

Two-Part Canadian National Election Poll

Part 2: Leaders, Credibility, and Public Policy



**COMPAS Inc.
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Introduction

Part I of the two-part study looked at vote intentions, ballot issues, and issue ballots or single-issue votes. The main findings were that the Martin Liberals begin the campaign with a strong, credible leader but face a climate of cynicism, a Conservative party experiencing upward movement, weakness in the Liberal vote, and some serious electoral threat if scandal and misspending were to rise in importance in voters' minds.

Part II looks at leadership, including leaders' performances in different program areas, how much the public knows about the leaders, and the leaders' characters in comparative perspective. Part II also looks at where Canadians stand on various policies ranging from Kyoto to healthcare, regional assistance, Aboriginal casinos, crime, terrorism, and foreign policy.

Approximately 1600 Canadians were interviewed May 14-19. For sampling details, see the report on Part I.

Leadership

How Much Do People Know about Their Leaders—A Lot about Chretien, Martin, and Duceppe, Little about Layton and Harper

Canadians reportedly know a lot about Chretien (after two terms), Martin, and Duceppe to judge their fitness for high office. On a 7 point scale measuring the degree to which respondents feel that they have adequate knowledge of these individual leaders—Chretien, Martin, and Duceppe earn respective means of 4.9, 4.9, and 4.7. By contrast the means for Layton and Harper are 3.3 and 3.8, respectively. Layton and Harper are especially unknown in parts of the country where their parties are doing poorly—Quebec for both of them, and Alberta for Layton.

Though Canadians feel that they know Harper better than they know Layton, Harper is nonetheless so much less known than Martin or Chretien. Harper's top score, 4.3 in Alberta, is appreciably lower than Martin's bottom score, 4.8 in Atlantic Canada.

The public's lack of familiarity with Harper helps depress the Conservative vote. For example, among voters who score their familiarity with him as 6-7, the Conservatives earn 60% of the vote. This share falls to 30% among those scoring their familiarity as 4-5 and 21% among those scoring 1-3. For the Conservatives, the potent ramification is that their party will gain to the extent that they can utilize theatrical and televisual stratagems for exposing Harper to public view.

An analogous pattern applies to support for the NDP—the more people feel that they know Layton, the more they are inclined to vote for his party. However, the NDP pattern differs from the Tory pattern insofar as NDP support hits a ceiling of 36%



support. Among those who feel that they know Layton well (scoring 6 or 7 on the familiarity scale), 36% would vote for his party. The corresponding percentage for the Tories is almost twice as high—60%.

In Martin's case, support maxes out at 46% among those scoring their familiarity in the 6-7 range.

All these figures suggest that Harper's support has more room to grow as voters become more familiar with him.

Table 1: How Much Do People Know About Their Leaders
"(Q10) On a 7 point scale where 7 means you definitely know enough about the person to judge whether he's suitable for high public office and 1, you definitely don't know enough, what score would you give... "[ROTATE]

	TOTAL	bc	ab	sk/mb	on	qc	atl
Jean Chretien							
Mean	4.9	4.9	5.1	4.5	4.9	5.1	4.6
7	28	32	40	25	24	30	26
6	20	19	13	17	22	20	18
5	15	15	10	14	15	16	15
4	9	6	9	6	10	9	13
3	5	6	4	4	5	5	7
2	4	2	8	7	4	4	3
1	13	16	11	19	12	10	18
DNK	6	4	6	10	7	7	1
Paul Martin							
Mean	4.9	4.9	4.6	4.8	4.9	4.9	4.8
7	23	24	20	29	21	25	23
6	19	19	16	11	21	19	21
5	20	26	22	19	22	16	16
4	13	8	13	15	14	13	15
3	7	4	8	6	7	7	13
2	3	4	6	3	1	5	3
1	10	12	12	12	10	9	9
DNK	4	3	4	6	4	6	1
[QUEBEC] Gilles Duceppe							
Mean	4.7	-	-	-	-	4.7	-
7	23	-	-	-	-	23	-
6	12	-	-	-	-	12	-
5	19	-	-	-	-	19	-



	TOTAL	bc	ab	sk/mb	on	qc	atl
4	14	-	-	-	-	14	-
3	11	-	-	-	-	11	-
2	3	-	-	-	-	3	-
1	11	-	-	-	-	11	-
DNK	7	-	-	-	-	7	-
Stephen Harper							
Mean	3.8	3.7	4.3	3.5	3.9	3.2	3.9
7	8	8	14	10	9	2	11
6	8	9	11	7	10	4	9
5	18	15	24	14	19	15	17
4	19	23	17	15	22	14	15
3	15	15	9	15	15	16	22
2	8	11	9	8	8	6	9
1	16	15	12	23	14	23	12
DNK	8	5	5	8	5	19	5
Jack Layton							
Mean	3.3	3.2	3.0	3.3	3.5	3.0	3.2
7	6	7	6	8	7	4	4
6	5	4	5	3	7	5	4
5	15	17	11	19	16	12	19
4	15	14	14	12	19	13	12
3	13	13	13	11	16	9	15
2	11	13	13	12	11	6	16
1	24	27	31	28	19	29	21
DNK	11	5	8	7	7	23	9

Who Performs Well on What—Martin Outperforms Almost Everywhere

Though Harper's support appears to have far more room to grow, as discussed above, Martin has some very strong advantages. The incumbent Prime Minister is perceived as decidedly better in almost every policy area, as shown in table 2. Martin is seen as decidedly better on the economy (45% to Harper's 18%), on foreign policy (44% to Harper's 16%), and on making the best Prime Minister (38% vs. 22%).

Harper's strongest area is crime and justice issues but even here Martin outperforms him, at least nominally (26% vs. 23%).



The only policy area where Martin is outclassed is in social programs, where Layton is seen as best.

Table 2: Leaders' Performance in Individual Policy Areas
"(Q7) Turning to leadership, among [ROTATE] Paul Martin, Stephen Harper, Jack Layton, and [in QC] Gilles Duceppe" [ROTATE]

	TOTAL	bc	ab	sk/mb	on	qc	atl
Who's the best on the economy?							
Paul Martin	45	41	31	45	49	46	49
Stephen Harper	18	19	35	17	21	5	18
Jack Layton	6	10	4	10	6	5	8
Gilles Duceppe	4	-	-	-	-	16	-
DNK/ Refused	27	30	31	29	25	28	25
Who's the best on foreign and defence policy?							
Paul Martin	44	41	33	44	46	44	53
Stephen Harper	16	15	24	18	19	7	16
Jack Layton	7	10	7	7	6	9	5
Gilles Duceppe	3	-	-	-	-	10	-
DNK/ Refused	31	35	37	32	30	31	26
Who's the most arrogant?							
Paul Martin	42	48	45	37	37	49	35
Stephen Harper	20	22	25	23	22	7	32
Jack Layton	9	6	6	11	15	3	7
Gilles Duceppe	5	-	-	-	-	20	-
DNK/ Refused	25	24	24	29	26	21	27
Who would make the best Prime Minister?							
Paul Martin	38	35	27	41	42	36	41
Stephen Harper	22	23	46	16	24	13	16
Jack Layton	12	18	8	18	11	9	13
Gilles Duceppe	4	-	-	-	-	17	-
DNK/ Refused	24	23	20	25	23	25	30
Who's the most likeable?							
Paul Martin	32	25	26	33	35	33	32
Stephen Harper	21	23	34	25	21	13	17
Jack Layton	20	28	21	22	22	12	25
Gilles Duceppe	6	-	-	-	-	24	-
DNK/ Refused	21	24	19	21	21	19	27
Who's the best on justice issues and crime?							



	TOTAL	bc	ab	sk/mb	on	qc	atl
Paul Martin	26	18	20	21	27	29	33
Stephen Harper	23	27	39	25	27	9	18
Jack Layton	10	14	8	15	12	5	13
Gilles Duceppe	6	-	-	-	-	24	-
DNK/ Refused	35	41	34	40	34	33	36
Who's the most trustworthy?							
Paul Martin	24	17	17	22	27	26	27
Stephen Harper	20	20	37	19	22	13	19
Jack Layton	17	27	21	23	19	6	17
Gilles Duceppe	7	-	-	-	-	30	-
DNK/ Refused	31	36	25	36	32	26	37
Who's the best on social programs?							
Paul Martin	22	10	18	25	24	24	28
Stephen Harper	15	16	23	18	16	12	13
Jack Layton	31	40	30	27	36	17	31
Gilles Duceppe	5	-	-	-	-	20	-
DNK/ Refused	28	34	30	30	25	27	28

Performance as Prime Minister

COMPAS asked respondents to score the performance of seven past and present leaders or leader-candidates ranging from Layton to Rt. Hon. John Turner and Rt. Hon. Brian Mulroney. Their scores are within a tight range, possibly as a result of public cynicism about any politician.

For the Liberals, the good news is that Martin is at the top of the list with a mean performance score of 55%. The bad news is that this represents a sharp decline from Martin's score of 69% in June, 2002. Meanwhile Harper's score is nominally down—from 54% in June, 2002 to 50% today. Turner, Layton, and Mulroney are at the bottom of the list, all with failing grades.



*Table 3: Report Cards on Prime Ministers and Would-Be Prime Ministers
(Q24) The following is a list of people who have either been Prime Minister or are well
known. Please score each of them for their past or potential performance as Prime
Minister, using a 100 point school report-type scale where 100 is the best possible
performance score and 0, the worst. [ROTATE]
[NOTE TO INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW OR RECOGNIZE
THE PERSON, RECORD AS DNK]*

	TOTAL	bc	ab	sk/mb	on	qc	atl
Paul Martin	55	54.7	50.6	55.8	58.3	50.8	58.3
Jean Chretien	51	49.8	40.9	46.6	52.8	51.2	59.3
Stephen Harper	50	52.6	52.8	47.3	52.4	44.0	48.6
Joe Clark	50	51.8	51.7	48.4	51.2	46.9	50.4
John Turner	48	45.8	43.4	43.7	49.8	47.2	51.0
Jack Layton	47	52.2	48.3	41.5	47.0	44.7	49.2
Brian Mulroney	45	38.2	42.6	36.0	47.0	49.8	44.4

Table 4: Report Cards from Past COMPAS Surveys

	N-SIZE	MEAN	DNK	YEAR
Paul Martin	618	69	0	June 2002
Jean Chretien	618	48	0	June 2002
Stephen Harper	618	54	0	June 2002
Joe Clark	618	51	0	June 2002

Character—Mixed Signals about Martin’s Honesty

Honesty and arrogance were explored in two ways. In the battery reported in table 2, respondents were asked to single out who was the most arrogant, the most trustworthy, and the most likeable. Martin topped the list all three times. Thus he is seen as both the most arrogant and the most likeable while he apparently is seen as at least as trustworthy as Harper.

Respondents were also asked to score on 7 point scales the honesty and arrogance of the leaders. In this instance Harper is seen as more honest with a 7 point scale score of 4.5 compared to a high of 4.8 for Duceppe and a low of 4.0 for Martin, as shown in



table 5.

When leaders' honesty scores in the 2000 federal election are compared, as in table 6, Harper and Layton emerge as relatively honest while Martin shares the bottom of the list with his predecessor, Jean Chretien.

Harper earns his highest score in his home province of Alberta while Martin's score in his home province of Quebec is his lowest.

Voters do not always vote for the candidates whom they view as the most honest. Voters often eschew honest candidates as too weak. Nonetheless, the high honesty scores for Harper in his home province and among the people who reportedly know him best is probably not a finding that would upset Conservative strategists.

Harper's high score for honesty parallels Stockwell Day's high score in Alberta in 2000 while Martin's low score in Quebec parallels Chretien's low score in Quebec in 2000, as shown in table 7.

Table 5: Leaders' Honesty

"(Q8) On a 7 point scale where 7 means honest and 1, the opposite, how would you rate..."[RANDOMIZE]

	TOTAL	bc	ab	sk/mb	on	qc	atl
[QUEBEC] Gilles Duceppe							
Mean	4.8	-	-	-	-	4.8	-
7	18	-	-	-	-	18	-
6	14	-	-	-	-	14	-
5	20	-	-	-	-	20	-
4	19	-	-	-	-	19	-
3	6	-	-	-	-	6	-
2	3	-	-	-	-	3	-
1	7	-	-	-	-	7	-
DNK	14	-	-	-	-	14	-
Stephen Harper							
Mean	4.5	4.6	4.9	4.4	4.5	4.4	4.2
7	9	9	15	10	10	7	5
6	14	15	16	8	16	11	20
5	22	27	32	27	23	14	17
4	16	20	14	18	15	17	19
3	8	9	8	11	7	8	11
2	6	5	4	1	9	4	8
1	6	4	4	10	6	5	11
DNK	18	12	8	15	14	34	10



Two-Part Canadian National Election Poll for National Post, CanWest Metro Dailies, and Global Television, A COMPAS Interview Schedule, May 20, 2004

	TOTAL	bc	ab	sk/mb	on	qc	atl
Jack Layton							
Mean	4.5	4.9	4.7	4.4	4.5	4.3	4.6
7	8	14	4	8	9	7	8
6	14	16	16	14	15	10	16
5	20	21	29	15	23	12	22
4	15	11	16	26	14	14	17
3	9	7	9	11	8	9	12
2	4	2	3	1	4	6	3
1	6	5	2	7	9	4	5
DNK	24	23	22	18	19	39	18
Paul Martin							
Mean	4.0	3.8	3.7	4.2	4.1	3.8	4.1
7	9	6	10	8	8	14	9
6	11	10	5	11	13	8	15
5	21	26	13	28	23	15	23
4	19	16	27	19	21	15	21
3	10	10	14	12	9	10	4
2	10	14	10	7	10	10	10
1	15	15	17	10	11	21	15
DNK	6	5	5	6	5	8	3

Table 6: Honesty Tracker – October 2000 and May 2004

	Mean
Gilles Duceppe (2004/05/19)	4.8
Stephen Harper (2004/05/19)	4.5
Jack Layton (2004/05/19)	4.5
Alexa McDonough (2000/10/25)	4.4
Joe Clark (2000/10/25)	4.4
Gilles Duceppe (2000/10/25)	4.2
Stockwell Day (2000/10/25)	4.1
Paul Martin (2004/05/19)	4.0
Jean Chretien (2000/10/25)	3.9



Table 7: Regional results for October 25th, 2000 - Honesty

	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	905	QC	ATL
Jean Chretien	3.7	3.5	3.8	4.2	4.4	3.7	4.3
Stockwell Day	4.4	4.6	4.2	4.0	4.1	4.0	3.8
Gilles Duceppe	-	-	-	-	-	4.2	-
Alexa McDonough	4.4	4.4	4.7	4.4	4.5	4.2	4.7
Joe Clark	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.4	4.2

Character—Martin’s Arrogance

As evidenced in tables 8 and 9, Martin outclasses his competitors for arrogance but fails to equal Chretien’s arrogance score as measured in the 2000 federal election. Among current contenders, Harper is in second place for arrogance, albeit in very distant second place with a score 4.2 on the 7 point scale vs. 4.8 for Martin.

Table 8: Leaders’ Arrogance

(Q9) On a 7 point scale where 7 means arrogant and 1, the opposite, how would you rate...[RANDOMIZE]

	TOTAL	bc	ab	sk/mb	on	qc	atl
Paul Martin							
Mean	4.8	5.2	5.1	5.0	4.7	4.7	4.7
7	22	24	27	21	20	22	16
6	17	22	22	18	13	17	18
5	20	21	15	18	19	21	31
4	15	14	12	19	19	11	12
3	7	7	9	10	8	4	6
2	5	0	3	3	7	4	7
1	8	4	6	4	7	14	9
DNK	7	8	7	8	7	8	1
Stephen Harper							
Mean	4.2	4.4	4.4	4.2	4.3	3.7	4.5
7	8	7	11	10	9	4	12
6	12	16	12	12	14	5	16
5	18	23	24	18	18	13	19
4	20	15	19	19	22	19	25
3	11	13	12	10	12	10	8



Two-Part Canadian National Election Poll for National Post, CanWest Metro Dailies,
and Global Television, A COMPAS Interview Schedule, May 20, 2004

	TOTAL	bc	ab	sk/mb	on	qc	atl
2	7	2	7	7	7	8	9
1	8	9	7	10	6	10	5
DNK	17	14	9	15	12	32	6
Jack Layton							
Mean	3.9	3.5	3.6	4.1	4.2	3.4	3.9
7	5	2	3	7	9	3	4
6	6	7	4	7	8	3	9
5	18	18	16	22	21	13	21
4	16	13	21	23	17	11	19
3	13	18	13	5	12	10	22
2	10	10	15	11	9	8	12
1	8	12	6	7	7	10	4
DNK	24	21	23	18	18	43	10
[QUEBEC] Gilles Duceppe							
Mean	3.9	-	-	-	-	3.9	-
7	12	-	-	-	-	12	-
6	9	-	-	-	-	9	-
5	17	-	-	-	-	17	-
4	13	-	-	-	-	13	-
3	12	-	-	-	-	12	-
2	8	-	-	-	-	8	-
1	16	-	-	-	-	16	-
DNK	12	-	-	-	-	12	-

Table 7: Arrogance Tracker – October 2000 and May 2004

	Mean
Jean Chretien (2000/10/25)	5.1
Paul Martin (2004/05/19)	4.8
Stockwell Day (2000/10/25)	4.4
Gilles Duceppe (2000/10/25)	4.3
Stephen Harper (2004/05/19)	4.2
Gilles Duceppe (2004/05/19)	3.9
Jack Layton (2004/05/19)	3.9
Joe Clark (2000/10/25)	3.6
Alexa McDonough (2000/10/25)	3.3



Various Policy Questions and Conditions

Crime—Much Less Safe than Four Years Ago

Canadians assert that they feel less safe than four years ago—47% less safe vs. 13% more safe and 39% the same, as shown in table 8. It is difficult to know if those who say that they feel less safe truly feel less safe or are merely in a mood of disgruntlement about federal politics. Whether a feeling of being less safe drives the federal vote or reflects federal vote inclinations, a statistical relationship between feelings of safety and vote preference is evident. Among those who feel more safe, 52% would vote Liberal, 18% Conservative, and 19% NDP. By contrast, among those who feel less safe, 40% would vote Conservative, 33% Liberal, and 18% NDP.

Table 8: Sense of Safety

(Q12) As you know, there's been some talk about violent crime. Personally, do you feel more safe or less safe than four years ago? [UNPROMPTED SAME OR DNK]

	TOTAL	bc	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
More safe	13	9	18	9	11	15	19
Less safe	47	54	47	59	49	35	45
Same	39	35	35	29	39	47	34
DNK	2	2	0	3	1	3	1

Gun Revolution—Registry Seen as Expensive Election Gimmick That Doesn't Work

As shown in table 9, Canadians are turning vigorously against the gun registry everywhere, albeit least of all in Quebec.



Table 9: Attitudes to Gun Registry
(Q13) Which of the following opinions about the gun registry is closest to your own?
[ROTATE POLES]

	TOTAL	bc	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
It was an expensive gimmick that didn't keep guns from criminals but harmed farmers, who need guns to protect their livestock	47	50	59	63	47	37	43
It was a good idea at the time but didn't bring enough benefits to justify its billion dollar cost	37	42	30	21	36	40	45
It's a good program that makes our streets safer	11	4	8	12	13	13	11
DNK/ Refused	5	5	3	4	4	10	1

Healthcare—Rise in Apparent Acceptance of Taxes, Support for Medical Choice Plateaued

Support for allowing medical choice and the growth of private options has remained essentially unchanged in ten years, as shown in table 10. A decade ago, there was a strong sense that patients should pay more. Today, the policy solutions growing in popularity are to raise taxes (20% today vs. 7% in 1994) or have no opinion about what to do (23% today vs. 0% in 1994).

Support for tax hikes predictably follows the left-right axis with 41% of New Democrats favouring it, 22% of Liberals, and 13% of Conservatives (14% Bloc). Meanwhile 33% of Conservatives want more private choice compared to 23% of Liberals and 14% of NDP voters (21% Bloc).

We also asked a straightforward question to track support directly for private medicine, as shown in tables 11a and b. Support appears to be abating a little.

We also asked about queues. Only 12% of Canadians believe that there is never queue jumping while 38% believe that it happens often or all the time, as shown in table 11. Like political party preference, perceptions of queue jumping are associated with support for choice. Among those who perceive queue jumping as happening all the time, support for private medicine is at 31%. This falls to 27% among those who feel



that it takes place often, 23% sometimes, and 19% never. From this pattern, one can predict that increased reports of queue jumping could contribute to greater acceptance of medical choice or private medicine as an option.

Table 10: How to Fund Healthcare

"(Q16) As you know, there's been a lot of talk about how to improve healthcare services while also controlling costs. What should governments do..."[ROTATE]

	1994 %	2004 %	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
Allow the growth of private health services	27	25	29	23	25	23	24	26
Make patients pay part of the costs for regular doctor's visits	52	24	29	24	23	25	21	23
Raise taxes	7	20	19	17	20	27	9	23
Cut services and shorten stays in hospitals	14	8	4	5	7	6	16	12
DNK/ Refused	0	23	19	32	25	18	31	17

Table 11a: Medical Choice, Abating Support

"(Q18) There's been a lot of talk about whether to allow people to buy any surgery or medical service they want. Do you..." [ROTATE POLES]

	FEB. 1999	OCT. 2001	MAY 2004
Agree a lot	25	29	18
Agree somewhat	36	31	34
[UNPROMPTED] In between/so-so	*	1	2
Not really agree	19	15	17
Not agree at all	20	22	25
[UNPROMPTED] DNK	*	1	3

Table 11b: (Q18) By Region

	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
Agree a lot	26	22	21	16	20	7
Agree somewhat	31	32	43	36	27	45



	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
[UNPROMPTED] In between/so-so	3	2	3	1	4	0
Not really agree	16	17	16	17	20	11
Not agree at all	24	25	16	27	24	33
[UNPROMPTED] DNK	1	3	1	3	5	4

Table 12: Queue Jumping

"(Q17) So far as you know, do people with medical, political, or other connections bump the queue and get services ahead of others waiting in line..."[NO ROTATION]

	TOTAL	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
Never	12	15	8	19	12	7	23
Sometimes	39	36	45	31	42	38	36
Often	23	21	21	14	24	28	21
All the time	15	19	18	22	13	16	11
[UNPROMPTED] DNK	10	10	9	14	10	11	10

Kyoto—Support on Balance

A sizeable minority believes that Canada should never have signed on to the Kyoto agreement on the environment but a bare majority holds firm to its support for the treaty, as shown in table 13. By margins of about 2:1 Canadians feel that the treaty was good in principle and not in practice; Canada should nonetheless make whatever sacrifices are necessary to meet our targets. That is what respondents say.

Attitudes tend to follow party lines but not necessarily in a predictable left-right fashion. For example, 53% of Tories feel that Canada should have never signed on compared to 29% of New Democrats and 25% of Liberals.



Table 13: Kyoto

“(Q19) As you may know, under the Kyoto Treaty on the environment, Canada agreed to cut the burning of oil and fossil fuels but it now looks as if Canada will not meet its target. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following opinions.”
[RANDOMIZE]

	TOTAL	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
Canada should make the sacrifices necessary to meet the target							
Agree	59	56	48	54	60	63	70
Disagree	29	36	48	36	28	16	26
DNK/ Refused	12	8	4	11	12	21	4
The Kyoto treaty was a good idea in principle but not in practice.							
Agree	57	59	67	73	63	37	63
Disagree	29	31	27	21	24	39	28
DNK/ Refused	14	11	6	7	13	24	9
Canada should never have signed the Kyoto treaty in the first place							
Agree	34	40	50	41	36	19	29
Disagree	52	50	43	43	52	59	61
DNK/ Refused	14	10	7	16	12	22	11

BSE—Government Failures to Inspect, to Persuade Americans, and to Compensate Producers Enough

As shown in table 14, Canadians feel by margins of about 2:1 that federal and provincial governments have done too little to inspect individual cattle so as to reassure world markets, not enough to persuade the Americans to let in Canadian beef, and not enough to compensate the affected producers. Attitudes are reasonably uniform across the country and also across party lines.



Table 14: BSE-Related Performance

(Q20) As you know there's been debate about Mad Cow disease or BSE. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following opinions. [RANDOMIZE]

	TOTAL	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
The federal and province governments together have not done enough to inspect individual cattle so that world markets could be confident in the safety of our beef.							
Agree	60	57	56	71	65	50	65
Disagree	32	26	42	22	29	39	28
DNK/ Refused	8	17	2	7	6	11	6
The federal government has not done enough to get the Americans to let in Canadian beef.							
Agree	60	65	62	66	60	57	60
Disagree	30	22	29	31	33	30	33
DNK/ Refused	9	13	9	3	7	13	8
The federal government has not done enough to compensate the producers affected by the disease.							
Agree	56	48	62	67	57	53	57
Disagree	29	26	30	22	29	30	34
DNK/ Refused	15	26	9	11	14	17	9

Regional Assistance—Pay Workers to Stay, Not to Move

Given a choice between paying workers where they live after regional economic reversals and giving them help to relocate to a region with better employment prospects, a plurality of Canadians favours the former except in the two western most provinces. East of Ontario, support for assistance to workers so that they do not have to relocate is favoured strongly.

Support for relocation assistance is strongest on the right—42% among Tories, 35% among Liberals, and 21% among New Democrats.



Table 15: Regional Assistance

”(Q21) Generally speaking, when a natural resources industry like the fishery goes into decline, should workers... “[ROTATE]

	TOTAL	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
Receive assistance where they live	48	34	41	37	50	55	62
Receive help to move to a part of the country with more jobs	31	44	42	34	33	19	22
[UNPROMPTED] Both	9	9	7	10	6	14	4
[UNPROMPTED] Neither	4	6	3	8	2	4	6
[UNPROMPTED] DNK	8	7	8	11	9	8	7

Division over Whether Aboriginal Communities Benefit from Casinos

Canadians are divided about evenly on the issue of whether casinos have improved the quality of Natives' lives. East of Ontario, Canadians are the least likely to see sanguine impacts, e.g. a total of 21% see positive results in Quebec vs. 57% seeing negative results. By contrast, in BC 40% see positive impacts and 31% see negative impacts.

Table 16: Casinos and Aboriginal Communities

”(Q22) As you know, a number of casinos have been built on Aboriginal land. Generally speaking, would you say that these casinos have...”

	TOTAL	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
Improved the Natives' quality of life a lot	6	2	5	4	9	5	4
Improved it somewhat	30	38	30	34	38	16	17
[UNPROMPTED] No change	4	2	2	7	2	8	1
Made it somewhat worse	22	17	26	21	19	25	27
Made it a lot worse	18	14	13	16	10	32	34
[UNPROMPTED] DNK	20	26	25	18	22	14	18



Foreign Affairs—Not a Completely Coherent World-View

Respondents were asked a series of questions relating to the U.S. invasion of Iraq, security preparations against terrorism, whether Canada should speak up against police states because they are a threat to the future of the planet, and whether Canada should keep a low profile to forestall being attacked.

The clearest consensus was that the Americans should not have invaded Iraq but even here opinion is not entirely consistent. Two questions were asked—an anti-U.S. question about the Americans' being wrong to invade and a pro-U.S. question about the Americans' being right, as shown in table 17. In both instances, respondents chose the anti-invasion answers but the correlation between the answers to the two questions are weak (-.4). The weak correlation shows a certain modest coherence.

Canadians are likewise not entirely clear about what role our country should play in respect of police states practicing human rights abuses. On the one hand a 71% majority say that we should speak up about abuses of dictatorships in the Middle East, North Korea, and elsewhere, scoring 5-7 on the agreement scale. On the other hand, a bare 51% majority agrees that "Canada should keep a low profile on Arab and Islamic issues so that we don't become a target of extremists."

To make matters even more confusing, those respondents who feel that we should keep a low profile to avoid attack tend to be the ones most convinced that the Saudis are the greatest threat to world peace. On the specific matter of the Saudis, 44% tend to agree that the Saudis are a major problem, scoring 5-7 on the agreement scale, while 25% disagree, scoring 1-3 on the scale.

Irrespective of their feelings about the Saudis, Canadians are convinced that Canada needs to invest more in defence against terrorism—61% score 5-7 on the agreement scale vs. 25% scoring 1-3.

Following a longstanding tradition, Quebecers tend to choose the most pacifist positions—less agreement that Canada should speak up about human rights abuses, more opposition to the American invasion of Iraq, and much less support for security preparations. Quebecers are as likely as others to see the Saudis as a major problem and to favour keeping a low international profile to avoid attack.

Few inter-party differences emerge except for a slightly greater support for the Americans among Tories.



Table 17: Foreign Affairs and Defence

(Q23) Turning to security, foreign affairs, and defence issues, please use a 7 point scale to tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following opinions...[RANDOMIZE]

	TOTAL	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
Canada should speak up about the human rights abuses of dictatorships in the Middle East, North Korea and elsewhere because extremism is the greatest threat to the survival of the planet.							
Mean	5.3	5.3	5.0	5.3	5.5	5.1	5.6
7	37	40	26	43	40	33	44
6	16	14	20	11	17	15	14
5	18	17	20	12	18	17	22
4	9	6	10	8	9	8	10
3	8	7	14	12	5	9	1
2	2	5	3	4	2	2	0
1	7	8	6	7	7	10	7
DNK	3	3	2	3	3	6	1
The U.S. was wrong to invade Iraq because no weapons of mass destruction were found and Saddam did not have missiles with a long enough range to reach the United States							
Mean	5.0	5.3	4.6	4.4	5.0	5.4	4.9
7	42	46	30	38	40	50	38
6	10	12	4	8	13	9	12
5	11	10	17	8	10	10	14
4	8	7	14	4	7	9	9
3	5	4	9	4	5	2	6
2	5	4	8	14	6	2	1
1	15	14	13	22	16	12	17
DNK	4	4	6	1	4	5	4
We need to invest a lot more in security because Canada can be attacked by terrorists or used as a base to damage U.S. cities							
Mean	4.9	4.8	5.1	5.0	5.1	4.5	4.7
7	29	30	25	30	34	20	34
6	15	15	23	21	15	12	8
5	17	15	20	18	14	25	12
4	12	11	8	7	14	11	18
3	9	11	8	8	9	8	8
2	7	7	9	8	7	6	3



Two-Part Canadian National Election Poll for National Post, CanWest Metro Dailies,
and Global Television, A COMPAS Interview Schedule, May 20, 2004

	TOTAL	BC	AB	SK/MB	ON	QC	ATL
1	9	10	4	8	5	15	17
DNK	3	2	4	0	2	4	1
Saudi Arabia is the greatest threat to world peace because of the money it sends to extremist Islamist schools around the globe as well as to some terrorist cells							
Mean	4.4	4.6	4.4	4.6	4.3	4.4	4.6
7	17	23	13	19	14	17	21
6	10	11	8	14	12	7	11
5	17	13	23	13	16	19	21
4	15	14	15	14	16	15	14
3	10	14	13	8	9	11	11
2	5	4	7	3	5	8	4
1	10	10	6	11	13	8	10
DNK	15	12	16	19	16	15	8
Canada should keep a low profile on Arab and Islamic issues so that we don't become a target of extremists							
Mean	4.3	4.2	4.1	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.8
7	23	24	16	23	21	25	32
6	10	8	14	12	12	6	9
5	18	16	14	15	18	21	16
4	11	10	16	11	10	10	16
3	10	15	10	11	10	8	8
2	8	9	11	10	8	8	1
1	16	17	17	15	17	16	16
DNK	4	1	3	3	4	8	1
The U.S. was right to invade Iraq, which had chemical weapons systems of mass destruction that it had used against the Kurds, which was behind the first attack on the World Trade Centre and which the U.S. federal court found had supported the 9/11 attack.							
Mean	3.3	3.2	3.7	3.7	3.4	2.7	3.9
7	15	17	13	22	15	11	19
6	6	5	9	7	8	3	10
5	12	10	16	14	13	10	10
4	10	7	15	4	12	7	11
3	7	11	12	8	5	6	12
2	7	6	8	4	7	9	6
1	38	42	25	34	37	47	25
DNK	5	2	3	7	5	8	6



