1300	1300	216 (17%)
Total		11,835	3,001	593 (20%)

Federal and provincial politicians were particularly unlikely to respond to the survey perhaps because of its emphasis on political issues. (A copy of the questionnaire is contained in Annex D.)

Only 14 per cent of respondents are French speaking, but most of the respondents from Quebec (72 per cent) responded to the survey in French. As a group, the decision-makers are highly educated (81 per cent had at least a BA, professional certificate or graduate degree).

12.2 Differences in the Views of Decision-Makers and the General Public

Sense of Belonging

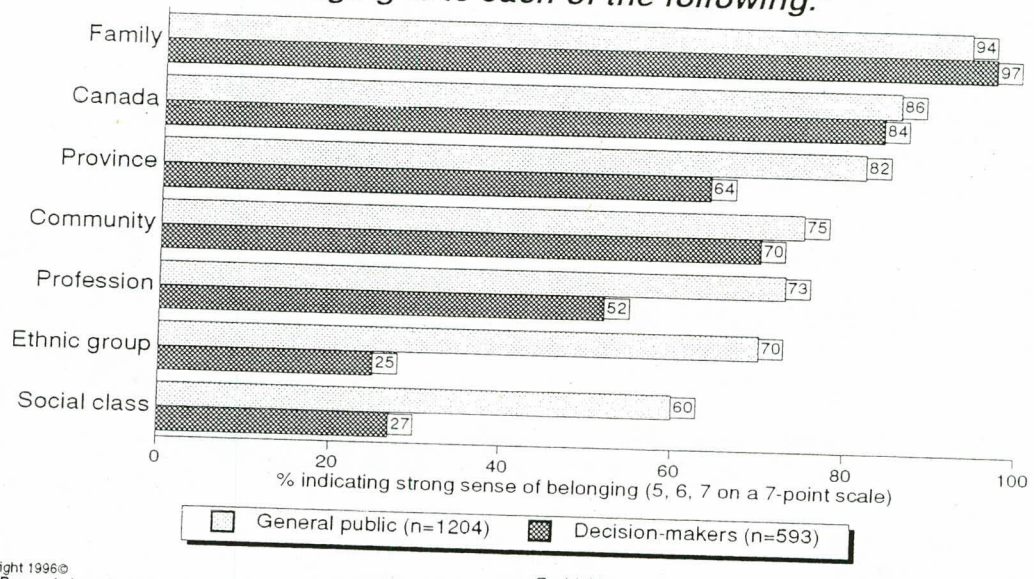
The survey findings reveal some noteworthy differences between decision-makers and the general public with respect to their sense of belonging across a range of areas (e.g., family, community — Exhibit 12.2). An overall similarity exists between these two groups in terms of the most important sources of belonging; however, decision-makers are much more discriminating in the relative weight they assign to different sources. Their ratings range from 97 per cent for family to 25 per cent for ethnic group. In contrast, the general public's ratings on these items are confined to a narrow band ranging from 94 per cent for family to 60 per cent for social class.

Given the cleavage in values and priorities between decision-makers and the general public documented throughout the *Rethinking Government* study the weak sense of belonging decision-makers attach to their social class is somewhat surprising.

The most significant difference among decision-makers pertains to their level of attachment to Canada. Not surprisingly, those within Quebec are much less likely to say that they feel a strong sense of belonging to Canada (66 per cent) compared to respondents from the rest of Canada (87 per cent). These findings are consistent with those discovered in the public survey.

EXHIBIT 12.2
Sense of Belonging

"Some people have a stronger sense of belonging to some things than others. Please tell me how strong your own personal sense of belonging is to each of the following."



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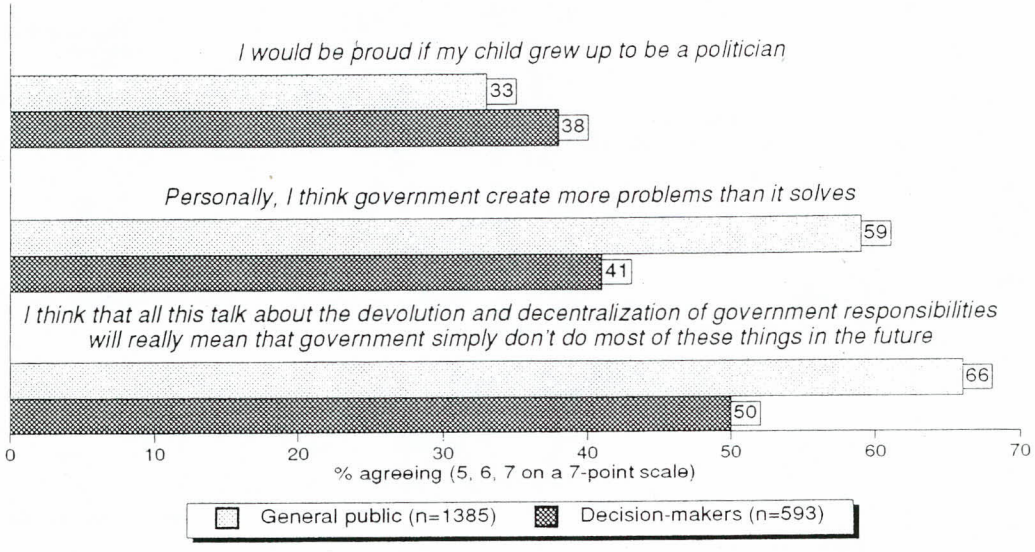
Trust and Legitimacy

The *Rethinking Government* study also examined differences between the public and elites with respect to trust and legitimacy of government. As shown in Exhibit 12.3, decision-makers are much less likely to believe that government creates more problems than it solves. They are also less likely to think that talk of devolution and decentralization means that government will abandon responsibility in the future.

Among decision-makers, those in the private sector have a significantly more negative view of government than their counterparts in the public sector. Only 23 per cent of private sector respondents say they would be proud if their child grew up to be a politician, compared to 47 per cent of those in the public sector. Also, about

EXHIBIT 12.3
Trust and Legitimacy of Government



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twice as many private sector decision-makers indicate that government creates more problems than it solves (59 per cent *versus* 30 per cent).

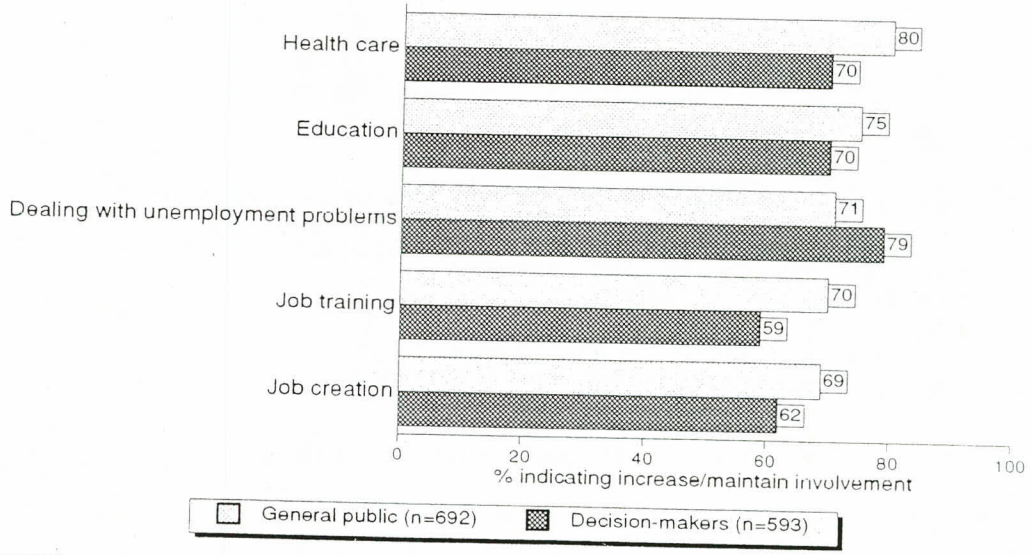
The decision-maker survey also explored the question of confidence in government. Overall, over one-third of decision-makers (37 per cent) indicate that they have "lost all confidence in our current system of government". More than half of the private sector respondents (52 per cent) agree with this statement, compared to about one-third (28 per cent) of those in the public sector. A similarly large gap is found between the views of those in Quebec, where 57 per cent have lost all confidence, compared to 32 per cent of decision-makers in the rest of Canada.

Future Government Involvement

Exhibit 12.4 presents a comparison between the public and decision-makers in terms of their preferred level of federal government involvement in a number of key areas. Both the general public and decision-makers express a preference for maintaining or increasing the federal government's future involvement in all of the five areas examined. However, the degree of involvement varies between the two groups. Across all priority areas except dealing with unemployment problems the public are more likely than decision-makers to desire increased or maintained federal government involvement. Among decision-makers, those in the public sector are significantly more likely than private sector respondents to support increased or maintained federal government involvement across all areas examined.

EXHIBIT 12.4

"Overall, in the area of ... what would you like to see the federal government do in the future?"



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Repenser le gouvernement avril 1996

It is instructive to note that of the five areas of responsibility examined, decision-makers are least likely to indicate that the federal government should maintain or increase its involvement in the areas of job training (59 per cent) and job creation (62 per cent), two primary areas which activist liberal governments have traditionally used to deal with unemployment.

The gap between decision-makers' limited support for increased or maintained federal involvement in training and job creation combined with the strong support for more federal involvement in reducing unemployment suggests a preference for seeing the federal government deal with unemployment by fostering an environment conducive to employment growth rather than more interventionist measures.

Priorities for the Federal Government

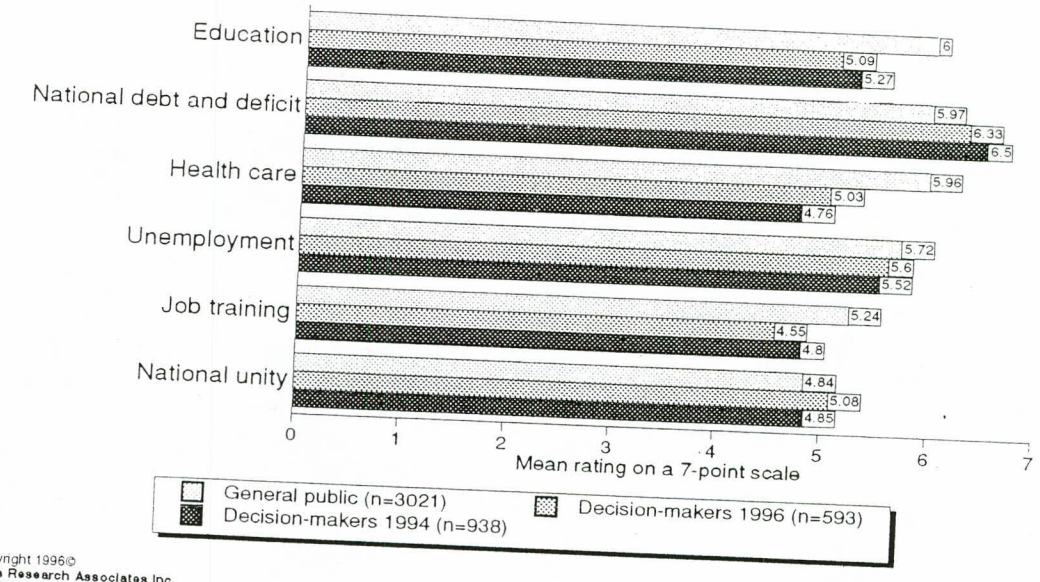
The surveys also allow a comparison to be made between the views of decision-makers and the general public with respect to priorities for the federal government. Exhibit 12.5 presents this comparison, as well as a comparison of decision-makers' views on these same questions in earlier research.

Both the general public and the decision-makers assign high priority to debt/deficit and unemployment issues. In keeping with findings revealed throughout the *Rethinking Government* study, the public assigns much higher priority than decision-makers to human-capital issues such as education and health care.

Exhibit 12.5 also reveals that the level of priority assigned by decision-makers to the six areas has remained fairly consistent over the last two years.

Among the decision-makers surveyed in 1996, two differences are noteworthy. Private sector decision-makers are significantly more likely to indicate

EXHIBIT 12.5
Priorities for Federal Government



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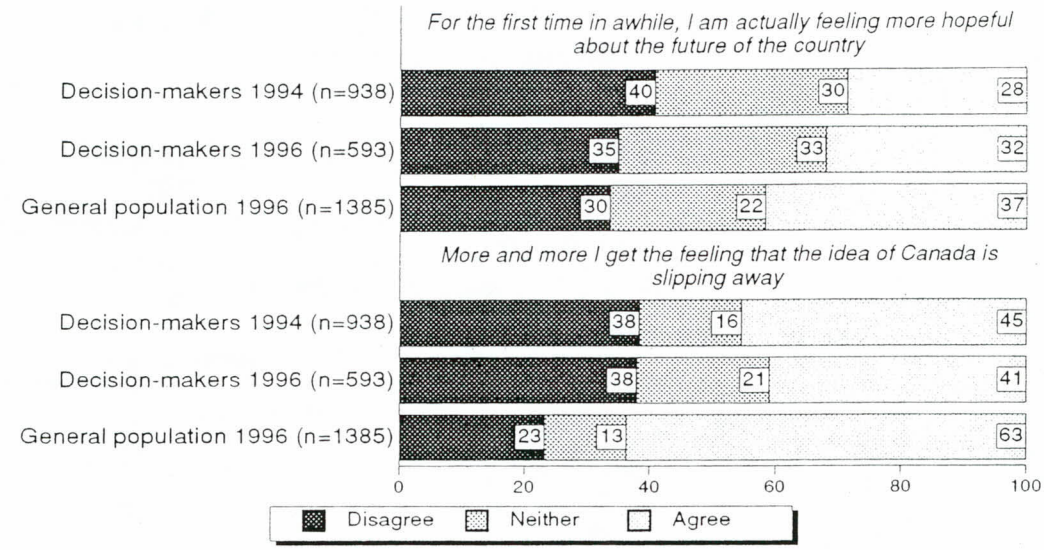
that debt and deficit should be a high priority for the federal government (98 per cent) compared to those in the public sector (88 per cent). The latter group of decision-makers are also more likely to accord a high priority to health care (73 per cent) compared to their counterparts in the private sector (57 per cent).

National Unity

A number of national unity questions were also asked of both the general public and decision-makers (Exhibit 12.6).

These results suggest that the level of optimism among decision-makers with respect to the political future of Canada remains low. Tracking these questions over the last two years, however, suggests a slight increase in optimism among

EXHIBIT 12.6
Canadian Unity



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decision-makers: four per cent more decision-makers indicate that they are feeling more hopeful about the future of the country, while four per cent less indicated that they increasingly feel that the idea of Canada is slipping away.

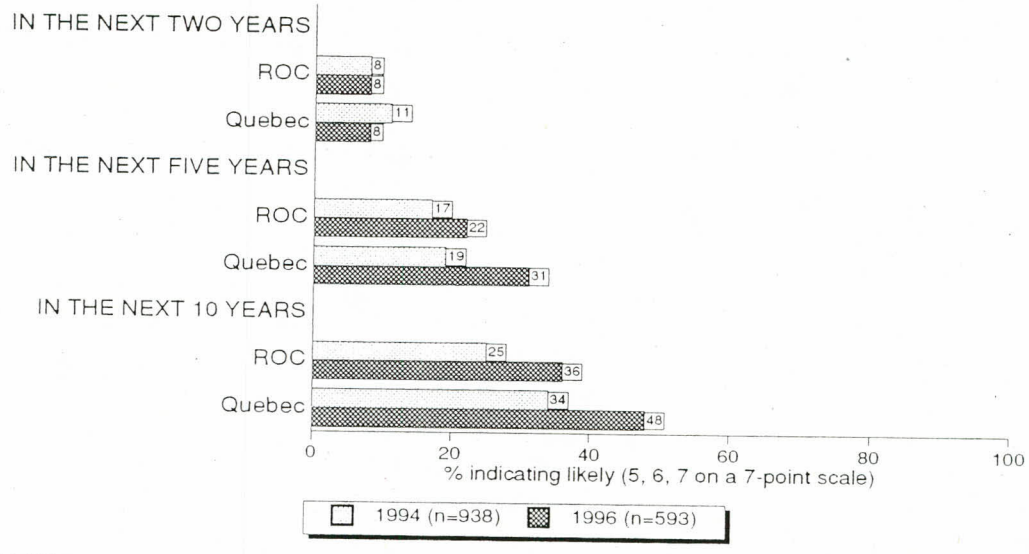
An analysis of the 1996 data indicates that decision-makers in Quebec are much less optimistic about the future of the country than those outside of the province. Only 18 per cent of decision-makers in Quebec agree that they are feeling more hopeful about the country compared to 34 per cent in the rest of Canada. Similarly, a majority of Quebec decision-makers (57 per cent) agree that more and more they get the feeling that the idea of Canada is slipping away, compared to 37 per cent of respondents from outside of Quebec.

Members of the general public are slightly more optimistic about the future of the county (37 per cent) compared to decision-makers (32 per cent).

However, the general public are also more likely than decision-makers to feel that Canada is slipping away.

Both the 1994 and 1996 decision-maker surveys also asked respondents to estimate the likelihood of Quebec separation within three different time frames (i.e., two, five and ten years). Exhibit 12.7 presents the results for decision-makers in Quebec and those in the rest of Canada.

EXHIBIT 12.7
Perceived Likelihood of a Quebec Separation
"What is the likelihood that Quebec will separate from the rest of Canada?"



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Three findings are noteworthy: (1) decision-makers inside of Quebec are more likely to feel that Quebec will separate from Canada across all three time frames; (2) respondents' prognosis for the likelihood of keeping Quebec in Canada grows dimmer as they look further into the future; and (3) predictions of the likelihood of Quebec separation have increased significantly from 1994 to 1996, particularly with respect to the ten year time frame.

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ANNEX A

Survey Marginals

Rethinking Government 95-3

CKSK

=> +1 if NOT SK==0

Please enter the area code and the telephone number on the F7 screen before proceeding. This information is necessary to implement a proper skip pattern during the interview.

01 The F7 screen was updated ..... 1 D => CKSK

IF THE TARGET PERSON IS NAMED ON THE F7 SCREEN, ASK FOR THIS PERSON. OTHERWISE USE THE RESPONDENT CHARACTERISTICS LISTED TO TRY TO FIND THE SAME RESPONDENT IN THE HOUSEHOLD WHO WAS LAST INTERVIEWED.

Hello, my name is ... and I work for Ekos Research Associates. We are speaking to Canadians about important issues in the news today; issues like government spending, jobs and unemployment. You may remember that someone from our office interviewed you last <type > on similar topics. Since this survey is entirely made up of the views of the Canadians we spoke to last <type >, it is very important that we speak to as many of the SAME people as possible. For this reason, we are offering each participant the chance to win a prize of a $1000 and a second prize of a $500 for participating in this consultation (just like we did the last time we interviewed you). This is an opportunity to express your views on the role of government about things that affect all of us. All of your responses will be kept strictly confidential. May I begin?

@HELLO (1-yes, 2-no)

IF ASKED: This interview should last about 30 minutes.

HELLO

Hello

01 YES 1

02 NO ..... 2 => INT

NBI6

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

			n=1385
01	Too few	1	8%
02	About right	2	55%
03	Too many	3	34%
04	DK/NR	9	3%

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NBI6A

Would that be a bit too few or a lot too few?

			n=115
01	A bit too few	1	60%
02	A lot too few	2	38%
03	DK/NR	9	2%

NBI6B

Would that be just about exactly the right number, maybe a little bit too many or maybe a little bit too few?

			n=746
01	Exactly the right number	1	55%
02	A little bit too many	2	27%
03	A little bit too few	3	16%
04	DK/NR	9	2%

NBI6C

Would that be a bit too many or a lot too many?

01	A bit too many	1	44%	n=484
02	A lot too many	2	55%	
03	DK/NR	9	1%	

BENV6

Taking into account your income level, education and overall quality of life how do you think you compare to someone living in the United States/Japan/United Kingdom/Poland. Please rate your response using a scale from 1, much worse to 7, much better with 4 meaning about the same.

				U.S.	Japan	UK	Poland
			n=1385	352	328	344	361
01	Much worse	1	2%	3	1	2	1
02		2	2%	5	1	1	0
03		3	5%	9	7	4	1
04	About the same	4	23%	28	30	24	11
05		5	20%	19	21	28	12
06		6	20%	20	16	21	24
07	Much better	7	24%	15	20	15	46
08	DK/NR	9	4%	1	4	6	5
				$\bar{x}$=5.3	4.7	5.0	5.1	6.1
				s=1.5	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.2

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TGOV6

Using a scale where 1 means much less trust, 7 means much more trust and 4 means the same, how much trust do you have in federal/provincial government compared to ten years ago?

				Fed.	Prov.
			n=1385	697	698
01	Much less trust	1	17%	16	14
02		2	11%	13	7
03		3	14%	16	10
04	The same	4	27%	28	13
05		5	13%	14	27
06		6	8%	6	13
07	Much more trust	7	7%	6	10
08	DK/NR	9	1	1	8
			$\bar{x}$=3.6	3.6	3.7
			s=1.8	1.7	1.9

IN6A

Please rate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements using a 7-point scale where 1 means you strongly disagree, 7 means you strongly agree and the mid- point 4 means you neither agree nor disagree.

GCP6

Rotation => HAPP6

Rotation => SELF6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Personally, I think the government creates more problems than it solves.

01	Strongly disagree	1	5%	n=1385
02		2	7%	
03		3	10%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	19%	
05		5	21%	$\bar{x}$=4.8
06		6	18%	s=1.7
07	Strongly agree	7	20%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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GPF6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
All in all, government is a positive force in my life

01	Strongly disagree	1	12%	n=1385
02		2	12%	
03		3	14%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	24%	
05		5	19%	$\bar{x}$=3.9
06		6	12%	s=1.7
07	Strongly agree	7	7%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

BTH6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
What really bothers me is that politicians/business leaders seem to have taken care of themselves and their friends while average Canadians have suffered badly.

				Polit. Bus. Lead	
			n=1385	713	672
01	Strongly disagree	1	1%	1	2
02		2	3%	3	4
03		3	7%	6	8
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	10%	8	12
05		5	18%	18	18
06		6	22%	21	24
07	Strongly agree	7	38%	44	33
08	DK/NR	9	0%	0	0
			$\bar{x}$=5.6	5.8	5.4
			s=1.5	1.5	1.6

ETH6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
I think the ethical standards of our federal government/people in business have slipped badly in the past decade.

				Fed.gov. Peop.bus.	
			n=1385	702	
01	Strongly disagree	1	3%	4	2
02		2	6%	6	5
03		3	10%	11	9
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	16%	16	17
05		5	19%	16	21
06		6	24%	23	25
07	Strongly agree	7	22%	24	20
08	DK/NR	9	0%	1	0
			$\bar{x}$=5.0	5.0	5.1
			s=1.6	1.7	1.5

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PROU6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I would be proud if my child grew up to be a politician public servant

				Polit.	Publ.Serv.
			n=1385	666	719
01	Strongly disagree	1	15%	23	8
02		2	11%	12	9
03		3	7%	9	6
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	26%	22	30
05		5	15%	13	17
06		6	14%	12	16
07	Strongly agree	7	10%	7	12
08	DK/NR	9	1%	0	1
			$\bar{x}$=4.0	3.6	4.4
			s=1.9	2.0	1.7

DEVO6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I think that all this talk about the devolution and decentralization of government responsibilities will really mean that governments simply don't do most of these things in the future.

01	Strongly disagree	1	3%	n=1385
02		2	5%	
03		3	7%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	18%	$\bar{x}$=5.0
05		5	25%	s=1.5
06		6	26%	
07	Strongly agree	7	15%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

FAIR6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit

01	Strongly disagree	1	8%	n=1385
02		2	8%	
03		3	10%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	12%	
05		5	17%	$\bar{x}$=4.8
06		6	25%	s=1.9
07	Strongly agree	7	20%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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SELF6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
More and more people are going to have to stop depending on our federal government and learn to fend for themselves

01	Strongly disagree	1	3%	n=1385
02		2	3%	
03		3	2%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	7%	
05		5	20%	x=5.7
06		6	32%	s=1.4
07	Strongly agree	7	33%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

ACTV6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
In the context of the current unity crisis, it is important for the federal government to ACTIVELY talk about diversity and tolerance as strong positive features of Canada.

01	Strongly disagree	1
02		2
03		3
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4
05		5
06		6
07	Strongly agree	7
08	DK/NR	9

_69

=> +1 if 0==0
Dummy question - for block rotation

PRID6

Rotation => CONGC

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
Canadian culture is something we can all take pride in

01	Strongly disagree	1	3%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	3%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	6%	
05		5	12%	x=6.0
06		6	27%	s=1.4
07	Strongly agree	7	49%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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RDEA6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

More and more I get the feeling that the idea of Canada is slipping away

01	Strongly disagree	1	5%	n=1385
02		2	10%	
03		3	8%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	13%	x=4.8
05		5	23%	s=1.8
06		6	22%	
07	Strongly agree	7	18%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

MAIN6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I strongly support maintaining a Canada which includes Quebec

01	Strongly disagree	1	4%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	2%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	7%	x=6.0
05		5	8%	s=1.6
06		6	20%	
07	Strongly agree	7	56%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

USA6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I wouldn't be too concerned if Canada joined the United States

01	Strongly disagree	1	63%	n=1385
02		2	12%	
03		3	5%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	5%	
05		5	5%	x=2.2
06		6	4%	s=1.9
07	Strongly agree	7	6%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

SICK6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

In my opinion, Canada is sick

01	Strongly disagree	1	15%	n=1385
02		2	13%	
03		3	9%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	16%	x=4.1
05		5	16%	s=2.0
06		6	13%	
07	Strongly agree	7	16%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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CON6A

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

The Constitution of Canada should recognize that Quebec, although equal to the other provinces, is different, notably because of its language, culture and law.

01	Strongly disagree	1	10%	n=1385
02		2	7%	
03		3	6%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	9%	
05		5	17%	$\bar{x}$=5.0
06		6	23%	s=2.0
07	Strongly agree	7	28%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

CON6B

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Quebec should have the constitutional means to foster and protect its language and culture.

01	Strongly disagree	1	8%	n=1385
02		2	6%	
03		3	7%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	13%	
05		5	19%	$\bar{x}$=4.9
06		6	23%	s=1.8
07	Strongly agree	7	24%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

CON6C

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Quebec should be recognized as a distinct society in the Constitution.

01	Strongly disagree	1	23%	n=1385
02		2	11%	
03		3	7%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	13%	$\bar{x}$=4.0
05		5	13%	s=2.2
06		6	16%	
07	Strongly agree	7	17%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

HARM6

In the context of the current unity crisis, the federal government actively talking about diversity and tolerance, as strong positive features, will cause more harm than good.

01	Strongly disagree	1
02		2
03		3
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4
05		5
06		6
07	Strongly agree	7
08	DK/NR	9

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ENC6

Rotation => PUIS6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I would encourage a member of my family to work in the federal public service

01	Strongly disagree	1	13%	n=1385
02		2	9%	
03		3	9%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	25%	x=4.2
05		5	17%	s=1.8
06		6	16%	
07	Strongly agree	7	10%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

WOM6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I think we need more women leaders in politics

01	Strongly disagree	1	3%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	4%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	21%	
05		5	17%	x=5.3
06		6	25%	s=1.5
07	Strongly agree	7	27%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

PUIS6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I really don't see anyone presenting a positive, active vision for Canada today.

01	Strongly disagree	1	7%	n=1385
02		2	10%	
03		3	14%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	17%	
05		5	18%	x=4.5
06		6	16%	s=1.8
07	Strongly agree	7	17%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

_91

=> +1 if 0==0

Dummy question - for block rotation

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HOPE6

Rotation => YPAY6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

For the first time in a while, I am actually feeling more hopeful about the future of the country

01	Strongly disagree	1	12%	n=1385
02		2	13%	
03		3	15%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	22%	x=3.8
05		5	21%	s=1.7
06		6	12%	
07	Strongly agree	7	4%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

DEBT6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

The federal government is so deeply in debt that it will be unable to improve social/economic problems.

01	Strongly disagree	1	5%	n=1385
02		2	9%	
03		3	12%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	11%	
05		5	20%	x=4.9
06		6	23%	s=1.8
07	Strongly agree	7	21%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

WORR6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I think that the current reductions in federal spending and services will leave the federal government only in the role of collecting taxes to pay off our national debt

01	Strongly disagree	1	4%	n=1385
02		2	10%	
03		3	13%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	16%	
05		5	21%	x=4.6
06		6	20%	s=1.7
07	Strongly agree	7	15%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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HOME6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I plan to purchase a new home within the next 12 months

01	Strongly disagree	1	75%	n=1385
02		2	8%	
03		3	2%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	4%	
05		5	3%	x=1.8
06		6	3%	s=1.6
07	Strongly agree	7	4%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

PUR6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I plan to make a major purchase (i.e., over $1,000) within the next three months

01	Strongly disagree	1	40%	n=1385
02		2	14%	
03		3	5%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	8%	
05		5	7%	x=3.2
06		6	10%	s=2.4
07	Strongly agree	7	17%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

HAV6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I really worry that we are moving to a more divided society of haves and have nots

01	Strongly disagree	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	3%	
03		3	5%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	10%	
05		5	22%	x=5.6
06		6	28%	s=1.4
07	Strongly agree	7	31%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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DISC6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
I think that business/government leaders are much too disconnected from the values and lives of ordinary Canadians

				Business	Gov.
			n=1385	685	700
01	Strongly disagree	1	2%	3	1
02		2	4%	6	3
03		3	7%	7	8
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	10%	13	7
05		5	16%	20	12
06		6	26%	25	26
07	Strongly agree	7	35%	27	42
08	DK/NR	9	0%	0	0
			$\bar{x}$=5.5	5.2	5.7
			s=1.6	1.6	1.5

CDEC6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
If faced with the same career decision again, I would not choose the career I am currently pursuing

01	Strongly disagree	1	29%	n=1385
02		2	26%	
03		3	7%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	14%	
05		5	7%	
06		6	9%	
07	Strongly agree	7	13%	
08	DK/NR	9	4%	

LOST6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
I feel I have lost all control over my economic future

01	Strongly disagree	1	13%	n=1385
02		2	10%	
03		3	14%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	16%	
05		5	16%	$\bar{x}$=4.0
06		6	12%	s=2.0
07	Strongly agree	7	14%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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CJOB6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I think there's a good chance I could lose my job in the next couple of years

01	Strongly disagree	1	19%	n=1385
02		2	9%	
03		3	6%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	11%	_
05		5	8%	x=4.0
06		6	11%	s=2.3
07	Strongly agree	7	16%	
08	NA: Not employed	8	19%	
09	DK/NR	9	1%	

YDM6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I think young Canadians today are feeling left out of the political decision-making process

01	Strongly disagree	1	4%	n=1385
02		2	7%	
03		3	8%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	14%	
05		5	20%	
06		6	24%	
07	Strongly agree	7	23%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

ENG6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

We need to find more effective ways of engaging young Canadians in discussions about the future of this country

01	Strongly disagree	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	2%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	7%	_
05		5	15%	x=5.9
06		6	34%	s=1.2
07	Strongly agree	7	39%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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STAN6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Today's young Canadians can expect to have a lower standard of living than their parents

01	Strongly disagree	1	3%	n=1385
02		2	7%	
03		3	7%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	10%	x=5.2
05		5	21%	s=1.7
06		6	24%	
07	Strongly agree	7	28%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

YPAY6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I am concerned that today's youth will end up paying for a deficit they did not create/pensions they won't be able to draw from.

				Deficit	Pension
01	Strongly disagree	1	3%	2	3
02		2	3%	3	4
03		3	5%	4	7
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	7%	6	8
05		5	15%	16	14
06		6	28%	29	27
07	Strongly agree	7	38%	40	37
08	DK/NR	9	0%	0	0
			x=5.8	5.8	5.5
			s=1.5	1.5	1.7

LEAD6

Rotation => _129

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Being a leader in the development of the information highway will help make Canada more economically competitive

01	Strongly disagree	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	3%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	12%	x=5.5
05		5	22%	s=1.3
06		6	35%	
07	Strongly agree	7	23%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

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SECT6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Technology and information are the sectors of the economy where we're going to see the most growth

01	Strongly disagree	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	3%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	7%	$\bar{x}$=5.8
05		5	20%	s=1.2
06		6	36%	
07	Strongly agree	7	31%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

FOC6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Focusing on technology and innovation will help to ensure existing companies will prosper/mean new companies and industries will develop.

				Existing Co's	New Co's
				721	664
01	Strongly disagree	1	1%	1	1
02		2	1%	2	1
03		3	2%	2	3
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	9%	11	8
05		5	24%	25	24
06		6	37%	37	37
07	Strongly agree	7	25%	23	27
08	DK/NR	9	0%	0	0
			$\bar{x}$=5.7	5.6	5.7
			s=1.2	1.2	1.2

LEFT6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

I think that as technology becomes more important in the economy, some people/older workers are going to be left behind

				People	Older worker
			n=1385	668	717
01	Strongly disagree	1	2%	2	1
02		2	4%	4	4
03		3	3%	4	3
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	6%	6	7
05		5	20%	22	18
06		6	33%	29	36
07	Strongly agree	7	32%	33	30
08	DK/NR	9	0	0	0
			$\bar{x}$=5.6	5.6	5.7
			s=1.4	1.4	1.4

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ABSO6

Rotation => _143

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
Society is too absorbed with the pursuit of money and possessions

01	Strongly disagree	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	3%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	8%	
05		5	24%	x=5.7
06		6	28%	s=1.3
07	Strongly agree	7	32%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

IMPO6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
The most important things in life don't depend on money

01	Strongly disagree	1	6%	n=1385
02		2	5%	
03		3	7%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	11%	x=5.2
05		5	17%	s=1.8
06		6	22%	
07	Strongly agree	7	32%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

HAPP6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?
People can't be truly happy without money

01	Strongly disagree	1	13%	n=1385
02		2	12%	
03		3	14%	
04	Neither agree nor disagree	4	14%	x=4.1
05		5	19%	s=2.0
06		6	13%	
07	Strongly agree	7	14%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

CON6D

How much change would you be willing to support in order to keep Quebec in Canada? Please rate your response using a scale from 1 meaning no change at all, to 7 meaning whatever change is necessary, and the mid-point 4 meaning a moderate amount of change (e.g., a compromise).

01	No change at all	1	10%	n=1385
02		2	5%	
03		3	9%	
04	A moderate amount of change (a compromise)	4	38%	x=4.3
05		5	16%	s=1.7
06		6	6%	
07	Whatever change is necessary	7	15%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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IN6B

Using a scale from 1, no trust at all, to 7, a great deal of trust with 4 meaning a moderate amount of trust, please rate how much trust you have in the following occupational groups or individuals:

TRUGA

Rotation => ZTR6L

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....

POLITICIANS

01	No trust at all	1	19%	n=1385
02		2	16%	
03		3	23%	
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	27%	x=3.1
05		5	12%	s=1.4
06		6	3%	
07	A great deal of trust	7	1%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

TRU6B

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....

federal/provincial public servants

				Fed.	Prov.
			n=1385	724	
01	No trust at all	1	7%	7	8
02		2	7%	5	8
03		3	14%	13	14
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	34%	33	35
05		5	23%	24	22
06		6	11%	12	10
07	A great deal of trust	7	3%	4	2
08	DK/NR	9	0%	1	0
			x=4.1	4.2	4.0
			s=1.4	1.4	1.4

TRU6C

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....

MEDICAL DOCTORS

01	No trust at all	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	3%	
03		3	5%	
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	20%	x=5.1
05		5	26%	s=1.3
06		6	31%	
07	A great deal of trust	7	13%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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TRU6D

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....

LAWYERS

01	No trust at all	1	17%	n=1385
02		2	14%	
03		3	17%	_
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	28%	x=3.4
05		5	16%	s=1.6
06		6	6%	
07	A great deal of trust	7	2%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

TRU6E

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....

CAR SALESMEN

01	No trust at all	1	28%	n=1385
02		2	24%	
03		3	20%	
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	21%	_
05		5	5%	x=3.8
06		6	1%	s=1.7
07	A great deal of trust	7	1%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

TRU6F

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....

BANKERS

01	No trust at all	1	14%	n=1385
02		2	10%	
03		3	14%	
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	26%	_
05		5	22%	x=3.8
06		6	10%	s=1.7
07	A great deal of trust	7	4%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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RU6G

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....
pollsters/lobbyists

			Pollsters	Lobbyists
		n=1385	694	691
01	No trust at all	1	16%	6	26
02		2	11%	4	18
03		3	11%	8	14
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	31%	34	28
05		5	15%	22	8
06		6	9%	16	2
07	A great deal of trust	7	5%	10	1
08	DK/NR	9	2%	0	4
			$\bar{x}$=3.7	4.5	2.8
			s=1.7	1.5	1.5

RU6H

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....
JOURNALISTS AND REPORTERS

01	No trust at all	1	10%	n=1385
02		2	12%	
03		3	17%	
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	29%	
05		5	20%	$\bar{x}$=3.8
06		6	9%	s=1.5
07	A great deal of trust	7	3%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

RU6J

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....
Representatives from non-governmental organizations, e.g. YMCA, Red Cross

01	No trust at all	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	3%	
03		3	5%	
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	21%	
05		5	26%	$\bar{x}$=5.1
06		6	29%	s=1.3
07	A great deal of trust	7	14%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

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TRU6K

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....

FARMERS

01	No trust at all	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	2%	
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	15%	
05		5	26%	x=5.5
06		6	33%	s=1.2
07	A great deal of trust	7	21%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

TRU6L

MESSAGE: How much trust do you have in....

BUSINESS LEADERS

01	No trust at all	1	7%	n=1385
02		2	8%	
03		3	17%	
04	A moderate amount of trust	4	34%	
05		5	22%	x=3.9
06		6	10%	s=1.4
07	A great deal of trust	7	2%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

IN6C

Listed below is a list of criteria which might improve governance in Canada. Please rate whether you believe each of these criteria would or would not improve governance using a 7- point scale from 1 no improvement at all, to 7, a great deal of improvement, with 4 meaning neither.

GOV6A

Rotation => GOV6E

MESSAGE: Do you believe the....would improve governance

Devolution of federal responsibilities to provincial and local governments PROMPT IF NEEDED: Devolution means the transfer of power and authority from the FEDERAL government to the PROVINCIAL and LOCAL governments.

01	No improvement at all	1	7%	n=1385
02		2	3%	
03		3	9%	
04	Neither	4	24%	
05		5	30%	x=4.6
06		6	16%	s=1.6
07	A great deal of improvement	7	10%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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GOV6B

MESSAGE: Do you believe the....would improve governance

Commercialization and privatization of federal responsibilities IF NEED PROMPT WITH - Commercialization and privatization refer to the transfer of power and authority from government to the private sector.

01	No improvement at all	1	9%	n=1385
02		2	7%	
03		3	13%	
04	Neither	4	21%	
05		5	28%	x=4.2
06		6	12%	s=1.7
07	A great deal of improvement	7	9%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

GOV6C

MESSAGE: Do you believe the....would improve governance

Increased federal government consultation with stakeholders (e.g., provinces, business, associations, citizens)

01	No improvement at all	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	6%	
04	Neither	4	20%	
05		5	30%	x=5.1
06		6	24%	s=1.4
07	A great deal of improvement	7	15%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

GOV6D

MESSAGE: Do you believe the....would improve governance

Increased transparency in federal government decisions IF NEEDED PROMPT WITH - Transparency means explaining why decisions are made.

01	No improvement at all	1	3%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	6%	
04	Neither	4	22%	x=5.1
05		5	27%	s=1.4
06		6	23%	
07	A great deal of improvement	7	18%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

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GOV6E

MESSAGE: Do you believe the....would improve governance

Accountability for measured results and effectiveness

01	No improvement at all	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	3%	
04	Neither	4	20%	_
05		5	26%	x=5.3
06		6	24%	s=1.4
07	A great deal of improvement	7	24%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

IN6D

In your opinion, what is the likelihood that Quebec will separate from the rest of Canada within the following time frames? Please rate your response on a 7-point scale where 1 means not at all likely, 7 means extremely likely and the midpoint 4 means somewhat likely.

SEP6A

MESSAGE: Likelihood Quebec will separate from the rest of Canada with...

IN THE NEXT 2 YEARS

01	1 Not at all likely	1	40%	n=1385
02	2	2	18%	
03	3	3	10%	
04	4 Somewhat likely	4	16%	_
05	5	5	8%	x=2.6
06	6	6	5%	s=1.8
07	7 Extremely likely	7	4%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

SEP6B

MESSAGE: Likelihood Quebec will separate from the rest of Canada with...

IN THE NEXT 5 YEARS

01	1 Not at all likely	1	19%	n=1385
02	2	2	12%	
03	3	3	14%	
04	4 Somewhat likely	4	25%	_
05	5	5	11%	x=3.7
06	6	6	10%	s=1.9
07	7 Extremely likely	7	10%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

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EP6C

MESSAGE: Likelihood Quebec will separate from the rest of Canada with...

IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

01	1 Not at all likely	1	17%	n=1385
02	2	2	9%	
03	3	3	9%	
04	4 Somewhat likely	4	20%	x=4.2
05	5	5	12%	s=2.1
06	6	6	11%	
07	7 Extremely likely	7	20%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

N6G

On average, how good or bad a job is the federal public service doing right now in terms of hiring people according to the following criteria. Please rate your response on a scale from 1, extremely bad job, to 7, extremely good job, with 4 meaning neither good nor bad.

CRT6A

Rotation => CRT6C

Ensuring a public service independent of any political party

01	Extremely bad job	1	8%	n=1385
02		2	10%	
03		3	16%	
04	Neither good nor bad	4	34%	
05		5	18%	x=3.9
06		6	8%	s=1.5
07	Extremely good job	7	5%	
08	DK/NR	9	2%	

CRT6B

Hiring the best qualified person for the job

01	Extremely bad job	1	10%	n=1385
02		2	10%	
03		3	19%	
04	Neither good nor bad	4	23%	
05		5	20%	x=3.9
06		6	9%	s=1.7
07	Extremely good job	7	7%	
08	DK/NR	9	2%	

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CRT6C

Ensuring that the public service reflects the composition of Canadian society in terms of sex, race and language

01	Extremely bad job	1	4%	
02		2	6%	
03		3	13%	
04	Neither good nor bad	4	29%	x=4.4
05		5	25%	s=1.4
06		6	14%	
07	Extremely good job	7	7%	
08	DK/NR	9	2%	

IN6H

The following are several criteria which may be important to you in deciding whether or not you are interested in a particular job. Using a 7-point scale from 1, not at all important, to 7, extremely important, with 4 meaning neither unimportant nor important, please rate how important each of the following criteria is to your job selection decision.

JOB6A

Rotation => JOB6E

MESSAGE: How important is.....in determining your interest in a job?
SERVING THE PUBLIC INTEREST

01	Not at all important	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	4%	
04	Neither unimportant nor important	4	13%	
05		5	26%	x=5.4
06		6	28%	s=1.4
07	Extremely important	7	24%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

JOB6B

MESSAGE: How important is.....in determining your interest in a job?
JOB SECURITY

01	Not at all important	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	3%	
04	Neither unimportant nor important	4	9%	
05		5	15%	x=5.8
06		6	28%	s=1.4
07	Extremely important	7	41%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

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JOB6C

MESSAGE: How important is.....in determining your interest in a job?

PERSONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

01	Not at all important	1	1%	
02		2	0%	
03		3	1%	
04	Neither unimportant nor important	4	5%	x=6.0
05		5	17%	s=1.0
06		6	36%	
07	Extremely important	7	39%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

JOB6D

MESSAGE: How important is.....in determining your interest in a job?

INCOME

01	Not at all important	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	2%	
04	Neither unimportant nor important	4	7%	
05		5	30%	x=5.7
06		6	32%	s=1.1
07	Extremely important	7	26%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

JOB6E

MESSAGE: How important is.....in determining your interest in a job?

PRESTIGE OR STATUS

01	Not at all important	1	10%	n=1385
02		2	9%	
03		3	10%	
04	Neither unimportant nor important	4	28%	
05		5	25%	x=4.1
06		6	11%	s=1.6
07	Extremely important	7	6%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

IN6I

Now thinking specifically about the federal public service, how would you rate a job in the public service in terms of each of the criteria. Please use a scale from 1, extremely low, to 7, extremely high, with 4 meaning average.

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PSJ6A

Rotation => PSJ6E

MESSAGE: How would you rate a job in the public service in terms...

SERVING THE PUBLIC INTEREST

01	Extremely low	1	3%	n=1385
02		2	4%	
03		3	11%	
04	Meaning average	4	26%	
05		5	25%	x=4.7
06		6	18%	s=1.5
07	Extremely high	7	12%	
08	DK/NR	9	0	

PSJ6B

MESSAGE: How would you rate a job in the public service in terms...

JOB SECURITY

01	Extremely low	1	6%	n=1385
02		2	6%	
03		3	12%	
04	Meaning average	4	19%	
05		5	21%	x=4.7
06		6	20%	s=1.7
07	Extremely high	7	16%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

PSJ6C

MESSAGE: How would you rate a job in the public service in terms...

PERSONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

01	Extremely low	1	3%	n=1385
02		2	6%	
03		3	9%	
04	Meaning average	4	30%	x=4.5
05		5	27%	s=1.4
06		6	16%	
07	Extremely high	7	7%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

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SJ6D

MESSAGE: How would you rate a job in the public service in terms...

SJ6E

INCOME

01	Extremely low	1	1%	
02		2	1%	
03		3	5%	
04	Meaning average	4	21%	
05		5	32%	x=5.1
06		6	25%	s=1.2
07	Extremely high	7	13%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

SJ6E

MESSAGE: How would you rate a job in the public service in terms...

PRESTIGE OR STATUS

01	Extremely low	1	6%	
02		2	7%	
03		3	13%	
04	Meaning average	4	33%	x=4.2
05		5	22%	s=1.5
06		6	12%	
07	Extremely high	7	6%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

IN6J

We hear all the federal government is supposed to be more and more results-oriented. Listed below is a list of possible results from government. For each of these items, please tell me how important the item is to producing an improved overall results-oriented government. Please rate your response using a 7-point scale from 1, not at all important, to 7, extremely important, with the mid-point 4 meaning moderately important.

RES6A

Rotation => RES6F

MESSAGE: How important is...to producing results-oriented government?

Actually producing the service requested or the product asked for (delivering the goods)

01	Not at all important	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	2%	
04	Moderately important	4	9%	
05		5	14%	x=6.0
06		6	33%	s=1.2
07	Extremely important	7	40%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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RES6B

MESSAGE: How important is...to producing results-oriented government?
Reflecting the broad public interest

01	Not at all important	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	3%	
04	Moderately important	4	12%	$\bar{x}$=5.7
05		5	25%	s=1.2
06		6	31%	
07	Extremely important	7	28%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

RES6C

MESSAGE: How important is...to producing results-oriented government?
Maximizing cost-effectiveness and efficiency

01	Not at all important	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	2%	
04	Moderately important	4	8%	
05		5	14%	$\bar{x}$=6.0
06		6	29%	s=1.2
07	Extremely important	7	44%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

RES6D

MESSAGE: How important is...to producing results-oriented government?
Demonstrating results (i.e., providing concise measures or indicators of performance)

01	Not at all important	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	3%	
04	Moderately important	4	14%	
05		5	22%	$\bar{x}$=5.7
06		6	31%	s=1.2
07	Extremely important	7	29%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

RES6E

MESSAGE: How important is...to producing results-oriented government?
Meeting program or policy objectives and goals

01	Not at all important	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	0%	
03		3	2%	
04	Moderately important	4	12%	$\bar{x}$=5.8
05		5	21%	s=1.2
06		6	34%	
07	Extremely important	7	30%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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RES6F

MESSAGE: How important is...to producing results-oriented government?

Higher quality customer service

01	Not at all important	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	0%	
03		3	3%	
04	Moderately important	4	10%	
05		5	18%	x=5.9
06		6	35%	s=1.1
07	Extremely important	7	33%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

SIZ6A

Overall, what size of federal government would you like to see in the year 2000. Please rate your response using a scale from 1, much smaller to 7, much bigger, with 4 meaning about the same size.

01	Much smaller	1	14%	n=1385
02		2	13%	
03		3	25%	
04	About the same size	4	33%	x=3.3
05		5	7%	s=1.4
06		6	3%	
07	Much bigger	7	4%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

SIZ6B

Using the same scale, what do you believe WILL be the size of the federal government in the year 2000?

01	Much smaller	1	5%	n=1385
02		2	7%	
03		3	24%	
04	About the same size	4	35%	x=3.9
05		5	15%	s=1.4
06		6	7%	
07	Much bigger	7	5%	
08	DK/NR	9	2%	

IN6K

Next I am going to read you a number of statements. Please indicate if you completely disagree, mostly disagree, mostly agree, or completely agree with each of these statements.

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POOR6

Rotation => WAST6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

Poor people have become too dependent on government assistance programs

01	Completely disagree	1	5%	n=1385
02	Mostly disagree	2	17%	
03	Mostly agree	3	48%	
04	Completely agree	4	30%	
05	DK/NR	9	0%	

CARE6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves

01	Completely disagree	1	5%	n=1385
02	Mostly disagree	2	18%	
03	Mostly agree	3	48%	
04	Completely agree	4	28%	
05	DK/NR	9	1%	

WAST6

MESSAGE: Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful

01	Completely disagree	1	5%	n=1385
02	Mostly disagree	2	25%	
03	Mostly agree	3	45%	
04	Completely agree	4	25%	
05	DK/NR	9	1%	

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@IN6L HIT ENTER TO CONTINUE

N6L

The federal government in its recent speech from the Throne announced its intention to focus on youth, science and technology, and trade as the three key elements of its job and growth strategy. Looking at each of the elements of the federal government's jobs and growth strategy individually, how effective do you think each will have on creating employment for Canadians? [SEE SCREEN]

YOU6

Rotation => IFIN6

MESSAGE: How effective do you think...will be in creating employment?

INVESTING IN YOUTH

01	Not at all effective	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	4%	_
04	Moderately effective	4	17%	x=5.4
05		5	23%	s=1.3
06		6	29%	
07	Extremely effective	7	23%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

ST6

MESSAGE: How effective do you think...will be in creating employment?

INVESTING IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

01	Not at all effective	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	3%	
04	Moderately effective	4	14%	_
05		5	25%	x=5.5
06		6	33%	s=1.2
07	Extremely effective	7	22%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

IFIN6

MESSAGE: How effective do you think...will be in creating employment?

ENHANCED EXPORT DEVELOPMENT AND FINANCING

01	Not at all effective	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	5%	
04	Moderately effective	4	22%	_
05		5	33%	x=5.1
06		6	25%	s=1.3
07	Extremely effective	7	12%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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IN6M

The following are some actions government could take to make people more or less likely to want to keep Canada together (ROC)/stay in Canada (Que). Using a 7-point scale from 1, much less likely, to 7, much more likely, with 4 meaning neither, how likely is it that each of these actions would make you want to (see above)?

BIL6

Rotation => CULT6

Strengthening bilingualism

01	Much less likely	1	8%	n=1385
02		2	8%	
03		3	9%	
04	Neither	4	24%	
05		5	20%	x=4.5
06		6	16%	s=1.8
07	Much more likely	7	14%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

SEN6

Eliminating the Senate

01	Much less likely	1	7%	n=1385
02		2	6%	
03		3	7%	
04	Neither	4	31%	
05		5	13%	x=4.6
06		6	11%	s=1.8
07	Much more likely	7	23%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

QUEE6

Eliminating the Queen as our head of state

01	Much less likely	1	16%	n=1385
02		2	8%	
03		3	9%	
04	Neither	4	30%	
05		5	9%	x=4.1
06		6	10%	s=2.0
07	Much more likely	7	18%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

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REDU6

Reducing the youth unemployment rate/overall unemployment rate by the year 2000

			Youth	Overall
		n=1385	689	696
01	Much less likely	1	2%	2	2
02		2	2%	3	1
03		3	4%	3	5
04	Neither	4	11%	12	10
05		5	21%	21	22
06		6	27%	29	26
07	Much more likely	7	31%	29	33
08	DK/NR	9	0%	0	1
			x=5.6	5.5	5.6
			s=1.4	1.5	1.4

FORP6

Strengthening Canadian foreign policy so it is more distinct from U.S. foreign policy

01	Much less likely	1	4%	n=1385
02		2	3%	
03		3	4%	
04	Neither	4	22%	
05		5	25%	x=5.1
06		6	22%	s=1.5
07	Much more likely	7	20%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

SYMB6

Raising the profile of Canadian national symbols (like the flag) in everyday life

01	Much less likely	1	7%	n=1385
02		2	4%	
03		3	6%	
04	Neither	4	19%	
05		5	22%	x=4.9
06		6	21%	s=1.7
07	Much more likely	7	20%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

MEDI6

Preserving medicare at its current level of quality and access

01	Much less likely	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	3%	
04	Neither	4	9%	
05		5	16%	x=5.8
06		6	27%	s=1.4
07	Much more likely	7	40%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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CONS6

Engaging in a process of scientific public consultation where a random sample of Canadians are given the opportunity to think, reflect and offer solutions to our current problems

01	Much less likely	1	4%	n=1385
02		2	4%	
03		3	5%	
04	Neither	4	17%	
05		5	29%	$\bar{x}$=5.1
06		6	23%	s=1.5
07	Much more likely	7	19%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

QPSE6

Improving the quality and access to post-secondary education throughout Canada

01	Much less likely	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	4%	
04	Neither	4	10%	
05		5	21%	$\bar{x}$=5.7
06		6	31%	s=1.3
07	Much more likely	7	31%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

CULT6

Strengthening Canadian culture so it is more distinct from the U.S.

01	Much less likely	1	4%	n=1385
02		2	4%	
03		3	5%	
04	Neither	4	16%	
05		5	20%	$\bar{x}$=5.2
06		6	26%	s=1.6
07	Much more likely	7	25%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

IN6O

There are a number of things the government could do to help create a healthy economic environment for job creation. Using a scale where 1 means not at all successful, 7 means extremely successful and 4 means somewhat successful, tell me how successful you think each of the following would be in leading to job creation and economic growth for Canada.

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DEVL6

Rotation => MONE6

Help Canadian companies develop and use new technology/invest in Canadian research and development

			n=1385	Help 659	R&D 726
01	Not at all successful	1	1%	1	1
02		2	1%	1	1
03		3	1%	1	1
04	Somewhat successful	4	9%	9	8
05		5	28%	24	21
06		6	36%	34	38
07	Extremely successful	7	30%	30	30
08	DK/NR	9	0%	0	0
			$\bar{x}$=5.8	5.8	5.8
			s=1.1	1.1	1.1

SMAL6

Provide small business with strategic information to help them become more competitive

01	Not at all successful	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	2%	
04	Somewhat successful	4	8%	
05		5	21%	$\bar{x}$=5.8
06		6	38%	s=1.2
07	Extremely successful	7	28%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

TAPE6

Cut red tape and simplify government regulations for businesses

01	Not at all successful	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	2%	
04	Somewhat successful	4	11%	
05		5	22%	$\bar{x}$=5.8
06		6	27%	s=1.2
07	Extremely successful	7	35%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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GAIN6

Help small business gain access to the information highway/internet

			Info. H n=1385	Internet 715	670
01	Not at all successful	1	2%	1	2
02		2	2%	1	3
03		3	4%	3	5
04	Somewhat successful	4	14%	12	16
05		5	28%	28	27
06		6	27%	30	24
07	Extremely successful	7	23%	25	21
08	DK/NR	9	1%	0	1
			$\bar{x}$=5.4	5.5	5.2
			s=1.3	1.2	1.4

MONE6

Give money directly to businesses to create jobs

01	Not at all successful	1	13%	n=1385
02		2	10%	
03		3	14%	
04	Somewhat successful	4	23%	$\bar{x}$=4.0
05		5	19%	s=1.8
06		6	11%	
07	Extremely successful	7	10%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

SENS6

MESSAGE: READ LIST

Given the overall problems facing young Canadians today, which of the following two approaches do you think makes more sense?

Rotation => 2

01	Summer employment programs to provide young people with job experience and money for studies	1	54%	n=1385
02	Subsidies to support hiring young people in longer term high technology positions	2	45%	
03	[DO NOT READ] DK/NR	9	1%	

ABIL4

How would you rate your ability to work with computers? Please rate your answer on a 7- point scale where 1 is extremely poor, 7 is excellent and 4 is average.

01	Extremely poor	1	18%	n=1385
02		2	6%	
03		3	8%	
04	Average	4	23%	
05		5	15%	$\bar{x}$=4.1
06		6	15%	s=2.0
07	Excellent	7	15%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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Do you personally own any of the following computer equipment or networks?

Personal Computer	@PC6
Modem	@MOD6
Internet account or other on-line service	@INTE6

1 - YES
2 - NO
9 - DK/NR

PC6

Do you personally own any of the following computer equipment or networks? [see screen]
PERSONAL COMPUTER

01	Yes	1	55%	n=1385
02	No	2	45%	
03	DK/NR	9	0%	

MOD6

[see screen]
MODEM

01	Yes	1	36%	n=1385
02	No	2	64%	
03	DK/NR	9	0%	

INTE6

[see screen]
INTERNET ACCOUNT OR OTHER ON-LINE SERVICE

01	Yes	1	19%	n=1385
02	No	2	81%	
03	DK/NR	9	0%	

ADE6

Please rate the adequacy of your current income on a 7-point scale from 1, much too low, to 7, more than I need, with 4 being a satisfactory amount.
** PROMPT IF INCOME IS VARIABLE: THINKING OF YOUR AVERAGE INCOME?

01	Much too low	1	14%	n=1385
02		2	9%	
03		3	18%	
04	A satisfactory amount	4	43%	x=3.4
05		5	10%	s=1.3
06		6	3%	
07	More than I need	7	1%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

IN6Q

How frequently do you follow political and governmental affairs in each of the following. Please use a 7-point scale from 1, never, to 7, very frequently with 4 meaning sometimes.

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NEW6

Rotation => INTR6

MESSAGE: How frequently do you follow political and governmental affairs in..
NEWSPAPERS

01	Never	1	5%	n=1385
02		2	5%	
03		3	7%	
04	Sometimes	4	20%	
05		5	16%	x=5.1
06		6	21%	s=1.7
07	Very frequently	7	26%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

RAD6

MESSAGE: How frequently do you follow political and governmental affairs in..
RADIO

01	Never	1	10%	n=1385
02		2	7%	
03		3	7%	
04	Sometimes	4	19%	
05		5	17%	x=4.7
06		6	17%	s=1.9
07	Very frequently	7	22%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

TV6

MESSAGE: How frequently do you follow political and governmental affairs in..
TELEVISION

01	Never	1	3%	n=1385
02		2	3%	
03		3	4%	
04	Sometimes	4	16%	
05		5	17%	x=5.4
06		6	25%	s=1.6
07	Very frequently	7	30%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

MAG6

MESSAGE: How frequently do you follow political and governmental affairs in..
MAGAZINES

01	Never	1	21%	n=1385
02		2	11%	
03		3	11%	
04	Sometimes	4	25%	x=3.6
05		5	14%	s=1.9
06		6	9%	
07	Very frequently	7	10%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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INTR6

MESSAGE: How frequently do you follow political and governmental affairs in..

INTERNET

01	Never	1	76%	n=1385
02		2	5%	
03		3	4%	
04	Sometimes	4	8%	
05		5	3%	x=1.7
06		6	2%	s=1.5
07	Very frequently	7	2%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

PUBI6

Compared to the average Canadian, how would you rate your personal interest in public issues? Please use a 7-point scale, where 1 is much less interested, 7 is much more interested, and 4 is about average.

01	Much less interested	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	2%	
03		3	4%	
04	About average	4	34%	
05		5	24%	x=5.0
06		6	21%	s=1.3
07	Much more interested	7	14%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

TR6

I am going to read you a series of two alternatives, if you were Prime Minister for one day and you had to choose how to allocate $100 million, which of the following $100 million alternatives would you choose in the best public interest?

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TR6

MESSAGE: Each alternative is worth $100 million

Rotation => 14

Elimination => 14 (NOT XF61A XF61B)

01	Reduce the annual deficit by $100 million	01	61%
02	Decrease taxes by $100 million	02	48%
03	Maintain CBC regional programming including news	03	32%
04	Maintain the National Film Board	04	23%
05	Buy 42,000 day care places for unemployed parents so they can look for a job	05	52%
06	Invest in national health promotion programs to reduce tobacco, drug and alcohol use by youth	06	50%
07	Ensure the safety of Canada's blood supply	07	60%
08	Invest $2 million on a repayable basis in each of 50 small- and medium-sized business in the high technology and information industry	08	61%
09	Buy two helicopters for national defence	09	9%
10	Provide job training for 50,000 workers	10	70%
11	Create about 5,000 partially subsidized jobs	11	58%
12	Help relocate 5,000 unemployed workers to areas with better employment prospects	12	60%
13	A summer employment program for students	13	58%
14	Help 100,000 people become computer literate	14	50%
15	DK/NR	99	

IN6R

Listed below are some potential projects or goals for the federal government to undertake in trying to restore a sense of optimism to Canadians. Using a 7-point scale from 1, lowest priority, to 7, highest priority, with 4 meaning middle priority, what priority should the federal government place on each of these projects or goals in restoring optimism to you.

NAT6A

Rotation => NAT6F

MESSAGE: What priority should the FEDERAL government place on...

Training programs aimed at improving reading skills and technological literacy

01	Lowest priority	1	2%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	2%	
04	Middle priority	4	12%	x=5.6
05		5	27%	s=1.2
06		6	32%	
07	Highest priority	7	25%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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NAT6B

MESSAGE: What priority should the FEDERAL government place on...

A balanced budget

01	Lowest priority	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	2%	
04	Middle priority	4	10%	
05		5	15%	x=6.0
06		6	26%	s=1.2
07	Highest priority	7	45%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

NAT6C

MESSAGE: What priority should the FEDERAL government place on...

An unemployment rate of eight per cent

** IF THEY ASK - THE CURRENT UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS 9 PER CENT

01	Lowest priority	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	2%	
04	Middle priority	4	17%	
05		5	22%	x=5.5
06		6	30%	s=1.3
07	Highest priority	7	25%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

NAT6D

MESSAGE: What priority should the FEDERAL government place on...

A cross-cultural exchange of people from different parts of the country

01	Lowest priority	1	9%	n=1385
02		2	8%	
03		3	13%	
04	Middle priority	4	29%	
05		5	22%	x=4.1
06		6	13%	s=1.6
07	Highest priority	7	7%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

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NAT6E

MESSAGE: What priority should the FEDERAL government place on...

The promotion of a better understanding of government/Canadian culture

			n=1385	Gov't 673	Can.cult. 694
01	Lowest priority	1	6%	5	6
02		2	6%	7	5
03		3	10%	9	11
04	Middle priority	4	29%	31	28
05		5	24%	21	27
06		6	14%	15	12
07	Highest priority	7	11%	12	11
08	DK/NR	9	1%	0	0
			x=4.5	4.5	4.5
			s=1.6	1.6	1.5

NAT6F

MESSAGE: What priority should the FEDERAL government place on...

Ensuring the sustainability of the health care system

01	Lowest priority	1	1%	n=1385
02		2	1%	
03		3	2%	
04	Middle priority	4	6%	
05		5	15%	x=6.1
06		6	32%	s=1.1
07	Highest priority	7	44%	
08	DK/NR	9	0%	

GOAL6

MESSAGE: READ LIST

If you had to choose among the following three goals for Canada in the year 2001, which would you pick:

** IF THEY ASK - THE CURRENT UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS 9 PER CENT

Rotation => 3

01	An overall unemployment rate of five per cent or less	1	35%	n=1385
02	A strong and united Canada with national unity issues solved for at least a generation	2	23%	
03	A balanced budget and significant progress on reducing the overall national debt	3	42%	
04	[Do not read] DK/NR	9	1%	

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U2Y6

What do you think the national unemployment rate will be across each of the following timeframes? ****THE CURRENT UNEMPLOYMENT RATE IS 9 PER CENT***

IN THE NEXT 2 YEARS

$E 0 50

01	<6%	1	3%	
02	6-7%	2	6%	
03	8-9%	3	44%	_
04	10-15%	4	41%	x=9.9
05	>15%	5	2%	s=3.3
06	DK/NR	99	4%	

U5Y6

MESSAGE: National unemployment rate...

IN THE NEXT 5 YEARS

$E 0 50

01	<6%	1	5%	
02	6-7%	2	15%	
03	8-9%	3	32%	_
04	10-15%	4	38%	x=10.0
05	>15%	5	5%	s=4.7
06	DK/NR	99	5%	

U10Y6

MESSAGE: National unemployment rate...

IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS

$E 0 50

01	<6%	1	12%	
02	6-7%	2	20%	
03	8-9%	3	26%	_
04	10-15%	4	27%	x=9.8
05	>15%	5	6%	s=6.6
06	DK/NR	99	8%	

IN6S

I'd like you now to think of what Canada will be like ten years from now. In each of the following social and economic areas do you think the situation will be better or worse. Please rate your response on a 7-point scale where 1 means much worse, 7 means much better and 4 means no change.

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HEAL6

Rotation => INEQ6

MESSAGE: Will....be better or worse in 10 years?

The overall health of the Canadian economy

01	Much worse	1	6%	n=1385
02		2	5%	
03		3	10%	
04	No change	4	27%	_
05		5	32%	x=4.4
06		6	14%	s=1.5
07	Much better	7	6%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

INEQ6

MESSAGE: Will....be better or worse in 10 years?

The level of inequality in Canadian society (i.e., the gap between the rich and the poor)

01	Much worse	1	14%	n=1385
02		2	12%	
03		3	18%	
04	No change	4	29%	_
05		5	17%	x=3.6
06		6	7%	s=1.6
07	Much better	7	3%	
08	DK/NR	9	1%	

BOTH6

The next few questions are for statistical purposes only. Were BOTH your parents born in Canada?

01	Yes	1	66%	n=1385
02	No	2	33%	
03	DK/NR	3	0%	

HOUS6

Including yourself, how many people live in this household?

$E 1 50

01	1-2	1	46%	n=1385
02	3-4	2	40%	_
03	5+	3	14%	x=2.9
04	DK/NR	99	0%	s=1.5

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AGE6

=>+1 if HOUS6==1

How many people under the age of 18 are living in this household?

SE 1.50

01	1-2	1	77%	n=590
02	3-4	2	20%	_
03	5+	3	2%	x=1.9
04	DK/NR	99	0%	s=1.2

MSTA6

What is your current marital status?

01	Now married/common law	01	55%	n=1385
02	Single (i.e., never married)	02	29%	
03	Other (separated, divorced, widowed)	98	15%	
04	DK/NR	99	0%	

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ANNEX B

Typology Dimensions

ANNEX B
Typology Dimensions

Question Name	Question Text
	Traditional Funding and Pro-Diversity
FACT	The fact of ethnic, racial and culture variety in Canadian society
PDIA4	Promoting the diverse cultures of ALL Canadians
DCNON	Promoting the diverse cultures of ALL non-British and non-French Canadians
ENTR4	Supporting ethnic and racial minorities in the preservation of their cultural traditions within Canadian society
FUN4	Funding festivals/organizations/research devoted to the interests of ethnic and racial minorities
	Positive Impacts of Multiculturalism
HELP4	Helped united Canada
PRIN4	Contributed to better foreign trade and international relations with other countries
PROV4	Provided greater equality and opportunity for people who are neither British nor French
ASST4	Assisted fuller participation by all in all aspects of Canadian life
ENRI4	Enriched Canada's culture
ENSU4	Ensured that people from various cultural backgrounds have a sense of belonging to Canada
SAT4	How satisfied are you with the federal government's multiculturalism policy
	Promoting Tolerance
ELIM4	Eliminating racism in areas such as health care, justice and education
HEAL4	Helping health and social services be more accessible to ethnic and racial minorities
HELPC	Helping new Canadians learn about Canadian values, laws, and institutions
INTRG	Helping individuals from ethnic and racial minorities integrate into Canadian economic, cultural, political and social life
RECO4	Promoting an awareness that cultural and racial diversity is a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society
PTOL4	Promoting tolerance through public communications and public education
CULTD	Promoting the value of cultural diversity
	Negative Impacts of Multiculturalism
CAUS4	Caused greater conflict between groups of different origins
WEAK4	Weakened our traditional Canadian ways of life
HEIG4	Heightened Quebeckers alienation from Canada

Question Name	Question Text
GIVE4	Given some groups more than their fair share
CHAN4	Forced Canada to change too quickly
DILU4	Diluted bilingualism and biculturalism
	Concern about Racism
SCH4	How serious is the problem of racism in schools
WPLA4	How serious is the problem of racism in the workplace
LAW4	How serious is the problem of racism in law enforcement
COURT	How serious is the problem of racism in the courts and justice system
RAC4	How serious a problem do you believe racism is in Canadian society today
	Canadian Identity
PRID4	Canadian culture is something we can all take pride in
CCUL4	It may be difficult to identify precisely but there definitely is a unique Canadian culture
GRED4	One of Canada's greatest sources of national identity is our cultural diversity
YCANA	Canada
	Cultural Insecurity
OCUL4	One of the biggest problems with Canada is that we don't have a strong overall culture to unite the country
NCID4	There really is no distinct Canadian identity
SEA4	I really worry that we are losing the traditional values of Canada in a sea of rapid changes in society
REM4	Removing the official languages policy would help national unity
	Anglophone Icons/Symbols
MOUN4	The Mounties
BEAV4	The beaver
CAND4	Canada Day
OCAN4	O Canada
LEAF4	The maple leaf
QUEE4	The Queen
	Symbol Values
CENV4	A clean environment
UN4	United Nations' recognition of Canada having highest quality of life
CHAR4	The Charter of Rights and Freedoms
FREE4	Freedom

Question Name	Question Text
SAFE4	Safe streets
COMP4	Compassion
TOLE4	Tolerance
	Quebec Nationalism Symbols
FLEU4	The fleur de lys
QUE4	The Quebec unity debate
LANG4	Bilingualism/official languages
	Bilingualism as a Bridge
ART4	Canada's cultural programs in the area of bilingualism/official languages have contributed to our overall quality of life in Canada
HARM4	I believe more could be done to promote harmony between English- and French-speaking Canadians
YOU4	It is important for young people in Canada today to speak both English and French
BOTH4	The fact that many Canadians converse in both English and French is a crucial bridge to keeping the country together
	Reverse Discrimination
EEQD4	Employment equity has promoted a new form of discrimination against Canadians who are not considered visible minorities
VICT4	I think that too many people see themselves as victims in today's society
WAY4	Too many immigrants feel no obligation to adapt to Canadian values and way of life

ANNEX C

Profile of Segments

ANNEX C
Profile of Segments

	Xenophobe	Open Cosmopolitan	Ambivalent Nationalist	Pragmatic Moderate	Total
Mother Tongue					
Anglophones	79.3	63.7	59.1	39.2	60.3
Francophones	8.2	25.4	28.7	54.0	29.2
Other	12.5	10.9	12.2	6.8	10.6
Annual Household Income					
Under $20,000	12.7	15.8	18.4	15.2	15.5
$20,000-$39,999	22.5	24.9	34.0	26.3	26.8
$40,000-$59,999	25.8	24.2	21.6	26.3	24.6
$60,000 or more	38.9	35.1	26.0	32.2	33.2
Education					
High School	34.5	28.9	60.4	36.2	39.5
College	26.6	21.5	16.9	22.3	22.0
University	38.8	49.5	22.7	41.4	38.5
Sex					
Male	51.3	46.3	43.6	57.3	49.8
Female	48.7	53.7	56.4	42.7	50.2
Employment Status					
Employed	62.8	63.7	59.9	66.3	63.3
Unemployed	5.6	4.8	5.4	5.2	5.2
Not in labour force	31.6	31.5	34.8	28.5	31.5
Age					
16-24	2.0	8.4	9.3	8.4	7.0
25-44	45.7	48.2	40.5	53.1	47.0
44-64	41.4	33.1	37.6	31.1	35.7
65+	10.9	10.3	12.5	7.4	10.2
Immigration to Canada					
Too many	58.4	13.8	42.3	33.4	36.8
Too few	5.5	18.2	8.8	14.5	11.8
About right	36.2	68.0	48.9	52.0	51.4

	Xenophobe	Open Cosmopolitan	Ambivalent Nationalist	Pragmatic Moderate	Total
Member of Visible Minority					
Yes	8.9	16.5	18.3	16.6	15.0
No	91.1	83.5	81.7	83.4	85.0
Perceptions of Proposed Mandate of Multiculturalism					
Oppose	24.3	2.1	4.8	7.4	9.7
Neither	30.3	20.7	28.1	38.9	29.5
Support	45.4	77.2	67.1	53.7	60.8
Goals of Federal Multiculturalism					
Right direction	78.2	91.6	93.3	89.4	88.1
Wrong direction	21.8	8.4	6.7	10.6	11.9
How often do you follow political affairs in newspapers					
Little	15.5	15.0	12.1	17.6	15.1
Sometimes	18.0	20.5	23.6	18.1	20.0
Often	66.5	64.5	64.4	64.2	64.9
How often do you follow political affairs on radio					
Little	23.3	23.1	17.2	23.3	21.9
Sometimes	17.1	13.1	23.6	18.1	17.8
Often	59.6	63.8	59.2	58.5	60.3
How often do you follow political affairs on television					
Little	7.7	13.5	6.9	13.0	10.4
Sometimes	10.8	11.0	20.7	11.9	13.4
Often	81.4	75.5	72.4	75.1	76.2
How often do you follow political affairs in magazines					
Little	34.0	36.5	37.9	51.8	40.1
Sometimes	27.3	20.0	29.3	17.1	23.3
Often	38.7	43.5	32.8	31.1	36.7
How often do you follow political affairs on Internet					
Little	85.0	82.5	87.4	88.0	85.6
Sometimes	7.8	8.0	8.0	5.7	7.4
Often	7.3	9.5	4.6	6.3	7.0

	Xenophobe	Open Cosmopolitan	Ambivalent Nationalist	Pragmatic Moderate	Total
Interest in public affairs					
Less	5.2	3.0	4.0	8.3	5.1
Same	24.9	32.5	33.3	37.8	32.1
More	69.9	64.5	62.6	53.9	62.8
Voting intentions					
Liberal	39.4	65.0	65.8	41.9	52.8
Progressive Conservative	16.6	6.2	8.1	6.4	9.3
New Democratic	4.6	11.9	8.7	9.9	8.8
Reform	32.0	6.2	8.1	6.4	13.3
Bloc Québécois	2.3	9.0	7.5	32.0	12.7
Belonging to Canada					
Weak	4.6	2.3	1.4	24.4	8.3
Moderate	4.3	4.5	3.9	16.9	7.5
Strong	91.1	93.2	94.6	58.8	84.2
Belonging to province					
Weak	8.2	5.8	2.9	8.7	6.5
Moderate	10.9	10.9	4.3	15.9	10.6
Strong	80.9	83.3	92.8	75.4	82.9

ANNEX D

Ekos Study Team

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Frank Graves	Project Director and Principal Investigator
Benoît Gauthier	Co-Investigator
David Zussman	Co-Investigator
Derek Jansen	Senior Analyst
Patrick Beauchamp	Qualitative Research Manager
Michèle Renaud	Analyst
Lise Paquette	Senior Word Processing and Graphic
Diane Beauvais	Word Processing and Graphic
Heather Chang	Data Base Manager
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ANNEX E

Decision-Maker Questionnaire

A National Goals

1. If you had to choose among the following three goals for Canada in the year 2001, which would you pick:

An overall unemployment rate of five per cent or less 1

A strong and united Canada with national unity issues solved for at least a generation 2

A balanced budget and significant progress on reducing the overall national debt 3

2. Listed below are some potential projects or goals for the federal government to undertake in trying to restore a sense of optimism to Canadians. Using a 7-point scale from 1, lowest priority, to 7, highest priority, with 4 meaning middle priority, what priority should the federal government place on each of these projects or goals in restoring optimism to you.

		LOWEST PRIORITY			MIDDLE PRIORITY			HIGHEST PRIORITY
a.	Training programs aimed at improving reading skills and technological literacy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	A balanced budget	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	An unemployment rate of eight per cent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	A cross-cultural exchange of people from different parts of the country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	The promotion of a better understanding of government and Canadian culture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

B Sense of Belonging

3. Some people have a stronger sense of belonging to some things than others. Please tell me how strong your own personal sense of belonging is to each of the following. Please use a 7-point scale where 1 means not strong at all, 7 means extremely strong and the mid-point 4 means moderately strong.

		NOT STRONG AT ALL			MODERATELY STRONG			EXTREMELY STRONG
a.	Your family	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	Your community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	Your province	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	Canada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	Your social class	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	Your ethnic group or national ancestry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g.	Your profession or trade	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

C Priority Areas for Government

4. Canada is facing a series of difficult challenges. Thinking not just of today but over the next five years, what priority should the federal government place on each of the following areas? Please rate your response on a 7-point scale where 1 means the lowest priority, 7 means the highest priority, and the mid-point 4 means middle priority.

		LOWEST PRIORITY			MIDDLE PRIORITY			HIGHEST PRIORITY
a.	National debt and deficit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	Unemployment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	National unity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	Job training	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	Education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	Health care	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

D Future Government Involvement

5. In each of the following areas, what would you like to see the federal government do in the future: increase its involvement, maintain its current involvement, reduce its involvement or eliminate its involvement altogether?

		INCREASE	MAINTAIN	REDUCE	ELIMINATE
a.	Public finances and debt management	1	2	3	4
b.	Dealing with unemployment problems	1	2	3	4
c.	Job creation	1	2	3	4
d.	Job training	1	2	3	4
e.	Education	1	2	3	4
f.	Health care	1	2	3	4

E Results

6. We hear that the federal government is supposed to be more and more results-oriented. Listed below is a list of possible results from government. For each of these items, please tell me how important the item is to producing an improved overall results-oriented government. Please rate your response using a 7-point scale from 1, not at all important, to 7, extremely important, with the mid-point 4 meaning moderately important.

		NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT			MODERATELY IMPORTANT			EXTREMELY IMPORTANT
a.	Actually producing the service requested or the product asked for (delivering the goods)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	Reflecting the broad public interest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	Maximizing cost-effectiveness/efficiency	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	Demonstrating results (i.e., providing concise measures or indicators of performance)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	Meeting program or policy objectives/goals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

F Canadian Unity

7. In your opinion, what is the likelihood that Quebec will separate from the rest of Canada within the following time frames? Please rate your response on a 7-point scale where 1 means not at all likely, 7 means extremely likely and the midpoint 4 means somewhat likely.

		NOT AT ALL LIKELY			SOMEWHAT LIKELY			EXTREMELY LIKELY
a.	In the next 2 years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	In the next 5 years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	In the next 10 years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. Please rate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statements listed below using a 7-point scale where 1 means you strongly disagree, 7 means you strongly agree and the mid-point 4 means you neither agree nor disagree.

		STRONGLY DISAGREE			NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE			STRONGLY AGREE
a.	Canadian culture is something we can all take pride in	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	For the first time in a while, I am actually feeling more hopeful about the future of the country	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	More and more I get the feeling that the idea of Canada is slipping away	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

G Predictions

9. What do you think the real national unemployment rate will be across each of the following time frames?

IN THE NEXT 2 YEARS ___ %

IN THE NEXT 5 YEARS ___ %

IN THE NEXT 10 YEARS ___ %

10. I'd like you now to think of what Canada will be like ten years from now. In each of the following social and economic areas do you think the situation will be better or worse. Please rate your response on a 7-point scale where 1 means much worse, 7 means much better and 4 means no change.

		MUCH WORSE			NO CHANGE			MUCH BETTER
a.	The overall health of the Canadian economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	The level of inequality in Canadian society (i.e., the gap between the rich and the poor)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

H Trust and Legitimacy

11. Please rate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statements listed below using a 7-point scale where 1 means you strongly disagree, 7 means you strongly agree and the mid-point 4 means you neither agree nor disagree.

		STRONGLY DISAGREE			NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE			STRONGLY AGREE
a.	I feel much more uncomfortable hiring new employees today than I did five years ago, even if I have an immediate need	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	I have lost all confidence in our current system of government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	I would be proud if my child grew up to be a politician	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	Personally, I think government creates more problems than it solves.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	I think that all this talk about the devolution and decentralization of government responsibilities will really mean that governments simply don't do most of these things in the future.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

I Governance

12. Listed below is a list of criteria which might improve governance in Canada. Please rate whether you believe each of these criteria would or would not improve governance using a 7-point scale from 1 no improvement at all, to 7, a great deal of improvement, with 4 meaning neither.

		NO IMPROVEMENT			NEITHER			A GREAT DEAL OF IMPROVEMENT
a.	Devolution of federal responsibilities to provincial and local governments	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	Commercialization/privatization of federal responsibilities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	Increased federal government consultation with stakeholders (e.g., provinces, business, associations, citizens)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	Increased transparency in federal government decisions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	Accountability for measured results and effectiveness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

J Background Characteristics

13. Now we have a few final questions for statistical purposes only. In what year were you born?

1 9 ___ ___

14. What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed?

Public/Elementary school or less (grade 1-8)	01
Some high school	02
Graduated from high school (grade 12-13)	03
Vocational/Technical college or CEGEP	04
Trade certification	05
Some university	06
Bachelor's degree	07
Professional certification	08
Graduate degree	09

DEAL
EMENT

15. What is the language that you first learned at home in childhood and still understand?

English	01
French	02
Other	03

16. To the best of your knowledge, how many working levels are you from the top of your organization? Please enter the number of levels. For example, in the public sector, Assistant Deputy Ministers are one level below the Deputy Minister. Most Director Generals are two levels below.

|__|__| LEVELS

17. In which province do you live?

Newfoundland	01
Prince Edward Island	02
New Brunswick	03
Nova Scotia	04
Quebec	05
Ontario	06
Manitoba	07
Saskatchewan	08
Alberta	09
British Columbia	10
Northwest Territories	11
Yukon	12

18. Do you have any comments?

ANNEX F

Urban-Rural Breakdowns

ANNEX F
Urban-Rural Breakdowns

Across many of the items examined in the *Rethinking Government* study interesting differences were exhibited with respect to urban *versus* rural residents. Selected findings from this analysis are detailed below. Please note the following definitions in interpreting the data:

- urban = 0-50 km from CMA;
- rural = 50-150 km from CMA; and
- remote = over 150 km from CMA.

Immigration

- *Number of immigrants coming to Canada*
  - Remote less likely to say "too few" (3 per cent *vs.* 8 per cent overall) and more likely to say "about right" (60 per cent *vs.* 55 per cent overall).
  - Rural more likely to say "too few" (11 per cent *vs.* 8 per cent overall).

Attitudes Toward Government

- *Government creates more problems than it solves*
  - Urban more likely to disagree (24 per cent *vs.* 22 per cent overall).
  - Rural less likely to disagree (18 per cent *vs.* 22 per cent overall) and more likely to say "neither" (24 per cent *vs.* 19 per cent overall).

- *Ethical standards of our federal government have slipped badly*
  - Urban more likely to disagree (23 per cent *vs.* 20 per cent overall) and less likely to say "neither" (14 per cent *vs.* 16 per cent overall).
  - Rural less likely to disagree (15 per cent *vs.* 20 per cent overall).
  - Remote more likely to say "neither" (24 per cent *vs.* 16 per cent overall).

- *Proud if child grew up to be a politician*
  - Urban more likely to say "neither" (26 per cent *vs.* 22 per cent overall).
  - Rural less likely to say "neither" (17 per cent *vs.* 22 per cent overall) and more likely to agree (39 per cent *vs.* 33 per cent overall).

- *Proud if child grew up to be a public servant*
  - Urban less likely to disagree (20 per cent *vs.* 23 per cent overall) and more likely to say "neither" (35 per cent *vs.* 30 per cent overall).
  - Rural more likely to disagree (34 per cent *vs.* 23 per cent overall).

- Remote less likely to say "neither" (24 per cent *vs.* 30 per cent overall) and more likely to agree (56 per cent *vs.* 45 per cent overall).

❑ *Encourage member of family to work in federal public service*
- Urban less likely to disagree (28 per cent *vs.* 31 per cent overall) and more likely to say "neither" (28 per cent *vs.* 25 per cent overall).
- Rural more likely to disagree (40 per cent *vs.* 31 per cent overall).

❑ *When run by the government, usually inefficient and wasteful*
- Urban more likely to say "mostly disagree" (28 per cent *vs.* 25 per cent overall) and less likely to say "completely agree" (22 per cent *vs.* 25 per cent overall).
- Rural less likely to say "mostly disagree" (16 per cent *vs.* 25 per cent overall) and more likely to say "completely agree" (35 per cent *vs.* 25 per cent overall).
- Remote more likely to say "completely disagree" (9 per cent *vs.* 5 per cent overall).

❑ *Federal government is so deeply in debt, will be unable to improve overall problems*
- Urban more likely to disagree (30 per cent *vs.* 26 per cent overall) and less likely to agree (58 per cent *vs.* 63 per cent overall).
- Rural less likely to disagree (16 per cent *vs.* 26 per cent overall) and more likely to agree (74 per cent *vs.* 63 per cent overall).

❑ *Federal government is so deeply in debt, will be unable to improve social problems*
- Urban more likely to disagree (27 per cent *vs.* 22 per cent overall) and less likely to agree (63 per cent *vs.* 67 per cent overall).
- Rural less likely to disagree (16 per cent *vs.* 22 per cent overall).

❑ *Federal government is so deeply in debt, will be unable to improve economic problems*
- Urban more likely to disagree (33 per cent *vs.* 30 per cent overall) and less likely to agree (54 per cent *vs.* 59 per cent overall).
- Rural less likely to disagree (15 per cent *vs.* 30 per cent overall) and more likely to agree (79 per cent *vs.* 59 per cent overall).

Ratings of a Job in the Public Service

❑ *Serving the public interest*
- Remote more likely to believe public service job serves public interest (66 per cent *vs.* 55 per cent overall).

Extent of Improvement in Various Government Activities

❑ *Commercialization and privatization of federal responsibilities*
- Rural less likely to see little improvement (20 per cent *vs.* 29 per cent overall) and more likely to see a lot of improvement (55 per cent *vs.* 49 per cent overall).

- *Increased federal consultation with stakeholders*
  - Urban less likely to see little improvement (8 per cent *vs.* 11 per cent overall) and more likely to see a lot of improvement (72 per cent *vs.* 69 per cent overall).
  - Remote more likely to see little improvement (17 per cent *vs.* 11 per cent overall).

- *Increased transparency in federal government decisions*
  - Rural more likely to see little improvement (16 per cent *vs.* ten per cent overall).

Priorities for Government

- *A balanced budget*
  - Rural more likely to say "high priority" (92 per cent *vs.* 86 per cent overall).

- *Pick among three goals for Canada for year 2001*
  - Urban more likely to pick unemployment rate of 5 per cent (37 per cent *vs.* 35 per cent overall; 30 per cent for both rural and remote) and less likely to pick a balanced budget (38 per cent *vs.* 42 per cent overall).
  - Rural more likely to pick balanced budget (50 per cent *vs.* 42 per cent overall).

Importance in Creating Results-Oriented Government

- *Demonstrating results*
  - Rural more likely to say "not important" (7 per cent *vs.* 4 per cent overall) and less likely to say "very important" (77 per cent *vs.* 82 per cent overall).

- *Higher quality customer service*
  - Remote more likely to say "not important" (7 per cent *vs.* 4 per cent overall).

Trust in Various Occupations

- *Federal public servants*
  - Rural more likely to have little trust (33 per cent *vs.* 26 per cent overall).
  - Remote less likely to have little trust (16 per cent *vs.* 26 per cent overall) and more likely to have a lot of trust (54 per cent *vs.* 41 per cent overall).

- *Pollsters*
  - Rural more likely to have little trust (27 per cent *vs.* 18 per cent overall).

- *Lobbyists*
  - Urban more likely to have a moderate amount of trust (33 per cent *vs.* 28 per cent overall) and less likely to have a lot of trust (8 per cent *vs.* 11 per cent overall).
  - Rural more likely to have a lot of trust (17 per cent *vs.* 11 per cent overall).

Attitudes Toward Business

- *Ethical standards of people in business have slipped badly*
  - Remote less likely to say "neither" (11 per cent *vs.* 17 per cent overall).

- *Corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit*
  - Urban more likely to disagree (28 per cent *vs.* 26 per cent overall), more likely to say "neither" (13 per cent *vs.* 12 per cent overall) and less likely to agree (59 per cent *vs.* 62 per cent overall).
  - Rural less likely to say "neither" (7 per cent *vs.* 12 per cent overall).
  - Remote less likely to disagree (17 per cent *vs.* 26 per cent overall) and more likely to agree (70 per cent *vs.* 62 per cent overall).

Unity and Identity

- *Canadian culture is something we can all take pride in*
  - Rural more likely to disagree (ten per cent *vs.* 6 per cent overall).

- *Canada is sick*
  - Urban more likely to disagree (40 per cent *vs.* 37 per cent overall).
  - Rural less likely to disagree (29 per cent *vs.* 37 per cent overall).

- *Constitution should recognize Quebec, equal but different*
  - Urban less likely to disagree (21 per cent *vs.* 23 per cent overall) and more likely to agree (70 per cent *vs.* 68 per cent overall).
  - Remote more likely to disagree (34 per cent *vs.* 23 per cent overall) and less likely to agree (54 per cent *vs.* 68 per cent overall).
  - Mean for remote is 4.48 *vs.* 4.98 overall (5.07 for urban and 5.02 for rural).

- *Feeling hopeful about future of country*
  - Remote less likely to disagree (35 per cent *vs.* 40 per cent overall).
  - Rural more likely to agree (43 per cent *vs.* 37 per cent overall).

- *Chance of Quebec separation in next five years*
  - Rural more likely to feel it is somewhat likely (31 per cent *vs.* 25 per cent overall).
  - Remote more likely to feel it is not likely (51 per cent *vs.* 44 per cent overall).

Actions for National Reconciliation

- *Eliminating the Queen as head of state*
  - Rural more likely to say "neither" (38 per cent *vs.* 30 per cent overall).
  - Remote less likely to say "neither" (24 per cent *vs.* 30 per cent overall).

- *Reducing the overall unemployment rate by the year 2000*
  - Urban more likely to say "more likely" (84 per cent *vs.* 81 per cent overall).
  - Remote more likely to say "less likely" (16 per cent *vs.* 8 per cent overall) and less likely to say "more likely" (69 per cent *vs.* 81 per cent overall).

- *Scientific public consultation*
  - Urban less likely to say "more likely" (69 per cent *vs.* 71 per cent overall).

Anxieties about Future

- *Worry moving to divided society of haves and have nots*
  - Urban less likely to disagree (7 per cent *vs.* 9 per cent overall).
  - Remote less likely to agree (74 per cent *vs.* 81 per cent overall).

- *Young Canadians can expect to have lower standard of living than their parents*
  - Rural less likely to disagree (ten per cent *vs.* 17 per cent overall) and more likely to agree (82 per cent *vs.* 73 per cent overall).

Predict Unemployment Rate

- *Next two years*
  - Remote mean 10.4 *vs.* 9.9 overall.

- *Next five years*
  - Means: overall, 10.0; urban, 9.7; rural, 10.0; remote, 10.8.

- *Next ten years*
  - Remote mean 11.3 *vs.* 9.8 overall.

Technology

- *Rate ability to work with computers*
  - Urban less likely to say "poor" (28 per cent *vs.* 32 per cent overall) and more likely to say "good" (47 per cent *vs.* 44 per cent overall).
  - Rural more likely to say "poor" (41 per cent *vs.* 32 per cent overall) and less likely to say "good" (39 per cent *vs.* 44 per cent overall).

- *Own personal computer*
  - Urban more likely to own a PC (58 per cent *vs.* 55 per cent overall), whereas, rural and remote are less likely (52 per cent and 49 per cent respectively).

- *Own modem*
  - Urban more likely to own a modem (39 per cent *vs.* 36 per cent overall), whereas, rural and remote are less likely (32 per cent and 30 per cent respectively).

- *Own Internet account or other on-line service*
  - Urban more likely to own an on-line service (21 per cent *vs.* 19 per cent overall), whereas, rural and remote are less likely (16 per cent and 12 per cent respectively).

- *Focusing on technology and innovation will mean new companies and industries develop*
  - Urban more likely to agree (90 per cent *vs.* 87 per cent overall).
  - Remote more likely to say "neither" (15 per cent *vs.* 8 per cent overall) and less likely to agree (78 per cent *vs.* 87 per cent overall).

Satisfaction with Income

- *Rate adequacy of income*
  - Rural less likely to say "too low" (34 per cent *vs.* 41 per cent overall).

Political Interest

- *Frequency of following political affairs in radio*
  - Urban less likely to say "sometimes" (17 per cent *vs.* 19 per cent overall) and more likely to say "frequently" (58 per cent *vs.*56 per cent overall).
  - Remote more likely to say "sometimes" (28 per cent *vs.* 19 per cent overall) and less likely to say "frequently" (50 per cent *vs.* 56 per cent overall).

- *Compared to average Canadian, rate personal interest in public issues*
  - Urban less likely to say "average" (32 per cent *vs.* 34 per cent overall).

- Rural more likely to say "average" (42 per cent *vs.* 34 per cent overall) and less likely to say "more interested" (53 per cent *vs.* 59 per cent overall).

Factors Affecting Job Selection

❑ *Job security*

- Remote less likely to say "not important" (2 per cent *vs.* 7 per cent overall).

❑ *Income*

- Rural more likely to say "not important" (7 per cent *vs.* 4 per cent overall) and less likely to say "very important" (85 per cent *vs.* 89 per cent overall).
- Remote less likely to say "not important" (1 per cent *vs.* 4 per cent overall) and more likely to say "very important" (95 per cent *vs.* 89 per cent overall).

Background Characteristics

❑ *Both parents born in Canada*

- Urban less likely to say "yes" (61 per cent *vs.* 66 per cent overall).
- Rural more likely to say "yes" (77 per cent *vs.* 66 per cent overall).

❑ *Number of people in house*

- Urban less likely to have over five (12 per cent *vs.* 14 per cent overall).
- Remote more likely to have over five (20 per cent *vs.* 14 per cent overall).

❑ *Number of people under age 18*

- Urban less likely to have over five (0 per cent *vs.* 2 per cent overall).
- Rural more likely to have over five (6 per cent *vs.* 2 per cent overall).
- Remote less likely to have 1-2 (68 per cent *vs.* 77 per cent overall) and more likely to have 3-4 (31 per cent *vs.* 20 per cent overall).

❑ *Current marital status*

- Urban less likely to be married/common law (52 per cent *vs.* 50 per cent overall) and more likely to be single (31 per cent *vs.* 29 per cent overall).
- Remote more likely to be married/common law (63 per cent *vs.* 55 per cent overall).