CA1 EA27 R22 Nov./Dec

> REPORT TO THE DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CANADA-U.S. FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

> > NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1987

Decima



NON - CIRCULATING / CONSULTER SUR PLACE

REPORT TO THE DEPARTMENT
OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD
THE CANADA - U.S. FREE TRADE AGREEMENT
NOVEMBER - DECEMBER 1987
#2661

Prepared by:

Decima Research
One Eglinton Avenue, East
Suite 700
Toronto, Ontario
M4P 3A1

Dept. of External Affairs Min. des Affaires extérieures

APR 24 1991

RETURN TO DEPARTMENTAL LIBRARY RETOURNER A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE DU MINISTERE NON - CHRCULATING ? CONSULTER SUR PLACE

Dept. of External Affairs Min. des Affaires extérieures

APR 24 1991

AUVERTY THE SEE SELECTIONS OF WHILLY AUTHORISM AUVERTY THE MENT TO THE TENENT TO THE T

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION1
II.	FAMILIARITY AND SUPPORT
•	A. Familiarity with the Contents of the Deal
III.	ANTICIPATED EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE
u .	A. Overall Economic Effects
	1. Overview of aggregate data8
	C. Regional Differences in Anticipated Effects
	1. Effect on business sectors
IV.	ECONOMIC AND INDEPENDENCE ISSUES22
	A. Overview
٧.	FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT26
VI.	FREE TRADE OPINION LEADERS28
VII.	MAJOR DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES30
	A. Gender30
	1. Major differences30
	B. Age31
	1. Summary of major differences31
	C. Education
	1. Summary of major findings32
VIII.	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS
TECHN	ICAL APPENDIXES39

I. INTRODUCTION

Decima Research is pleased to present this report to the Department of External Affairs on the results of a six week nation-wide survey of Canadians' regarding the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement (FTA). The objective of this study was to track the evolution of Canadians' opinions following the final agreement reached in October and throughout the period of negotiations pertaining to the wording of the final agreement, to assist in communications planning and issue management. To facilitate tracking analysis, reference is made throughout this report to results from several previous surveys of Canadian opinion on free trade conducted in June, August and October of 1987.

The study upon which this report is based was conducted in November and December 1987, among a randomly selected sample of 4,500 Canadians drawn disproportionately to the national population. The sample was constructed in this way so as to facilitate reliable analysis of opinion on a province-by-province basis.

The total sample of 4,500 interviews was conducted over the period divided into three separate samples of approximately 1,500 interviews. Three individual surveys were conducted during November and December, with the sample of 1,500 interviews in each wave constructed so as to include a minimum of 100 interviews in each province. Consequently, the populations of some provinces are "overrepresented" in the total sample of 1,500 interviews each wave, necessitating a weighting of the data on a proportionate nation-wide basis. The total sample sizes and relevant weighted nation-wide samples for each of the three waves are as follows:

Wave	Field Dates	Total <u>Sample</u>	Weighted Sample*
I	November 12 - 19	1,524	871
II	November 25 - December 4	1,503	861
III	December 8 - 16	1,469	836

^{*} The confidence interval for each of the weighted nation-wide samples is ±3.4%, 95 times out of 100.

The report is structured along lines similar to those of a report to the Department on the results of a previous October survey, so as to facilitate the identification and analysis of differences in the most recent survey results. The report begins by discussing Canadians' familiarity with the contents of the free trade agreement followed by a review of levels of support and opposition to the deal, perceived economic and political effects of the deal, as well as particular effects anticipated for individual industry sectors. Views on the federal government's management of the negotiations and perceptions of various free trade opinion leaders are also explored.

A regional and demographic analysis of differences in opinion regarding each of the issues explored in the survey has been completed, with the key regional differences in attitudes and perceptions cited throughout the report. Major demographic differences in opinion are summarized separately in Section VII of the report. For convenience and ease of interpretation, the three surveys done in November and December are referred to throughout the report as wave I, wave II and wave III.



II. FAMILIARITY AND SUPPORT

A. Familiarity with the Contents of the Deal

Results from the October survey indicate that a high percentage of Canadians were unfamiliar (63%) with the contents of the free trade agreement reached between Canada and the United States. Table I shows that this situation does not seem to have changed and in fact there may have been a reduction in the level of familiarity since October. In the third wave of this most recent survey (December 8-16), 69% of Canadians indicate that they are either "not too familiar" or "not familiar at all" with the contents of the agreement. This is despite the ever-increasing media coverage of the agreement.

Table I

FAMILIARITY WITH THE CONTENTS OF THE CANADA-U.S. FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

*Key: I) Wave I II) Wave II III) Wave III

8			NOVEM	BER/DEC	EMBER
JUNE			<u>I</u>	II	III
%	%	%	%	%	%
		5	4	3	2
		31	31	28	28
		52	53	55	55
		11	12	14	14
	<u>JUNE</u> %		5 31	JUNE AUGUST OCTOBER I % 5 4 31 31	5 4 3 31 31 28 52 53 55

^{*}Key applies to all tables throughout report.

Those Canadians who claim to be familiar with the contents of the deal are also more likely to support the deal and to do so more intensely than are those who are not familiar with its contents. This is somewhat different from the October results where it was found that familiarity with the deal had only a slight effect on support for the free trade deal.

There are some distinct regional differences in familiarity. Respondents in Quebec (35%) and British Columbia (33%), appear to be the most familiar with the deal, although their reported level of familiarity is lower in Wave III than it was in Wave I. The level of familiarity with the contents of the deal decreases in all regions between the first and third wave, except in the Atlantic region, where it drops from 28% to 24% in the second wave, but then increases to 30% in the final wave. Prairie residents remain the least familiar with the contents of the deal, with only 23% claiming they are familiar with the deal by the third wave.

While Torontonians appeared to be much more familiar than average with the contents of the deal in October (51%), their level of familiarity as apparent in the results for the December 8-16 wave is virtually indistinguishable from that of the Canadian population on average.

B. Support/Opposition to the Free Trade Agreement

Overall levels of support for the FTA have undergone little significant change since October. A slight drop from the 49% of Canadians who supported the deal in October appeared in the first two waves of the study (46% in each wave), but a moderate rebound occurred subsequently, with third wave support coming in at 51%.

Expectations of economic prosperity or fears of economic drawbacks all affect Canadians' decisions on whether or not to support the agreement. Not surprisingly, those who believe that the agreement would be beneficial to their own province's or to Canada's economic well-being are generally more supportive of the agreement. This trend remains constant in each of the three waves of the study.

While support for the agreement continues to vary between regions of the country, these variations remain relatively unchanged from the pattern which has emerged through previous research. As Table 2 shows, the greatest level of support for the agreement exists in British Columbia and Quebec, while Ontarians continue to be the least supportive.





Table 2
SUPPORT FOR FREE TRADE BY REGION

	JUNE %	AUGUST %	OCTOBER %	! ! %	NOV./DEG II %	□ III %	CONFIDENCE INTERVAL ± %
GOOD IDEA/ SUPPORT FREE TR AGREEMENT	ADE						
National average	50	50	48	46	46	57	3.4
British Columbia Prairies Ontario Balance of Ontario Toronto Quebec Atlantic region	63 47 41 38 47 52 51	52 50 37 34 43 64 45	57 49 37 35 42 59 49	62 44 33 33 33 56 48	59 49 32 32 32 55 48	64 50 35 32 42 65 49	8.7 5.8 5.8 6.8 10.3 5.8 5.0

Given the sample sizes for each of the regions in each of the three waves, the observed differences in results may only represent slight shifts in levels of support or opposition if any exist at all. The differences to note in the above table pertain to residents of Toronto and of the Province of Quebec. In Toronto, support returned in December to the level observed in October (42%), after having bottomed out at 32% support in the Wave II survey conducted November 25 to December 4. In Quebec, support for the agreement rose to 65% in Wave III, a level of support that had not existed since August of 1987.

III. ANTICIPATED EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE

A. Overall Economic Effects

Analysis of the results from previous research reveals that Canadians' opinions either in favour or against the free trade agreement are based essentially on two main considerations or criteria. These are the perceived economic effects of the free trade agreement, as well as expectations as to the agreement's impact on Canada's independence or sovereignty. The results from the November/December 1987 surveys confirm the persistence of these considerations as determinants of Canadians' attitudes toward the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement.

One of the ways in which Canadians' perceptions of the economic effects of the free trade agreement were probed in the November/December 1987 surveys was through a series of questions exploring views as to the perceived impact of the agreement on the national and provincial economies, as well as on individuals' own economic well-being. Aggregate results for the three waves of research conducted appear in Table 3 below.

Table 3

PERCEIVED ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF CANADA-U.S. FREE TRADE

	PERCENTAGE SAYING GOOD THING			
	I %	II %	III %	
THE FREE TRADE AGREEMENT IS A GOOD THING FOR				
The Canadian economy	53	56	58	
Your provincial economy	53	55	57	
Economic well-being of you and your family	56	55	59	

The results reveal that in the third wave, close to six-in-ten Canadians indicate they think that the free trade agreement is a good thing in the various economic contexts presented. Also notable is the fact that the above results are virtually identical to the reported aggregate level of support for the free trade agreement in the Wave III results (57% support).

This would imply that, as evident in previous research, perceptions of the economic effects of the deal are strongly related to Canadians' support for or opposition to it. Confirmation of this is reflected in an extremely strong correlation between views on the basic economic effects of the agreement and support for or opposition to it. For instance, the following Gamma¹ measures of correlation were obtained for the association between those who support/oppose the agreement and expectations as to its effect on the Canadian economy (.934), the respondent's provincial economy (.907) and the economic well-being of "you and your family" (.912). In short, perceptions as to the economic effects of free trade are almost a perfect predictor of respondents' support for or opposition to the agreement.

Regional differences in respondents' expectations as to the economic effects of the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement are fairly predictable. Results from Wave III show that Quebec residents are considerably more optimistic than average about the effects of the agreement on the national economy and their provincial economy (74% and 72% respectively think free trade would be a good thing in these contexts) and 66% say they think it would be a good thing for the "economic well-being" of themselves and their families. Residents of the Prairies (60% good thing) and particularly Albertans (74% in Wave I and 67% in Wave III) expect free trade to have positive effects on their province's economy. British Columbia residents are also more optimistic than average about the economic effects of free trade.

At the other end of the spectrum, Ontarians continue to exhibit more skepticism than average about the economic effects of free trade with the United States. They are less likely to think it would be a good thing for the national economy (44%), for the economy of their own province (44%), or for themselves and their families (43% say it would be a good thing).

 $^{^{1}}$ The larger the Gamma statistic the more closely associated the two attributes, with a perfect correlation being +1.0 or -1.0. The plus/minus sign indicates the direction of association.



B. Specific Anticipated Effects

1. Overview of aggregate data

As in the October and earlier surveys, respondents were asked to consider a number of possible outcomes or consequences of free trade with the United States and to indicate the extent to which they think these outcomes are likely. The results of responses to these statements appear in Table 4, which includes data from the November/December 1987 research as well as from surveys conducted in August and October.

Table 4

ANTICIPATED EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE - AGGREGATE RESULTS

PERCENTAGE SAYING SOMEWHAT LIKELY/VERY LIKELY

			No	Nov./De	
	August %	October %	1 %	II %	III %
			,,	,,	<i>,</i> •
Whether Canada and the U.S. will become more similar in many ways	82	79	77	78	80
Whether we will be able to maintain current government programs such as UI and health insurance	66	72	69	67	71
Whether American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase	72	71	68	71	68
Whether prices for most consumer goods in Canada will generally be lower	66	71	66	69	71
Whether the Canadian automobile industry will lose jobs to the U.S.	66	i ·	68	66	60
Whether our economy will become so closely tied to the U.S. economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own decisions	68	63	64	63	59
Whether the U.S. will keep to the terms of the agreement	54	60	52	53	58
Whether governments will be restricted in how much help they are allowed to give to Canadian businesses in poorer regions of the country	70	59	62	59	56
Whether overall there will be more jobs gained than lost in Canada	54	51	47	50	51

Table 4 -- Continued

PERCENTAGE SAYING SOMEWHAT LIKELY/VERY LIKELY

	August %	October %	No I %	v./De <u>II</u> %	ec. III %
Whether differences in economic development among regions in Canada will gradually be reduced	47	44	46	47	45
Whether many American companies will close their plants in Canada	41	38	41	41	40
Whether Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now	32	26	23	27	24

On an aggregate level, a number of prominent considerations that existed in the October results continue to take on importance in this most recent survey. Major findings to note regarding the public's anticipation of the consequences of free trade include the following:

- Seven-in-ten Canadians continue to expect that consumer prices would be lower as a result of the free trade agreement, yet only 24% foresee earning higher incomes;
- o Sixty percent (60%) think that the Canadian auto industry would lose jobs to the U.S., however there are signs of a decrease over the course of the November/ December waves in the percentage thinking this is likely;
- o On the question of independence, eight-in-ten Canadians believe that Canada and the United States would become more similar and 68% expect American influence on Canada's cultural industries to increase;
- Continuing a trend that first appeared in the October survey, the number of Canadians who believe the Canadian economy "will become so closely tied to the U.S. economy that we would gradually lose our ability to make our own decisions" continues to decrease (59% by the third wave of the study versus 68% in August);

- o On the question of regional development, fewer people in November/December than in August think that "governments will be restricted in how much help they are allowed to give to Canadian businesses in poorer regions of the country;" and
- Evidence that many Canadians do not really know what would happen under the free trade arrangement with the United States continues to appear, as reflected in the fact that while 59% in wave III fear a loss of control over decision-making, 71% think that "we will be able to maintain current government programs such as unemployment insurance and health insurance."

In order to determine which of the various possible outcomes or consequences have the most impact on the public's overall assessment of the free trade deal — as good or bad — a technique known as multiple regression analysis was employed. Measures of correlation of perceived likelihood of each consequence and support for or opposition to the free trade agreement appear in Table 5 below, together with Gamma correlation data obtained in crosstabular analysis.

Table 5

ANTICIPATED EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE -- CORRELATION ANALYSIS

•	CORRELATION <u>GAMMA</u>			CORRELATION COEFFICIENT				
	Oct.	Ī	Nov./D	ec.	<u>Oct</u>	<u>.</u>	Nov./D	ec.
Whether Canada and the U.S. will become similar in many ways	.257	314	341	443		NS	*	*
Whether we will be able to maintain current government programs such as UI and health insurance	.459	.551	.525	.550	.069	.179	.123	.092
Whether American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase	322	300	.359	419	048	NS	057	078
Whether prices for most consumer goods in Canada will generally be lower	.324	.320	.306	.336	.076	.079	.060	.046
Whether the Canadian automobile industry will lose jobs to the U.S.		597	565	582		098	052	085
Whether our economy will become so closely tied to the U.S. economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own decisions	648	708		739	201	200	205	258
Whether the U.S. will keep to the terms of the agreement	.466	.552	.556	.546	.055	.094	.107	.079
Whether governments will be restricted on how much help they are allowed to give to Canadian business in poorer regions of the country	405	480	546	529	053	053	094	108
decisions Whether the U.S. will keep to the terms of the agreement Whether governments will be restricted on how much help they are allowed to give to Canadian business	.466	.552		.546	.055	.094		.07

Table 5 -- Continued

	CC	CORRELATION GAMMA				CORRELATION COEFFICIENT		
	Oct.	Ī	Nov./D <u>II</u>	ec. III	Oct.	Ī	Nov./D	ec. III
Whether overall there will be more jobs gained that lost in Canada	.622	.662	.630	.632	.181	.224	.174	.175
Whether differences in economic development among regions in Canada will gradually be reduced	002	.028	084	.051	NS	***		.
Whether many American companies will close their plants in Canada	292	337	388	427	NS	***		
Whether Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now	.462	.534	.560	.526	.057	.109	.153	.145

- * Each issue statement was correlated with overall support for the free trade agreement. The larger the Gamma statistic, the more closely associated the two attributes.
- ** The standardized regression co-efficient indicates the nature of the relationship between each possible consequence and overall support for the free trade agreement. The larger the number, the more closely associated that particular variable is to attitudes toward the free trade agreement.
- *** Indicates that the relationship between the independent variable and attitudes about the free trade agreement is statistically insignificant.

The data in Table 5 reveal a further increase since October in the strength of correlation between those who support/oppose and the perceived economic and independence effects of the free trade agreement. It also shows that:

1. The most important consequence for the public in their assessment of the free trade agreement appears to be whether it would tie the Canadian economy so closely to the United States' economy that Canada would gradually lose its ability to make its own decisions. Canadians who are more inclined to believe that this would be one of the consequences of free trade are less likely to support the FTA (30% support versus 51% of Canadians on average);

- 2. The anticipated loss or gain of Canadian jobs is the second most important consideration or anticipated consequence affecting support for or opposition to the free trade agreement. The concern that jobs in the auto industry would be lost proves to be particularly important in the public's decision to support or oppose the agreement; and
- 3. The concern of whether or not the United States would keep to the terms of the agreement has become one of the major items affecting support for free trade.

The strength of association between support for free trade and each of the above possible consequences has grown since the October survey, as has the association between all of the anticipated effects and support for free trade. Other items which affect support for the free trade agreement in order of importance are whether:

- o Canadians would have higher incomes;
- o Canadians would be able to maintain current government programs such as Unemployment Insurance and health insurance;
- o Governments would be able to provide regional assistance to businesses in the poorer areas of the country;
- o American companies would close their plants located in Canada;
- o Canada and the United States would become more similar:
- o American influence on our books, magazines and parts of our culture would increase; and
- o Prices on goods imported from the U.S. would be cheaper.

C. Regional Differences in Anticipated Effects

The public's perception of anticipated effects of the FTA not only vary in intensity, but also vary on the basis of respondents' region of residence. These variations are most apparent among residents of Ontario and Quebec, as well as residents of the Prairie provinces and are summarized below.





Ontario -- Many of the opinions that differentiated Ontario from the rest of the country in the October survey reappear in the the November/December research. For example:

- o An increase in the likelihood of Ontarians thinking that U.S. companies would close American plants in Canada surfaced, with 50% of the Ontario public responding this way by the second wave of the study -- an increase of 4% from the first wave and 7% from the October results;
- o While Canadians on average have become more apt to think it likely that more jobs would be gained than lost due to free trade (from 46% in the first to the 51% in the third wave of the study), only 39% of respondents in Ontario think this would be a likely effect of the agreement; and
- o Although in the first two waves of the study the percentage of Ontarians (42% and 45% respectively) indicating that they think it is "very likely" that jobs in the Canadian auto industry would be lost increased significantly, by the third wave this position seemed to be softening considerably in Ontario (35%).

Quebec -- Residents of Quebec continue to exhibit optimism about the effects of free trade. This is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that the number of Quebecers indicating that it is likely that more jobs would be gained than lost as a result of the agreement steadily increased over the course of the three waves of the study. Even though the number of Canadians overall indicating this rose steadily, the increase is less substantial than is evident in the Quebec results. Quebecers also continue to be more optimistic than average about higher incomes for Canadians resulting from free trade, although not to the degree they were in October (31% in Wave III, versus 35% in October think higher incomes are likely).

Prairies -- As was the case in the October study, Prairie respondents see it as unlikely that many American plants would close their plants in Canada. In the third wave of the survey, 68% of Prairie residents indicate they think it unlikely that American branch plants in Canada would close as a result of free trade.



D. Effect of Free Trade on Canadian Business Sectors and Regional Development

1. Effect on business sectors

Results for a series of questions that asked Canadians whether they think certain industries would do better or worse under a free trade agreement are depicted in Table 6. The table portrays results collected from surveys conducted in October, as well as data from the previous three waves done during November/December.

Table 6
EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON CANADIAN BUSINESS

	BETTER	WORSE	NO EFFECT	CORRELATION GAMMA
	I II III % % %	I II III % % %	<u> </u>	ī II III
Wood and paper products Oil and gas industry Fish and fish products Films, books and magazines Wine industry Agriculture and farming Cars and car parts	48 47 51 56 55 57 41 42 43 37 35 41 29 26 31 33 36 35 31 30 36	45 44 41 35 34 33 47 44 44 47 48 42 58 58 56 57 53 55 59 56 50	5 7 7 7 9 8 10 11 11 14 15 15 7 9 9 8 10 9	.496 .484 .485 .451 .530 .483 .575 .475 .540 .381 .348 .399 .330 .362 .237 .535 .567 .530 .491 .496 .543

Although to a lesser degree than in October, the wood and paper industry, and the oil and gas industry are the only two industries which a clear majority of Canadians expect to do better under the agreement. The data still indicate that Canadians expect the agriculture, wine, cars and car parts, and cultural industries to do worse under the FTA.

Two major differences from the October survey results are apparent in the data. First, the percentage of Canadians who feel that the wood and paper industry would be better off under a free trade agreement dropped from 59% in October to 48% in the first wave of the most recent survey (it rebounded modestly to 51% in the third wave). The number of Canadians who feel that the wood and paper industry would be worse off has risen to 41% in the third wave from 32% in October.

On a more optimistic note, the second notable difference is the steady increase in the number of respondents who believe that the car and car parts industry would do better under the free trade agreement (36% in third wave versus 29% in October). Until the end of the first wave in November, the majority of Canadians continued to say they expected the car industry to be worse off under the agreement. This trend reached its apex in the first wave, with 59% saying the industry would be worse off. The trend, however, appeared to reverse in the second wave so that in the third and final wave only 50% of respondents say that the car and car parts industry would be worse off under the FTA.

The perceived positive or negative effects of free trade on each of the industry sectors enumerated in Table 6 continues to be strongly related to the levels of support for or opposition to the agreement, as reflected in the Gamma measures of association. The relationship between the perceived effects of the agreement on the car and car parts industry and support for or opposition to the agreement is considerably stronger than it was in October. The same is true for the relationship between the perceived effects on the fish and fish products industry.

On a regional level, the focus is once again on Ontario and Quebec. A somewhat more negative outlook as to the effects of the agreement on certain industry sectors continues to exist in Ontario. Two-thirds of Ontarians in the the first two waves of the survey indicated they think that the car and car parts industry would do worse under the free trade agreement. In the third wave of the study, this position moderated to a degree so that 56% of Ontario residents say the car industry would do worse under the agreement.

Consistent with the October results, a pessimistic outlook for the wine industry continues to flourish in Ontario, with 67% or more of respondents in each of the three waves feeling the wine industry would be worse off under free trade. Concern over the impending future of the film, book and magazine industries steadily increased from October through the first two waves of the study (51% worse off in October to 56% worse off in the second wave), before dipping to the 47% in the final wave of the study.



Quebec residents continue to hold less pessimistic views of the effect the free trade agreement would have on a number of industry sectors, but the gap between their perceptions and those of other Canadians has narrowed. Specifically, the difference in the perceived effects of the FTA on the wood and paper industry are no longer significantly more positive in Quebec than in the rest of the country, as was the case in October. A less pessimistic view for the future of the car and car parts industry in Quebec as opposed to Ontario is still present (55% worse off versus 66% in the first wave and 43% versus 56% in the third wave).

A greater percentage of Quebecers than other Canadians continue to feel that the wine industry would be unaffected by the agreement. Table 7 shows the distribution of Quebecers' responses regarding this sector over the three waves of research in November/December.

Table 7

QUEBECERS' PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE ON THE WINE INDUSTRY

	WAVE				
	I	II	<u>III</u>		
	%	₹	%		
PERCEIVED EFFECT					
Better off	38	35	43		
Not affected	23	25	21		
Worse off	38	39	36		

In Decima's experience, relatively indecisive results such as this typically reflect feelings of uncertainty as opposed to any definite formation of opinion.

2. Free trade and the energy sector

As apparent in Table 6 above, a majority of Canadians continue to think that the oil and gas industry would be better off under the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement. Perceptions as to the effects of free trade on this sector are also strongly correlated with support for or opposition to the agreement.

Attitudes concerning free trade and the energy sector were also explored from several other perspectives in the November/December series of surveys. First off, people were asked, based on what they may have seen, read or heard, whether they think the free trade agreement is a good or a bad thing as far as energy is concerned. Results show that while opinion on the question is not particularly intense, there is evidence of a moderate growth during the three waves in a perception that the deal is a good thing as far as energy is concerned. For instance, while 53% were of this view in wave I, fully six-in-ten (60%) offer this response in wave III.

A consistent evolution in opinion is evident in results for another question dealing with the energy sector. Canadians were asked to indicate their opinions with respect to two contrasting views regarding free trade and the energy sector which were presented to them. These involve the relative significance and importance of:

- o Guaranteeing access to the U.S. market for Canadian energy resources; and
- o Ensuring Canada's control over its energy resources.

The specific statements presented and the aggregate results for the three November/December waves of research appear in Table 8.

Table 8

FREE TRADE, ENERGY SECURITY AND ACCESS TO THE U.S. MARKET

PERCENTAGE SAYING THIS VIEW IS

*	CLOSEST TO THEIR OW			WN
	I %	II %	III %	
STATEMENT				
Guaranteeing access to U.S. markets for Canadian energy resources will create development, jobs and energy security in Canada	41	43	48	
It would be better not to encourage sales of Canadian energy to the United States because this would weaken Canada's control over its energy resources	57	5.5	5.1	
control over its energy resources	57	55	51	

These data reveal essentially the following conclusion. Over the course of the three waves of research, the balance of public opinion appears to have shifted from the clear majority evident in wave I who were of the view that sales of energy to the U.S. "would weaken Canada's control over its energy resources." By wave III, the relative distribution of opinion has become indecisive. The data from the December 8-16 survey shows the public split roughly 50/50, between coming down on the side of guaranteeing access to the U.S. market and ensuring Canada's control over its energy resources.

This trend in opinion may be gratifying for the proponents of free trade in the oil and gas industry. At the same time, it is clear that the public are not of one mind as to the issues of guaranteeing access to the U.S. for Canadian energy resources and the potential effects this may have in economic terms and in terms of Canada's control over its energy resources.

The significant regional differences with respect to the free trade deal's effect on Canada's energy are centred in Ontario and Quebec. As with many other segments of the deal, Ontarians (46%) are much more pessimistic than Canadians on average (37%) about the effects free trade would have on the energy sector. Although this pessimism about the FTA's effect on Canada's energy has been most prominant in Ontario, the intensity of this sentiment has been declining steadily since the first wave of the study (52% in wave I to 46% in wave III).

In Quebec, in the third wave of the study just over one-in-five of the respondents feel that the free trade deal is bad (16%) or very bad (7%) as far as energy is concerned (as opposed to 37% of all Canadians who are of this opinion). At the same time, fully three-quarters (76%) of Quebecers in the third wave of the study, indicate that they believe the free trade deal would be a good deal for Canada with respect to energy.

Given the above situation, it is not surprising that the data reveal that Ontario residents are also more likely than other Canadians to be of the opinion that encouraging the sale of Canada's energy to the United States would result in a weakening of Canada's control over its own energy resources (63% versus 51% in the wave III). It is also not surprising that Quebec respondents, those most optimistic of



the free trade deal's effect on energy, are also the respondents most likely to indicate that guaranteeing access to American markets for Canadian energy would lead to jobs, energy development and energy security in Canada.

Opinions in Western Canada and the Atlantic region tend to mirror the national average with respect to the anticipated effects of the free trade deal on Canada's energy resources. Ontario and Quebec appear to be the only two regions with intensely negative or positive views of the free trade agreement with respect to its effect on energy.

3. Regional development

As reported above, no significant change was detected from October or the three waves of the November/December study in the percentage of Canadians who think it likely that differences in economic development among the regions in Canada would gradually reduce as a result of the free trade agreement between Canada and the United States. Only a slight increase occurred from October to the first wave of the November/December study (from 54% to 59%) in the percentage of Canadians who agree with the statement: "I'm concerned that free trade is only going to increase tension among regions and groups in Canada." This increase in agreement has not continued, however, in either of the subsequent waves — agreement has actually declined in each of the second and third waves, reaching 56% by Wave III.

The analysis of regional differences of opinion on this issue shows that in both Quebec and British Columbia, the likelihood of disagreeing with the above statement has steadily increased from the first to the third wave. Correlation analysis continues to illustrate a strong relationship between the perceived effects of free trade on regional tensions and attitudes toward the agreement. The greater the likelihood that a respondent thinks that an increase in regional tensions is a possible result of free trade, the greater the chance that the respondent would oppose free trade.

IV. ECONOMIC AND INDEPENDENCE ISSUES

A. Overview

As alluded to in the above discussion, the November/December study as well as previous research demonstrate that the views of Canadians regarding the free trade agreement are based on essentially two considerations:

- 1. Economic Effects -- the perceived effects of the agreement on the Canadian and provincial economies and in particular the anticipated effect on jobs; and
- Canadian Independence and Identity Concerns -- whether Canadians retain their ability to make their own decisions.

The following section of the report examines these issues through the analysis of the questions posed in the study which probe the various perceived effects of the free trade deal for Canada in terms of these two main considerations.

B. Jobs and American Investment

One of the most salient aspects of debate over free trade in Canada has been whether or not the predicted increase of American investment in Canada, a result that both proponents and opponents of the agreement agree on, would be a good thing for Canadians or, as opponents of the deal suggest, would lead to a loss of Canadian autonomy. In ascertaining opinions on this issue, Canadians were asked whether they think the jobs that are expected to result from free trade are more important or not as important as limiting American influence on the Canadian Economy.

The results of this question from the three waves in November/December, and from previous surveys conducted in 1987 appear in Table 9 below.



Table 9

JOBS AND AMERICAN INVESTMENT

	JUNE 1987 %	AUGUST <u>1987</u> %	OCTOBER <u>1987</u> %	NO I %	V./D	EC.
The jobs which may be created by increased American investment in Canada are not as important as limiting American influence in the Canadian economy	41	41	39	38	35	35
The jobs created by increased American investment in Canada are more important than limiting American influence in the Canadian economy	59	57	59	58	62	62.

The results would seem to indicate continuation through the November/December wave of a downward trend in the percentage of respondents who think jobs are not as important as limiting American influence in the Canadian economy. While the number of Canadians (six-in-ten) who believe that the jobs which would be created by free trade are more important than American economic influence has risen since June of 1987, the change has not been particularly significant. What appears to have happened is that fewer people say that jobs are not important and more people indicate that they are not sure.

Not surprisingly, residents of Atlantic Canada are considerably more likely to feel that new jobs are more important than U.S. influence (68% versus 62% of Canadians in the third wave). The same holds true for British Columbians, particularly in the second and third waves (74% and 68% respectively). On the other hand, Ontarians are consistently more likely than other Canadians to believe that jobs are not as important as limiting the U.S. influence in the Canadian economy (40%, 39% and 41% in Waves I-III respectively).

C. Free Trade and Canadian Independence

Turning to the issue of independence and the perceived effect of the free trade agreement on Canada's sovereignty, there appears to have been little change in Canadians' perceptions of this issue since October. Table 10 shows that, as in October, respondents were asked whether they think that the free trade agreement would strengthen or weaken Canada's ability to play an independent role in the world.

Table 10
FREE TRADE AND CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE

	JUNE AUGUST		OCTOBER	NOV./DEC.		
	1987 %	1987 %	1987 %	I II III % % %		
INDEPENDENCE						
The free trade agreement will						
Strengthen Canada's economy and thus enable it to continue to play an independent role in the world			43	38 40 42		
Tie Canada so closely to the U.S. that it will weaken our ability to play an independent role						
in the world			56	61 59 58		

A notable decrease (-5%) from October occurred during wave I in the number of people who feel the deal would strengthen Canada's position in the world. In wave III, however, this percentage has almost returned to the level that was found to exist in October. Despite this rebound, six-in-ten Canadians still hold the belief that the free trade deal would lead to a weakening of the independent role that Canada now enjoys in the world.

Needless to say, views on this question are strongly related to overall support for or opposition to free trade. A greater percentage of respondents who believe the deal would weaken Canada's independence oppose (68% in wave III) the deal. On the other hand, those Canadians who believe it would strengthen Canada's role in the world are more likely to support the trade initiative (87% in wave III).

V. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT

Respondents were presented with a number of "issue statements" concerning the federal government's management and objectives in the free trade talks. Responses provide an indication of public perceptions of how the federal government has handled the negotiations, whether it is prepared for the changes anticipated under free trade and whether the free trade initiative is an isolated one or part of a broader plan for Canada's economic development.

Aggregate results for the public's perceptions of how the federal government is handling a number of aspects of the free trade issue are found in Table 11 below. A perusal of the data shows that a majority (63%) of Canadians agree that the government's actions in initiating the free trade agreement are part of a "general effort...to improve Canada's trading situation with countries around the world."

Table 11

PERCEPTIONS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT AND OBJECTIVES REGARDING FREE TRADE

	PERCENTAGE AGREE I II III			<u>CO</u>	GAMMA CORRELATION I II III		
I see the free trade deal with the Americans as part of a general effort by the government to improve Canada's trade situation with countries around the world	63	59	63	. 676	.647	.689	
From what I've heard or read, Canada gave away too much to the Americans in the free trade agreement	63	60	57	591	670	641	
I'm concerned that free trade is only going to increase tensions among regions and groups in Canada	59	58	56	524	615	615	
I think the govenment has a good idea of how to deal with the changes the free trade agreement will bring in Canada	45	.47	50	.675	.708	.714	

Such results may indicate that some of those people who oppose free trade are still willing to believe that the government is doing something that is considered an attempt to improve Canada's trading situation. An indication of this is found in the fact that 28% in wave III and 32% in wave I of those who oppose the agreement believe it is part of a general effort to improve Canada's international trading position. This may imply that although many Canadians do not support it, they nevertheless think that the government had good intentions and motives in attempting to reach a trade agreement.

In terms of views on the government's knowing how to deal with the changes the free trade agreement would bring in Canada, there is an even split between the percentage of Canadians who agree that the government is prepared and those who disagree.

As has been the situation in the past, Ontario residents continue to be more likely to disagree that the government has a good idea of how to handle the effects of free trade. In the first wave of the study, only 33% of Ontario residents agreed that the government has a good idea of how to deal with the expected changes; however, this has increased to 39% by the third wave. In contrast, fully two-thirds of the Quebec respondents in the third wave of the study think the government has a good idea of how to cope with the changes free trade would bring to Canada.

On a less positive note, the percentage of Canadians who agree that Canada gave too much to the Americans at the bargaining table continues to be substantial. Approximately six out of 10 Canadians agree with the statement: "From what I've heard or read, Canada gave away too much to the Americans in the free trade agreement." Almost as many agree that the free trade deal would increase tensions among groups and regions of the country (56%). Somewhat more encouraging to proponents of free trade is the fact there has been a steady decline from the first wave through the third wave of the study, in the percentage of respondents who do agree with these two statements.

Regional analysis identifies a substantial decline in the percentage of Ontario residents who agree that Canada "gave too much away to the Americans" occurred from the first wave to the third wave of the survey (68% to 60%). In Quebec, only 54% of respondents in the third wave agree that free trade would lead to an increase in tension among groups and regions in the country, as compared to 62% in the first wave.



VI. FREE TRADE OPINION LEADERS

One of the findings evident from attitudes toward federal government management of the free trade initiative is that Canadians do not think that they have been provided with enough information about the free trade agreement. Previous research also shows that many Canadians feel that they need more information about the details of a free trade agreement and its possible consequences. This brings up the question as to where Canadians are most likely to turn to as a source of this information. To ascertain this, Canadians were asked the following question:

Thinking about the various people whose opinions you respect on the free trade agreement, whose opinion are you relying on most in making up your mind about the free trade agreement since it was signed...?

Results appearing in Table 12 show that Canadians are turning to a variety of sources for their information, but are relying on certain sources to help make their minds up on the trade deal more than they are on others. The table also provides results for a similar question posed before the agreement was reached, regarding who Canadians feel would be the likely sources to whom they would turn for information in the event a deal was signed.

Table 12
FREE TRADE OPINION LEADERS

	AUGUST <u>1987</u> %	OCTOBER <u>1987</u> %	I I	/DEC. II III K %
WOULD CONSIDER MOST THE OPINION OF				
Economists and other specialists	40	25	23 2	2 21
Business leaders	20	15	14 1	3 15
News media	13	29	32 3	0 32
Federal government leaders	9	11	9 1	0 12
Provincial government leaders	6	11	11 1	2 11
Labour leaders	8	6	6	6 6

No major differences are evident in the November/December data from the results in October, nor are there any notable differences in results obtained in each of the three waves of research conducted in November/December. Just under one-third of Canadians (three-in-ten) continue to indicate that they turn to the media most to help make up their minds about the free trade deal. Only about two-in-ten Canadians say they rely on economists or specialists to help form their opinions on the agreement. The credibility of those who have obvious vested interests in the outcome of the free trade debate continues to be relatively low. This is slightly more pronounced among labour leaders (6%) than among political leaders at either the federal (12% in wave III) or provincial (11% in wave III) levels.

Canadians who are university graduates or who have some university education continue to display a tendency to rely on the specialists and economists most and are less likely to rely on the opinions of the media. The same trend is apparent among those respondents with household incomes of over \$50,000.

VII. MAJOR DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES

As has been the case in past research, the main differences of opinion on the free trade agreement based on demographic characteristics relate to age, education and gender. The following section discusses these differences.

A. Gender

1. Major differences

The free trade debate may not be the battle of the sexes, but a considerable "gender gap" between the two sexes continues to exist in terms of attitudes toward Canada-U.S. free trade. Men continue to be more optimistic about the potential economic results or consequences of the trade deal than are women, and, not surprisingly, they remain more supportive of the deal.

The most prominent gender gaps are as follows:

- o The decline from October to the first wave of the study in the number of both men (60%) and women (47%) who think that the free trade deal would benefit Canada's economy is somewhat compensated for by the third wave, when 62% of men and 54% of women indicate they believe the deal would benefit the Canadian economy. On a provincial basis, a similar trend also occurred;
- o Although the percentage of men who say more jobs would be gained than lost did not change from the first wave to the third wave, the percentage of women who feel this way did increase, from 41% to 48% in the third wave;
- A slight decline from October is apparent in the number of men who think that more jobs would be gained than lost (55% in October and 52% in wave III of the November/December study). Just under half of all women feel that there would be more jobs gained than lost under the agreement, a number that has remained constant since October. In essence then, the "gender gap" on this issue has been diminishing since October;





- Women are in general less optimistic than men are about the prospects for specific industries under free trade. The only exception to this is that women are less likely than men to say that the wine industry would be worse off under the FTA;
- o With respect to the perceived effect of the free trade agreement on consumer prices, a gap between the opinions of men and women still exists in the results for wave I and wave III. While fully 75% of men in the third wave feel that it is likely (51%) or very likely (26%) that "prices for most consumer goods in Canada would generally be lower, only 65% of women share this belief; and
- As in the past, women more so than men continue to rely on the media in making up their minds about free trade. On the other hand, men continue to show a greater propensity than women to turn to business leaders to help make up their minds on the deal.

B. Age

Summary of major differences

The generational gaps which stand out most on the issue of free trade are between those over age 55 and those under age 25. Opposition to the agreement continues to be most acute among those over the age of 65, while support is more predominant among the youth of the country.

More specifically, the following variations in opinion on the basis of age can be identified:

Although a majority of the elderly (those over age 65) in waves I and II continued to believe that the agreement would have a negative impact on the Canadian economy, wave III displays a significant change in this sentiment. A slight majority (54%) of the elderly in the final wave are of the opinion that the deal would be good for the Canadian economy;



- In determining whose opinions they are relying on most in making up their minds about the free trade agreement, young people (18 to 24 years of age) appear to be relying on the media (40% in wave III) much more than are those over 55 years of age (25% in wave III);
- o In waves I and II the pessimistic view of the effects of the agreement on the oil and gas industry that existed among the elderly in October persisted. In the third wave, however, the elderly indicate a belief that the oil and gas industry would more likely to be better off under the free trade agreement (58%), similar to the outlook prevailing among youth; and
- o Young people remain consistently more positive than the elderly when it comes to predicting the effect of the agreement on certain industries. This is perhaps most apparent in the wine industry, as more than two youth (those under age 25) for every one older person (those over 55) indicate that the wine industry would be better off under a free trade deal.

Overall, Canadian youth remain more optimistic about the opportunities that the free trade deal has to offer than do Canadians who are retired or who are near retirement age. This optimism on the part of Canadian youth is most prevalent with regard to economic issues. While Canadian youth do exhibit concerns regarding the issue of sovereignty, this concern is neither more nor less pronounced than is apparent among the Canadian population overall.

C. Education

1. Summary of major findings

The issues of independence and economics still dominate the differences of opinion that exist between those of different educational backgrounds. More highly educated Canadians continue to have a more optimistic perception of what the trade deal would mean for the economy. At the same time, however, these well-educated respondents remain concerned about the free trade deal's effects on Canada's sovereignty and cultural industries.





A number of significant trends exist in the data:

- The final wave of the study witnessed 61% of university educated respondents saying they feel that the trade agreement would be either a good (46%) or very good (15%) thing for the Canadian economy. At the same time, 66% of university graduates indicate that they feel the trade deal would be a good (53%) or very good (13%) thing for their respective provincial economies compared to only 58% of Canadians who feel this way;
- While all Canadians became more and more convinced that the free trade deal would bring about cheaper prices for consumer goods from wave I (66%) to wave III (71%), university educated respondents remained the most convinced of this outcome (76%); and
- o With respect to specific sectors of the economy, those who are university educated are more likely than Canadians on average to feel that the oil industry (63% versus 57%), forest industry (59% versus 51%) and the fish product industry (48% versus 43%) would each be better off under the free trade agreement. On the other hand, they are more apt to indicate that the wine (70%), and the agriculture and farming industry (30%) would be worse off under a free trade agreement.

The data would appear to indicate two distinct camps among the university educated -- those who feel that the economic concerns should come ahead of Canadian independence concerns and, on the other side, those who feel that Canada's independence is more important than the economic concerns.

Although in the first wave of the study these camps were of about equal size, the third wave results indicate a decline in the number of university educated respondents who are more concerned about Canadian independence than about Canadian economics. Further evidence of this is revealed in the following:

o A significant change which has occurred among university educated respondents since October with respect to how they perceive the free trade deal would affect Canada's ability to play an independent role in the world. In October, approximately two out of three (65%) university educated respondents felt that free trade would weaken Canada's independent role in the world; however, in the third wave of the November/December study, only 53% of university graduates feel the free trade deal would weaken Canada's ability to play an independent role in the world; and

Another difference change to occur from the October study findings relates to the possible effects of the free trade agreement on the cultural industries such as films, books and magazines. While university educated Canadians continue to be more likely than other Canadians to believe that the so-called cultural industries would be worse off under the free trade agreement, the intensity of this consensus has decreased significantly -- only 52% of university educated Canadians as opposed to 62% of this group in October now believe that the cultural industries would be worse off under a free trade agreement.

In the final analysis, the more highly educated respondents continue to express more intense concerns than other Canadians about the effects of the free trade deal on Canada's independence and its cultural industries. There is, however, evidence that this intensity is subsiding on some fronts — in particular the perceived effects of the free trade deal on Canada's ability to play an independent role in the world.

Finally, better educated Canadians, in particular those with university educations, remain more optimistic than other Canadians about the effects the trade deal would have on either the national economy or their provincial economy and on a number of specific industries.



VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This segment of the report presents a summary of the main conclusions and findings which emerge from the three waves of research conducted in November and December of 1987. They are grouped below according to the various topic areas explored in the report.

Familiarity and Support/Opposition

- o A high percentage of Canadians continue to say that they are not familiar with what is contained in the free trade agreement between Canada and the United States. Almost seven-of-ten people say that they are either "not too familiar" or "not familiar at all" with what is contained in the agreement.
- o Overall levels of support for the agreement changed little between October and the November/December waves of research, with about half the population in the third wave (51%) supporting the agreement, 42% opposing and 8% indicating no opinion. As evident from previous studies, opinions on the agreement vary on the basis of respondents' expectations as to the economic benefits or drawbacks for Canada.
- o In terms of regional variations, residents of Quebec and British Columbia are most familiar with the contents of the agreement and also exhibit the highest levels of support. Ontarians overall are least supportive, although Torontonians appear more likely than other people in Ontario to be supportive of free trade, consistent with the findings from the October survey.

Anticipated Effects of Free Trade

- o Seven-in-ten Canadians continue to expect that consumer prices would be lower as a result of the free trade agreement, yet only 24% foresee earning higher incomes.
- o Sixty percent (60%) think that the Canadian auto industry would lose jobs to the U.S., although a decrease in the percentage thinking this is likely is evident over the three waves.



- o On the question of independence, eight-in-ten Canadians believe that Canada and the United States would become more similar and 68% expect American influence on Canada's cultural industries to increase.
- o Continuing a trend that first appeared in the October survey, the number of Canadians who believe the Canadian economy "will become so closely tied to the U.S. economy that we would gradually lose our ability to make our own decisions" continues to decrease, to 59% by the third wave of the study as compared to 68% in August.
- o Evidence that many Canadians do not really know what would happen under the free trade agreement with the United States continues to appear in opinions on some of the anticipated consequences of free trade. Specifically, while 59% in wave III fear loss of control over decision-making, 71% think that "we will be able to maintain current government programs such as unemployment insurance and health insurance."
- o The most important consequence for the public in terms of affecting their support for or opposition to the agreement is whether it would tie the Canadian economy so closely to the U.S. economy that Canada would gradually lose its ability to make its own decisions. Anticipated loss or gain of Canadian jobs is the second most important consideration or anticipated consequence affecting support for or opposition to the free trade agreement.

Effect on Canadian Business or Industry Sectors

- o Those sectors which a majority of Canadians expect to be better off under free trade continue to be the wood and paper products sector, and the oil and gas industry. Sectors seen as likely to be worse off under free trade remain agriculture and farming, the wine industry, cars and car parts, and the films, books and magazines.
- o There is evidence of moderate growth during the three waves of research in November/December in the number of people who think that the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement is a good thing "as far as energy is concerned" (from 53% in wave I



to 60% in wave III). Opinion has also become indecisive regarding views on the relative significance and importance of guaranteeing access to the U.S. market for Canadian energy resources and ensuring Canada's control over its energy resources.

Economic and Independence Issues

- o More than six-in-ten Canadians (62%) in wave III indicate a belief that the jobs created by increased U.S. investment in Canada are more important than limiting American influence in the Canadian economy, as compared to 56% in October. Atlantic Canadians, not surprisingly, continue to be disproportionately among those who hold this view.
- o Six-in-ten respondents also think that the free trade deal would lead to a weakening of the independent role that Canada now enjoys in the world.

Federal Government Management

- o Close to two-thirds of the population (63%) agree that the federal government's actions in initiating the free trade agreement are "part of a general effort to improve Canada's trading situation with countries around the world."
- Opinion is split as to whether people think the federal government has a good idea of how to deal with the changes a free trade agreement would bring to Canada. As in the past, Ontario residents are more likely to disagree that the government has a good idea of how to handle the effects of free trade.
- o The percentage of Canadians who think that Canada gave away too much to the Americans at the bargaining table continues to be substantial, with approximately six out of 10 people agreeing with the statement: "From what I've heard or read, Canada gave away too much to the Americans in the free trade agreement."



Free Trade Opinion Leaders

- o Canadians are turning to a variety of sources for their information about free trade, but are relying on certain sources to help make up their mind on the trade deal more than they are on others.
- o Just under one-third of the population say they rely upon the media most to help make up their minds about the free trade deal, particularly younger Canadians. Only about two-in-ten say they rely on economists or other specialists to help form their opinions on the agreement.
- o The credibility of those with obvious vested interests in the outcome of the free trade deal is relatively low, with only 12% and 11% saying in the wave III survey that they are relying most on federal government leaders and their provincial government respectively in making up their minds about the free trade agreement.

TECHNICAL APPENDIXES

APPENDIX

Α.	SURVEY OVERVIEW40
В.	INTERVIEW SCHEDULE46
c.	FRENCH QUESTIONNAIRE58
D.	DERIVATION OF NEW VARIABLES70

A. SURVEY OVERVIEW

Decima Research is pleased to present to the Department of External Affairs, the results for a nation-wide study of public attitudes toward the free trade agreement.

Senior Research Consultants and principal investigators for this study were Bruce Anderson and David MacMartin who were assisted in the various phases of research and analysis by Greg Ebel.

1. Sample Selection

The population consists of all adult Canadians. Male and female respondents were selected in the same proportion as the general population, on a 50/50 sex quota. A total of 4,500 interviews were completed.

Effective survey research must be based on a sample truly representative of the universe of interest. A multi-stage sampling technique was employed to gather the data for this study. The essential feature of this procedure is that individual respondents are predetermined by the selection procedure itself. That predetermination is made by careful speculation of a series of controlled choices.

The sampling technique produced a systematic random sample with probability of selection disproportionate to size at the national level. The first step in the sampling procedure was the division into 11 strata or "regions" (Table A).





Table A
SAMPLE STRATA

	ERCENTAGE POPULATION	PPS N	DPS N	WEIGHTED N
REGIONS			•	
British Columbia	11.3	509	408	290
Alberta	9.2	414	333	237
Saskatchewan	4.0	180	300	103
Manitoba	4.2	189	300	109
Balance Ontario	26.7	1202	687	687
Toronto CMA	8.8	396	318	226
Quebec	26.5	1193	954	682
New Brunswick	2.9	131	300	74
Nova Scotia	3.5	158	300	90
Price Edward Island	0.5	24	300	13
Newfoundland	2.3	104	300	60
		4500	4500	2571

Table A presents the percentages of the total population of Canada represented in each region, followed by the proportionate number of cases in each Region(PPS). The third column presents the disproportionate sample actually completed (DPS). The fourth column represents the number of cases in each strata after the weighting was applied.

Within each of these regions, a sampling procedure was employed which is based upon mapping the linkage between the geographic location of individual telephone exchanges and Statistics Canada's fundamental building block for the census -- the enumeration area (EA).

Telephone companies divide their service regions into smaller areas served by a single switching centre. Within each switching centre area, all telephone numbers begin with the same two digits. We refer to these mutually exclusive exchange areas as NNXs (NNX representing the first three digits of a telephone number). Using census data, together with maps showing the geographic boundaries of NNXs, it is possible to determine exact population figures for each NNX and determine the appropriate number of respondents to be surveyed in each NNX.

Primary sampling units (groups of NNXs) and secondary sampling units (individual NNXs) were selected on the basis of probability proportionate to population size. Telephone numbers were then generated using a computerized random number generation program employing random start and fixed interval methods.

2. Field Procedures

The questionnaires were printed, consecutively numbered, and assembled into field packs of three interviews — two males and one female or two females and one male. This procedure ensured that the 50/50 sex quota would be met by preselecting males and females before the interviewing began.

The interviews took place between November 12 and December 16. Weekday interviewing was conducted between the hours of 5:30 and 10:00 p.m. Weekend interviewing was conducted between the hours of 10:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. The questionnaire contained 44 questions and took approximately 15 minutes to complete. Fifteen percent (15%) of all interviews were monitored while in progress for procedure and content from an extension monitor. All interviews were carefully edited as soon as they were completed to ensure that no questions were omitted and that skip-patterns were followed correctly.

Experienced telephone interviewers were used to collect the data. A briefing was held by the Field Supervisor and the Research Analyst was present to answer questions or clarify procedures. The Field Supervisor first read the questionnaire to the interviewers, thereby ensuring that pronunciation would be correct and uniform, and second, interviewer-respondent role-playing was used to illustrate skip and rotation patterns. The interviewers then had an opportunity to ask questions.

On the first evening in the field, the Research Analyst listened to the interviewers on an extension monitor. The monitor prevents the interviewer and respondent from knowing they are being listened to. This ensured that the skip and rotation patterns were followed correctly and that there were no questions causing interviewers any particular difficulty. When an error was caught, the interviewer was briefed again and the respondent was called back in order to correct the questionnaire.

3. Coding

The questionnaires were coded and the data were entered by experienced Decima personnel. The following standard procedures were followed:

- o An initial briefing;
- o Supervision of trained staff; and
- o Verification of 15% of each coder's work.

Using the first 25% of completed questionnaires in each stratum, codes were constructed for the open-end questions by sorting and writing out the responses into independent categories. The Research Analyst checked all categories for completeness and consistency.

4. Data Processing

The entry and processing of the data were carried out on-site using Decima's Digital PDP 11/44 computer. Decima's interactive software system, designed specifically for survey analysis, has a robust data entry facility, which permits cleaning of the data, including out-of-range values and skip-pattern errors, as well as other logic errors. The fully cleaned data were then summarized into aggregate tables. Further analysis of the data included crosstabulation tables, measures of association, regression analysis, and factor analysis.



5. Confidence Limits and Validation

The entire sample of 4,500 was divided into three segments or waves, the first had a "weighted n" 871, the second consisted of 861, and the third consisted of 836 cases.

Each of the samples produces results which are accurate for the population of Canada as a whole within ± 3.4 percentage points 95 out of 100 times.

In order to validate the sample, we compared our data for the age categories of the population with figures provided by Statistics Canada. Table B outlines the percentage of respondents in each age category for the sample, and the corresponding population figures. As these figures suggest, the sample drawn for this study reflects the more general characteristics of the adult population.

Table B
SAMPLE VALIDATION

	SAMPLE (n=4500) %	UNIVERSE 1 (N=18,759,605)
AGE		
18-19 years of age	3.6	4.1
20-24 years of age	9.8	12.0
25-29 years of age	13.4	12.5
30-34 years of age	13.4	11.7
35-39 years of age	14.2	10.8
40-44 years of age	10.7	8.6
45-49 years of age	7.7	7.0
50-54 years of age	6.2	6.6
55-59 years of age	6.1	6.4
60-64 years of age	5.4	6.0
65 years and older	9.5	14.4

Adult population of Canada. Source: 1986 Census of Canada Catalogue.

The sample is only representative of residents in the provinces who have direct dialing telephone services. Therefore, Canadians who are accessible only by a telephone servicing a large number of people, such as senior citizen homes, hospitals, and Indian Reserves, and those who have only radio-telephone service or no telephone service at all, are automatically excluded from the sample. Any further questions the reader has about sampling should be referred to the Research Consultant.

While the most sophisticated procedures have been used to collect and analyse the information presented herein, it must be remembered that surveys are not predictions. They are designed to measure public opinion within identifiable statistical limits of accuracy at specific points in time. This survey is in no way a prediction of opinion or behaviour at any future point in time.

B. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Α.	Are you 18 years of age or older and a resident of Canada?	YES (CONTINUE)A NO (ASK TO SPEAK TO ELIGIBLE RESPONDENT, IF STILL "NO," THANK AND TERMINATE)B			
В.	Have I reached you at your home phone number?	YES (CONTINUE)A NO (ASK TO SPEAK TO ELIGIBLE RESPONDENT, IF STILL "NO," THANK AND TERMINATE)B			
c.	Do you, or does anyone in your family or household work in the following kinds of business a market research firm, advertising agency, public relations firm, or the news media?	YES (THANK AND TERMINATE RECORD INCIDENCE ON CALL RECORD SHEET)A NO (CONTINUE)B			
1.	Would you say you are very famil or not familiar at all with what agreement between Canada and the	is contained in the free trade	Ī	II	III
		NOT FAMILIAR AT ALL	(53%) (31%) (4%)	(14%) (55%) (28%) (3%) (0%)	(55% (28% (3%

KEY

- I = WAVE I -- NOVEMBER 12 NOVEMBER 19, 1987 II - WAVE II -- NOVEMBER 25 -- DECEMBER 4, 1987 III = WAVE III -- DECEMBER 8 -- DECEMBER 16, 1987
- Note 1: Responses may not sum to 100% due to rounding throughout the Technical Appendixes.
 - 2: (*) denotes a percentage value greater than 0 but less than 0.5 throughout the Technical Appendixes.

	you probably know, the Canada otiations have resulted in a free t				
2.	Generally speaking, do you strong strongly oppose the free trade Canada and the United States?	gly support, support, oppose, or	Ī	II	
	•	STRONGLY OPPOSE	(35%) (41%) (5%)	(10%) (36%) (41%) (5%) (8%)	(33%) (46%) (5%)
the good	like you to tell me for each of Canada United States free trd, bad, or very bad thing. How(READ AND ROTATE ITEMS 3 TO 5)	rade agreement is a very good,			
3.	The Canadian economy?	VERY BAD	(36%) (47%) (6%)	(7%) (33%) (49%) (7%) (4%)	(34% (51% (7%
4.	four provincial economy?	VERY BAD	(36%) (46%) (7%)	(8%) (32%) (47%) (8%) (6%)	2% (50% (7%
5.	Economic well-being of you and your family? END OF ROTATION	VERY BAD	(30%) (50%) (6%)	(6%) (28%) (50%) (5%) (12%)	(26% (53% (6%

I am going to read you a list of statements various people have made about what might happen now that there is a free trade agreement between Canada and the United States. For each one, I'd like you to tell me whether you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely, that this will result? The first one is...(READ AND ROTATE STATEMENTS 6-17)

some	somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely, that this will result? The first one is(READ AND ROTATE STATEMENTS 6-17)							
	Overall, there will be more jobs		Ī	<u>II</u>	III			
6.	overall, there will be more jobs	VERY UNLIKELY	(33%) (34%) (13%)	(19%) (29%) (35%) (15%) (2%)	(32%) (37%) (14%)			
7.	Prices of many goods imported frowill be lower.	om the United States into Canada						
		VERY UNLIKELY	(22%) (45%) (21%)	(9%) (21%) (45%) (24%) (1%)	(20% (49% (22%			
8.	We will be able to maintain currunemployment insurance and health			ıŭ				
		VERY UNLIKELY	(18%) (45%) (24%)	(10%) (20%) (41%) (26%) (3%)	(16% (45% (26%			
9.	Many American companies will clos	se their plants in Canada.						
		VERY UNLIKELY	(39%) (25%) (16%)	(19%) (39%) (25%) (16%) (2%)	(39% (27% (13%			

10.	Our economy will become so close that we will gradually lose our adecisions.				
			Ī	II	III
		VERY UNLIKELY	(22%) (31%) (33%)	(14%) (22%) (30%) (33%) (1%)	(25%) (30%) (29%)
11.	Canadians will have higher income	s than they do now.			
		VERY UNLIKELY	(46%) (19%) (4%)	(25%) (46%) (21%) (6%) (2%)	(46%) (29%) (5%)
12.	Differences in economic developme gradually be reduced.	ent among regions in Canada will			
9		VERY UNLIKELY	(35%) (36%) (10%)	(15%) (33%) (35%) (12%) (4%)	(38%
13.	American influence on our book parts of our culture will increas				
		VERY UNLIKELY	(24%) (36%) (32%)	(9%) (20%) (40%) (31%) (1%)	(22% (40% (28%
14.	Canada and the United States wi ways.	11 become more similar in many			
		VERY UNLIKELY	(16%) (42%) (35%)	(7%) (15%) (43%) (35%) (1%)	(14% (47% (33%

15.	The United States will keep to the term	ms of the agreement.	Ī	II	III
	SOME SOME VERY	UNLIKELY	(29%) (40%) (12%)	(18%) (26%) (39%) (14%) (3%)	(26%) (42%) (16%)
16.	The Canadian automobile industry will States.	l lose jobs to the United			
	SOME SOME VERY	UNLIKELY	(24%) (37%) (31%)	(8%) (24%) (36%) (30%) (2%)	(26%) (36%) (24%)
17.	Governments will be restricted in how to give to Canadian businesses in poor	much help they are allowed rer regions of the country.			
	SOME SOME VERY	Y UNLIKELY	(27%) (38%) (24%)	(11%) (27%) (36%) (23%) (3%)	(27%) (36%) (20%)
	END OF ROTATION				
18.	Some people say that the jobs which me with the U.S. are not as importing influence in Canada.	may be created by Free Trade ant as limiting American			Service College
	Other people say that the jobs whic Canada-U.S. trade are more important influence in the Canadian economy.	th may be created by freer nt than limiting American		e e	
	Thinking of these two points of view your own ?	w, which one best reflects			
	JOBS NOT AS IMPORTANT AS LIMITING INFI JOBS MORE IMPORTANT THAN LIMITING INFI NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	LUENCE2	(58%)	(62%)	(62%

19. Some people say that the free trade agreement will strengthen Canada's economy and thus enable it to continue to play an independent role in the world. Other people say that the free trade agreement will tie Canada so closely to the United States that it will weaken our ability to play an independent role in the world. Thinking of these two points of view, which one best reflects your own? I II III (38%) (40%) (42% WILL WEAKEN ABILITY TO PLAY INDEPENDENT ROLE.....2 (61%) (59%) (58% (1%) (2%) (1% 20. Thinking about the various people whose opinions you respect on the free trade agreement, whose opinion are you relying on most in making up your mind about the free trade agreement since it was signed...economists and other specialists, business leaders,

labour leaders, federal government leaders, your provincial

ECONOMISTS AND OTHER SPECIALISTS.....1
BUSINESS LEADERS.....2

LABOUR LEADERS......3

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS.....4

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT......5

NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)...... 7 (5%) (5%) (4%

government or the news media? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE)

(23%) (22%) (21%

(11%) (12%) (11%

(32%) (30%) (32%

(14%) (13%)

(6%) (6%) % (9%) (10%) (12% Now, I'm going to read you a list of statements various people have made at one time or another. I'd like you to tell me how you personally feel about each statement by giving me a number between -5 and +5, where -5 means you totally disagree with the statement and +5 means you totally agree with the statement. Many people's opinions fall somewhere in between these two points depending on how they feel about the statement. The first statement is...(ROTATE STATEMENTS 21 - 24...READ FIRST STATEMENT...REPEAT SCALE INSTRUCTIONS IF REQUESTED) Where would you place yourself on this scale?

		DEPENDS	2 +3	TOTAL	LY AGREE			
	-5 -4 -3 -2 -1	0 41 4			.,	_	MEAN ATING II	III
21.	From what I've heard or remuch to the Americans in the	ad, Canada gave he free trade a	away too	•		1.51	1.36	1.14
22.	I'm concerned that free traincrease tensions among re	ade is only goi gions and group	ng to s in Cana	ada.		0.91	0.82	0.69
23.	I see the free trade deal of a general effort by the Canada's trade situation world.	government to	improve		4	1.00	0.94	1.20
24.	I think the government has deal with the changes the bring in Canada.	a good idea of free trade agre	how to eement wi	11,		-0.27	-0.11	0.13
	END OF ROTATION	-						
25.	As far as you are awa providing help to those inegatively affected as a agreement?	industries and	individu	ials wh	no may be			
		NO			1 2 ED)3	(53%)	(46%) (48%) (6%)	(46%





Now I'm going to list some Canadian businesses and I'd like you to tell me for each one whether you think the free trade agreement with the United States will mean the industry will be better off, or worse off as a result. How about...(READ AND ROTATE Q26 TO Q32)

off	as a result. How about(READ A	ND ROTATE 026 TO 032)			
011	as a result. now about(KDAD A	ND NOTHIE 420 TO 402,	Ī	II	III
26.	Oil and gas industry?	WORSE OFF	(56%) (7%)	(34%) (55%) (9%) (2%)	(57% (8%
27.	Wine industry?	WORSE OFF	(29%) (11%)	(58%) (26%) (13%) (3%)	(31% (11%
28.	Wood and paper products?	WORSE OFF	(48%) (5%)	(44%) (47%) (7%) (2%)	(51% (7%
29.	Fish and fish products?	WORSE OFF	(41%) (10%)	(44%) (42%) (11%) (3%)	(43%
30.	Agriculture and farming?	WORSE OFF	(33%) (8%)	(53%) (36%) (10%) (1%)	(35% (9%
31.	Cars and car parts?	WORSE OFF	(31%) (9%)	(56%) (30%) (11%) (3%)	(36% (12%
32. END	Films, books, and magazines? OF ROTATION	WORSE OFF	(37%) (14%)	(48%) (35%) (15%) (3%)	(41%)
21.0		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			

that, as far as energy is concerned, the free trade agreement is		, .	
a very good, good, odd, or very odd one of	Ī	<u> </u>	III
BAD DEAL	(30%) (45%) (8%)	(29%0 (46%) (9%)	(26% (52% (8%
Some people say guaranteeing access to U.S. markets for Canadian energy resources will create development, jobs and energy security in Canada.			
Others say it would be better not to encourage sales of Canadian energy to the United States, because this would weaken Canada's control over its energy resources.			
Which one of these two views is closer to your own?			
	(41%)	(43%)	(48%
SALES OF CANADIAN ENERGY TO THE UNITED STATES	(57%) (2%)	(55%) (2%)	(51% (1%
Based on what you have heard or read, are most U.S. Members of Congress in favour of, or opposed to the free trade agreement with Canada?			
IN FAVOUR OF FREE TRADE2	(52%)	(51%)	(58%
Does knowing this make you more likely or less likely to support the agreement yourself, or does it not affect your view at all?	*		
LESS LIKELY TO SUPPORT TRADE AGREEMENT2 DOES NOT AFFECT YOUR VIEW	(23%) (64%)	(23%) (62%)	(23% (61%
	VERY BAD DEAL	that, as far as energy is concerned, the free trade agreement is a very good, good, bad, or very bad deal for Canada? VERY BAD DEAL	that, as far as energy is concerned, the free trade agreement is a very good, good, bad, or very bad deal for Canada? VERY BAD DEAL

This survey is being conducted on behalf of the Department of External Affairs. So that we can use your responses we would like to ask you some questions that would be used for statistical purposes only. We want to assure you that your answers will be kept confidential in two ways: first, your name will not be given to the Department of External Affairs, and second, your answers will be combined with those of other participants in the survey before being given to the Department of External Affairs. This survey is registered under the Access to Information Act and the Privacy Act.

			Ī	II	III
37.	What is your age, please? (IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, OFFER TO READ CATEGORIES AND HAVE HIM/HER TELL YOU WHICH CATEGORY HE/SHE FALLS INTO)	18-19 YEARS	(11%) (12%) (14%) (15%) (11%) (8%) (5%) (6%)	(5%)	(10% (16% (13% (14% (9% (7% (7% (6% (5%
38.	Which of the following income groups includes your annual household income? (READ CHOICES)	LESS THAN \$ 5,000	(6%) (9%) (12%) (12%) (12%) (9%) (9%) (9%) (5%)	(7%)	(7% 8% 2% (10% (12% (13% (9% (6% (4%

39.A		you currently attending school, college, or university as 1-time student?	r	тт	TTT
		YES (SKIP TO Q42)6* NO (GO TO Q39B)A	<u>I</u> (6%)		
	IF "NO	" TO Q39A, ASK:			
	39.B	What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed?			
		PUBLIC/ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (GRADE 1-8)	(19%) (30%) (14%) (7%)	(8%) (21%) (28%) (15%) (6%) (16%)	(19%) (27%) (19%) (6%)
40.		currently employed NO (SKIP TO Q42)	(66%)	(64%)	(67%)
9 9	IF "YI	ES" TO Q40 ASK:			
	41.	What type of company or business do you work in? (READ ALL CHOICES ROTATING ORDER)? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE REPONSE)			
		AGRICULTURE	(2%) (1%) (1%) (2%) (7%) (5%) (3%) (6%)	(3%) (4%) (1%) (1%) (2%) (6%) (4%) (5%) (16%)	(3% (1% (1% (25 (7% (4% (4% (6%
		PUBLIC SECTOR/GOVERNMENT 10 ARMED FORCES 11 FINANCE/INSURANCE/REAL ESTATE 12 MANUFACTURING 13 WHOLESALE 14 RETAIL 15 SERVICE 16 EDUCATION 17 SELF-EMPLOYED 18	(1%) (8%) (10%) (2%) (6%) (14%) (9%)	(10%) (*) (5%) (13%) (3%) (7%) (12%) (12%)	(* (5% (10% (2% (6% (14% (8%

42.	Do you, or does any other me labour union?	mber of your family belong to a	Ī	<u>II</u>	
		RESPONDENT	(14%) (15%) (4%) (68%)	(15%) (3%)	(17%)
43.	Sex. (BY OBSERVATION)	MALE1 FEMALE2		(50%) (50%)	
44.	Language of questionnaire.	ENGLISH		(77%) (23%)	
45.	Date.	DAY 1 NOVEMBER 1201 DAY 2 NOVEMBER 1302 DAY 3 NOVEMBER 1403 DAY 4 NOVEMBER 1704 DAY 5 NOVEMBER 1805 DAY 6 NOVEMBER 1906 DAY 7 NOVEMBER 2507 DAY 8 NOVEMBER 2608 DAY 9 DECEMBER 209 DAY 10 DECEMBER 310 DAY 11 DECEMBER 811 DAY 12 DECEMBER 912 DAY 13 DECEMBER 1413 DAY 14 DECEMBER 1514 DAY 15 DECEMBER 1615	(20%) (6%) (37%) (14%) (0%) (0%) (0%) (0%) (0%) (0%) (0%) (0%)	(0%) (0%) (0%) (0%) (0%) (0%) (18%) (18%) (18%) (18%) (0%) (0%) (0%) (0%) (0%)	(0% (0% (0% (0% (0% (0% (0% (0%

FRENCH QUESTIONNAIRE

A.	Avez-vous 18 ans ou plus et êtes-vous un(e) résident(e) du Canada?	OUI (CONTINUEZ)A NON (DEMANDEZ À PARLER À UN RÉPONDANT ADMISSIBLE, SI LA RÉPONSE EST TOUJOURS "NON", REMERCIEZ ET TERMINEZ)B
В.	Vous ai-je rejoint(e) à votre numéro de téléphone de votre domicile?	OUI (CONTINUEZ)A NON (DEMANDEZ À PARLER À UN RÉPONDANT ADMISSIBLE, SI LA RÉPONSE EST TOUJOURS "NON", REMERCIEZ ET TERMINEZ)B
c.	Est-ce que vous, ou un autre membre de votre famille ou de votre foyer travaillez dans le genre d'entreprises suivantes une compagnie d'études de marché, une agence de publicité, une compagnie de relations publiques,	
1.	Diriez-vous que vous êtes très a au courant ou pas au courant du l'accord de libre-échange entre l	
		PAS AU COURANT DU TOUT

KEY

- I = WAVE I -- 12 NOVEMBRE -- 19 NOVEMBRE, 1987
- II = WAVE II -- 25 NOVEMBRE -- 4 DÉCEMBRE, 1987 III = WAVE III -- 8 DÉCEMBRE -- 16 DÉCEMBRE, 1987
- Note 1: Les résultats peuvent ne pas égaler 100% à cause des ajustements effectués.
 - 2: (*) représente une valeur plus grande que 0 mais plus petite que 0.5.





échange libre-éc		ats-Unis ont abouti à un accord de
2.	favorable, opposé ou fort	êtes-vous fortement favorable, ement opposé à l'accord de libre- entre le Canada et les États-Unis?
		FORTEMENT OPPOSÉ
réalités États-Ur	s suivantes, un accord de l nis est une très bonne cho u une très mauvaise chose.	si selon vous, pour chacune des ibre-échange entre le Canada et les ose, une bonne chose, une mauvaise Qu'en est-il, en ce qui concerne ET ALTERNEZ L'ORDRE DES ITEMS 3 À
3.	L'économie canadienne?	
		TRÈS MAUVAISE
4.	Votre économie provincial	e?
		TRÈS MAUVAISE
5.	Le bien-être financier de	vous et votre famille?
	•	TRÈS MAUVAISE
	FIN DE L'ALTERNANCE	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

personnes à propos de ce qui peut arriver maintenant qu'il y a un traité de libre-échange entre le Canada et les États-Unis. Pour chacune d'elles, j'aimerais que vous me disiez si vous croyez qu'il est très probable, assez probable, assez improbable ou très improbable que cela se produise. Voici la première déclaration (LISEZ LA LISTE ET ALTERNEZ L'ORDRE DES DÉCLARATIONS 6 À 17)			
6.	Dans l'ensemble, il y aura plus d'emplois gagnés que d'emplois perdus au Canada.		
	TRÈS IMPROBABLE		
7.	Le prix de beaucoup de biens de consommation importés des États-Unis par le Canada sera plus bas.		
	TRÈS IMPROBABLE		
8.	Nous pourrons maintenir les programmes gouvernementaux actuels, tels que l'assurance-chômage et l'assurance-maladie.		
	TRÈS IMPROBABLE		
9.	De nombreuses compagnies américaines fermeront leurs usines au Canada.		
	TRÈS IMPROBABLE		



	10.	Notre économie deviendra l'économie américaine que notre capacité de prendre économique.	
			TRÈS IMPROBABLE
	11.	Les Canadiens auront un rever	nu plus élevé qu'actuellement.
			TRÈS IMPROBABLE
	12.		égions du Canada, en matière de ront progressivement réduites.
			TRÈS IMPROBABLE
	13.	L'influence américaine sur ne et sur d'autres traits importante.	os livres, nos revues, nos films de notre culture sera plus
			TRÈS IMPROBABLE
	14.	Le Canada et les États-Unis bien des façons.	deviendront plus semblables de
			TRÈS IMPROBABLE
DEC	ima Resi	EARCH	SPONTANÉE)5

15.	Les États-Unis s'en tiendront	aux termes de l'entente.
		TRÈS IMPROBABLE
		SPONTANÉE)5
16.	L'industrie canadienne de l'a profit des États-Unis.	utomobile perdra des emplois au
		TRÈS IMPROBABLE
		PAS D'OPINION (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE)5
17.	Les gouvernements seront re l'aide qu'ils pourront offr dans les régions les plus pau	estreints dans l'importance de ir aux entreprises canadiennes vres du pays.
	•	TRÈS IMPROBABLE
	FIN DE L'ALTERNANCE	SFUNIANEE/
18.	le libre-échange entre le Ca	ois qui peuvent être créés par mada et les États-Unis ne sont la limitation de l'influence adienne.
	des échanges entre le Canad	ois créés par la libéralisation la et les États-Unis sont plus n de l'influence américaine sur
	De ces deux points de vue, vôtre?	lequel correspond le plus au
	DE L'INFLUENCE LES EMPLOIS SONT PLUS IMPORTA DE L'INFLUENCE	IMPORTANTS QUE LA LIMITATION ANTS QUE LA LIMITATION ANÉE)



Certains disent que l'accord de libre-échange va renforcer 19. l'économie canadienne et lui permettra ainsi de continuer à jouer un rôle indépendant sur la scène mondiale. D'autres disent que l'accord de libre-échange liera si fortement le Canada aux États-Unis que notre capacité de jouer un rôle indépendant sur la scène mondiale sera affaiblie. De ces deux points de vue, lequel correspond le plus au vôtre? RENFORCERA LA CAPACITÉ DE JOUER UN RÔLE INDÉPENDANT.....1 AFFAIBLIRA LA CAPACITÉ DE JOUER UN RÔLE INDÉPENDANT......2 PAS D'OPINION (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE)......3 En pensant aux différentes personnes dont vous respectez 20. l'opinion sur l'accord de libre-échange, sur l'opinion de qui vous basez-vous le plus pour vous faire une idée sur l'accord de libre-échange depuis sa signature... les économistes et autres spécialistes, les chefs d'entreprises, les chefs syndicaux, les dirigeants du gouvernement fédéral, votre gouvernement provincial ou les médias d'information? (N'ACCEPTEZ QU'UNE SEULE RÉPONSE) LES ÉCONOMISTES ET AUTRES SPÉCIALISTES.....1 LES CHEFS D'ENTREPRISES......2 LES CHEFS SYNDICAUX......3 LES DIRIGEANTS DU GOUVERNEMENT FÉDÉRAL.....4 LE GOUVERNEMENT PROVINCIAL.....5 LES MÉDIAS D'INFORMATION......6 PAS D'OPINION (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE)......7

Je vais maintenant vous lire une liste de déclarations que diverses personnes ont faites à un moment ou à un autre. J'aimerais que vous m'indiquiez ce que vous pensez, personnellement, de chacune des déclarations, en me donnant un chiffre de -5 à +5; une note de -5 voulant dire que vous êtes en désaccord complet avec la déclaration et +5 que vous êtes tout-à-fait d'accord avec cette déclaration. La plupart des opinions des gens se situent quelque part entre ces deux points, selon ce qu'ils pensent de la déclaration. Voici la première déclaration...(ALTERNEZ LES DÉCLARATIONS 21 À 24...LISEZ LA PREMIÈRE DÉCLARATION...RÉPÉTEZ LES EXPLICATIONS SUR L'ÉCHELLE SI NÉCESSAIRE) Où vous situez-vous sur cette échelle?

DÉSACCORD COMPLET

CELA DÉPEND

TOUT À FAIT D'ACCORD

-5 -4 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 +4 +5

ÉVALUATION

- D'après ce que j'ai lu ou entendu, le Canada en a trop donné aux Américains dans le traité de libreéchange
- 22. Je crains que le libre-échange ne fasse qu'accroître les tensions entre différentes régions et différents groupes au Canada.
- 23. Je vois le traité de libre-échange avec les Américains comme faisant partie de l'ensemble des efforts faits pour améliorer la situation commerciale du Canada avec les autres pays du monde.
- 24. Je crois que le gouvernement a une bonne idée des moyens à prendre pour réagir aux changements qu'entraînera le traité de libre-échange au Canada.

FIN DE L'ALTERNANCE

25.	À votre connais de l'aide aux	ssance, est- x industrie	ce que le	gouverne x indivi	ment féd dus qui	éral offri pourraie	ra
	souffrir suite les États-Unis	à l'accord	l de libre	e-échange	entre 1	e Canada	et
			ot	JI			1



Maintenant, je vais vous énumérer certaines entreprises canadiennes et j'aimerais que vous me disiez, pour chacune d'elles, si vous croyez que l'absence d'un accord de libre-échange avec les États-Unis signifiera que cette industrie connaîtra une meilleure situation ou une situation pire dans le futur. Qu'en est-il...(LISEZ ET ALTERNEZ L'ORDRE DE Q26 - 32) SITUATION PIRE.....1 26. De l'industrie du pétrole SITUATION MEILLEURE.....2 et du gaz? NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE)......3 PAS D'OPINION (RÉPONSE (SPONTANÉE).....4 SITUATION PIRE.....1 27. De l'industrie du vin? SITUATION MEILLEURE.....2 NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE)......3 PAS D'OPINION (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).....4 SITUATION PIRE.....1 28. Des produits du bois et SITUATION MEILLEURE.....2 du papier? NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).....3 PAS D'OPINION (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).....4 SITUATION PIRE.....1 29. Des pêcheries et des produits SITUATION MEILLEURE.....2 de la pêche? NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).....3 PAS D'OPINION (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).....4 30. De l'agriculture et SITUATION PIRE.....1 SITUATION MEILLEURE.....2 de l'élevage? NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ . (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE)......3 PAS D'OPINION (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).....4 SITUATION PIRE.....1 31. De l'automobile et des

pièces d'automobiles?

SITUATION MEILLEURE.....2

(RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).....3

SPONTANÉE).....4

NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCE

PAS D'OPINION (RÉPONSE

32.	Du cinéma, des livres et des revues?	SITUATION PIRE
	FIN DE L'ALTERNANCE	
33.	pour ce qui est de l'énergie, 1	lu ou entendu, diriez-vous que, 'accord de libre-échange est une ffaire, une mauvaise affaire ou e Canada?
		TRÈS MAUVAISE AFFAIRE
34.	énergétiques canadiennes aux ma	garantir l'accès des ressources archés américains favorisera le ation d'emploi et la sécurité
	D'autres disent qu'il serait mie d'énergie canadienne aux États-U le contrôle qu'a le Canada sur s	oux de ne pas encourager la vente Unis parce que cela affaiblirait es ressources énergétiques.
	Lequel de ces deux points de vue	est le plus proche du vôtre?
	MIEUX DE NE PAS ENCOURAGER LA VE AUX ÉTATS-UNIS	OPPEMENT, LES EMPLOIS
35.	D'après ce que vous avez lu ou des membres du Congrès américai l'accord de libre-échange avec l	entendu, est-ce que la plupart in sont favorables ou opposés à e Canada?
		OPPOSÉS AU LIBRE-ÉCHANGE1 EN FAVEUR DU LIBRE-ÉCHANGE2 PAS D'OPINION (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE)

36.	Est-ce que le fait de savoir porté, ou moins porté, à appuyer change pas du tout votre point de	l'accord, ou est-ce que cela ne
•	PLUS PORTÉ À APPUYER L'ACCORD MOINS PORTÉ À APPUYER L'ACCORD NE CHANGE PAS SON POINT DE VUE PAS D'OPINION (RÉSPONSE SPONTANÉE	
extéraimer stat: tenur nom Deux part Affarsur	sondage est effectué pour le con rieures. Afin de nous permettre rions que vous répondiez à quelo istique. Nous désirons vous as es strictement confidentielles, d ne sera pas divulgué au minist ièmement, vos réponses seront d icipants au sondage avant d'êt ires extérieures. Ce sondage est l'accès à l'information et de eignements personnels.	de classer vos réponses, nous ques questions d'ordre purement surer que vos réponses seront e deux façons. D'abord, votre cère des Affaires extérieures. combinées à celles des autres re remises au ministère des enregistré en vertu de la Loi
37.	Quel âge avez-vous, s'il vous plaît? (SI LE RÉPONDANT REFUSE DE RÉPONDRE, OFFREZ LUI DE LIRE LES CATÉGORIES AFIN QU'IL(ELLE) PUISSE VOUS DIRE OÙ L'INSCRIRE).	18-19 ANS 01 20-24 ANS 02 25-29 ANS 03 30-34 ANS 04 35-39 ANS 05 40-44 ANS 06 45-49 ANS 07 50-54 ANS 08 55-59 ANS 09 60-64 ANS 10 65 ANS OU PLUS 11
38.	Dans quelle catégorie puis-je inscrire le revenu annuel de votre <u>foyer</u> ? (LISEZ LA LISTE)	MOINS DE 5 000 \$
39.A	Fréquentez-vous actuellement un université en tant qu'étudiant(e)	ne école, un collège, ou une à plein temps? OUI (PASSEZ À Q42)6*
		NON (ALLEZ À Q39B)A

SI "NON" À Q39A, DEMANDEZ :		
39.B Quel est le niveau de scolarité le plus élevé que vous ayez atteint?		
ÉCOLE PUBLIQUE/PRIMAIRE (ANNÉES 1 À 8)		
Travaillez-vous présentement NON (PASSEZ À Q42)		
SI "OUI" À Q40, DEMANDEZ :		
41. Pour quel genre de compagnie ou d'entreprise travaillez- vous? (LISEZ TOUS LES CHOIX EN ALTERNANT L'ORDRE) (N'ACCEPTEZ QU'UNE SEULE RÉPONSE) AGRICULTURE		





42.	Est-ce que vous ou un membre de v syndicat?	otre famille faites partie d'un
		RÉPONDANT
43.	Sexe. (D'APRÈS VOTRE OBSERVATION)	MASCULIN1 FÉMININ2
44.	Langue du questionnaire.	ANGLAIS1 FRANÇAIS2
45.	DATE DE L'ENTREVUE:	JOUR 1 NOVEMBRE 12

D. DERIVATION OF NEW VARIABLES

49 to 52 ISSUE STATEMENTS

was derived from

Q.21 to

Q.24

by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

21 to 24

49 to 52

1-5

1. DISAGREE

6

2. DEPENDS

7-11

3. AGREE

Q53: ECONOMY VS INDEP

was derived from

Q3: EFF ON CDN ECONOMY

Q18: JOB VS LMT INFLUENCE

Q19: FT EFF CDN ROLE IN WORLD

The following matrices were used in creating this variable

A. STEP 1: CREATE TEMPORARY VARIABLE

	Q.18		
	0	1	2
0	0	3	0
1	0	3	2
2	0	3	2
3	0	3	1
4	0	3	1
		·	

B. STEP 2

		Q.19	
	0	1	2
			
0	0	0	0
_			
1	1	1	1
2	4	4	4
3	0	2	3
	2	0 0 1 1 2 4	0 1 0 0 0 1 1 1 1 2 4 4

The new variable categories are:

- 1. ECON 1ST/STRENGTHENED
- 2. INDEP 1ST/STRENGTHENED
- 3. INDEP 1ST/WEAKENED
- 4. ECON 1ST/WEAKENED

54. DESIRE VS SUPPORT FT

was derived from

53: ECONOMY VERSUS INDEP

2: SUPPORT FT

The following matrix was created:

		Q.2				
	1	0	1	2	3	4 .
Q 5 3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	1	0	3	3	1	1
	2	0	4	4	2	2
	3	0	8	8	6	6
	4	0	7	7	5	5

The resulting categories are as follows:

- ECON MET/SUPPORT
- INDEP MET/SUPPORT
- 3. ECON MET/OPPOSE
- 4. INDEP MET/OPPOSE
- 5. ECO NT MET/SUPPORT
- IND NT MET/SUPPORT
- 7. ECON NT MET/OPPOSE
- 8. INDEP NT MET/OPPOSE

57 EMPLOYMENT STATUS

was derived from

Q43: sex

Q40:

employed outside home

using the following matrix:

Q.40

	0	1	2
0	0	0	0
1	0	2	ľ
2	0	4	3

producing the following categories:

- 1. WORKING MEN
- NON-WORKING MEN
- 3. WORKING WOMEN
- 4. NON-WORKING WOMEN

