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September Survey for the Globe and Mail and CTV

National Identity, Revenue
Sharing, Federalism, Foreign
Affairs and New Orleans

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Introduction and Methodology

- ◆ Gregg, Kelly, Sullivan & Woolstencroft: *The Strategic Counsel* is pleased to present findings of The Globe and Mail/CTV September Polling Program.
- ◆ The findings are based on interviews conducted by telephone among a national sample of 1,000 adult Canadians 18 years of age or older.
- ◆ In order to ensure a representative sample in Alberta, an over sample of 250 was conducted in this province.
- ◆ The interviews were conducted between September 7th and 13th, 2005.
- ◆ A sample of 1,000 yields a margin of error of +/- 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.
- ◆ Note: Due to rounding, proportions may not total exactly 100%.

Key Conclusions - National Identity

- ◆ Following historic patterns, Ontarians have the weakest regional loyalties and are most likely to consider themselves “Canadians first”. The balance of English Canada is split between those who hold a national loyalty and an equal national-provincial identity. That said, dominant regional loyalty barely exists in the ROC.
- ◆ In contrast, a significant plurality of Quebeckers (40%) identify with their province “first” and fewer than one-in-five maintain a dominant identity with Canada. Seen another way however, almost 60% say they identify in some way with Canada, even if this is shared equally with provincial loyalty.
- ◆ Following the same tendency, English Canadians overwhelmingly buy into the idea of national programs, either in the form of a single, uniform policy throughout the land (47%) or as part of national standards that can be achieved through provincial discretion (33%). Only in Quebec is their significant support for the orthodoxy of “parallelism”, where provinces are allowed to decide on their own on the applicability of national programs (60%).
- ◆ Canadians demonstrate a strong bond with the nation and, outside of Quebec, are strong supporters of (at least) national standards and programs. In fact, the prevailing policy of “opting out” of these programs seems to find favour in only one province – namely Quebec.

Key Conclusions - Federalism and Revenue Sharing

- ◆ In the abstract, Canadians from all regions – including Alberta – believe provincial resources “belong to all Canadians” (76%) rather than “only to the people who live in the province where the resources are found” (21%).
- ◆ Across the country, however, a plurality of Canadians – again from all regions – accept that a majority of the revenue from resources should go to provincial residents (42%), but almost as many (36%) believe everything should be shared equally. Fewer than one-in-five Canadians – and 4-in-10 Albertans – maintain “the current system is fair and the money should belong only to the residents of the province”.
- ◆ When asked specifically about the current revenue windfall from rising energy prices, Albertans dig in their heels – almost 70% believe they should be allowed to keep the revenue. Outside of Alberta – and especially in Central Canada – the sentiment is the opposite – almost 70% of Ontarians and Quebeckers hold that this money should be shared with those provinces “that are hurt by rising energy prices”. Clearly if this issue is engaged in any serious way there is a significant conflict in the making that will overarch the “national goodwill” so evident in the earlier findings.

Key Conclusions - Federalism and Revenue Sharing

- ◆ This conflict undoubtedly has been exacerbated by provincial claims of a fiscal imbalance (a notion believed by 75% of all Canadians).
- ◆ Interestingly – and notwithstanding their insistence in keeping energy revenues – while Albertans are even more likely than Ontarians to believe that they are “putting in more than they get back” (66%), they are less likely to buy into the claim of a fiscal imbalance (70%) and are significantly more likely to believe that their contribution to equalization is a “good” (47%) rather than “bad thing” (42%).
- ◆ In Quebec, a majority (55%) feels that Quebec contributes the same or less than it gets back. Just over one-third (37%) think that Quebec contributes more than it gets back. While only speculative, this would appear to be a significant reversal in sentiment since the 1995 Referendum when many Quebecers were convinced – and resented – that they were the “cash cow of Confederation”.

Key Conclusions - Trade

- ◆ Canadians seem to be far more truculent on trade issues than the current political leadership.
- ◆ Overwhelming majorities (from 69% to 78%) in all regions analyzed believe that Canada has “not been tough enough” in its dealing with the United States on issues like softwood lumber.
- ◆ While Canadians are split on whether China’s rapid growth has been “good” (39%) or “bad” (31%) for Canada – Quebecers are slightly more of a mind that this development is negative (49%) -- they have absolutely no appetite for Chinese investment in the resources sector if “no strings are attached” (6%). Rather, the preference is for an outright prohibition of this practice (46%) or limits that would involve “guarantees about how (China) will use the resources it purchases”.
- ◆ The population seems somewhat less bullish about imposing tariffs on Chinese products (49% support) (but it may be that part of this reluctance is a reflection of the fact that we asked whether respondents would support or oppose the same type of legislation that is “being considered in the U.S. Congress” – i.e., a desire not to ape U.S. initiatives).

Key Conclusions – New Orleans

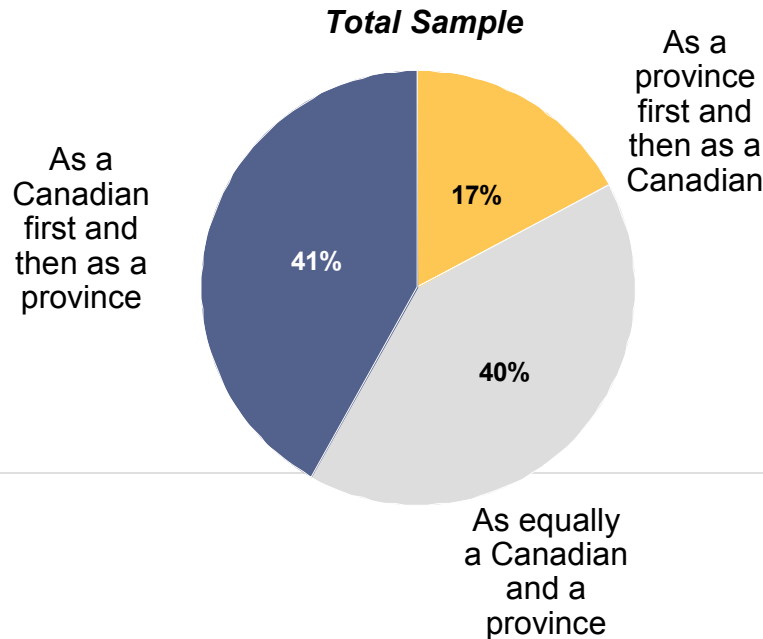
- ◆ Not surprisingly, Canadians feel that the Canadian government would have responded better than the American government to a New Orleans situation. This underscores that Canadians have expectations about the capabilities of the Canadian government to respond to a natural disaster.
- ◆ While the majority of Canadians (63%) have not changed their impressions about American society as a result of the American government's response to the situation in New Orleans, about one-third say that their impressions have changed. Among this group of Canadians, impressions of American society have worsened.

Key Conclusions – Federal Voting Intention

- ◆ Nationally, there has been virtually no change in federal voting intention over the last month. Regionally, it would appear that the slow and steady improvements the Liberals had been making in the province of Quebec have been stalled.

National Identity

Do Canadians see themselves as Canadians, as a province or equally as a Canadian and a province?



	Total	Region		
	09/13 (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=247) %
As a Canadian first and then as a province	41	48	58	18
As equally a Canadian and a province	40	40	35	40
As a province first and then as a Canadian	17	9	4	40
DK/NA/Ref	2	2	3	2

Q.1 Do you tend to think about yourself as a Canadian first and then a/an province, or do you think about yourself as a/an province first and then as a Canadian or do you think about yourself as equally a Canadian and a/an province?

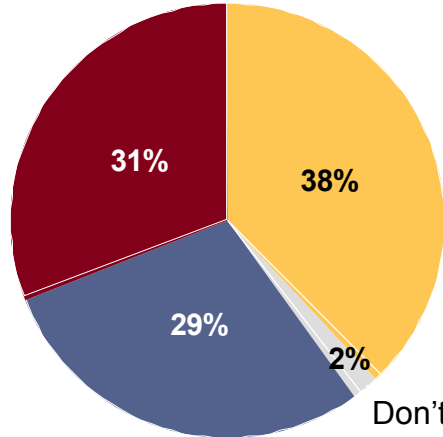
Base: Total Sample

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

How should national programs such as health care or child care be run?

Total Sample

Every province should be able to decide on their own whether these programs will or will not apply to their area



One program across the land that applies equally to all provinces

Don't know

	Total	Region			
	09/13 (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=247) %	Alberta (n=250) %
National standards but with each province deciding on their own how best to meet those standards	29	33	29	17	34
One program across the land that applies equally to all provinces	38	44	47	21	37
Every province should be able to decide on their own whether these programs will or will not apply to their area	31	22	22	60	27
DK/NA/Ref	2	2	2	3	2

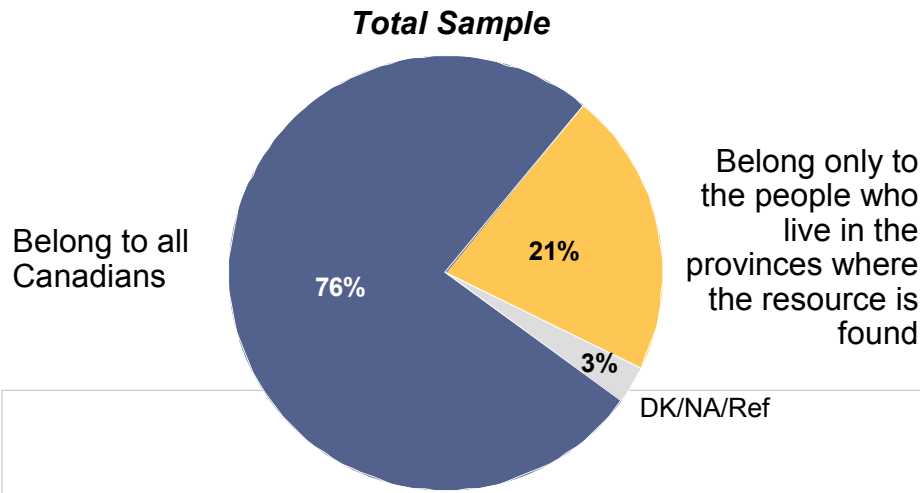
Q.7 Turning to the question of national programs like health care or child care... Do you think there should be one program across the land that applies equally to all provinces; national standards but with each province deciding on their own how best to meet those standards; or every province should be able to decide on their own whether these programs will or will not apply to their area?

Base: Total Sample

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Revenue Sharing and Federalism

Do Canadians think provincial resources should belong to all Canadians or only to the people who live in the province where the resource is found?



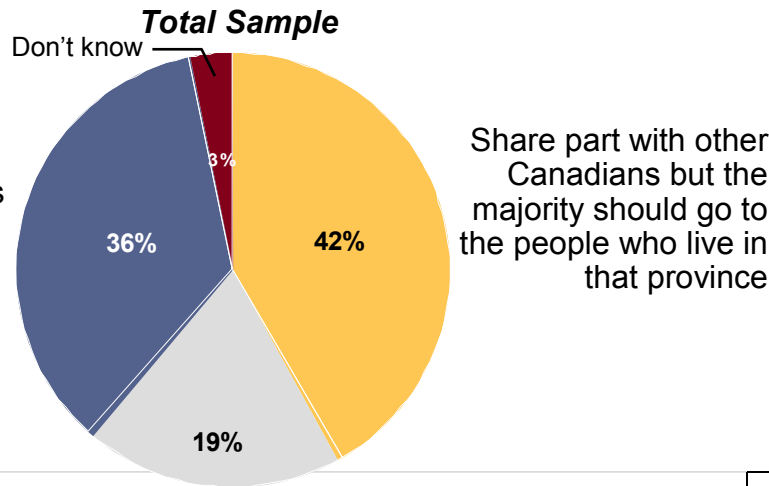
	Total	Region			
	09/13 (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=247) %	Alberta (n=250) %
Belong to all Canadians	76	77	82	73	55
Belong only to the people who live in the provinces where the resource is found	21	19	14	25	39
DK/NA/Ref	3	4	4	2	6

Q.3 Each of the provinces possess their own unique natural resources – from the fishery on the East coast, to agriculture on the prairies and so on. Do you think of these resources as belonging to all Canadians or only to the people who live in the provinces where the resource is found?

Base: Total Sample

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Should provinces share royalty payments from resources that are extracted from within provincial boundaries with all Canadians?



	Total	Region			
	09/13 (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=247) %	Alberta (n=250) %
The current system is fair, and the money should belong only to the people in that province	19	19	15	20	37
Part of the money should be shared with other Canadians but the majority should go to the people who live in that province	42	42	42	42	47
Money should be shared equally with all Canadians regardless of the province where they live	36	35	38	37	13
DK/NA/Ref	3	4	5	2	4

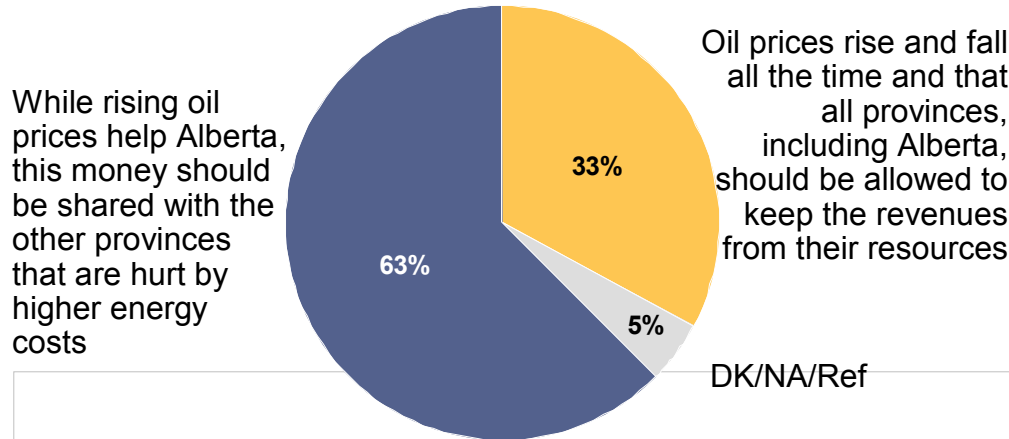
Q.4 As you may know, under the Canadian constitution, provinces receive all royalty payments from resources that are extracted from within their provincial boundaries. Do you think this money should be shared equally with all Canadians regardless of the province where they live; part should be shared with other Canadians but the majority should go to the people who live in that province; or that the current system is fair, and the money should belong only to the people in that province?

Base: Total Sample

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Should Alberta share its budget surplus with other provinces hurt by higher energy costs?

Total Sample



	Total	Region			
	09/13 (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=247) %	Alberta (n=250) %
While rising oil prices help Alberta, this money should be shared with the other provinces that are hurt by higher energy costs	63	61	68	69	26
Oil prices rise and fall all the time and that all provinces, including Alberta, should be allowed to keep the revenues from their resources	33	34	27	29	69
DK/NA/Ref	5	5	5	3	5

Q.5 The government of Alberta has just announced that it will record a budget surplus, largely as a result of the increased royalties it receives from rising energy prices. Some people say that while rising oil prices help Alberta, this money should be shared with the other provinces that are hurt by higher energy costs. Others say that oil prices rise and fall all the time and that all provinces, including Alberta, should be allowed to keep the revenues from their resources. Which one of these two points of view best represents your own?

Base: Total Sample

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

How much do provinces contribute to the rest of Canada?

	Total	Region			
	09/13 (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=247) %	Alberta (n=250) %
More than it gets back	44	47	58	37	66
About the same as it gets back	31	29	25	36	18
Less than it gets back	13	11	6	19	7
DK/NA/Ref	12	13	11	9	9

Q.8 Overall, do you believe your province contributes more to the rest of Canada than it gets back in return, contributes about the same amount as it gets back or contributes less to the rest of Canada than it gets back in return?

Q.9 And do you think this is a good thing or bad thing?

Base: Total Sample

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Are provincial contributions a good thing or a bad thing?

	Contributes More than it gets back					Contributes the Same as it gets back					Contributes Less than it gets back				
	Total (n=447) %	ROC (n=354) %	Ontario (n=223) %	Quebec (n=93) %	Alberta (n=165) %	Total (n=307) %	ROC (n=219) %	Ontario (n=94) %	Quebec (n=88) %	Alberta (n=45) ^c %	Total (n=123) %	ROC (n=78) %	Ontario (n=20) ^c %	Quebec (n=45) ^c %	Alberta (n=17) ^c %
Good thing	43	50	54	18	47	86	85	87	89	78	19	22	29	16	24
Bad thing	49	42	38	78	42	6	5	5	8	7	69	69	66	68	59
DK/NA/Ref	8	8	8	4	11	9	11	8	3	16	12	9	5	16	18

Q.8 Overall, do you believe your province contributes more to the rest of Canada than it gets back in return, contributes about the same amount as it gets back or contributes less to the rest of Canada than it gets back in return?

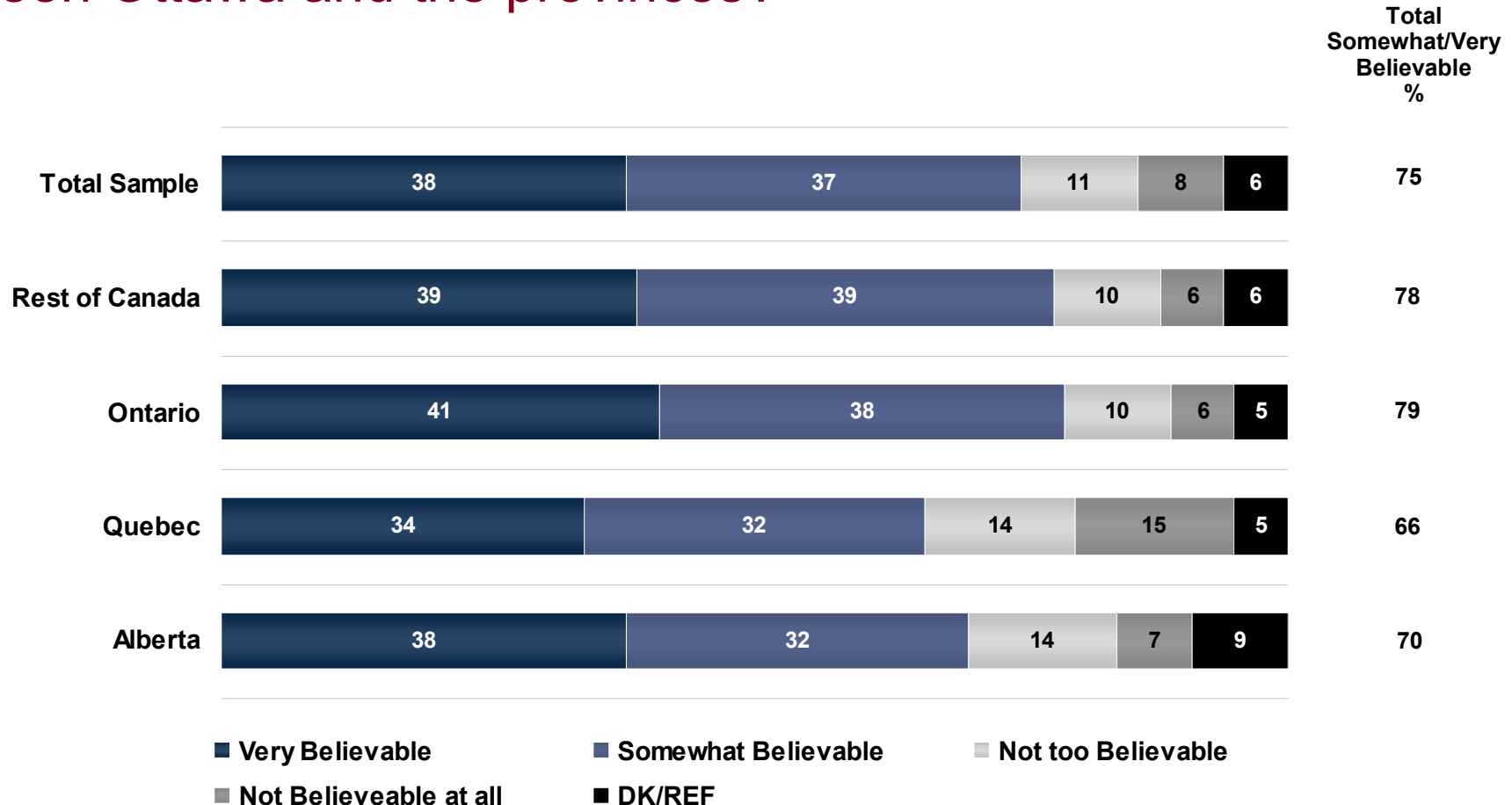
Q.9 And do you think this is a good thing or bad thing?

Base: Total Sample

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

c: Caution, small base size

How believable is the claim that there is a fiscal imbalance between Ottawa and the provinces?



Q.10 There has also been some talk about a “fiscal imbalance” – that is that the federal government has more revenue than it needs to perform its duties and the provinces do not have enough. On balance, do you find this claim that there is a fiscal imbalance between Ottawa and the provinces to be very believable, somewhat believable, not too believable or not believable at all?

Base: Total Sample (n=1000)

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Foreign Affairs

What effect does China's recent rapid economic growth have on Canada?



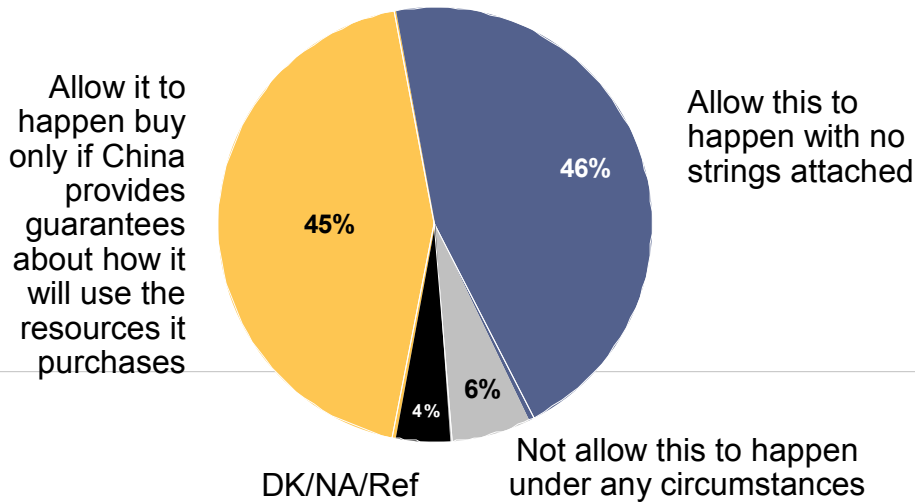
Q.11 Recently there have been many reports about the rapid economic growth in China. Overall, do you think this is good for Canada, bad, or that it has no effect on Canada?

Base: Total Sample (n=1000)

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Should the federal government place restrictions on how China uses resources from companies bought in Canada?

Total Sample



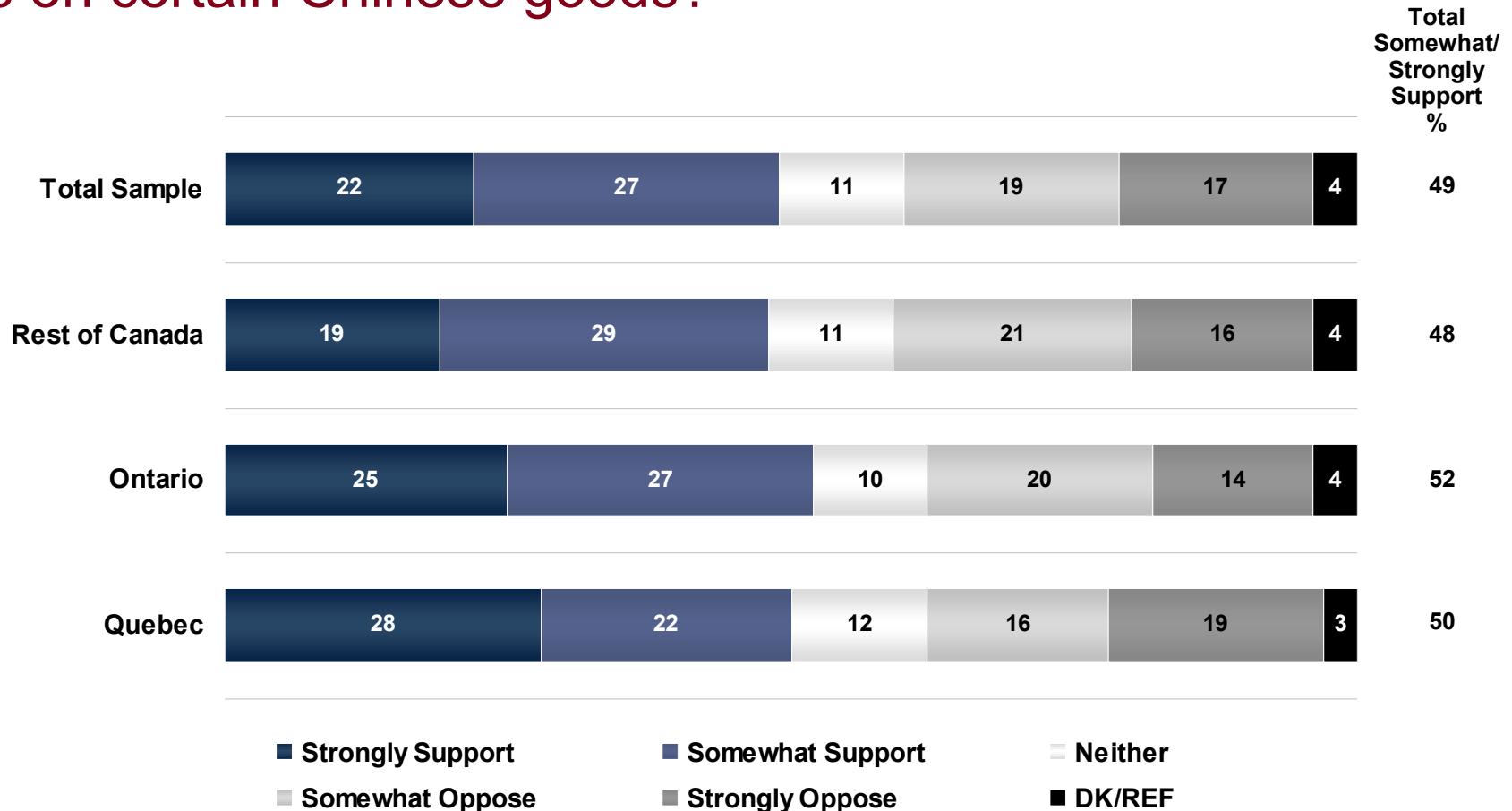
	Total	Region		
	09/13 (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=247) %
Not allow this to happen under any circumstances	46	46	48	45
Allow it to happen buy only if China provides guarantees about how it will use the resources it purchases	45	44	41	49
Allow this to happen with no strings attached	6	6	7	3
DK/NA/Ref	4	4	5	3

Q.12 China has also shown interest in buying Canadian companies, like Noranda mines and Husky Oil. Do you think the federal government should allow this to happen with no strings attached, allow it to happen buy only if China provides guarantees about how it will use the resources it purchases; or not allow this to happen under any circumstances?

Base: Total Sample

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

How supportive are Canadians of legislation that would impose duties on certain Chinese goods?

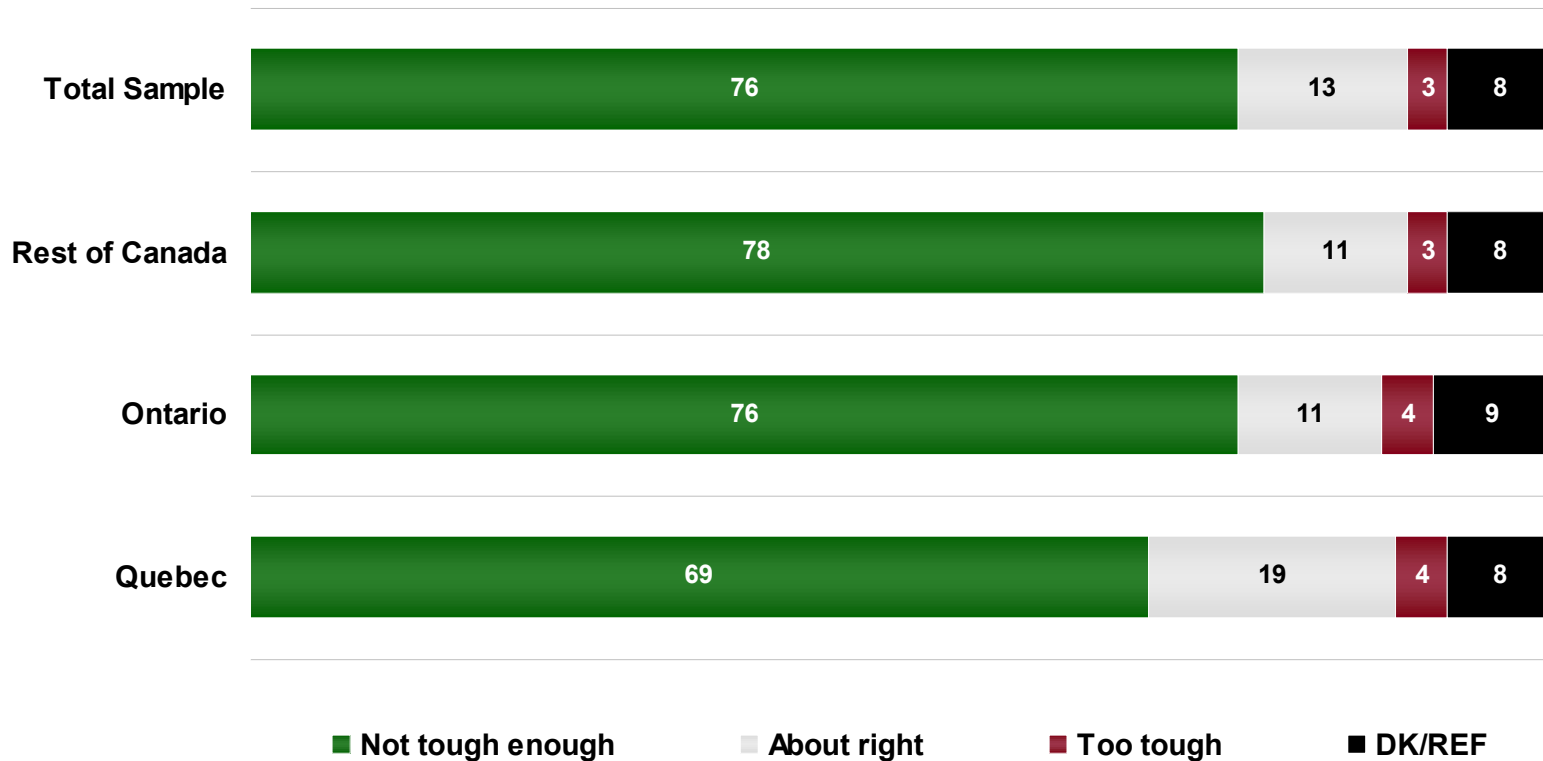


Q.13 The United States Congress is considering legislation that would impose duties on certain Chinese goods, saying they are unfairly flooding the U.S. market with cheap products and hurting American manufacturing jobs. Would you strongly support, somewhat support, neither support nor oppose, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the same kind of legislation for Canada?

Base: Total Sample (n=1000)

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

How tough has Canada been in disputes with the U.S. over trade, especially softwood lumber?



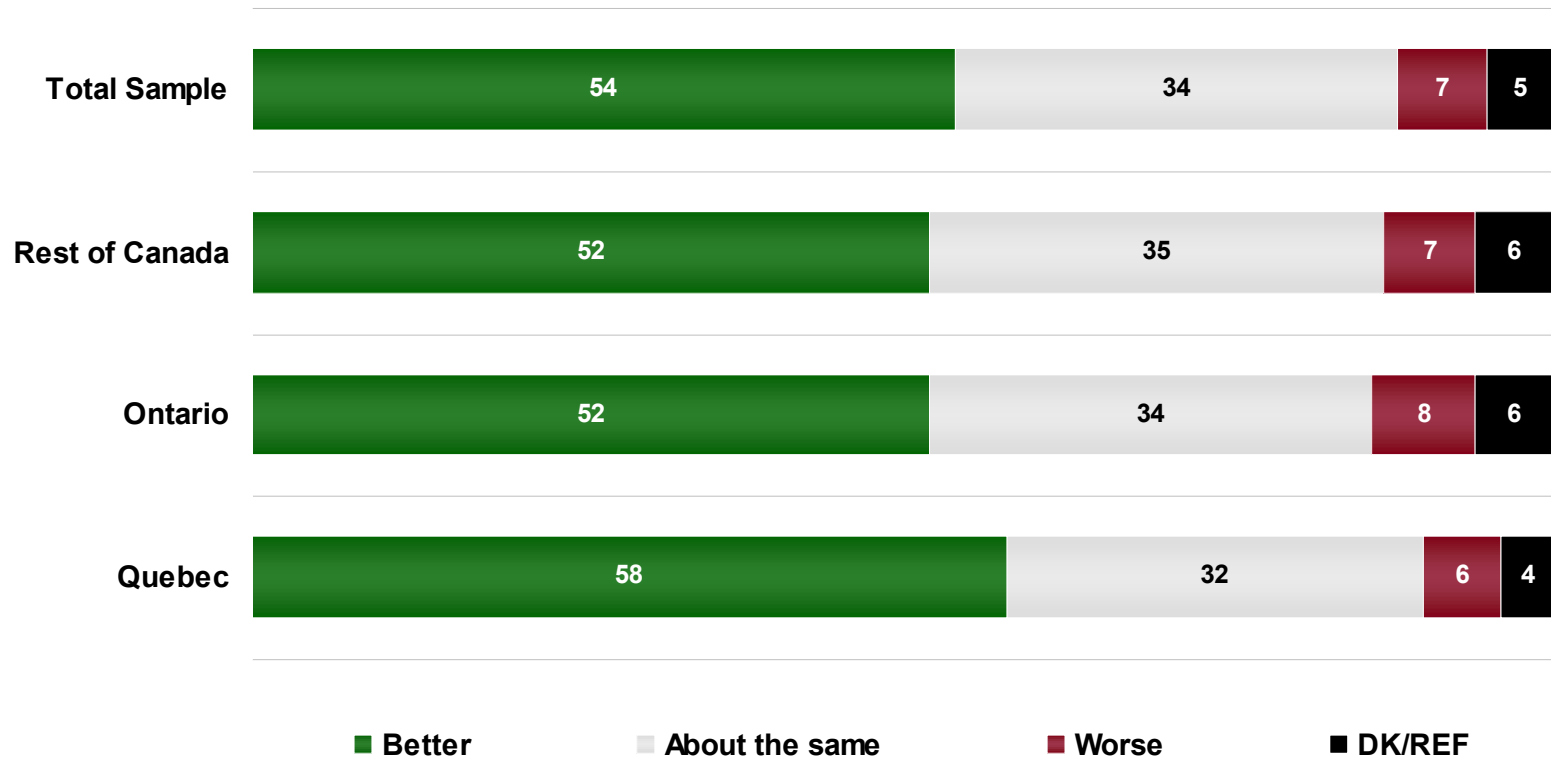
Q.14 There has been a fair amount of news recently about disputes between Canada and the United States over trade and particularly softwood lumber. From what you know, would you say the Canadian government has not been tough enough, about right, or too tough with the United States in these dealings?

Base: Total Sample (n=1000)

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

New Orleans

Would the Canadian government respond better, worse or about the same as the American government if a situation similar to Katrina occurred in Canada?



Q.15 As you many know, New Orleans has been severely damaged by the Katrina hurricane and subsequent flooding. Do you think that the Canadian government would have responded better, worse, or about the same as the American government if a similar situation occurred in Canada?

Base: Total Sample (n=1000)

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Have Canadian impressions about American society changed as a result of the American government's response in New Orleans?

	Total	Region		
	09/13 (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=247) %
Yes, impression has changed	33	34	37	28
How has impression changed?	(n=321)	(n=252)	(n=139)	(n=69)
Improved	12	11	10	13
Worsened	85	85	86	84
DK/NA/Ref	3	3	5	3
No, impression has not changed	63	61	59	68
DK/NA/Ref	5	5	4	4

Q.16 Have your impressions about American society changed as a result of American government's response to the situation in New Orleans?

Base: Total Sample

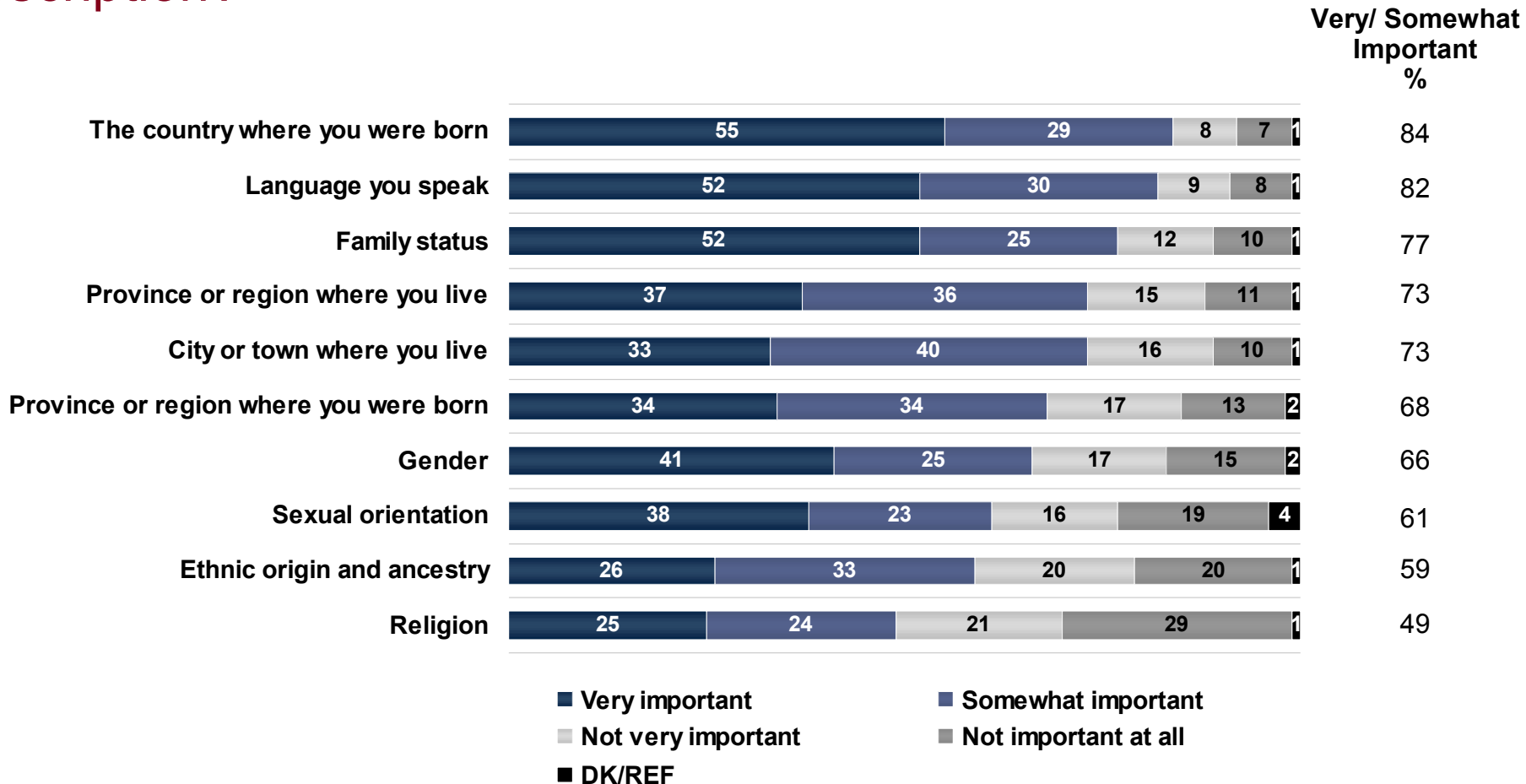
Q.17 If yes ask, and have your impressions improved or worsened?

Base: Among those whose impressions about American society have changed

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Limited Identity

How important are demographic characteristics to self description?



Q.2 When you think of yourself...who you are...and how you might describe yourself to others, how important is your...(Read list) Is it...very important, somewhat important, not very important or not important at all?

Base: Total Sample

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

How important are demographic characteristics to self description? *Regional Distribution*

	Total	Region		
	09/13 (n=1000) %	Rest of Canada (n=753) %	Ontario (n=380) %	Quebec (n=247) %
The country where you were born	84	85	84	80
Language you speak	82	80	81	88
Family status – that is being a husband, wife or someone’s child	77	76	78	81
Province or region where you live	73	71	67	80
City or town where you live	73	73	73	74
Province or region where you were born	68	64	62	81
Gender – that is being a man or woman	66	64	65	73
Sexual orientation	61	57	58	70
Ethnic origin and ancestry	59	55	58	70
Religion	49	50	54	47

Q.2 When you think of yourself...who you are...and how you might describe yourself to others, how important is your...(Read list) Is it...very important, somewhat important, not very important or not important at all?

Base: Total Sample

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

Federal Vote

How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

	Total Sample							
	2004 Election Results	04/27 (n=1000) %	05/08 (n=1000) %	05/15 (n=1500) %	06/09 (n=1000) %	07/06 (n=1000) %	08/07 (n=1000) %	09/13 (n=1000) %
Liberal	37	30	27	33	34	35	36	35
Conservative	30	28	31	30	26	26	28	28
NDP	16	18	20	19	19	19	17	17
Green Party	n/a	10	7	6	9	7	8	7
Bloc Quebecois	12	14	14	12	13	13	11	13

Q.15A If the federal election was being held tomorrow, do you think you'd be supporting the Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (Quebec only) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Q.15B In that case, which party's candidate in your local area would you be leaning towards at this time? Would it be the Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (Quebec only) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Base: Excludes "other, don't know, refused, undecided, won't vote" responses

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec

How would Canadians vote if an election were held today?

Regional Distribution

	Region													
	Rest of Canada							Ontario						
	04/27 (n=687) %	05/08 (n=776) %	05/15 (n=1002) %	06/09 (n=777) %	07/06 (n=753) %	08/07 (n=753) %	09/13 (n=753) %	04/27 (n=329) %	05/08 (n=338) %	05/15 (n=509) %	06/09 (n=304) %	07/06 (n=379) %	08/07 (n=380) %	09/13 (n=380) %
Liberal	35	31	36	37	37	34	38	38	34	43	41	41	41	42
Conservative	34	39	36	32	34	37	34	30	35	30	31	31	33	29
NDP	21	23	22	21	22	21	21	23	25	21	19	22	17	22
Green Party	10	7	6	9	8	8	7	9	7	6	10	6	9	7
Bloc Quebecois	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

	Quebec							Alberta
	04/27 (n=219) %	05/08 (n=224) %	05/15 (n=337) %	06/09 (n=203) %	07/06 (n=247) %	08/07 (n=247) %	09/13 (n=247) %	09/13 (n=250) %
Liberal	16	16	25	22	28	31	25	21
Conservative	9	8	14	8	6	7	12	64
NDP	8	11	9	12	11	10	7	10
Green Party	12	8	4	8	5	6	6	5
Bloc Quebecois	55	56	48	51	51	46	51	-

Q.15A If the federal election was being held tomorrow, do you think you'd be supporting the Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (Quebec only) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Q.15B In that case, which party's candidate in your local area would you be leaning towards at this time? Would it be the Liberal candidate in your area, Conservative candidate in your area, the NDP candidate in your area, or the Green Party candidate in your area or (Quebec only) Bloc Quebecois candidate in your area?

Base: Excludes "other, don't know, refused, undecided, won't vote" responses

Note: Rest of Canada includes all provinces except Quebec