

Citizens' Dialogue on Canada's Future: A 21st Century Social Contract

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Foreword

During the pivotal years in the mid-1940s when Canadian leaders were planning for the future, they were able to forge a consensus about the role of government and its relationship with citizens. This consensus is commonly called the unwritten social contract.

Over the next six decades, the Canadian way of life has been transformed in more ways than we can count. Together with millions of newcomers to this country we have built a modern society and economy with its own distinctive institutions. Yet, one of the hallmarks of the past 20 years has been an intense debate about the roles of government and citizens, about the appropriate balance between individual choice and collective need, and about the choice between market-based solutions and government intervention. And the growing integration of the North American economy is posing more and more questions about what Canada really stands for.

In that context, CPRN and Viewpoint Learning decided the time had come to start a national conversation about these fundamental qualities of Canadian life, by giving a representative sample of Canadians – the unorganized Canadians – an opportunity to engage in a day-long dialogue about “The Kind of Canada We Want”. Working with six federal partners, we conducted ten dialogue sessions with a total of 408 Canadians in ten different parts of Canada between mid-September and mid-November 2002. This is a report on what the citizens said.

To make the conversation concrete, the participants used a workbook providing background information on how the country has changed over time and setting out four different possible futures. Each future included information on four policy issues – economic development, international development, poverty and social marginalization, and environmental and health risks. The dialogue provides much useful information on how Canadians would address the four issues. But its two main outcomes are a reframing of the unwritten social contract and a restatement of core Canadian values.

- In their revised social contract, Canadians have restated the future roles for governments, business, communities and citizens themselves. The role of government is rather different from that conceived 60 years ago, while the roles of business, communities and citizens are significantly enhanced.
- Canadians restated the core Canadian values because they felt strongly that the country needs “a moral compass.” When they discovered there was a consensus on these values among 40 strangers in all ten dialogue sessions, the core values became a distinctive, positive vision of who we are as Canadians.

I take my hat off to these Canadians. In achieving these outcomes, they demonstrated their own capacity to contribute to policy discourse in Canada. In their deliberations, you will see a wellspring of energy and wisdom which can add value to the contributions of the experts and organized voices who are already very present in that discourse.

Judith Maxwell
March 2003

Executive Summary

"...today that pride of being Canadian was rekindled. I didn't realize to what extent we actually do have many shared values which are really high values and I think we are truly a unique people and we should be proud of ourselves..." (Thunder Bay)

In the fall of 2002, CPRN and its partner in this project, Viewpoint Learning, invited a representative sample of Canadians to participate in a unique experiment. We invited these citizens to take part in one of ten day-long dialogue sessions to consider Canada's future and to create their own vision for "the Kind of Canada We Want" – looking ten years ahead. Then we asked them to reflect on how that vision could be achieved and to tell us who should be responsible for making it happen. This report describes what they said and shows that Canadians are ready to revise the roles and responsibilities of governments, business, communities and citizens themselves to suit the circumstances of the 21st century.

These updated roles and responsibilities form a new unwritten social contract to shape Canada's future. What is new about it can be summarized in four key points:

- 1. Markets are no longer seen as separate from and even opposed to civil society – an assumption that helped create the welfare state. Instead, to a surprising degree, markets are now seen as an integral part of a working society, serving public as well as private interests, with market values being integrated into Canadians' notions of civil society and social equity in a unique and compelling way. At the same time citizens are pragmatic about the limitations of both markets and governments.**
- 2. Citizens see themselves as more active participants in governance. They have moved toward greater self-reliance and beyond deference to demanding a voice. Hidden beneath a thin crust of cynicism lies a keen desire for more active citizen involvement in public affairs. Citizens insist on greater accountability on the part of governments, business and other institutions and are willing to assume greater responsibility and accountability themselves. They want to see more responsive governments that foster ongoing dialogue with and between citizens.**
- 3. Canadians' support for diversity is repositioned in light of the experience of the last two decades. People are searching for a "moral compass." They have learned that when diversity is treated as an end in itself, it can conflict with core Canadian values. So, their respect for diversity is strongly affirmed, but**

is now seen as an important part of (and limited by) a broader set of core Canadian values.

- 4. Canadians share a remarkably consistent set of values from coast to coast. As citizens discover how much they have in common, it kindles a strong sense of pride in their shared community and identity. This distinctive values base provides an essential foundation on which Canadians and their governments can build a different community north of the 49th parallel, notwithstanding the growing economic integration of North America (explained in Chapter 4, Box 8).**

This project used the ChoiceWork Dialogue methodology, developed by Viewpoint Learning based on the research of its Chairman, Daniel Yankelovich. This methodology is designed to probe how citizens' views evolve as they work through difficult policy choices in dialogue with each other and seek to reconcile those views with their deeper values. It is described briefly in Box A (on the next page) and in Chapter 1 of the report.

To help stimulate citizen dialogue, each dialogue group (with about 40 participants) was invited to consider four possible future directions for Canada, and to engage in dialogue on how well each future matched their own value orientation. The four scenarios (see Chapter 2) were:

1. Emphasize the market
2. Emphasize civil society and social equity
3. Emphasize traditional values and accountability
4. Emphasize diversity and choice.

To make their dialogue more concrete, citizens also were asked to concentrate on four specific policy areas:

- Economic development
- International development
- Poverty and social marginalization
- Environmental and health risks.

Their conclusions are summarized in Chapter 3.

Box A: The Methodology

Viewpoint Learning's ChoiceWork Dialogue methodology differs from polls and focus groups in its purpose, advance preparation, and depth of inquiry.

- **Purpose.** ChoiceWork Dialogues are designed to do what polls and focus groups cannot do and were never developed to do. While polls and focus groups provide an accurate snapshot of people's current thinking, ChoiceWork Dialogues are designed to predict the future direction of people's views on important issues where they have not completely made up their minds, or where changed circumstances create new challenges that need to be recognized and addressed. Under these conditions (which apply to most major issues), people's top-of-mind opinions are highly unstable, and polls and focus groups can be very misleading. ChoiceWork Dialogues enable people to develop their own fully worked-through views on such issues (in dialogue with their peers) even if they previously have not given it much thought. By engaging representative samples of the population in this way, ChoiceWork Dialogues provide unique insight into how people's views change as they learn, and can be used to identify areas of potential public support where leaders can successfully implement policies consonant with people's core values.
- **Advance Preparation.** ChoiceWork Dialogues require highly trained facilitators and above all, the preparation of special workbooks. The workbooks brief people on the issues. They formulate a manageable number of research-based scenarios, which are presented as a series of values-based choices, and they lay out the pros and cons of each scenario in a manner that permits participants to work through how they really think and feel about each one. This tested workbook format enables citizens to absorb and apply complex information quickly.
- **Depth of Inquiry.** Polls and focus groups avoid changing people's minds, while ChoiceWork Dialogues are designed to explore how and why people's minds change as they learn. While little or no learning on the part of the participants occurs in the course of conducting a poll or focus group, ChoiceWork Dialogues are characterized by a huge amount of learning. ChoiceWork Dialogues are day-long, highly structured dialogues – 24 times as long as the average poll and 4 times as long as the average focus group. Typically, participants spend the morning familiarizing themselves with the scenarios and their pros and cons and developing (in dialogue with each other) their vision of what they would like to have happen in the future. They spend the afternoons testing their preferences against the hard and often painful tradeoffs they would need to make to realize their values. To encourage learning, the ChoiceWork methodology is based on dialogue rather than debate – this is how public opinion really forms, by people talking with friends, neighbours and co-workers. These 8-hour sessions allow intense social learning, and both quantitative and qualitative measures are used to determine how and why people's views change as they learn.

Source: Viewpoint Learning Inc., 2003

I. Integrating Market Values and Social Equity

Citizens no longer see markets as separate from and even opposed to civil society (an assumption on which the modern welfare state was based). Instead, they see the market as serving public as well as private interests. Markets enable citizens to earn a living and to take care of their own; they enable communities to thrive. Healthy markets, in turn, depend on well-educated and trained people, stable communities and families, a basic level of trust reinforced by reliable systems of laws and accounting, supportive social policies, adequate market incomes and much more. This is not the view of the market championed by some classical economists or business advocates. Rather, citizens see economic development as a bottom-up enterprise, requiring collaboration by governments, business, education institutions and communities themselves.

At the same time, citizens are pragmatic about the limitations of both markets and governments. There is no support, in any region of Canada, for government subsidies to industries that do not meet the market test. Instead, citizens suggest that communities should be given support to develop economic projects only so long as they can meet that test and, if communities are not economically sustainable, people should be supported to move to areas of better opportunity. At the same time, citizens have no confidence in the ability of markets to self-regulate when issues of environment, health and safety are at stake. They are clear that governments have a fundamental responsibility that cannot and must not be delegated to markets whenever public health or safety could be endangered.

The market ethic has also influenced the way Canadians think about social issues. As they worked through the scenarios and policy issues, citizens abandoned the language of rights and entitlements, which has dominated public discussion since the 1970s. Instead they constructed a set of societal relationships based on **both rights and responsibilities** – giving and getting. In their view, citizens, governments, business and civil society are connected through mutual responsibility. Individuals have a responsibility to give back, to contribute to society and in return each one can expect to be supported to make that contribution. Thus, individual rights are bounded by citizens' responsibilities to each other and to their shared community.

Citizens articulated a vision of a “working society” where everyone who can work gets a chance to earn a living wage. They believe that social programs should be better designed to help Canadians participate fully in work, community and family. Programs should give people a “hand up not a hand out”, reduce dependency and overcome barriers to participation in work and community life. This means that education and training must be more affordable and accessible – not only for reasons of social mobility but also because that is the way to ensure a strong economy.

“There was general support in the group for a working society, a society that does encourage people to work, but also supports people to work, meaning that...you should be able to live off your income and that involves either raising minimum wages or giving extra support for people at the lower end of the income scale. We want to encourage work – we also want to make work something that gives people dignity and a living income.” (Ottawa)

II. Toward Active Citizens and Accountable Governments

Citizens began their day of dialogue by expressing a weary scepticism, even cynicism, toward governments and other large institutions. However, over the course of the day, as they realized how many of their fellow citizens shared their concerns, cynicism grew into resolution and a demand for action. Accountability and transparency were seen as imperatives – citizens focused mainly on governments, but applied the same standard to private institutions and themselves. This imperative was driven by two motives. The first was disappointment with the failures of governments, combined with indignation about corporate misbehaviour in Canada, the United States and elsewhere. The second driver was a genuine desire to be better informed about what governments are doing and to have a voice in shaping public policy decisions. Fundamentally, they say, governments, other institutions and individuals must take responsibility for their own actions and citizens must become more involved in the public realm.

Citizens held themselves up to scrutiny, and decided that they must become more informed and more involved in public discourse. They gained confidence in their ability to participate and contribute and began to visualize a world where citizens would be able to engage in three-way dialogue (citizen to citizen and citizens with government) as part of a regular way of conducting public business. They acknowledged that this will take time and energy on their part, but they also insist that public institutions and the policy process should open up to give unorganized citizens like them a say in decisions that affect their lives.

Citizens do not expect governments to talk directly to 30 million people. But they do want existing institutions – Parliament, legislatures and their committees, as well as the public service – to provide opportunities for people to participate in public discourse on policy issues. Currently, these institutions engage actively with experts and opinion leaders in formal public settings. Citizens are asking for a space where they can be included – not in debate, as typically happens in town hall meetings, but in dialogue, learning from each other and contributing their own ideas. Chapter 3 lists some issues where dialogue is needed now.

“ ...my feeling is that we, in Canada, are becoming less responsible, and that the citizenship aspect is perhaps a lesser concern. I would like us to be aware that we are citizens and as such, that we have responsibilities and not just rights.” (Montréal)

III. Integrating Diversity with Traditional Values

Citizens yearn for a positive statement of Canadian values to serve as a moral compass, but at the same time are not willing to accept the expression “traditional values” (presented in the third scenario) because it implies a paternalistic and hierarchical society,

which they also reject. In all 10 dialogues, they therefore switched to the idea of “core Canadian values” and began to construct their own list, which is summarized in Box B.

Box B: Citizens' Core Values

Shared community – despite their differences, Canadians have a unique bond
Equality and justice – each person is respected, valued and treated equitably; fairness for all
Respect for diversity – valuing contributions of all Canada's cultures/traditions
Mutual responsibility – getting and giving within community; balancing rights and responsibilities
Accountability – taking responsibility for one's actions; making actions more transparent
Democracy – citizen-centred government; citizens taking ownership of government

Source: Citizens' Dialogue on Canada's Future – A 21st Century Social Contract

Citizens emphasize respect for diversity as a core Canadian value. However, it is clear that Canadians are going through an important shift. They have tested the limits of individualism, and are now repositioning diversity as one essential value within a broader set of core Canadian values. They are very clear that diversity is not an end in itself. One good example, often mentioned in the dialogues, was that of gender equality. Citizens believe that all Canadians, no matter what their cultural or ethnic tradition, must respect gender equality.

Canadians are deeply aware of the ethnic, regional and language differences that divide the country, yet they are able to describe a set of core human values they hold as citizens. These values are held in common by citizens of all origins across the country – binding them in a community of shared values from coast to coast.

Citizens did not see the list above as definitive – not yet. They wanted a cross-Canada dialogue where more people could participate in deeper conversations about core Canadian values. They see families, schools, and civil society as the agents to transmit these values to all citizens, so that they will become recognized by all as the expression of “who we are and what we believe in.” They want governments to foster that dialogue and to help make these core values a visible and ongoing part of public discourse.

“...your social programs, ...your strong market, ...your accountability, all these points that every group has made makes up the (mortar) that holds the mosaic together, Everybody's little tile shows an individual but it's the mortar that holds us together as a country. Unification of Canada, be it east, west, north, south.” (Calgary)

IV. Kindling a Sense of Shared Community and a Canadian Identity

Some citizens began the dialogue by voicing concern and uncertainty about Canadian identity and whether it could survive. But the dialogue experience itself crystallized their sense of community as 40 randomly selected strangers in ten different parts of Canada heard others express the same values, hopes and worries. They could not help but notice the diversity of the group – business and professional people, mothers on welfare, homemakers, minimum wage workers, farmers, and retired military officers, with some clearly representing different races and creeds. They gained insight into each other's realities and experience as they talked and listened. As they found common ground, they gained a sense of community. And this community came to represent for them what Canada could be.

Citizens often reported that they were reassured and more confident in Canada's future as a result of their experience. Many spoke about the need for more Canadians to have the opportunity to engage in a dialogue about important issues as they had just done. This kind of three-way dialogue is one way to strengthen democracy and attachment to Canada.

Citizens also expressed surprise and satisfaction at the level of agreement they had been able to achieve, and often wondered aloud why the perspectives expressed in the room were so seldom reflected in the media. They also voiced concern, from time to time, about Canada's growing dependence on the United States, and whether that would limit the ability to develop the kind of Canada they want. They believed that the values they had expressed and shared were different from those of the United States, and they want their public policy to reflect and maintain these distinctions.

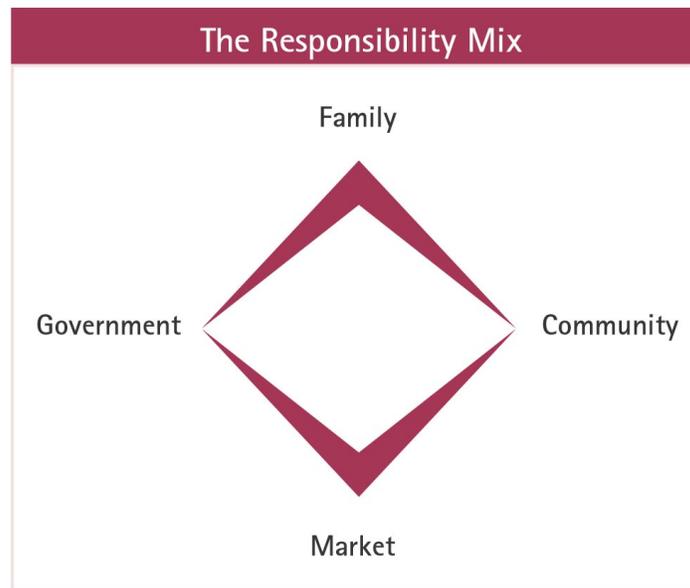
This distinctive values base, further discussed in Chapter 4, provides an essential foundation on which Canadians and their governments can continue to build and sustain a different society, notwithstanding the growing economic integration of North America.

V. An Updated Social Contract

In the post-war years, Canada along with other industrialized countries forged an unwritten social contract that established governments as the motor of economic and social development. In exchange for taxes, people were protected against the risks of unemployment, old age, and poor health and promised a good public education. These were the underpinnings of the welfare state established by the 1960s. However, even at that time, it differed from the welfare states established in Europe, Japan, and the United States.

Clearly, citizens have moved on from the post-war consensus. There is continuity with the past, but their thinking has been influenced by the searing experiences of the 1980s and 90s – deep recessions, intense global competition, growing individualism, and increased insecurity. In this dialogue, Canadian citizens were choosing their own distinctive path for the future.

“The Kind of Canada We Want” in 2012, as articulated by Canadians in their 2002 dialogue reflects the needs of a more urban, diverse, educated, confident, and more sceptical Canadian public. Citizens have revised the responsibilities they assign to the key actors in the social contract — governments, business, communities and citizens themselves. Compared to earlier times, more responsibility falls on business, communities and citizens. But all four “actors” in society are interdependent, as shown in the diamond chart. Actions by one point in the diamond create either opportunities or stresses for the other three.



Source: CPRN Annual Report, 2001-2002

Governments have traditionally been seen as the actor with the capacity to pool economic, social, political, and security risks. Acting on behalf of citizens, governments are expected to defend the interests of Canadians and use tax revenues to provide the public goods and services needed by them.

Today, citizens attribute less influence to governments in some areas and more in others.

- Governments are no longer expected to create jobs across the length and breadth of Canada through direct investment or publicly owned businesses. Instead, they are seen as catalysts for economic development in partnership with business, communities and education institutions.
- Governments are still expected to create an effective framework for business, to set standards and to hold businesses to account. While the trend is to use market instruments rather than command and control regulations wherever practical, this does not replace the ultimate responsibility of governments to act whenever public health or safety is endangered.

- Governments still invest in social development to help people reach their full potential and to protect the most vulnerable, but now citizens want this to be done in a way that gives greater emphasis to self-reliance – enabling everyone to make a contribution to a working society, and to avoid dependency. Citizens also expect governments to design and deliver seamless programs that address the whole person who may need a variety of services – sometimes all in the same timeframe. This seamless delivery of programs demands much more coordination on the part of governments.
- Governments also have a more important information role – they need to provide information to make their own activities more transparent to citizens, in order to promote accountability and to enable citizens to determine how well the political system and civil society is functioning; and they also need to provide better information to help citizens make informed choices about what to buy and how to live healthy lives.
- Governments, on citizens' behalf, are still expected to play a strong role within the international community by contributing to democratic governance, economic stability and international development. But citizens want greater accountability and transparency in how aid funds are spent and greater assurance that international aid really gets to the people in need. Above all they emphasize that our aid projects should help people to help themselves, and should be consistent with **both** Canadian values **and** the values of the citizens of the recipient countries.

After the Great Depression of the 1930s, **markets (business)** were often placed in an adversarial role, which had to be countered by active governments. Today, markets are given far more credit for their contribution to economic growth and efficient resource allocation. Citizens no longer see markets in one corner as a generator of wealth serving private interests, and governments in the other corner as distributors of income serving the public interest. Instead they see the market serving public as well as private interests.

Canadians have begun to borrow market ideas to help address other complex problems – using pricing and other market mechanisms to manage environmental challenges, for example. And the market ethic has influenced their desire to balance rights and responsibilities.

In return for this greater acceptance of markets, however, Canadians now demand more of both small and large businesses as engaged actors in civil society. Businesses are now expected to be social partners to help communities to meet their social and economic goals and to demonstrate a social conscience as ethical members of civil society at home and abroad.

Community has always been the place for collective action, dating back to the founding of the village school in pioneer Canada. It continues to be the place where citizens exercise their values, coming together to realize their collective goals. But, with immigration, a communications revolution and urbanization, communities have become larger and more complex entities. Most Canadians today are members of multiple

communities, not only local communities of place but also overlapping communities defined by work, shared interests, cultural background, professional affiliation and more. People are therefore in touch with the wider world in many ways. These more open, inclusive and vibrant communities can be prime movers in building the kind of Canada they want, and citizens express confidence in the ability of Canadians, working together in these communities, to accomplish great things.

Communities are now the primary site for economic and social development, and the space where diverse populations settle and find ways to participate. Citizens want governments to support and act in partnership with these communities. They insist that all the silos of governments must be able to respond to the whole person and the whole community. In these modern communities, business is seen as a major agent of change, and is expected to partner with others to help achieve community goals.

Citizens (individuals and families) now see themselves as more than voters, recipients of government programs and possessors of rights. They wish to be more active participants in public business. Citizens are expected to contribute to Canada's quality of life through paid employment, family and volunteer work, and self-development. They are also expected to keep their skills relevant throughout their lives. Canadians are moving from deference to governments to demanding a voice and from unengaged citizens to citizens actively involved through dialogue.

This dialogue experience helped citizens to discover their own capacity to make a valuable and responsible contribution on a range of difficult policy questions. They were able to go beyond venting and "wish lists" in a setting which avoided the formalities and limitations of traditional consultations and town hall meetings. They listened, learned, and contributed, they looked ahead and examined issues from different points of view. And as they discovered how much they had in common the thin crust of cynicism gave way to a willingness (and a desire) to become more involved in governance and public affairs.

VI. Conclusion

As Canadians become more demanding of and more engaged with governments, the legitimacy and sustainability of important policy decisions will depend, more than ever, on how well they reflect the underlying values of citizens. In a democracy, citizen values define the boundaries of action, while experts and stakeholders provide essential technical input. These two roles are distinct. Experts do not have the legitimacy or capacity to replace citizens and citizens do not expect to provide technical expertise.

In this dialogue, citizens have defined their vision for Canada's 21st century social contract. The kind of Canada they want combines markets and social goals in a particular way, and places respect for diversity in a core set of values designed to create a more inclusive community and a shared purpose. These core values are consistently different from those of the United States in a number of important areas, and provide an essential

foundation on which Canadians and their governments can continue to build and sustain a distinct community north of the 49th parallel.

Perhaps even more important, the kind of Canada they want is built on a more engaged citizenry, encouraged to take a longer-term perspective, defining what it means to be Canadian in a globalizing world and demanding stronger accountability from governments, business, other institutions and individuals in realizing that future. This is the vision of a Canadian democracy renewed for the 21st century.

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Most of all we wish to recognize and thank the 408 citizens who contributed their energy and passion to create a pragmatic and compelling vision for Canada.

We thank all of you and take full responsibility for any errors that may have crept into the report.

1 Citizens' Dialogue on Canada's Future – Introduction and Overview

In the fall of 2002, ten groups of 40 randomly selected citizens came together in different locations across Canada to talk about “The Kind of Canada We Want.” They were asked to create a vision for Canada in 2012, and then to reflect on the roles and responsibilities that citizens, governments, business, and communities should assume in that future.

The results of their deliberations are intended to provide decision-makers with a portrait of the kind of Canada that average citizens would like to see come into being, along with a statement of the values that lie behind the choices that citizens made about their future. As the reader will discover in the following pages, citizens spoke clearly about their expectations of public and private leaders and of themselves. This chapter describes the methodology and profiles the citizens.

Rationale for the Citizens' Dialogue

This project was directed by Canadian Policy Research Networks (CPRN), working with its partner, Viewpoint Learning (VL). A number of federal departments and agencies sponsored this citizens' dialogue to learn more about Canadians' expectations of governments, the private sector, communities and each other. The relationships among these key actors in society are sometimes referred to as Canada's unwritten “social contract.” This contract reflects the basic understanding of the goals a society seeks to achieve, and reflects the way these actors impact each other in their day-to-day decisions. It is therefore the foundation of a wide range of public policies and a key influence on expectations about how society should function. The last time that Canadians – through their governments – went through this kind of “big-picture” thinking was during and after the Second World War, as leaders planned for post-war policies and sought to avoid another Depression.

One of the major outcomes of the post-war planning in Canada was the modern social welfare state. Over time, concerns arose about some elements of the welfare state. Some worried that the system tended to create dependency, others were critical of what they called an “entitlement culture.” In the 1970s government revenues did not expand quickly enough to fund the risk sharing systems. This led to two decades of government cutbacks and major changes in trade and economic policy. By the late 1990s, Canadians had lost some of the social protection measures created in the post-war years, and made considerable sacrifices in order to overcome a legacy of government deficits and debt. Canadians were told to expect less from government and more from themselves.

Now, with a stronger economy, balanced or surplus budgets in most jurisdictions and good prospects for productivity growth, Canada has room to make real choices about

its own future. Perhaps even more important, as we enter a new century, we are dealing with changes in Canada and the world that will require us to make some critical choices about the kind of Canada we want.

These choices must be made to deal with a social, economic, and political context which is radically different from the post-war era. This new context has led to a general questioning of traditional rules, relationships and expectations. Canada is not alone in this: all other advanced industrial democracies are undergoing the same phenomenon. Box 1 below summarizes some of the major changes which will have a bearing on Canada's future.

Box 1: Societal Changes in the Post War Period

- Large scale immigration leading to increased multiculturalism
- A revolution in the role of women in society and the workplace
- More varied family types and more people living alone
- Cascading technological revolutions in information, telecommunications, biotechnology and much more
- Increasing North American economic integration and a growing acceptance of the role of markets in an era of globalization and free trade
- Declining trust in government and other social institutions coupled with increasing individualism and self-reliance
- A growing awareness and concern about environmental issues
- Major international power shifts with the end of the cold war and the rapid growth of some developing countries into trading partners while others decline into greater poverty
- A shift from a resource-based economy to a service and knowledge-based economy
- A change in the structure of work and a loss of job security
- Increasing income gaps between the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated
- A population and economic shift from rural to urban
- Slowing population growth and an aging population

Source: Participant Workbook: "The Kind of Canada We Want: Citizens' Dialogue on Canada's Future"
Fall 2002

Why a Dialogue?

A variety of different mechanisms exist to identify public views and opinions. They include public hearings, town hall meetings, online consultations, task forces, legislative committees and commissions of inquiry. Polling surveys and randomly selected focus groups also have their purposes and can provide a good snapshot of public opinion, as it exists at a given point.

This dialogue employed **ChoiceWork Dialogue** methodology, which is designed to probe how citizens' views evolve as they work through difficult policy choices in dialogue with each other and seek to reconcile those views with their deeper values. It helps policy makers to understand not just where citizens stand now, but more importantly, how their views evolve as they learn and where they want to be in the future. It can be used to identify areas of potential public support, not yet visible, where leaders can successfully urge policies that are consistent with citizens' underlying values. This dialogue was about creating a vision for a future Canada and making policy choices about how to achieve that vision.

The Dialogue Process

The 408 citizens participating in these dialogue sessions were randomly selected to be representative of the broader population. The 10 sessions took place between September 21 and November 17, 2002, on either a Saturday or Sunday. Two sessions took place in each of Atlantic Canada, Québec, and the Prairies, three were in Ontario and one was in British Columbia. Two of the ten sessions were conducted in French, eight in English. Two teams of professional facilitators led the dialogue following a standard format. While citizens often spoke about circumstances and issues particular to their region or province, there was a remarkable consistency in their values and vision for Canada.

Four scenarios (described in more detail in Chapter 2) were used to help citizens begin the conversation about choosing their future Canada:

- Emphasize the market
- Emphasize social equity and civil society
- Emphasize traditional values and accountability
- Emphasize diversity and choice.

To assist citizens in thinking more concretely about their choices for a future Canada, the dialogue workbook provided four policy issues to work through under each of the four scenarios (the workbook is available at www.cprn.org). The four issues presented were:

- Economic development
- International development
- Poverty and marginalization
- Environmental and health risks.

The workbook provided factual information on how Canada has changed in the last half century, ground rules for dialogue, and spelled out the key elements and the pros and cons of each scenario.

Methodology

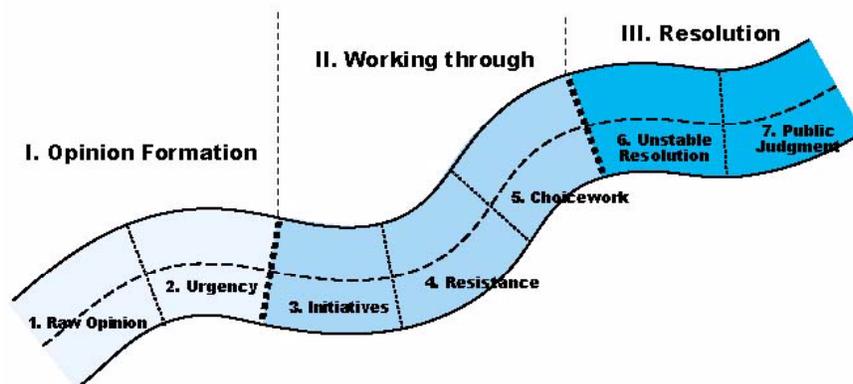
The partners in this project, CPRN and Viewpoint Learning, chose a methodology which is especially valuable for issues at early stages of development to which people

have not devoted a great deal of thought, and for familiar issues where changed circumstances create new challenges that have to be recognized and discussed. ChoiceWork Dialogue methodology was developed by Viewpoint Learning based on the research of its chairman, Daniel Yankelovich¹. It is designed to fill a gap in the opinion-formation process. The conventional public education model holds that public opinion is formed through a two-stage process: information (opinion formation) leads to public judgment (resolution). However, on complex issues public judgment evolves through three stages not two. The middle stage of “working through” conflicting values and hard choices intervenes between information and judgment.

This three-stage journey is one that centrally involves values and emotions, as well as deliberative thought. It requires not only a process of thinking through (deliberation) but also a psychological process of working through deeper values and emotional responses. In the real world, people shape their opinions and judgements by engaging with each other rather than by deliberation and analysis alone. This is how public opinion actually evolves – by people engaging with others with whose views they can identify: including friends, family, neighbours, co-workers, other citizens, and those with whom they can identify among leaders and in the media.

ChoiceWork Dialogues encourage that process of learning and working through, by giving participants the opportunity to take in the facts, connect the dots, face up to conflicting values and shift from an individual to a broader community-based point of view. This process is illustrated below.

"Journey" of Public Opinion From Raw Opinion to Public Judgment



Source: Viewpoint Learning Inc., www.viewpointlearning.com

¹ See, for example, Daniel Yankelovich, *Coming to Public Judgment*, Syracuse University, Press, 1991

The key elements of ChoiceWork Dialogues, and how they differ in critical ways, from polls and focus groups, are summarized in Box A of the Executive Summary. ChoiceWork Dialogue methodology is designed to help people move beyond their initial wish list for the future. It encourages them to look at things from different viewpoints, work through their internal resistances and face difficult choices as they engage with one another. It allows them to reconcile their views with their deeper values, and to “walk in the shoes of others.” One advantage of the technique is that it offers insight into how people really feel, what matters most to them, what trade-offs they will or will not accept and why. Box 2 on the next page outlines the basic steps in a ChoiceWork Dialogue project.

Who the Citizens Were

The 408 Canadians who participated in the sessions reflected a representative cross-section of the national population. The proportion of men and women was even, with a good mix of age groups. There were Canadians with little formal education and those with postgraduate degrees. There were blue-collar workers, farmers, business people, service workers and professionals from a wide variety of sectors. There were Canadians with physical or mental disabilities. There were parents with young children, with children in school, with children who have left home and there were adults without children. There were married, divorced and single people. There were Aboriginal Canadians, some of whom are living off reserve and some on reserve. There were ethnic and visible minority Canadians. About 20 percent participated in French (Montréal and Québec City), and other Francophones participated in the English dialogues.

While the dialogues were held in major centres², people travelled from surrounding and rural areas further afield. Eighty percent of the participants came from urban areas, while the remaining 20 percent were from rural and non-local³ areas.

Report Overview

The following chapters present citizens' conclusions about the kind of Canada they want and describe the actions that citizens think are necessary to make their vision a reality. Chapter 2 presents and analyzes citizens' choices in regard to the four scenarios, showing how they recombined elements from all four scenarios and added their own ideas to create a fresh vision of their future Canada. Chapter 3 chronicles the citizens' journey, revealing how their thinking evolved from their morning opening statements through to their closing messages to decision-makers. It also details their choices with respect to the four policy issues featured in the dialogue. Chapter 4 focuses on core Canadian values as defined by the citizens and elaborates on how these core values are reframing our unwritten social contract.

² See Appendix 1 for Dialogue dates, locations and profile of citizens.

³ Rural participants were identified by the Canada Post postal code system, while non-local indicated that the individual lived more than 50 kms away from the city centre core.

Box 2: Basic Steps in a ChoiceWork Dialogue Project

1. Research (using polls and other sources) to provide a baseline reading on what stage of development public opinion has reached
2. Identification of critical choices and scenarios and preparation of the workbook
3. A series of one-day dialogue sessions with representative cross-sections of citizens
4. A typical one-day session includes the following:
 - Pre-dialogue reading of the workbook as participants arrive
 - Initial orientation by the professional facilitators (including the purpose of the dialogue and the use to be made of the results, ground-rules for the session, introduction of some basic facts about, in this case, the major ways in which Canada has changed since the Second World War)
 - Introduction of the choice scenarios on the focal issue
 - Completion of pre-dialogue questionnaire to measure participants' initial views
 - Opening comments from each participant to identify his or her key concerns about the future of Canada
 - Dialogue among participants (in smaller self-facilitated groups and then in a professionally facilitated plenary) to assess the likely good and bad results that would occur as a consequence of each choice if it were adopted, and then to construct a vision of the future they would prefer to see
 - A second, more intensive round of dialogue among the participants (again both in smaller groups and in plenary) working through the concrete choices and tradeoffs they would make or support to realize their vision
 - Completion of a post-dialogue questionnaire designed to measure how views have changed in the course of the day (and why); and
 - Concluding comments from each participant on how their views changed and their final message to decision-makers.
5. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of how and why people's positions evolve during the dialogues; and
6. A report to participants and to decision-makers.

Source: Viewpoint Learning Inc., 2003

2 Interpreting Citizens' Choices

This chapter presents citizens' choices in regard to the four scenarios for Canada's future. The scenarios were carefully prepared in advance to present alternate views of Canada's future and reflected two sets of opposing views, each of which had been vetted by external experts who hold that view.

The first set of views dealt with how much emphasis to put on market values as opposed to values of social equity and civil society. The second set of opposing views had to do with how much emphasis to give to revitalizing "traditional values" as opposed to promoting cultural diversity including the acceptance of widely different moral norms.

Box 3A: Summary of Scenarios 1 and 2

MARKET <-> CIVIL SOCIETY

Emphasize the market. The first scenario is to make Canada more innovative, competitive and productive, providing greater opportunities for Canadians to excel and improve our standard of living. It is a Canada where competition in every sphere keeps prices low and increases consumer choice. In this Canada taxes are lower and government policies are designed to provide only those services that the market cannot.

Emphasize social equity and civil society. The second scenario is to make Canada fairer and more equitable, providing greater help to those most in need so that no one is left behind. It is a Canada where we recognise that economic and social success depends on enabling all Canadians to participate and ensuring the benefits of that success are fairly distributed. In this Canada government plays a social investment role; economic, social and environmental policies are designed to work together to meet the needs of this generation without compromising the needs of future generations.

Box 3B: Summary of Scenarios 3 and 4

TRADITIONAL VALUES <-> CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Emphasize traditional values and accountability. The third scenario is to reinforce traditional values and moral standards in Canada, providing greater support and encouragement for people to do the right thing. It is a Canada with a clear conception of right and wrong, where people especially those in authority, live up to their responsibilities and can be held to account. In this Canada government focuses on protecting the national interest, providing security, lending a guiding hand to the market, enforcing high ethical standards, and strengthening basic social institutions like the family.

Emphasize diversity and choice. The fourth scenario is to build a Canada that is more open and diverse, providing greater scope for individuals and communities to express their own values and choose their own lifestyles. It is a multicultural Canada where different value systems co-exist and grow side-by-side creating an even richer mosaic. In this Canada government facilitates individual and community self-expression as a way to increase personal choice, create more vibrant cultural communities, and promote social and economic innovation.

How Citizens Rated the Scenarios

After listening to the facilitators present the four scenarios, citizens rated each of the scenarios on a scale of 1 to 7⁴. At the end of the day, they rated the scenarios again, but this time, they were given the option of stating the conditions under which they would give their support. In both cases, they were asked to consider each scenario on its own merits, rather than to choose one as their favourite.

When the two assessments are compared, the results show support for all four scenarios increased during the day (Appendix 2 provides more detail on the quantitative findings). The net gain in support from pre-dialogue to post-dialogue shows that:

- Net support for the market scenario increased the most at 25 percent
- Net support for the traditional values and accountability scenario increased by 19 percent
- The diversity and choice scenario gained by the same amount – 19 percent
- Net support for the social equity and civil society scenario increased by 17 percent.

Why did citizens increase their support for all four scenarios? Participants were invited to record the conditions under which they were rating a specific scenario at the end of the day, and those conditions show a very distinctive pattern of how Canadians combined scenarios 1 and 2 (market values and social equity) and scenarios 3 and 4 (traditional values and diversity). Support increased when (and on the condition that) those scenarios were combined in this way.

Even though attaching written conditions to their ratings of the scenarios at the end of a long day was entirely voluntary, about half of all participants chose to do so. Those

⁴ The rank scale used in the questionnaire assigned 7 as totally favourable and 1 as totally unfavourable. Numbers 1 through 3 were considered unfavourable, 4 was undecided and 5 through 7 were favourable.

conditions and concerns were also strongly reflected in the transcripts of the dialogues.

The conditions that participants attached to their ratings of the scenarios are described below. In addition, the description below includes illustrative examples of the wording that participants used to express those conditions.

Combining the Market and Civil Society

Conditions on Emphasis on the Market

Many of the conditions attached to the market scenario are integrally linked to considerations that would usually be associated with scenario 2.

The conditions citizens attached to this scenario are presented below in rank order:

1. **Social equity, social supports and a social safety net must be maintained or strengthened in a more market-based economy.** Citizens insisted that the pursuit of excellence and competitiveness must not be at the expense of social equity and inequality. For example, one citizen was prepared to emphasize a Canada that is more innovative, competitive and productive on condition that, *“Those incapable of self-support should be supported/helped to self-support”* (Vancouver). Another citizen wrote that, *“We should provide a safe and just society. We should not sacrifice the future. We should protect our weakest citizens”* (Calgary) and another citizen expressed it this way, *“the rich don't get richer and the poor don't get poorer.”* (Halifax)
2. **Governments must play a key lead role in enforcing environmental regulations and standards and in providing incentives for industry to develop environmentally friendly technologies.** A Vancouver participant stipulated that support for scenario 1 was conditional on, *“It's developed with social/environment as the cornerstone of the market. Eco-enterprise.”* Another citizen from the Montréal session wrote, *“I fully agree with preserving the environment; without the environment, there is no market.”*
3. **Governments must hold corporations accountable for their actions.** Included with this condition was the insistence that governments not permit corporate interests to override the public interest. Citizens wanted the private sector to exercise greater corporate social responsibility, which included taking more responsibility for social issues and investing more in upgrading employees' skills. As one participant stated, *“Private enterprise runs with strict ethical standards with strong penalties for offences. Also make business contribute to education funding.”* (Calgary)
4. **Governments must ensure accessible education and training; high skill jobs and jobs for youth are priorities.** Citizens emphasized that a more market-based economy required social investments in developing people's capabilities. One participant wrote that support for a market scenario is

conditional on *“there is more assistance for education and higher standards.”*
(Calgary)

Citizens' top conditions assigned a clear role for governments, whether through addressing social equity issues, partnering with the private sector to achieve better social and environmental outcomes, ensuring corporate accountability or serving as stewards of the environment and demonstrating leadership on environmental innovation. In the words of one citizen, *“The market economy needs government to set HIGH environmental standards to stimulate innovation and creativity. It should also provide industry incentives”* (Vancouver). Implied in these conditions and sometimes explicitly stated was citizens' desire for a more active social role for the private sector within society (e.g., working with governments and education/training institutions to help their employees and strengthen their communities).

Conditions on Emphasis on Social Equity and Civil Society

The conditions citizens placed on their support for this scenario, in rank order, were:

1. **Social program redesign and targeted assistance to those in need.** Included in this category was the requirement that governments become more accountable for the outcomes of social programs and more focussed on supporting a “working society”. A Calgary participant wrote: *“Re-evaluate social programs periodically from an independent perspective. They must be run efficiently and effectively”* and a Moncton participant stated the same condition in these words, *“social programs are revamped and government is held accountable as to the efficiency of their programs”*. Citizens wrote that governments need to do a much better job of designing and managing their social safety net programs (usually they referred to social assistance programs and employment insurance). Some citizens suggested ways in which social programs should be made more effective — they should be tailored to meet the needs of individual situations, they should involve partnerships with the private sector, academic institutions, communities and governments, and they should be community-based but accountable.
2. **Mutual responsibility.** Citizens wrote that those in need of help should be given support to help themselves (a hand up, not a hand out) and they should use the assistance in a responsible and accountable manner, making efforts to improve their situation and contribute to society. As stated by a Thunder Bay participant, *“Mutual responsibility exists.”* And by a citizen in Ottawa, *“We enable them to help themselves to be self-sufficient in the long-run.”* A Québec City participant expressed it this way: *“We have to accept our responsibility as individuals and as a society.”*
3. **Investment in and a focus on education and training.** Citizens identified this as a critical component of support for social equity and civil society and the creation of what they termed a “working society.” Access to affordable education and training was seen to be an essential part of an effective strategy

to address marginalization and poverty. As expressed by a participant in Winnipeg, *"Individuals take responsibility assisted by education and training opportunities provided by government and business."*

4. **A strong competitive economy.** This category included comments such as *"economic growth is not forestalled; guidelines are set to maintain a productive economy"* (Calgary); and other similar wording. Citizens also expressed the view that social supports must be connected to economic reality. For instance, citizens were opposed to funnelling public funds for job creation into unviable industries. One participant in Halifax explained that, *"Additional spending to create jobs where people live is not going towards unmarketable and unprofitable areas."* A Vancouver participant expressed it this way, *"regional support for grassroots, subject to economic viability and sustainability criteria."*

Taken together, the four conditions described above reflect the consensus that grew progressively stronger throughout the dialogue: society has to provide its citizens with a "hand up, not a hand out" and build policies and programs that "help people to help themselves" and to participate in a "working society."

Combining Traditional Values and Diversity

Conditions on Emphasis on Traditional Values and Accountability

Citizens' conditions for this scenario indicate that they want a set of common values to serve as a foundation for society. Their conditions are presented in rank order of the frequency with which they were mentioned.

1. **Replace "traditional values" with "core values" / define/redefine Canadian values and the Canadian identity.** Citizens favoured having a common set of values but they did not want these values to exclude or marginalize the many different cultures and traditions that represent Canada. They also saw "traditional values" as outdated and not reflective of a more diverse society with greater emphasis on equality. Rejecting the concept of traditional values, citizens instead used the phrase "core values" and defined these to include "human rights, equality, respect, tolerance, responsibility, accountability, honesty, morality and ethics." One participant in Ottawa wrote, *"Traditional values are the core values of human rights and equality and dignity. This is complementary to scenario four."* A citizen in Vancouver questioned, *"Traditional? Make a charter of intercultural Canadian values."* Continuing with this logic, citizens said that there needs to be more discussion about how to ensure that these core values are reflective of Canadian diversity. As one participant in Calgary urged, *"Open dialogues into what the values are."* Another Calgary participant wrote that, *"'traditional values' does not mean the mores of a few but refers to absolute values such as truth, dignity of all."*

2. **Maintain respect for diversity.** Citizens wrote that diversity should be seen as a positive element of Canadian society. Their definition of diversity included respect for different cultures, traditions, and religious faiths. It also included diversity of lifestyles and family type. As one citizen in Halifax stressed, "...we acknowledge this is not only WASP (white Anglo Saxon protestant) values... tolerance and respect are our guiding principles." The importance of being open to other traditions and cultures was also cited under this theme. As expressed by one participant, "*Censorship of others' beliefs must not play a part of this type of program.*" (Moncton) Another participant in Québec City stated, "*we have to keep our openness.*"
3. **Respect the rights of individuals within society.** Citizens want a Canada where personal freedoms and choices that reflect different lifestyles are respected and can coexist within society. Uniformity of lifestyle was not seen as a desirable societal goal. As one citizen in Québec City stated, "*Respect for differences, a framework with individual flexibility.*" An Ottawa participant wrote, "*The rights of the individual are not violated. Diversity is essential to society.*"
4. **Recognize right and wrong actions/behaviours.** Citizens sought greater societal clarity with respect to morality and ethics and were critical of what they described as an "anything goes" philosophy. A citizen in Winnipeg noted that, "*A relative position cannot work. There are absolutes e.g. right and wrong.*"
5. **Recognize the importance of families in society.** Citizens wrote that governments should provide greater supports for the development of healthy families. They also emphasized that moral education must be taught and reinforced in the home. One citizen in Québec City wrote, "*There are strong incentives to building families.*"

Conditions on Emphasis on Diversity and Choice

Citizens' conditions for this scenario are presented below in rank order:

1. **Ensure an emphasis on core Canadian values and Canadian identity first.** This condition spoke to citizens' conviction that core Canadian values must be respected — they defined this to be the common ground that Canadians share. They did not want this common ground or community of values to be undermined in the pursuit of diversity, choice and individual rights as ends in themselves. This worry related to their stated desire for a positive statement of core values to serve as a moral compass. A citizen in Calgary wrote that, "*We have much diversity/multiculturalism already, we need however to start pulling it all together.*" Another participant in Winnipeg made it clear that, "*It [diversity] is a building block but being 'Canadian' must be foremost.*" Another citizen in Toronto cautioned: "*We are multicultural but have lost our identity as... Canada, we need to work together more closely*" and a Calgary

participant put it this way, *“As long as collective Canadian values are not sacrificed and the country is not atomized into individuals interacting with the state.”*

2. **The expression of diversity and choice must not interfere with the rights of others.** Citizens' concerns related to their belief that there must be some limits on self-expression and lifestyles to prevent situations in which certain behaviours threaten or interfere with the rights of others. There must be compromise and balance. One participant in Vancouver wrote, *“My swinging of arms ends where the other person's nose begins”* and another participant expressed it this way, *“those choices do not adversely affect others.”* (Thunder Bay)
3. **Governments must play a strong monitoring and enforcement role vis-à-vis the environment and public health and citizens must also take on greater responsibility for good choices.** This condition flowed from citizens' thinking about the need to limit private choices in the interest of protecting public goods, like the environment and public safety. Citizens stressed that our environment must not be left to market forces and market choices: governments have an obligation to safeguard these essential public goods. As stated by a Halifax participant *“the greater good is ...served as opposed to the individual. Examples: health issues, environmental issues.”* Another participant in Winnipeg wrote: *“People undertake the responsibility of citizenship as they benefit from it, especially with regard to sustainable development for the future.”* Citizens also noted that they have to accept greater responsibility for the environment and their health by making more informed choices and making appropriate lifestyle decisions.
4. **Immigrants should respect Canadian norms, the legal system and human rights.** Citizens wrote that respect for diversity must not lead to or encourage a rejection of Canadian norms, values or laws. Citizens rejected certain cultural practices that they perceived to contravene basic Canadian rights and wanted them to be prohibited, citing the caste system and gender discrimination as examples. One participant in Montréal stated: *“Encouraging diversity to express itself while setting truly Canadian social identity guideposts”* and another citizen expressed it this way, *“the values and moral standards that are part of Canada's heritage are upheld.”* (Winnipeg)

The next chapter describes the flow of citizens' discussion over the course of the day, as they began to “connect the dots” and work through their thinking on the four policy issues set out in the workbook.

3 The Citizens' Journey

As participants worked through the scenarios, their thinking deepened and evolved. This chapter describes the flow of dialogue during the day and sets out key conclusions citizens reached on four specific policy issues:

- Economic development
- International development
- Poverty and marginalization
- Environmental and health risk

Analysis of Citizens' Opening Statements

After the introductory remarks and stage setting, participants were asked to introduce themselves and state their strongest concern about Canada's future. Analysis of their opening statements revealed a number of distinct themes, which are presented in Box 4 below.

Box 4: Opening Statements

Dominant Theme by Rank Order
(10 dialogue sessions)

- 1. Education/Job Training**
- 2. Social Equity Values**
- 3. Health Care**
- 4. Environment**
- 5. Family Life/Opportunities for Kids and Youth**
- 6. Government and Individual Accountability**
- 7. Attachment to Canada**

Source: Transcripts, Citizens' Dialogue on Canada's Future, 2002

Uppermost in the minds of many citizens at the beginning of the day were issues close to their daily experience and what they see in the headline news.

1. On education, participants spoke about the importance of equitable access to high quality post secondary education and training and their deep concern that it is becoming increasingly out of reach for too many Canadians. They also talked about the need for education to be much more integrally linked to job training.
2. On social equity values such as fairness and greater equality, they worried about the consequences of the widening gap between rich and poor. They also said that Canada must continue to be a society that is characterized by acceptance of diverse cultures and backgrounds and known for its respect for human rights and democracy. Participants also articulated support for high quality social programs.
3. On health care, many participants spoke about how important a good health care system is to their quality of life and expressed their anxiety about its current and future status.
4. On environment, their main concern was the importance of a clean environment for their children and grandchildren. They also spoke about the negative consequences of environmental damage on people's health and their worry that failure to address environmental issues will lead to even more serious health problems in the future.
5. On family life and opportunities for today's children, participants were concerned about how society will encourage the development of healthy families. Some spoke specifically about the need for more public support for parents/mothers who choose to stay at home with their young children. Citizens want children and youth to have the same or better opportunities than they themselves have had. Connected with the family issue was a concern for what will happen to the elderly as their numbers increase.
6. On accountability, the main focus was on the need for governments to be more accountable to citizens. Citizens spoke about wanting governments to do a much better job of explaining how public funds are spent and what results society is getting for these public expenditures. They noted that individuals must also assume greater responsibility for their actions.
7. Attachment to Canada was articulated in various ways. Citizens talked about their Canadian sense of caring, and their pride in being Canadian. Others referred to specific values or ways of thinking that they felt were typically Canadian. Two sub-themes that emerged were: a) a concern for Canada's ability to maintain its independence in light of its close ties with the United States, and b) in Québec, several participants expressed a desire that Québec's place within Canada should be resolved.

"...I feel strongly that the government should be doing more to help people who haven't had the proper education to learn the new technology skills and have more programs in place so everyone can have, get better jobs than just working as a grocery clerk or something of that nature." (Calgary)

"What concerns me most about Canada is social equity, the environment, the gap between the rich and the poor and how to narrow it, what Canada can do to better help its citizens..." (Montréal)

"I would like to see a future for Canada that offers my children every opportunity that I've had or more. I think I've done very well in this country and I'd like to see my children have those same opportunities or better opportunities." (Ottawa)

"...my concern is the dismantling of our health system, with less and less services..." (Québec City)

"...I hope Canada can work towards eliminating child poverty or at least doing something more positive in that regard. I feel that if we want more Canadians to participate economically..., we have to try to ensure that our children (are) taken care of." (Vancouver)

"...my biggest concern would be environment, like the air we breathe and the water we drink..., it's not what it used to be." (Winnipeg)

Morning Plenary Consensus

After these opening comments, citizens moved into four smaller groups that were pre-selected to mirror the diversity of the larger group. They chose their own moderator and reporter. Their task was to work through each scenario with the goal of creating their own vision for the future. Reconvening in plenary, each group shared its vision and then they all worked together to identify common elements and discuss what to include in their ideal vision. Participants were surprised initially by the amount of common ground within their group, and even more surprised by the similarities across the groups. For the organizers, an additional surprise was how consistently the key elements of the vision were repeated in dialogue after dialogue.

The common elements are captured in Box 5 on the next page. They can be grouped under two important themes, based on the language used in the transcripts: — a new way of thinking about the roles of markets and social policies and taking responsibility for one's actions. The two themes reveal citizens' logic about what is essential in a future Canada.

Box 5: Morning Consensus from the 10 Dialogues – Key Elements of the Vision for 2012

- 1. Linking markets and social goals**
 - **Strong market with a social conscience**
 - **Commitment to international development focused on helping people to help themselves**
 - **Social supports to help people help themselves**
 - **Living wage**
 - **Equitable access to education and training**

 - 2. Taking responsibility**
 - **Accountability and responsibility**
 - **Essential government role in protecting the environment and health**
 - **Citizens' responsibility for environment and health**
 - **Need for real democracy**
- Source: Dialogue flip charts, Citizens' Dialogue on Canada's Future, 2002

Linking Markets and Social Goals

Citizens viewed the market as an integral part of a working society, serving public as well as private interests. Markets were not seen as adversaries of civil society but as necessary for wealth and job creation. Citizens gave distinct roles for markets and governments – markets are good at creating jobs but governments are not. At the same time, they saw the interdependence of markets, governments and civil society. For instance, markets can produce better long-term outcomes in the public interest if governments provide appropriate incentives and restraints. And they described economic development as a bottom up activity, requiring collaboration by governments, business, education institutions, communities and citizens.

Citizens want to create a working society in which every person can make a contribution. They therefore gave priority to accessible, affordable education and training, not only to fight poverty and social exclusion, but also to move towards that working society. Linked to this was their conviction that the private sector should and could play a stronger social role in promoting a learning society.

They believe that when people are working full-time they should be able to earn a “living wage” to support themselves and their families. Citizens saw the injustice of having individuals forced into double or triple jobs with long hours just to scrape together poverty or low-income wages. This situation was considered even more problematic when families are involved. In thinking about how to address this problem, citizens suggested various incentives that could be used to help people enter and stay in the workforce and earn adequate income.

But citizens were not content with existing social programs. They wanted some of them to be redesigned to more effectively “help people to help themselves” and become more self-reliant. They identified barriers to self sufficiency embedded in some social programs and recommended that recipients should be given a voice in program redesign. On the other hand, they also said that while people can expect to receive help when they are in need, they must also take initiative to help themselves. They emphasized that everyone, and especially those who receive such assistance, have an obligation to “give back” to society to whatever degree they can, to make a contribution. This sense of mutual responsibility was fundamental to their view of social programs.

Citizens applied these same principles to Canada's support for international development through an overseas aid program. They felt a sense of responsibility towards those in need in third world nations. However, they emphasized the need for greater accountability for how aid funds are spent, and better assurance that those funds are reaching those most in need. Consistent with their view on domestic policy, citizens underlined that aid should be designed to help those in developing countries to help themselves, it should not create dependency.

Taking Responsibility

The core idea in this theme is that everyone – governments, business, individuals, and institutions – must take responsibility for their own actions. Citizens defined and interpreted accountability and responsibility in different but related ways. These linked concepts emerged in the morning plenary and then again when citizens discussed the four specific policy issues.

They first defined accountability and responsibility in direct reference to the relationship between governments and citizens. Citizens want:

- a) governments to spend tax-payers' money as though it were their own,
- b) better and accessible information on how public funds are being used and what outcomes result from public expenditures,
- c) governments to keep the promises that they make, and
- d) governments to act as watchdogs to ensure a clean environment, safe drugs, and good public health for Canadians.

Participants also underlined the accountabilities between other actors in society, including corporations to citizens and governments; government to government; citizens to each other; and citizens to governments and to society in general.

Citizens agreed to take greater responsibility for their consumer choices and to become more informed about the impact of their choices on the environment and their own health. They also accepted responsibility to contribute to protecting the environment and public health either through paying higher prices and taxes, or through restricted choices.

Participants emphasized the need for a healthier democracy. They wanted a democracy where a) citizens' input would be taken into account by decision-makers, and b) governments truly listen to what they have to say. Connected to this were comments about the need for political reform (e.g., making the Parliamentary system more democratic and relevant).

Working Society

"...wages and benefits need to match the real cost of living – are we creating a society (that) says it makes more rational sense to be on welfare than to go out to a minimum wage job where they (people) have no benefits and they cannot take care of their family adequately. We need to have a society where marginalized groups can participate fully and that depends on education, another big theme of our group. Educate, educate." (Calgary)

"There was general support in the group for a working society, a society that does encourage people to work, but also supports people to work, meaning that...you should be able to live off your income and that involves either raising minimum wages or giving extra support for people at the lower end of the income scale. We want to encourage work – we also want to make work something that gives people dignity and a living income." (Ottawa)

Taking Responsibility

"...people have to be more responsible, they're talking about government, well we elect the government, so we have to be responsible in electing who we want to do the things that we want for a better Canada – so it all pretty much comes back to being accountable for ourselves, be it choosing the right education...or electing the government or what we want to do with the environment, it all comes back to our own personal choices and being accountable to ourselves, not relying on other people to do it for us." (Thunder Bay)

Afternoon Plenary Consensus: Applying Citizens' Vision to Policy

In the afternoon session, citizens' task was to figure out how to achieve their vision from the morning, that is, how to make it practical, coherent, and viable. To help make their task more concrete, citizens were asked to focus on four issues: economic development, international development, poverty and social marginalization, and environmental and health risks.

Many of the consensus points reached in the afternoon built on the morning discussion. The following section highlights the consensus reached on each of the four policy issues discussed.

Economic Development

Citizens' concept of an effective economic development strategy featured the following elements:

- **Harnessing entrepreneurial energy at the community level.** Citizens were confident that entrepreneurial capacity at the community level offered better prospects for economic success than a government directed top-down, centralized approach. In their view, the creative energy must come from the community level, with governments providing different kinds of incentives for the development of regionally based, sustainable businesses. This emphasis on bottom-up, community-based economic development pushed governments into a supporting role, again providing a hand up not a hand out.
- **Developing and implementing regional economic development policies and programs that are driven by a “market test” and built on regional strengths.** There was no support in any region of Canada for government subsidies to industries that cannot meet a market test. Through this more market driven strategy, citizens expected governments to give communities tools and opportunities to develop businesses that are more sustainable. They talked about the supportive role that governments can play in strengthening small and medium sized business, research and development, innovation, entrepreneurship, and environmentally sustainable and socially responsible industries. They wanted greater reliance on incentives for entrepreneurship. They criticized regional development policies of the past; especially those that continued to put public money into economically doomed industries.
- **Accepting that market-based economic development means that some areas will fail the market test.** Citizens acknowledged that this approach would lead to further economic decline for those areas that were unable to sustain local economies. They were prepared to accept that people living in areas that clearly are not economically sustainable should be expected and assisted to move to areas of better opportunity. They did not think that public funds should continue to support regional development in areas where there is no economic future. Citizens' understanding of community usually meant a region or sub region within a province rather than the whole province.
- **Recognizing that education and training play a critical role in economic development.** In addition to insisting that governments do more to make education and training more accessible and affordable regardless of socioeconomic status, citizens also expected the private sector to invest more in supporting employee education and training as well as in partnerships with

government and education/training institutions to ensure that labour market needs are being met. It is clear that citizens have bought into the importance of lifelong learning in a knowledge-based economy but they understand it as a shared responsibility. They were prepared and ready to devote more time and resources to developing their skills but they wanted to be supported in doing so, whether through financial assistance or through time off to pursue upgrading.

- **Creating strong and effective government/private sector/community/education and training partnerships.** Citizens repeatedly spoke about the need for collaboration and co-operation to make sure that Canada is tapping into its economic potential. Theirs was a pragmatic view: there should be an alignment between labour market needs and education/training systems and this can only happen through active collaboration and partnership. Citizens were particularly concerned that Canada is neglecting to adequately develop and promote apprenticeship, technical, and training programs and is too dependent on importing skilled workers from abroad. They were critical of government policy that continues to allow barriers that make it difficult for skilled workers to have their credentials recognized across the country.

“My background, my forefathers were coal miners and we know what happened to the coal industry. And Cape Breton tried to subsidize the coal industry and the steel industry and it failed. I think government intervention has failed.” (Moncton)

“...we're all from Nova Scotia, we've all heard of DEVCO and the money that's been sunk into that and you know that's just not viable in today's society any more. And now with the Internet... a person can start up a business from their home in the middle of nowhere... there should be government grants to help with some of these things, but you know it shouldn't be depended on.” (Halifax)

“...we chose (in the group) that the government will work in active partnership... with industry, communities and educational organizations to promote economic development and ensure that everyone can participate and that it (economic development) is sustainable.” (Winnipeg)

“...eliminating the class barriers towards education will increase our capacity to be economically competitive...” (Vancouver)

International Development

The following themes emerged as consensus points in the dialogue on international development:

- **Reflect Canadian social values in Canada's international development programs.** Citizens supported assistance for international development through public tax dollars and through Canada's role in the United Nations (UN) and other international development institutions. As an advantaged country, they acknowledged and accepted Canada's responsibility to help the vulnerable in the third world. But there was considerable scepticism with respect to the effectiveness of Canada's international development policy and in particular whether aid was getting to those who really need it.
- **Ensure accountability and transparency in international development.** Citizens wanted to ensure that international aid really gets to the people and communities in need, and not into the pockets of corrupt leaders. They wanted to have more confidence that the aid is making a difference in the lives of real people. Their concept of accountability operated on two levels: the Canadian government being accountable to its taxpayers for how international development aid is spent and what good it is doing, and third world countries being accountable to the Canadian government for the way funds are used. They also recognized the limitations of their own knowledge of Canada's aid efforts and expressed interest in learning more through two-way dialogue with aid agencies and others.
- **Emphasize better monitoring mechanisms.** Citizens expressed a lack of confidence in existing international development monitoring and reporting systems. They wondered whether it would be better to have the UN or a respected non-governmental organization take on a larger role in terms of monitoring and reporting, rather than relying on each country to provide transparent and credible reports. Citizens saw the UN as an independent and credible institution that could be counted upon to provide accurate and truthful reports.
- **Help people to help themselves.** Parallel to their thinking on Canadian economic development, citizens felt that international development policy should focus on helping to build the capacity of local communities to create viable economic and social development strategies through technical support and skill development. Just as the citizens recommended that the poor and marginalized in Canada should be involved in the design of programs intended to help them, so too they believe that third world communities should be involved in deciding how aid money is spent. Generally, as in domestic policy, they emphasized that aid policy should be designed to help people to help themselves. They also expressed greater confidence in the effectiveness and trustworthiness of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) than in governments.
- **Direct development aid to projects that reflect Canadian values and citizens' values in the developing world.** Citizens agreed that there should be a two key test: international development assistance should reflect the values

of Canada and the values of citizens in developing countries to whom the funds and assistance are directed. Citizens wanted Canadian development aid to flow to those third world countries that demonstrate a commitment to advancing democratic development and human rights. They disapproved of development aid for governments that violate human rights and suppress democracy. However, they did not want to deprive those in need just because they happen to live in countries ruled by undemocratic and/or abusive leaders. They therefore recommended that Canada find ways of bypassing these corrupt governments to channel the aid directly to communities through a greater use of not-for-profit aid organizations and civil society groups.

“...you teach someone to feed themselves instead of just feeding them, ...you give them a hand up instead of a hand out, it's all about education, showing people, teaching people, instructing people how to look after themselves and thereby have quality of life.”
(Toronto)

“Aid should match the receiving countries' needs given the fact that each country has to decide which way to go depending on its own culture, history and geography, and provided that its system of values is compatible with Canada's...” (Montréal)

“With aid, we should hold the country accountable for (the reasons why) we give it, so if we give money for AIDS research or prevention or health they should spend it on that. ... we as a nation should keep those countries accountable instead of just giving them a handout.” (Thunder Bay)

“...if there are poor people and they're suffering and they have a corrupt government, it's not their fault – we should still help them, but you have to have systems in place so that you know if there are starving kids that they do get the money and they do get the food.”
(Moncton)

“...ten years is not enough time, you have to think beyond that, you have to think deep in the future, what kind of a country will this be 100 years from now. I think they (the decision-makers) have to think beyond the borders of Canada. I don't think you can just think in (terms of) making Canada a better place. Canada will not be a place worth living in if the rest of the world goes down the drain.” (Vancouver)

Poverty and Marginalization

The consensus points that emerged during the dialogue, in relation to poverty and marginalization, are captured below:

- **Ensure access to affordable education and training opportunities.** Citizens repeatedly identified affordable education and training as essential to combating poverty and marginalization. Citizens saw education as a way to reduce the number of poor children born in Canada, and give youth and adults a second chance. They also saw this as part of a strategy to achieve a “working society”. However, they had serious concerns about affordability, accessibility and flexibility issues. They worried about the rising cost of post secondary education, and about cultural and other barriers that prevent immigrants from improving their job skills and validating education credentials. They saw these barriers as unacceptable and unjust – people deserve the opportunity to improve their life circumstances and should seize the chances they are given.
- **Embrace a comprehensive definition of education and training.** Citizens' definition extended well beyond formal secondary and post secondary classroom learning to include on the job training, apprenticeship and co-op placements, self-directed learning, mentorship, and the concept of lifelong learning. Citizens believe that the private sector must take more responsibility for its employees' education and training, as well as become more involved in education/training partnerships at the community level.
- **Target support for the most vulnerable.** Citizens defined the most vulnerable to be poor children, youth, single parent families, the elderly and those with disabilities. For some citizens (young and older) this meant providing support to parents (usually they said mothers) who choose to stay at home with young children or to those who care for special needs children, parents or partners.
- **Redesign social programs with advice from program recipients.** Citizens described their own direct experience with social programs that limited their ability to become self-sufficient. For instance, they pointed out that the loss of essential support such as health benefits, childcare subsidies and housing supplements, makes families worse off when they leave welfare. They argued that program redesign should be done in active collaboration with those who have lived the experience of poverty and exclusion.
- **Address working poverty.** The fact that people can work full time and still be poor offended citizens' sense of justice. As they discussed how to address this inequity, two distinct approaches emerged. Some focussed on raising the minimum wage, arguing that the market and employers would adjust and job losses would not be significant. Others worried about the potential impact on the supply of jobs. They recommended instead that governments extend social benefits to the working poor to improve their circumstances. These benefits included wage supplements, housing subsidies, health benefits, childcare subsidies, and educational and training assistance.

“... what I was going to refer to is the disincentives, that we need to have incentives for people to work,... (that allow) people to work and still maintain some government support until they get to the minimum requirement for sustainability.” (Thunder Bay)

“...you just fall between the cracks because the people who are making policies are not the people who have lived in poverty, they're people who are passing judgements on that environment...” (Vancouver)

“It's not just poor people that need access to these (education and training programs); there are a lot of blue collar workers... that have a real hard time upgrading their education to get better jobs. I've gone through it myself and I can't be bothered with all the hassle of it. I'd sooner stay in the job I'm at than go through the hassle of trying to get a little bit of money just to go to a community college. It's not worth my time and trouble.” (Moncton)

“...we talked about an expectation that if somebody in the community is ill or can't work,... they have the right to a certain level of support. But also on the other hand somebody who is healthy and well and can work should be working.” (Halifax)

“(A) large portion of people living in poverty are single mothers and they cannot lift themselves out of poverty until they can get child care that is affordable,...they get off welfare and they end up having to pay so much for child care that they are making less working than (when) they were on welfare staying at home with their kids.” (Vancouver)

Environmental and Health Risks

The consensus points that emerged from the dialogues with respect to environmental and health risks are described below:

- **A leadership role for governments.** All dialogues reached the same unequivocal conclusion: when it comes to protecting the environment and public health, government must be in the driver's seat. From citizens' perspective, it is unrealistic to expect industry to self-regulate its behaviour so as to ensure a safe environment, and protect the country's natural resources. And the same argument was applied to the companies that produce pharmaceuticals and other health products and services.
- **Higher standards and stricter enforcement.** Governments must move the yardstick higher to help ensure future well-being. Citizens recognized and accepted the possibility that stricter environmental and health protection regimes would likely lead to higher consumer prices for goods and services and a narrowing of choice for some consumer goods and services. This is a

trade-off they were willing to make. And some of them also wanted any taxes raised as a result of increased prices to be designated for environmental purposes.

- **Market-based incentives to improve outcomes where possible.** Governments have a fundamental responsibility to protect the environment that cannot be delegated to markets. But at the same time citizens saw value for governments to identify, develop and implement effective market-based incentives to influence behaviour change at the industry, institution and individual level. Citizens talked about full cost accounting as an example of a market-based incentive. When they adopted a longer-term perspective, citizens expressed a willingness to pay the real cost of resources such as water because they believe that this would lead to more conservation. Governments retain an inalienable responsibility to set and enforce standards and regulatory regimes, but can provide flexibility in how standards are met, using the market whenever possible. This is a pragmatic question of finding the best means to achieve the end of environmental protection, but citizens also supported the use of stronger means if needed. Citizens urged governments to take tougher stances vis-à-vis the polluters – they should not hesitate to impose criminal charges and prison sentences if necessary.
- **Better decision making by citizens.** Citizens were ready to take more responsibility for their own individual lifestyle and consumer choices to improve environmental and personal health outcomes. To do so, however, they insisted on having better and more accessible information – from business and governments. This information should be readily available in print and electronic formats.
- **Higher standards and stricter testing.** In considering access to new health products, drugs and technologies most citizens argued that high standards and rigorous testing must be maintained and strengthened. Citizens agreed that drug and health products/services testing must not be left to industry. Most favoured “made in Canada” standards and testing but a strong minority argued that Canada could take advantage of state of the art testing undertaken by other countries, thereby reducing costs. Citizens recommended that access to drugs be restricted to the ones that have passed the approval process. They were prepared however, to make an exception on compassionate grounds in situations involving terminal illness, where the affected individuals fully understand the risks involved.

“...most of us can agree that the market cannot be in charge of the environment or health care at any cost, they're not responsible enough to take care of that...as we know (the) environment is a long term commitment and (the) market is about short term gains...”
(Winnipeg)

"...I think that, if a company is knowingly polluting, the only way is a full clean-up at their own expense, and the boss in jail." (Québec City)

"Government should regulate drugs but there should also be some kind of a stepping off area where ... if you have two weeks left to live and there's this untested drug, you should have the option of doing it." (Moncton)

Analysis of Citizens' Closing Statements

At the close of the dialogue, participants were asked to state their greatest surprise or insight from the day and to deliver a message to the decision-makers. After more than seven hours of hard work they began to focus on three overarching issues. As Box 6 shows, the first two, which dominated by far, both related to the way in which Canada is governed. They talked about citizen involvement in setting and defining public policies and they talked once again about more accountability. The third theme was their attachment to Canada.

Box 6: Closing Statements

Dominant Theme by Rank Order 10 Dialogue Sessions

1. Public Involvement

(included: government to be engaged with Canadians, appreciation for the dialogue, the sense that government doesn't listen but should, and citizens need to more actively take part in the political process)

2. Government and Individual Accountability

3. Attachment to Canada

4. Surprise at Extent of Consensus

5. Education and Job Training

6. Social Equity Values

Source: Dialogue transcripts, Citizens' Dialogue on Canada's Future, Fall 2002

Citizens expressed a hunger for greater citizen engagement in civic life, they openly admired the dialogue process, and they worried about a growing disconnect between governments and citizens. They expressed pride in their contributions but wondered whether governments would listen to what they had said. Many also acknowledged

that they would need to invest more time and effort to take up their civic responsibilities.

They repeated their frustration over the lack of transparency and accountability of governments, and their strong sense that everyone in society must take responsibility for their actions.

And many of them expressed feelings of attachment to and pride in Canada, their surprise and delight in the common ground they had established with their colleagues during the dialogue, and their growing confidence in the future of the country.

The evolution of themes between the opening and closing comments was consistent with the rhythm of the dialogue. In the morning, social equity values, valuing of family life, opportunities for kids, health, education and environment were uppermost in people's minds. Throughout the day, as they examined these questions from the different viewpoints represented around the room, and discovered how much common ground they shared, their perspectives broadened and there was a growing call for action and concern with the governance and accountability mechanisms needed for effective action. The box below provides examples of what they said in their own words.

"I was surprised by the camaraderie amongst...our fellow Canadians. I really pretty much felt alone for the last couple of years running my own business in this country, but today I will certainly say I've been heartened with what I've seen here and what I've heard, and although we have different viewpoints we've all come around common ground as we've identified today in our dialogue and this has renewed my faith in... Canadian citizens..." (Winnipeg)

"I think events like these bring us closer together and give us a voice that sometimes we forget doing our own little thing, going to work, raising our families – that we forget that we're part of a big community and we need to get involved to change the way we live if we don't like the way it's going on..." (Moncton)

"The message to convey to the government is that they have to manage our taxes efficiently and without waste by taking into account our needs as expressed by us." (Québec City)

"For our political friends, leaders, I would suggest less arrogance and for ourselves and our brothers and sisters across the country, when it's voting day, get out there and vote. We hired them, if we don't like the way they're doing it, we can fire them." (Moncton)

"...to the decision-makers, ...be aware just how much cynicism there is, justified cynicism about the decisions you make, (the) reasons you make them and your ability to execute them, because you're not very highly regarded." (Vancouver)

"...the government should stop playing these power games, who will govern, who will be appointed where...and start thinking ...listening to what people have to say, being aware of what their daily life is, their little pleasures and their little miseries. . . . In other words, ...being closer to them." (Montréal)

"...as far as the decision makers, they should come out from their ivory towers and come down and mingle among the general population and see what life is like out there..." (Thunder Bay)

Other Themes: Sovereignty and Media

Sovereignty

Canada's ability to shape its own future was clearly on citizens' minds.

Some participants were worried about Canada's close relationship with the United States. They were shocked by the fact that 87 percent of Canada's exports go to the United States. With such heavy trade dependence, citizens were worried about Canada's vulnerability to undue influence from the US in many different spheres. Most reacted by advocating greater trade diversification. Canadian control over its natural resources was also seen as an important element of sovereignty.

Other participants articulated misgivings about what they perceive to be the high degree of American influence over foreign, trade, environmental, social and cultural policies and programs. They want the Canadian government to stand up for Canada's rights and interests and maintain a certain degree of political independence instead of so often agreeing with and accepting US government policy. More generally, they expressed concern about how growing American influence might limit their ability to create the kind of Canada they wanted to see for their children and what could be done about that.

"We seem to have a conundrum with the United States. It's that big monster to the south of us that we really don't want to deal with, we don't want to talk about them, but they're there and they're a powerful influence on any policies that we set, whether we like it or not – and to ignore them or to try and develop our own situation in isolation of not only where they're going but also how they might react I think is a mistake." (Ottawa)

"...get away from following the United States in everything they do, we just get up and we follow them because it's the United States." (Vancouver)

"...we'd like to have our social benefits, we'd like to have a Canada that's strong and free, but how do we separate what we want from the economic reality of selling 87 percent of our products to the United States?" (Halifax)

"My main concern is the erosion of our resources, the rate that we're giving away control of our resources, our land, our water and our energy." (Thunder Bay)

"By increasing this integration with the Americans, well, we are also going to adopt their values. Even though we have our own distinct values, they will lose their distinctive character through that increasing integration." (Montréal)

"...diversify the market by trading with countries other than the United States because as of now, we are kind of captives ... the Americans are our biggest customer and if we lose them, we are stuck, so we have to expand." (Québec City)

Media

While citizens were not asked to discuss the role of the media in Canada's future, this issue bubbled up spontaneously in a number of dialogue sessions. Citizens expressed serious concern about the media's failure to reflect the opinions and views of citizens and the implications of this gap.

The discussion had two distinct subthemes. The first was surprise at the breadth of consensus that had emerged in the dialogue given that they see the media reporting societal fragmentation and discord. They cautioned politicians and governments not to assume that the media provides an accurate portrayal of citizen views, and asked why the media reflects such different perspectives from their own. Citizens questioned the extent to which citizens' views are truly reflected in the media. They also pointed out that their own levels of knowledge about policy issues are directly influenced by the kind of information that they are exposed to through the media. Some felt that the media is manipulative and provides misinformation, stressing the need for more responsible media.

Second, participants voiced concern with the lack of media democracy and growing corporate concentration. They were worried that this concentration of ownership is reducing the diversity of opinion, analysis and news coverage available to readers.

"...to communicate to the decision makers, the consensus here seems to be very different (from what's) portrayed in the media and so government should really, really be listening to real people in groups such as this and not assuming that what they read in the newspapers which are increasingly owned by very special interests are the views of Canadians..." (Ottawa)

"...I'm worried that there's a lot of disinformation amongst Canadians in general, especially when we're talking about these issues. ...I think one of the reasons why that's the case is because there's a real crisis with media democracy and adequate representation of multiple points of view. ... And I'm seeing an alarming bias in what Canadians are exposed to in terms of the

definition of our options. So, I just wanted to put that out on the floor and see how other people feel about two people owning all of our press and communication.” (Vancouver)

“When I first (arrived) I thought the people would just be like a jury (that) you see on TV, like a bunch of 12 angry men arguing but it wasn't like that and I think that that's the main thing that kind of shocked me...” (Toronto)

Some Issues Where Further Citizen Dialogues are Especially Needed

The dialogue agenda for “The Kind of Canada We Want” was exceptionally full, and citizens repeatedly stated their wish that they or other citizens could delve more deeply into many of the subjects they were able to consider only briefly.

The purpose of this dialogue was to explore the broader questions of the social contract, and the four policy issues addressed were used primarily to ground that dialogue with practical examples. As a result, each of those four policy areas would benefit greatly from further dialogues designed to enable citizens to engage in a deeper and more focused consideration of that subject and of the choices and tradeoffs involved.

In addition, citizens during these dialogues identified three issues that call out for greater citizen engagement:

- How citizens understand accountability, and the choices and tradeoffs they are prepared to make or support to strengthen the accountability of governments, business, other institutions and of citizens themselves;
- Defining core Canadian values, and the choices and tradeoffs citizens are prepared to make or support to realize those values and to balance them against the rights and freedoms of individuals and groups; and
- The implications and challenges of greater North American economic integration, and the choices and tradeoffs citizens are prepared to make or support to address those challenges.

In all of these areas and many more there is much we need to understand about the evolving values and views of Canadians.

When we look closely at what citizens said about the actions that must be taken to realize their future Canada, we see a reframing of the social contract. The concluding chapter elaborates on this theme, providing further insight into citizens' values.

4 Values and Responsibilities – An Updated Social Contract

“...today that pride of being Canadian was rekindled. I didn't realize to what extent we actually do have many shared values which are really high values and I think we are truly a unique people and we should be proud of ourselves...” (Thunder Bay)

Canadians are deeply aware of the ethnic, regional, and language differences that divide the country, yet they are able to describe a set of core human values that create a sense of shared community.

As they discover these deeper values in each other, Canadians begin to imagine a shared community where:

- Rights are balanced by responsibilities to each other and to the shared community
- Markets are a welcome part of a working society
- Governments are more accountable to citizens and more responsive to their needs
- Public institutions foster a three-way dialogue with citizens, and
- Citizens are fully engaged in political and civic life.

Citizens want to express the sense of community by reinforcing their common values and they believe that Canada needs a stronger moral compass, with a clearer sense of what is right and what is wrong. They therefore want to have a cross-Canada dialogue where more people could participate in deeper conversations about core Canadian values.

They see families, schools, and civil society as the agents to transmit these values to all citizens, so that they will become recognized by all as the statement of “who we are and what we believe in.” They want governments to foster this dialogue, and to ensure that the resulting expression of values become a visible, ongoing part of public discourse in Canada. The list of core values in Box 7 was generated by citizens in all 10 dialogue sessions. The meaning is elaborated in the text that follows.

Box 7: Citizens' Core Values in 2002

Shared community – despite their differences, Canadians have a unique bond
Equality and justice – each person is respected, valued and treated equitably; fairness for all
Respect for diversity – valuing contributions of all Canada's cultures/traditions
Mutual responsibility – getting and giving within community; balancing rights and responsibilities
Accountability – taking responsibility for one's actions; making actions more transparent
Democracy – citizen-centred government; citizens taking ownership of government

Source: Citizens' Dialogue on Canada's Future – A 21st Century Social Contract

“...your social programs, ...your strong market, ...your accountability, all these points that every group has made makes up the (mortar) that holds the mosaic together,.... ... Everybody's little tile shows an individual but it's the mortar that holds us together as a country. Unification of Canada, be it east, west, north, south.” (Calgary)

Shared Community

In the process of dialogue, citizens surfaced a wide range of shared values. As they talked with each other across different backgrounds, socio-economic groups and ages, they were astonished and reassured by how much they had in common, and also by how those values differ from what exists in the United States. Canadians do have much in common with their neighbours to the south, as Daniel Yankelovich explains in Box 8 on the next page. But he points out that the differences between Canadian and American values are even more important. Canadians have a different conception of the role of government, their individualism exists in the context of community values, their social morality is based on shared norms, and they see themselves as part of the international community.

“I think as a group we expressed true core Canadian values. Community, consensus and compromise and I think there were a lot of different opinions that were expressed and some useful debate but in the end I think we agreed that we held certain things dear. And the decision makers need to know that Canadians think and feel deeply. We define ourselves not just as what we are not, an absence of negatives as compared to the U.S., but we have an abundance of positives. A fair, just, tolerant and progressive society.” (Ottawa)

Box 8: Commentary on Values

Canadian and American Values

By Daniel Yankelovich*

Similarities

- A broad embrace of pluralism and multiculturalism (ethnicity, values, lifestyles).
- A deep attachment to an ethic of self-help and individual responsibility.
- A growing emphasis on reciprocity: those who receive are also obliged to give.
- An abiding faith in the kind of education that permits people to take charge of, and accept responsibility for, their own lives.
- A thin crust of scepticism and cynicism about both government and business, overlaying a deep hunger for citizen engagement and positive, constructive action.
- A strong sense of identification and pride in the country and its values.

Differences

- Government and the market. The American government's role is that of the cop and the watchdog – to enforce the law and catch the cheaters. In Canada, government is seen, ideally, as a partner and facilitator as well as guarantor of protections the private sector cannot provide.
- The individual and the community. In the U.S., the dominant form of individualism is an assertive, competitive, my-needs-come-first variety. Individualism, American-style, tolerates huge inequalities. Canadian individualism is tempered by a sense of community and a rejection of gross inequalities at the level of basic human needs such as health care and shelter.
- Social morality. American social morality is closely linked both to legalism (“if it's not illegal, it's OK”) and to religion. Morally acceptable behaviour is defined in terms of law rather than social norms. The religious underpinnings of morality lead Americans to favour highly punitive responses to those who trespass. In Canada, social morality is less legalistic and is based on a common set of shared norms.
- Attitudes toward other countries. Canadians have a deeper sense of obligation towards other nations and feel more interdependence with them. While Americans prefer to exercise leadership in concert with allies, they feel that their power buys them independence from world opinion.

*Daniel Yankelovich, Chairman of Viewpoint Learning, is one of the foremost authorities on public opinion and social trends in the United States, and is an advisor to this project.

Equality and Justice

Equality and justice – fairness – are the bedrock of the Canadian community. The central requirement is providing equal opportunity, levelling the playing field for people who have been born with or have experienced very limited advantages and opportunities. This is why citizens find working poverty so offensive, and search for ways to ensure a “living wage.” Access to education and training receives priority attention in part because it is a way to provide a chance for greater equality. Another requirement is compassion. Governments, individuals, business and community, all have a responsibility to assist others – Canadians and those in developing countries – who are vulnerable or marginalized. Everyone is entitled to a fair chance to become more self-reliant, and the most vulnerable should be supported, even if they cannot give back.

“I'd like to say that I'm going home really reassured tonight. Reassured that my fellow Canadians care about other citizens in this country, other people in the world whose lot may not be quite as good as ours and I'm just taken aback by the sense of caring, the passion with which people expressed their concern that everyone in this country has a right to participate in our society.” (Ottawa)

“There was a sense of fairness that I sort of felt throughout the course of the day which is typically Canadian – we want economic growth, but we want to look after some of the poorer people...there's just a sense of fairness which makes up what we are and what differentiates us from a number of countries in the world, including the United States.” (Calgary)

Respect for Diversity

Respect for diversity is now embedded in the way that Canadians think about their fellow citizens. But that respect exists in the context of shared values and norms. After decades of growing individualism, Canadians have begun to acknowledge that diversity is not an end in itself. They have tested the limits of individualism, and are now repositioning diversity as an essential value within a broader set of core values. While diversity is central to their sense of core Canadian values, they recognize that it must be limited by other core values like equality, mutual responsibility, and accountability. One good example, often mentioned in the dialogues, was that of gender equality. Citizens believe gender equality must be respected by all Canadians, no matter what their cultural or ethnic tradition.

“We don't want people to bring their baggage, we want them to bring the best of their values (to) this country and to build a rich, multicultural country...” (Toronto)

“...it's true, there are many immigrants, and so we're inclined to think that we're losing our culture, but if these various social groups, these various cultures, are equal,

then I think we're not going to lose our culture, only that society will become the richer ..." (Montréal)

Mutual Responsibility

As they worked through the scenarios, citizens moved away from the language of rights and entitlements, which has dominated public discussion since the 1970s. Instead, they constructed a set of societal relationships based on rights and responsibilities. In their view, citizens, governments, business, and civil society are connected through mutual responsibility. Individuals have a responsibility to give back, to contribute to society, and in return, each of us can expect to be supported to make that contribution.

This is best illustrated by their vision of a working society, where everyone who can work gets a chance to earn a living wage, and even citizens who cannot work can contribute in other ways. Their definition of contribution includes labour force participation, caring for children, the disabled, the elderly and other vulnerable members of society, volunteering and upgrading one's skills and education.

"...my feeling is that we, in Canada, are becoming less responsible, and that the citizenship aspect is perhaps a lesser concern. I would like us to be aware that we are citizens and as such, that we have responsibilities and not just rights". (Montréal)

"It's basically saying the government is going to help you if you want to help yourself." (Moncton)

Accountability

Citizens began their day of dialogue by expressing a weary scepticism, even cynicism, toward governments and other large institutions. However, over the course of the day, as they realized how many of their fellow citizens shared their concerns, cynicism grew into resolution and a demand for action. Accountability and transparency were seen as imperatives – citizens focused mainly on governments, but applied the same standard to private institutions and themselves. This imperative was driven by two motives. The first was disappointment with the failures of governments, combined with indignation about corporate misbehaviour in Canada, the United States and elsewhere. The second driver was a genuine desire to understand more about what governments do and to contribute to public policy decisions. Fundamentally, they say, governments, other institutions and individuals must take responsibility for their own actions and citizens must become more involved in the public realm.

Citizens expect all institutions and individuals to be **ethical** in their behaviour, to be **honest** in action and word, and to be **open** about their actions. Accountability and

transparency are seen as the essential underpinnings for trust – in public institutions, as well as community and business organizations. These demands reflect a more educated, aware population, which is not prepared to defer to authority. In effect, the standard for good governance has been raised.

“If we expect government to make change, and we expect industry to make change, then we have to end up changing as well. And that means we have to take an active role.”
(Winnipeg)

“If you're a decision maker, ... people have elected you to lead. You have to be prepared to stand up for us because there are going to be some very tough decisions over the course of the next 20 years. Leave your personal agendas at the door. Represent your constituents. Govern with the Canadian identity in mind. Spend the allocated dollars like they are your own, because the citizens of Canada are trusting you with them.”
(Ottawa)

“Forty years ago if a Minister of the Crown ...did something that was wrong, they had the decency in this country to stand up and resign. We have all kinds of Ministers who say ‘what's it to you that I spent a few billion of your money’,.... There is no responsible member of government that I can think of who would stand up and resign if he made a major mistake today.” (Calgary)

Democracy

Canadians begin to define a new role for themselves in the practice of democracy. This is driven in part by their cynicism and disappointment, but also by their experience of the dialogue. They discover their own capacity to participate in informed discussion on policy issues important to them. And this in turn begins to stimulate a desire for more engagement and to make a greater contribution to the way in which democracy functions, even though they recognize that this will place new demands on their own time and energy.

They are certainly not satisfied with a role that limits their primary function to voting in elections every four to five years. They want a chance to be heard, they want to contribute and they want to know what happens to their contributions. They want to have meaningful opportunities to connect with politicians and public officials on the issues that matter to them.

Citizens do not expect governments to talk directly to 30 million people. But they do want existing institutions – Parliament, legislatures and their committees, as well as the public service – to open up opportunities for people like them to participate in public discourse on policy issues. Currently, these institutions engage actively with experts and opinion leaders in formal public settings. Citizens are asking for a space where they can

be included – not in debate, as typically happens in town hall meetings, but in dialogue, learning from each other and contributing their own ideas.

They care intensely about their country and they want to contribute to defining and determining the direction of policies that affect their quality of life.

“...I would propose to the decision-makers that they maybe change Parliamentary procedure and instead of having debate, have dialogues.” (Vancouver)

“I think we should be mindful of our elected representatives. We elect them. And it never hurts to write a letter to them, it doesn't hurt to communicate with them, get to know them, organize your neighbourhoods so that you as a group will have a greater influence on your elected representative. ” (Toronto)

Canadian Values – Looking Back

In 1995, CPRN asked Canadians to participate in a dialogue on social policy choices at a time when federal and provincial governments were embarking in massive spending cuts. Suzanne Peters used an earlier methodology based on similar principles to the ChoiceWork Dialogue used for this project.⁵ There are strong parallels with the values that surfaced as citizens talked about “The Kind of Canada We Want”. But time and experience have had an effect.

- Investment in the future, especially in children, was a core value in 1995. By 2002 the investment theme had strengthened and broadened to include the right of every child, youth, and adult to receive support to become a fully contributing citizen.
- Where the 1995 citizens stressed self-reliance and compassion leading to collective responsibility, the 2002 dialogues focussed on the mutual responsibility of all actors in society.
- In 1995, there was much talk of waste and abuse, whereas there is now more focus on weak social program design, especially the program barriers to participation. To a degree this also reflects a broader shift in perspective from recipient and critic, to more engaged citizen.
- The commitment to fiscal responsibility in 1995 has become the strong emphasis on accountability and transparency. Citizens want to be sure that their tax money is used

⁵ Suzanne Peters, *Exploring Canadian Values – Foundations for Well-Being*, CPRN Study No. F|01, 1995, www.cprn.org. Please refer to Appendix 3 for more detail.

appropriately, and that they are getting value for money. They also insist on being informed of what is going on.

- On democracy, the 1995 citizens were saying “everyone should have a chance to participate in this kind of dialogue.” By 2002, they were stating their right and their responsibility to engage more actively in the policy process. Many recommended that governments get advice from program recipients when they are considering changes to social programs.

There is even more congruence between “The Kind of Canada We Want” values and the values that surfaced in the Citizens' Dialogue⁶ commissioned by the Romanow Commission on the Future of Health Care in Canada. The health care dialogue used the same ChoiceWork Dialogue methodology and took place between January and March, 2002 (12 dialogue sessions involving almost 500 citizens).

Citizens in the health care dialogue stressed:

- The lack of and need for accountability and transparency.
- Mutual responsibility for the efficient use of scarce health care resources. This required citizens to take more responsibility for the way they use health care and to take good care of their own health. It also placed demands on both providers and governments to be more efficient.
- Universality, accessibility, and fairness. These health care values express the rights of all citizens to care based on their need, and their responsibility to pay through their taxes based on their ability to pay.

Overall, the three dialogues over the span of seven years show an evolution along a distinctive Canadian pathway. Canadians have been changing their expectations with respect to the roles and the responsibilities for every actor in Canada – governments, business, communities, and citizens themselves. The net result is a renewal of the unwritten social contract.

Updating the Canadian Social Contract: Continuity and Change

In the 17th century, European statesmen and political thinkers began to see that the state gained its legitimacy by defining the rights and responsibilities of citizens and governments in a way that was widely understood. The concept has evolved over the centuries. After the Second World War, Canada's unwritten social contract gained greater definition based on a new consensus about the economic and social roles of government. The underpinnings of that post-war social contract have been sorely tested in recent decades by such global and domestic cross-currents as increasing inequality,

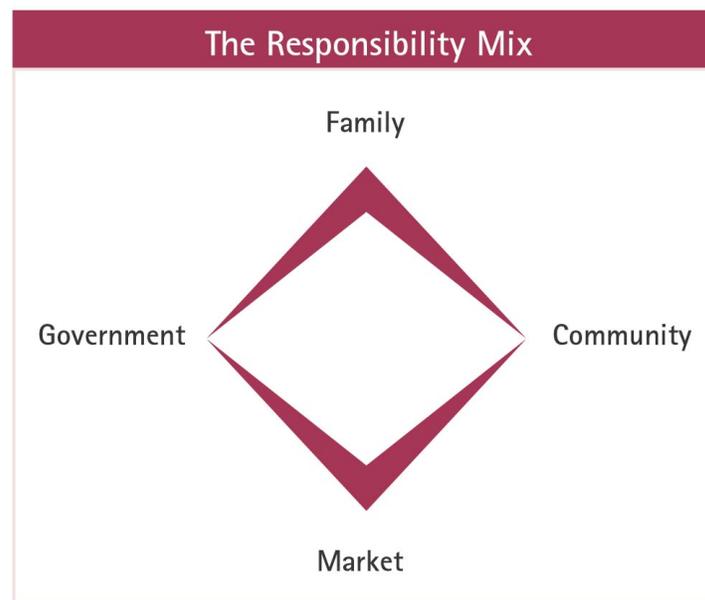
⁶ Maxwell, Judith et al., *Report on Citizens' Dialogue on the Future of Health Care in Canada*, 2002 www.healthcarecommission.ca or www.cprn.org

greater fiscal constraints, growing social diversity, greater North American integration, globalization, and international security risks.⁷ All these cross-currents have altered the way Canadians think about the roles and responsibilities they would assign to governments, business, communities, families and individuals.

Throughout the dialogue sessions, as citizens made their choices on economic, social, environmental, and international development issues, the facilitators asked citizens to clarify who should be responsible for making the choice happen. This concluding section of the report presents a composite picture of the roles assigned to governments, business, citizens, and communities. The roles are interwoven in new and complex ways, showing once again the mutual responsibility citizens see among all players in society.

The Responsibility Mix

“The Kind of Canada We Want” in 2012, as articulated by Canadians in their 2002 dialogue, shows the inter-connectedness of all the actors in society — governments, markets, communities, and families (see the chart below). When one actor changes direction, all the others will feel the impact. Over recent decades, citizens have changed their perception of the mix of responsibilities. Business, communities, and citizens are all given a larger role in this updated social contract than they had in the past, while governments' roles have been altered. This reflects the radical changes in the context for Canadian life, as well as the needs of a more urban, diverse, educated, confident, and more sceptical Canadian public.



Source: CPRN Annual Report, 2001-2002

⁷ David Laycock and Greg Clarke, *Framing the Social Contract: Integrating Social, Economic and Political Values Since 1940*, Discussion Paper No. P|02, November 2002

Governments have traditionally been seen as the actor with the capacity to pool economic, social, political, and security risks. Acting on behalf of citizens, governments are expected to defend the interests of Canadians and use tax revenues to provide the public goods and services needed by them.

Today, citizens attribute less influence to governments in some areas and more in others.

- Governments are no longer expected to create jobs across the length and breadth of Canada through direct investment or publicly owned businesses. Instead, they are seen as catalysts for economic development in partnership with business, communities and education institutions.
- Governments are still expected to be proactive in negotiating and implementing trade agreements to help Canadian business compete globally. At the same time, citizens want these trade agreements to reflect Canadian social and economic values.
- Governments are still expected to create an effective framework for business, to set standards and to hold businesses to account. While the trend is to use market instruments rather than command and control regulations wherever practical, this does not replace the ultimate responsibility of governments to act whenever public health or safety is endangered.
- Governments have been assigned a mandatory stewardship role in protecting the environment for future generations. Citizens insist on more rigorous legislative and regulatory systems to ensure that the environment and public health are protected and promoted.
- Governments are still expected to invest in social development to help people reach their full potential and to protect the most vulnerable, but now citizens want this to be done in a way that gives greater emphasis to self-reliance – enabling everyone to make a contribution to a working society, and to avoid dependency. Citizens also expect governments to design and deliver seamless programs that address the whole person who may need a variety of services – sometimes all in the same timeframe. This seamless delivery of programs demands much more coordination on the part of governments.
- Governments also have a more important information role – they need to provide information to make their own activities more transparent to citizens, in order to promote accountability and to enable citizens to determine how well the political system and civil society is functioning; and they also need to provide better information to help citizens make informed choices about what to buy and how to live healthy lives.
- Governments, on citizens' behalf, are still expected to play a strong role within the international community by contributing to democratic governance, economic stability, and international development. But citizens want greater accountability and transparency in how aid funds are spent, and greater assurance that international aid really gets to the people in need. Above all they emphasize that our aid projects should help people to help themselves, and should be consistent with **both** Canadian values **and** the values of the citizens of the recipient countries.

Overall, across all of these roles for government there was little evidence of a desire for less government or lower taxes but rather a desire for more accountable, smarter and more strategic governments that are much more engaged with their citizens.

“...the environmental buck stops at the government with direct citizen involvement. The government has to be the one that controls or specifies the rules and regulations and ... they can be the only controlling body. ... A lot of people don't understand what the (environmental) issues are and without understanding them, they aren't going to do anything about them, so if we can get them (the government) to better educate the general public we'll have a better chance of doing something.” (Winnipeg)

“ Thus, we realized that non-smokers are respected, smoking is prohibited in airliners. There are smoking areas. Cigarette smoke is polluting. The same principle could apply to any other kind of pollution. In the end, our planet is the winner. The government has to be involved and pass legislation.” (Montréal)

After the Great Depression of the 1930s, **markets (business)** were often placed in an adversarial role, which had to be countered by active government. Today, markets are given far more credit for their contribution to economic growth and efficient resource allocation. Citizens no longer see markets in one corner as a generator of wealth serving private interests, and governments in the other corner as distributors of income serving the public interest. Instead they see the market serving public as well as private interests and they believe that collaborative relationships between governments, business and communities are necessary if Canada is to successfully meet the challenges and realize the opportunities of the 21st century.

Citizens value the excellence, the efficiency and the self-reliance which can flow from private sector activity and have begun to borrow market ideas to help address other complex problems – using pricing and other market mechanisms to manage environmental challenges, for example. And the market ethic has influenced their desire to balance rights and responsibilities.

In return for this greater acceptance of markets, however, Canadians now demand more of both small and large businesses as engaged actors in civil society. Businesses are now expected to be a social partner to help communities to meet their social and economic goals and to demonstrate a social conscience as ethical members of civil society at home and abroad. Citizens believe that business will be more successful if it assumes a greater social role.

“...we've lost a lot of things like benefits, health care benefits, dental benefits, pensions, it's not there, the jobs aren't (as) secure as they were, there's a high turnover rate for jobs and so we felt that if the corporations who are hiring individuals could be a little more accountable for the care of their employees, their benefits, things like that, that would encourage people to stay in a long-term position perhaps and boost the overall global market economy....” (Halifax)

“...we also need economic development to support the community in order that the community can thrive, not just that the business is thriving but actually (that business) helps the community with the social issues..., the poverty issues and all the environmental issues as well...” (Winnipeg)

Community has always been the place for collective action, dating back to the founding of the village school in pioneer Canada. It continues to be the place where citizens exercise their values, coming together to realize their collective goals. But, with immigration, a communications revolution and urbanization, communities have become larger and more complex entities. Most Canadians today are members of multiple communities, not only local communities of place but also overlapping communities defined by work, shared interests, cultural background, professional affiliation and more. People are therefore in touch with the wider world in many ways. These more open, inclusive and vibrant communities can be prime movers in building the kind of Canada they want, and citizens express confidence in the ability of Canadians, working together in these communities, to accomplish great things.

Communities are now the primary site for economic and social development, the space where diverse populations settle and find ways to participate. Citizens want governments to support and act in partnership with these communities. They insist that all the silos of governments must be able to respond to the whole person and the whole community. In these modern communities, business is seen as a major agent of change, and expected to work in partnership with others to help achieve community goals.

Citizens talked about their own role in building community. They place a high value on volunteering, but expressed frustration that their work and family responsibilities left them little or no time to do so. With the time that they want to dedicate to being informed, engaged citizens plus the time they wish they had for volunteering, citizens recognize there are some major time crunch issues to resolve.

“We supported a community orientation in all of the (policy) areas including community delivery of services, and encouraging the development of the volunteer sector...” (Ottawa)

Citizens (individuals and families) now see themselves as more than voters, and recipients of government programs and possessors of rights. They wish to be more active participants in public business. Citizens are expected to contribute to Canada's quality of life through paid employment, family and volunteer work, and self-development. They are also expected to keep their skills relevant throughout their lives and to become better informed as consumers and as community members. As parents they are expected to provide their children with the moral foundations needed for a well-functioning society.

Canadians are moving from deference to governments to demanding a voice, and from unengaged citizens to citizens actively involved through dialogue. This dialogue experience helped citizens to discover their own capacity to make a valuable and responsible contribution on a range of difficult policy questions. They were able to go beyond venting and "wish lists" in a setting which avoided the formalities and limitations of traditional consultations and town hall meetings. They listened, learned, and contributed, they looked ahead and examined issues from different points of view – and as they discovered how much they had in common the thin crust of cynicism with which they began gave way to a willingness (and a desire) to become more involved in governance and public affairs.

"...a lot of us have lost faith in our government for many, many different reasons but I think the thing that I've taken from this is that in order to get that faith back, I think that we have to get involved..." (Moncton)

"I have to become involved. I believe that in this debate, we elect leaders and then we stand idle, we struggle to earn money and pay our taxes, but I think we have to get involved. We are getting tools to that end. For me, it is an onerous and tiring duty which requires a lot of effort. I readily admit that, but I say so anyway." (Québec City)

Conclusion

As Canadians become more demanding of and more engaged with governments, the legitimacy and sustainability of important policy decisions will depend, more than ever, on how well they reflect the underlying values of citizens. In a democracy, citizen values define the boundaries of action, while experts and stakeholders provide essential technical input. These two roles are distinct. Experts do not have the legitimacy or capacity to replace citizens and citizens do not expect to provide technical expertise.

In this dialogue, citizens have defined their vision for Canada's 21st century social contract. The kind of Canada they want combines markets and social goals in a particular way, and places respect for diversity in a core set of values designed to create a more inclusive community and a shared purpose. These core values are consistently different

from those of the United States in a number of important areas, and provide an essential foundation on which Canadians and their governments can continue to build and sustain a different community north of the 49th parallel, notwithstanding the growing economic integration of North America.

Perhaps even more important, the kind of Canada they want is built on a more engaged citizenry, encouraged to take a longer-term perspective, defining what it means to be Canadian in a globalizing world and demanding stronger accountability from governments, business, other institutions and individuals in realizing that future. This is the vision of a Canadian democracy renewed for the 21st century.

Appendices

- 1 - Dialogue Dates and Locations and Profile of Citizens
- 2 - Quantitative Findings – Questionnaire Results
- 3 - Exploring Canadian Values – Foundations for Well-Being (1995)

Appendix 1 – Dialogue Dates and Locations and Profile of Citizens

September 20, 2002	Ottawa
September 21, 2002	Montréal (French)
October 5, 2002	Calgary
October 6, 2002	Vancouver
October 19, 2002	Halifax
October 20, 2002	Moncton
October 26, 2002	Winnipeg
November 2, 2002	Thunder Bay
November 9, 2002	Québec City (French)
November 17, 2002	Toronto

Profile of Citizens

Table 1: Breakdown of Participants by Category*

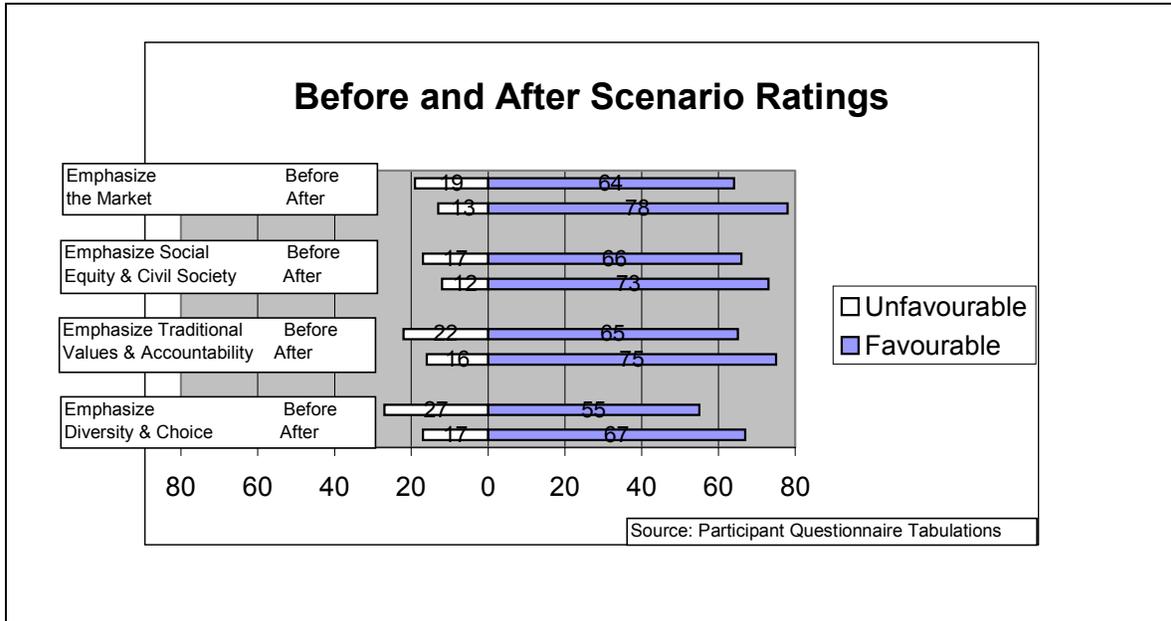
Category	Number of Participants	Percentage
<i>Gender</i>		
Women	210	51%
Men	198	49%
<i>Total</i>	408	100%
<i>Age</i>		
Less Than 25	44	11%
25-44	170	42%
45-64	139	34%
65 and Over	55	13%
<i>Total</i>	408	100%
<i>Other Categories**</i>		
Visible Minorities	30	7%
Aboriginals	13	3%
Disabled	16	4%
Urban	326	80%
Rural / Non-local	82	20%
Source: Demographic data provided by EKOS Research Associates		

*About 20 percent participated in French (Montréal and Québec City), other Francophones participated in the English dialogues. Each participant received a \$100 honorarium at the end of the day. Travel costs of rural and non-local participants were reimbursed. In those cases requiring over-night stay, accommodation costs were also covered.

** Self-reported

Appendix 2 – Quantitative Findings – Questionnaire Results

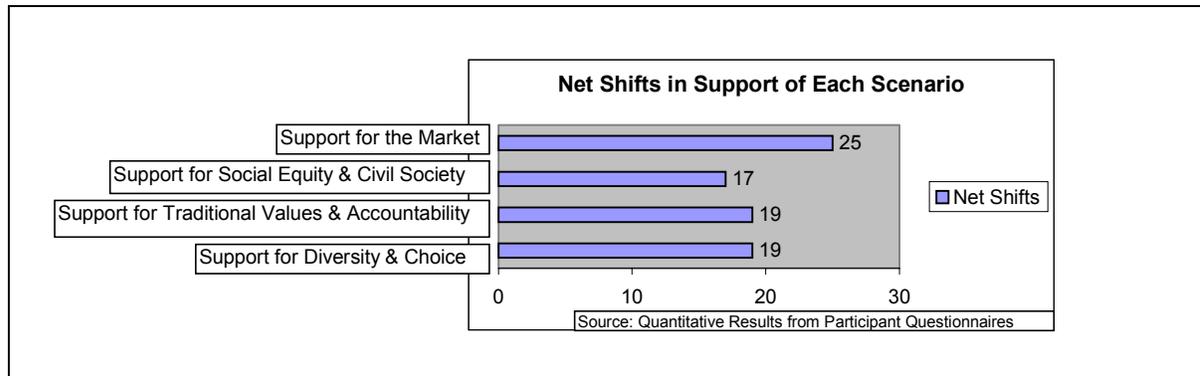
Chart 1: Before and after ratings of the four scenarios*



*Shows the ratings that participants applied to each of the scenarios on a scale of 1 to 7 (with 7 indicating the highest level of support) at the beginning and end of the day. On the scale, 1 to 3 was defined as unfavourable, 4 was undecided, and 5 to 7 were favourable.

Appendix 2 – Continued

Chart 2: Net shifts in scenario ratings*



* Measures the net increase or decrease in participants' support for a given scenario over the course of the day, and represents the difference between the percentage of participants who increased their support for a particular scenario and the percentage that decreased that support.

Table 2: Summary of Before and After Dialogue Mean Scores and Significance Levels

Scenario	Before Dialogue	After Dialogue	Shift in Points
Support for the Market	4.96	5.48	+ 0.52*
Support for Social Equity & Civil Society	5.08	5.37	+ 0.29*
Support for Traditional Values & Accountability	5.03	5.45	+ 0.42*
Support for Diversity & Choice	4.66	5.09	+ 0.43*

Source: Quantitative Results from Participant Questionnaires

* Significance < .001

Appendix 3 – Exploring Canadian Values – Foundations for Well-Being (1995)

In 1995 when Canadians were still in the grip of recession and federal and provincial governments were in the midst of unparalleled budget slashing, CPRN asked Canadians to deliberate on their core values with respect to cuts to social programs. Using earlier methodology based on similar principles to the ChoiceWork Dialogue methodology, CPRN brought together 25 groups of Canadians (with 12 to 15 in a group), some that were randomly recruited and others that were groups of clients of social agencies. They lived in eight cities across Canada. The results of that citizen involvement process, captured in *Exploring Canadian Values – Foundations for Well-Being*, presented the citizens' articulation of core Canadian values (See Table 3 for a listing of the 1995 values). There is a lot of congruence with the core values that surfaced in this dialogue and some interesting evolutions since 1995 (see Chapter 4).

Table 3: Core Values, 1995

Exploring Canadian Values, 1995
Self reliance Compassion (leading to collective responsibility) Investment, especially in children as the next generation Equality Freedom Fiscal responsibility Democracy
Source: <i>Exploring Canadian Values – Foundations for Well-Being</i> CPRN Study No. F01,1995