DECIMA

NATION-WIDE ISSUES
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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A. The Meaning of Trade

For Canadians, trade is "rocks and logs," and it is important. When asked what "kind of industry or products is Canada best at producing which Canada could sell world-wide," the overwhelming response mentioned resource products. Over one-third (38%) of respondents mentioned renewable resources -- primarily agricultural products. Forest products stood second at 22%, while energy was third with 10%. While all mentions of manufacturing or production stood at 14%, this can be broken down into heavy manufacturing (primarily autos) at 5%, traditional manufacturing (e.g., textiles) 3%, and future-oriented manufacturing and processes at 6%. In all, this is a very clear picture of a country which sees as its comparative advantage, its resource riches. From other work we know that there is no denigration of being "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Instead, building on that comparative advantage by doing further processing of those resource riches is often seen as the best economic development strategy.

When these data are looked at on a regional basis, we see that there is a tendency for each province to be more likely to believe that its products are the sort of products which the country is best able to produce and sell. Table 1 makes this clear.

Table 1

BEST PRODUCTS FOR EXPORT BY REGION

PRODUCT	CANADIAN AVERAGE %	REGION	%
Primary Renewable (agriculture & fisheries)	38	Prairies	58
		Atlantic	48
Forest Products	22	B.C.	60
Energy	10	Alberta	26
		Québec	16
Heavy Manufacturing	5	Ontario	8

Taken together, this table and the overall results indicate a belief by Canadians -- or perhaps more a hope -- that their particular province's products will do well internationally. As we shall see later, this does not necessarily mean that their products would do well in a freer trade arrangement with the United States. The clearest example of this is provided by the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan: both provinces believe that their grain crops are excellent exports for the country; however, they are skeptical about their benefiting from freer trade with the United States, clearly because they do not see a market in the United States for their products.

B. Trading Partners

As the data from the previous section hint, there is a very large difference between general attitudes about trade and specific beliefs about freer trade with the United States. In fact, there is no consensus that the United States should provide the focus for our future trade efforts.

There is a very widespread (78%) awareness that the United States is the primary market for Canadian exports, as well as the primary source of Canadian imports (69%). When asked, however, in "the future where Canada should try to sell more of the goods and services we produce," the United States did not dominate responses, although more people did mention it than any other area. Table 2 shows the regional responses.

Table 2

WHERE CANADA SHOULD TRADE BY REGION

	UNITED STATES %	PACIFIC %	EUROPE %	OTHER %
REGION				
British Columbia	28	43	21	7
Alberta	35	31	24	10
Saskatchewan/Manitoba	30	26	26	18
Ontario	29	28	25	15
Québec	37	20	26	15
Atlantic	35	22	27	12
CANADIAN AVERAGE	33	27	25	13

This table shows the relatively low priority attached to trade with the United States; indeed, strong majorities in every province can be mustered for diversification rather than reinforcing existing United States-centered trading patterns.

C. Attitudes Towards the United States

As the earlier section alerted us, there are mixed views about the United States. First, the fact of its dominance and its influence on Canada is recognized and is not a source of disquiet for most Canadians. It is, instead, a fact -- one which conditions the way in which we look at the world.

When asked what form they would like our relationship with the United States to take, a near majority (46%) said "businesslike but neighbourly." In contrast, only 13% said "the warmest and closest of friends," while 36% said "good friends and trading partners." Only a small number (6%) said that they wanted the relationship to be "cool and independent."

In comparison with their assessments of the current relationship, this represents a very mild desire for a warmer relationship with the United States.

As well, the respondents were asked for their description of "what the government sees as the ideal relationship with the United States" Overall, the respondents thought that the government wanted a significantly closer relationship with the United States than currently existed, or than they the public wanted. The public believe that the government wants a relationship which is out of step with public desires. This does not mean that they want us to distance ourselves from the United States, rather they only want to ensure that the relationship is not too close.

This preference seems to rest on a belief that the Americans are our friends, but that they will not put their own national interests aside just because of our friendship. Canadians expects the government of the United States to act in the interests of their own country, not of ours. Thus, 73% agree that "Americans, while they may like us, don't do us any special favours when it comes to trade and economics." Only 21% disagree with that proposition. Similarly, solid majorities in all regions would like to see trade shifted towards countries other than the United States.

The preference for a diversified series of economic relationships does not arise out of a fear of the United States or out of an inferiority complex. Indeed, 61% said that they were "confident that we will bargain firmly and effectively with the Americans," while 39% thought that "we will end up with a poor deal."

When asked why they thought Canada would be able to bargain well, most people talked about the ability of our negotiators and the intelligence and resourcefulness of our leaders. Through these responses, one can see a real sense of pride in our ability to deal with the Americans, and even to be able to outdo them through wit and agility.

Canadians reject the idea that success in negotiations can come (indeed, even whether they should come) from close personal ties between the President and the Prime Minister. Seventy-two percent (72%) of the respondents said that "there are powerful industrial and congressional leaders who can force the President to take certain steps to improve the American economy even if this hurts Canada," while 27% say that "a good personal relationship between Prime Minister Mulroney and President Reagan is the most important ingredient in ensuring good economic relations."

Canadians would also like to see the government push our point of view more strongly with the Americans. Fifty-eight percent, 58% say that the Canadian government does not push its own point of view strongly enough with the Americans, while 33% believe that they have the right balance and 9% believe that they are pushing too hard.

Taken together, these signs constitute a major warning for the government. Canadians want a friendly, but formal relationship with the United States. They do not want us to be at all dependent on American largesse or friendship. Furthermore, such dependence, as well as being demeaning, is thought unlikely to be successful.

On the other side of this warning is a very clear indication of opportunities. Canadians would very much like to be able to see themselves as out bargaining the Americans. If their success came from agility and negotiating prowess, it would be a source of pride. If it were seen to be something given by the Americans, it would be a source of embarrassment.

D. Regional Variations

While the views of freer trade are not deeply divided across most groups' lines, there are some quite significant differences which show up regionally. At a very simple level, there is a significant difference in the importance which is attached to trade. In response to a question asking "how important trade is to our country," the regional responses showing the percentages saying "very important" are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

TRADE IS "VERY IMPORTANT"
TO COUNTRY BY REGION

REGION	PERCENTAGE
British Columbia	74
Prairies	76
Ontario	71
Québec	55
Atlantic	67
NATIONAL AVERAGE	68

A similar pattern is repeated when respondents were asked how important international trade was to the company for which they worked. Again, Québec respondents are significantly less likely to believe that trade is important, while residents of Ontario and the West are more likely to say that it is important.

Even more telling, however, is the general drop-off in the perceived importance as one moves from the national level to the personal or household level. While 68% say that trade is "very important" to the country, only 41% believe that it is "very important" to their company or employer. This is a consistent pattern throughout the data: while trade is important, it is not very immediate.

E. Beneficiaries of Freer Trade

While we have seen different attitudes about the importance of trade, there are also differences in the perceived beneficiaries of a trade agreement and in regional views of the national impact of freer trade. Respondents were asked "if trade barriers were removed, and goods and services were able to flow more freely across the Canada - United States border" would Canada benefit or lose. While the overall response is favourable (55% say Canada would benefit), Table 4 shows the regional differences. As well, it shows the regional responses to the question of whether your province would benefit more or less than other provinces if trade barriers were removed.

Table 4

NET BENEFIT TO CANADA AND TO PROVINCES
OF THE REMOVAL OF
TRADE BARRIERS WITH UNITED STATES BY REGION

REGION	BENEFIT TO CANADA (Benefit-Lose)	BENEFIT TO PROVINCE (More-Less)
British Columbia	+28	+46
Alberta	+44	+61
Saskatchewan	+10	+26
Manitoba	+2	+13
Balance of Ontario	+7	+21
Total Ontario	-2	+15
Québec	+19	+32
New Brunswick	+7	+39
Nova Scotia	+21	+36
P.E.I.	+16	+20
Newfoundland	+54	+46
NATIONAL AVERAGE	+19	+33

This table shows that there is an overall belief that the country will benefit, but an even stronger belief that their particular province will do better from freer trade than will the country as a whole. While this is clearly not possible, it points out the general mild optimism — or perhaps the hope that things will turn out well -- which underlies feelings in this debate.

The table also underscores a persistent concern. Ontario, while believing that the province will benefit disproportionately from freer trade, does not think that it will do much for the country. In Toronto, this feeling is particularly strong and, in fact, Torontonians believe that there will be a net cost to the country.

A comparison of Tables 3 and 4 also points out another phenomenon: the lack of correlation between perceptions that trade is important and a belief that freer trade with the United States will benefit Canada, or that it will be particularly good for my region. This can be summarized regionally as follows:

o Trade is important <u>and</u> Canada benefits from freer trade with the United States:

  - Alberta,
  - British Columbia;

o Trade is important <u>but</u> Canada is unlikely to benefit much from freer trade with the United States:

  - Ontario,
  - Manitoba,
  - Saskatchewan; and

o Trade is not overly important <u>but</u> Canada is likely to benefit a fair amount:

  - Québec,
  - Atlantic Canada.

The conclusion is clear: there must be three distinct, regionally sensitive communications themes. In the two westernmost provinces, the continued thrust must be to emphasize the importance of freer trade to the region's economy. In Québec and the Maritimes, the importance of trade — particularly United States trade -- needs to be emphasized. In Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the importance of the current talks as part of a larger trade strategy seems to be the appropriate course. All of these patterns of preference are consistent with the preferences for future trade discussed earlier, as well as with perceptions of current trading patterns.

As a final look at regional views about the beneficiaries of freer trade, two issue propositions were included in a battery of statements. The first was that "freer trade with the United States would help Ontario industry more than industry in other provinces." Later, a similar statement was made about Québec industry. The summary figures on these questions are interesting: 58% agree that Ontario will benefit disproportionately and 31% disagree, while only 29% agree that Québec will benefit more than others and 53% disagree. Even more important are the regional figures on this question.

Table 5

QUÉBEC AND ONTARIO'S NET BENEFIT FROM FREER TRADE WITH UNITED STATES BY REGION

REGION	ONTARIO BENEFITS (Agree-Disagree)	QUÉBEC BENEFITS (Agree-Disagree)
British Columbia	+26	-27
Prairies	+23	-23
Ontario	+19	-30
Québec	+34	-18
Atlantic	+34	-23

This table points out three important facts. First, there is very little regional differentiation -- everyone agrees that Ontario industry will be helped more than industry in other provinces and everyone agrees that Québec industry will not. Second, Ontario is seen as the winner. Finally, Québec is seen as a likely loser, even among Québecois.

The irony in these data is that Ontario is the province with the greatest resistance to freer trade with the United States, while Québec generally favours it. This also means that there is the potential to have the worst of all worlds: a consensus that Ontario benefits, and thus the possibility of an anti-Ontario feeling being generated, without winning the support of Ontario.

F. Thematic Analysis

An examination of the correlation between various thematic issue statements and levels of overall support for the trade initiative suggests that views are being formed more on the basis of emotional concerns than practical ones. More specifically, the dominant question appears not so much to be one of economic competitiveness, productivity, and trade balance, but one of arriving at a comfortable middle ground in our relationship with the United States.

On the one hand, many people are concerned that our political, cultural, and economic well-being are at risk in any move to establish closer ties with the United States and oppose the initiative for that reason. Among supporters the opposite view has wide appeal, which holds that we should not be so nervous about our ability to retain our independent qualities, and instead should have a greater sense of confidence about our ability to work closely with Americans without becoming like them.

Two other issues are also heavily in play. First is the concept that freer trade will result in more jobs in the long-term, and that short-term shocks may be a necessary corollary. Second, the question of whether this debate will reopen healing wounds and damage the progress made towards national reconciliation is also a powerful predictor of attitudes towards the initiative in general.

Table 6 illustrates the degree of correlation between each of the 18 issue statements tested and the question which asked people if they thought "freer trade would be good for Canada" or "not having freer trade would be better." They are listed in descending order of strength of relationship.

Table 6

ISSUE STATEMENT	CORRELATION CO-EFFICIENT
There may be economic dislocations and short-term problems if Canada enters into free trade arrangements but we will have to have free trade in order to ensure that there will be more jobs in the future.	.4401
I'm really concerned that the free trade issue is only going to create tensions and frustrations in Canada, just as things were getting better.	.3305
If our economy becomes any more closely tied to the American economy we will lose our political independence.	.3103
Because Canada is small compared to the United States, Canadian companies would never survive if there were no trade barriers between the two countries.	.3018
People who oppose a free trade agreement with the United States just don't have enough confidence in Canada.	.2786
If Canada appears to be too friendly with the United States, the Americans will take advantage of us.	.2583
Canada should limit the amount of foreign goods which can be sold in Canada.	.2273
Americans, while they may like us, don't do us any special favours when it comes to trade and economics.	.1142
Canada must maintain entirely independent social, cultural, and foreign policies even if they lead to problems in our economic and trade relations with the United States.	.1059
Canadian trade with the United States essentially means that we sell them raw natural resources and that they sell us finished products.	.0929
American workers are generally more productive than Canadian workers.	.0656
In the years ahead our exports will probably be more in the areas of information, services, and research rather than in natural resources or manufactured goods.	.0637

ISSUE STATEMENT	CORRELATION CO-EFFICIENT
Free trade with the United States would help Québec industry more than industry in other provinces.	.0549
Free trade with the United States would help Ontario industry more than industry in other provinces.	.0392
We shouldn't be worried if the Canadian dollar continues to lose ground against the American dollar; it's better for our economy because we can sell more Canadian goods and services to Americans.	.0224
Today, very few Canadian companies develop and manufacture world class products which can compete internationally.	.0211
All the discussions about free trade may matter to businesses, but free trade won't make any difference to the average Canadian worker.	.0181
A lot of people talk about high technology and new types of industry, but we must recognize that Canada's future lies in the things we have always done well, like mining and forestry.	.0052

In order to be evidence of a strong relationship between the two variables in question, the coefficient should be at minimum .2500, which would argue that the first six statements reflect the dominant issues in the debate today.

In short, the overarching concerns weighing on people's minds are about exposing ourselves to the risk of American domination, while the arguments scoring points in favour of the initiative focus on the expectation of long-term gain and a faith that Canada has nothing to fear from going "head-to-head" with the United States, indeed much to look forward to. At the same time, the prospect that freer trade negotiations could damage relations between groups and provinces within Canada is something very strongly linked to levels of support for the initiative and is thus a perception to be avoided, almost at any cost.

G. Summary Points/Conclusions

- o A national communications program, with national themes and regional sub-themes, is possible and most appropriate.

- o The national themes should focus on the fact that this initiative is a fundamental part of planning for Canada's future success and that we should feel proud of our capabilities and hence anxious for a chance to go "head-to-head" with the Americans in our trading relationship. This clearly implies harnessing Canadian nationalism and aligning it with support for the initiative.

- o In each province, in focusing on the "future success" theme, every effort should be made to talk about that province's leading industries and their potential to reap benefits from a trade deal.

- o In some provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan in particular, it is particularly important to characterize the initiative as part of a multilateral push for greater trade, in order to avoid fueling concerns that Canada is too focused on its relationship with the United States.

- o Minimizing tensions within the country, in particular between the federal government and the provinces, is fundamental to ongoing support for the initiative.

II. INTRODUCTION

The following report provides a detailed analysis of Canadians' attitudes toward international trade in general, and freer trade with the United States, specifically. The report discusses the public's perception of foreign trade and Canada's primary trading partners. As well, general attitudes toward the United States, the current Canada-United States trade situation, perceptions of freer trade (the economic effects and beneficiaries of such an agreement), and of the process towards such a trade arrangement will be probed. Along with demographic and regional variations, four indices have been created in order to delineate particular characteristics within the public. The four indices which have been created are social activism*, ownership nationalism, cultural nationalism and general nationalism. These indices will be used in order to further examine attitudes and perceptions of Canada's trading relationship with the United States.

* Respondents to the survey were asked a series of questions designed to identify "social activists." In order to identify social activists, participation levels in three distinct forms of activity were measured; more specifically, 13% have helped circulate a petition in order to influence the outcome of a public issue in the last two or three years, 19% sometimes or often contribute money to a political party, and 35% say they often persuade others to take their views on public issues. Consistent with findings from _The Decima Quarterly_, only a small minority of respondents can be defined as "high-level" social activists (17%); these are people who are not only more active, but participate more frequently in the more difficult activities. A further 37% can be defined as "mid-level" activists and 27% can be defined as "low-level" activists. One in five were defined as "non-activists" as they rarely participated in the identified activities.

Table 1 outlines the demographic characteristics of social activists. This group tends to be upscale: persons of high socio-economic status and the middle-aged. As well, activism is influenced by union affiliation and media consumption.

Table 1

SOCIAL ACTIVISTS	NON-ACTIVISTS
Residents of Quebec and British Columbia	Atlantic Canadians
Middle aged	55 years and older
High income	Low income
University educated	Elementary/high school education
Union affiliation	Female
Employed	Not employed
French speaking	English speaking
Frequent news watchers	Seldom watch news
Rely on newspapers as primary source of information	Rely on TV or radio as primary source of information
Business section readers	

The second index to be created was labelled ownership nationalism. One in five (21%) were defined as ownership nationalists; these respondents favour governments limiting foreign ownership in Canada even if it means fewer jobs for Canadians. Twenty-nine percent (29%) were defined as "no-cost" nationalists because, while they favour a limit on foreign ownership, they would change their position if it cost jobs. A further 49% were defined as "non-nationalists" as they oppose placing limits on foreign ownership. Table 2 shows the demographic and social characteristics of nationalists.

Table 2

NATIONALISTS	NO-COST NATIONALISTS	NON-NATIONALISTS
University Educated 25-34 years 45-54 years Less than $10,000 $50,000 or more More frequently read newspapers More likely to rely on newspapers as primary source of information Business section readers Residents of Manitoba and Saskatchewan	Elementary/high school education Middle aged Children Watch news infrequently Union member More likely to rely on TV as primary source of information Front page/international new readers French speaking Atlantic Canadians and Quebecers	Elementary education 18-24 years 65 years or older No children Seldom read newspapers Non-union member Life/fashion/shopping news readers English speaking Albertans

As shown in Table 2, ownership nationalists have a similar demographic and social profile to "high-level" social activists. They tend to be of higher socio-economic status and heavy media consumers. On the other hand, non-nationalists are less likely to be employed in the work force due to their age and show less interest in business and international affairs.

The third index to be created was labelled cultural nationalism, and is similar to the ownership nationalism index. Respondents labelled as "cultural nationalists" (28%) would oppose including the cultural industries in free trade negotiations with the United States regardless of the costs involved. "No-cost" nationalists (17%) favour excluding these industries only if it would not cause the loss of jobs in other areas. A majority (54%) were labelled "non-nationalists"; they favour including these industries in trade talks. Table 3 examines the characteristics of cultural nationalists along regional and demographic lines.

Table 3

NATIONALISTS	NO-COST NATIONALISTS	NON NATIONALISTS
65 years and older	18-24 years	Seldom watch news
Frequently read newspapers	65 years and older	Sometimes read newspapers
Rely on newspaper as primary source of information	Seldom/never read newspapers	Rely on TV as primary source of information
Read front page/ international and business sections	Rely on radio as primary source of information	Read life/fashion/ shopping sections
University educated	Read classified ads	High school education
Men		Women
Urbanites		Residents of British
High level social activitists		Columbia, Alberta, and Newfoundland
Residents of Metro Toronto and Balance - Quebec		

As shown in Table 3, cultural nationalism varies to a lesser degree on the basis of demographic factors and more an the basis of media consumption. Nationalists tend to rely heavily on newspapers and express more interest in current events and business affairs, while non-nationalists tend to consume the media more for entertainment purposes.

The final index to be created was labelled general nationalism. Respondents to the survey were asked a series of questions regarding their perceptions of the federal government's preference towards Canada-United States relations. Four in 10 responded that they would prefer to have a colder (14%) or cooler (23%) relationship with the United States than the governemnt would prefer. On the other hand, 24% would prefer to have a closer (18%) or much closer (6%) relationship with the United States than they perceive the government as wanting. Persons who would prefer the coldest relationship were labelled "anti-Americans," while those who would prefer the closest relationship were labelled "pro-Americans" in this study. Table 4 outlines the demographic and social characteristics of each group.

Table 4

PRO-AMERICANS	ANTI-AMERICANS
65 years & older	Manitoba and Metro Toronto residents
Alberta residents	Always watch news
High school educated	University educated
Rely on TV as primary source of information	Rely on newspapers/radio as primary source of information
Read local news and sports and entertainment	Ownership nationalists
Non-cultural nationalists	Read front page and national or international news
Rural dwellers	Cultural nationalists
	Urbanites

Data from Table 4 show that cultural and ownership nationalists are more likely to be found among those classifed as anti-American. As well, anti-Americans tend to be heavier media consumers and rely on the media primarily for information. Pro-Americans are more likely to rely on the media as a source of entertainment; as well, they exhibit more "downscale" demographic characteristics.

In the final section of the report, a more theoretical approach is employed in order to create four typologies of Canadians. This analysis outlines those perceptions and attitudes which are important in forming impressions of freer trade and support or opposition to trade negotiations.

III. THE MEANING OF TRADE

A majority (60%) of Canadians say that, compared to other people, they have a very good (12%) or good (48%) understanding of how trade barriers operate. While a plurality in every group in society claim to have a good understanding, levels of knowledge differ markedly on the basis of socio-demographic factors.

Residents of Metropolitan Toronto (65%) and Quebec (66%), specifically francophones (68%), are more likely to say they have a better understanding of trade barriers than others, while Atlantic Canadians (51%) are less likely to claim they have a good or very good understanding. As well, men (68%), high income earners (65%), the highly educated (73%) and those with a union affiliation (67%) claim higher levels of understanding.

Understanding of trade barriers also differs on the basis of media consumption. Frequent news watchers (64%) and newspaper readers (64%), especially business section readers (71%), claim a better understanding. In addition, high-level social activists (70%), people with strong anti-American feelings (66%), and ownership nationalists (66%) say they have a better understanding in comparison to others.

Respondents were also asked what exactly the term free or freer trade meant to them. A plurality (42%) responded that freer trade means that there are less or no tariffs/taxes on goods and services crossing international borders. As well, Canadians were just as likely to say that freer trade means less barriers or government restrictions on foreign trade (16%) as they were to say freer trade means increased foreign trade and better relations between countries (16%). The meaning of freer trade for 6% of Canadians was a "bad idea for Canada," while 5% said that it was a "good idea" because of job creation, lower prices and economic growth.

Residents of British Columbia (55%), men (48%), the well educated (54%), and persons earning over $50,000 (52%) were most likely to say that freer trade means less or no taxes/tariffs on international goods, while Quebecers (26%) were more likely to say it means increased trade and better international relations.

In addition, respondents who express the most anti-American feelings (44%) were more likely to say freer trade means fewer taxes/tariffs, while pro-Americans (22%) were more likely to say that freer trade means increased trade and better foreign relations.

When asked whether or not freer trade would be good for Canada, Canadians are divided in their responses. While 55% said freer trade would be good because it would increase our export opportunities and create jobs and economic growth, 42% said not having freer trade would be better because more people would buy Canadian products and services.

Crosstabular analyses reveal that perceptions of freer trade differ greatly along regional lines. Residents of Br.tish Columbia (66%), Alberta (66%), Newfoundland (73%), and Metropolitan Montreal (65%) are more likely to say that freer trade would be good for Canada, while Ontarians (49%), especially Metropolitan Toronto residents (52%), are more likely to say no free trade is better. Attitudes toward freer trade also vary on the basis of nationalistic sentiments. As shown in Table 5, ownership nationalists and cultural nationalists are significantly less likely to favour freer trade than no-cost nationalists or non-nationalists.

Table 5

PERCEPTIONS OF FREER TRADE IN RELATION TO NATIONALISM

	FREE TRADE GOOD FOR CANADA %	NO FREE TRADE BETTER FOR CANADA %
OWNERSHIP NATIONALISM		
Nationalist	48	49
No-Cost Nationalist	59	38
Non-Nationalist	56	41
CULTURAL NATIONALISM		
Nationalist	39	57
No-Cost Nationalist	46	52
Non-Nationalist	67	30

As well, 59% of persons who expressed the most anti-American feelings said that no free trade is better for Canada, while 70% of the most ardent pro-Americans said freer trade is a good idea.

While the public is divided over whether or not freer trade between countries would be good or bad for Canada, there is a general consensus on the types of goods and services Canada is best at exporting.

For Canadians, trade is "rocks and logs," and it is important. When asked what "kind of industry or products is Canada best at producing which Canada could sell world-wide," the overwhelming response mentioned resource products. Over one third (38%) of respondents mentioned renewable resources -- primarily agricultural products. Forest products stood second at 22%, while energy was third with 10%. While all mentions of manufacturing or production stood at 14%, this can be broken down into heavy manufacturing (primarily automobiles) at 5%, traditional manufacturing (e.g., textiles) 3%, and future-oriented manufacturing and processes at 6%. In all, this is a very clear picture of a country which sees as its comparative advantage, its resource riches. From other work, we know that there is no denigration of being "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Instead, building on that comparative advantage by doing further processing of those resource riches is often seen as the best economic development strategy.

When these data are looked at on a regional basis, we see that there is a tendency for each province to be more likely to believe that its products are the sort of products which the country is best able to produce and sell. Table 6 makes this clear.

Table 6

BEST PRODUCTS FOR EXPORT BY REGION

PRODUCT	PERCENTAGE
Primary Renewable (agriculture & fisheries)	
National	38
Prairies	58
Atlantic Canada	48
Forest Products	
National	22
British Columbia	60
Energy	
National	10
Alberta	26
Quebec	16
Heavy Manufacturing	
National	5
Ontario	8

Taken together, this table and the overall results indicate a belief on the part of Canadians -- or perhaps more a hope -- that their particular province's products will do well internationally. As we shall see later, this does not necessarily mean that their products would do well in a freer trade arrangement with the United States. The clearest example of this is provided by the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan: residents in both provinces believe that their grain crops are excellent exports for the country; however, they are skeptical about their benefiting from freer trade with the United States, clearly because they do not see a market in the United States for their products.

IV. TRADING PARTNERS

Canadians were asked a series of questions regarding their perceptions of Canada's trading partners. There is a very widespread (78%) awareness that the United States is the primary market for Canadian goods, as well as the primary source of Canadian imports (68%) (Table 7).

Table 7

PERCEPTIONS OF PRIMARY MARKET FOR CANADIAN EXPORTS IN COMPARISON TO PRIMARY SOURCE OF CANADIAN IMPORTS

	COUNTRY THAT CANADA SELLS MOST TO	COUNTRY THAT CANADA IMPORTS MOST FROM
	%	%
United States	78	69
Japan	6	21
Europe	7	2
China	2	3
Other	4	4

While the majority in every group in society believes that Canada sells the most goods to the United States, there are some regional variations. Residents of the Prairies, specifically Saskatchewan (63%) and Manitoba (62%), are somewhat less likely to view the United States as the primary market for Canadian goods. On the basis of sex and socio-demographic factors, men (85%), high income earners (86%) and the well educated (87%) are among the most likely to cite the United States, as are people who rely on newspapers (84%) as their primary source of information. In addition, perceptions of the United States as the country where Canada sells the most increases with social activism, cultural nationalism and feelings of anti-Americanism.

Perceptions of where Canada buys most of its goods and services varies in much the same way as perceptions of the country's primary export market, with men (76%), persons of high socio-economic status, high-level social activists (77%), and those who rely on newspapers for their information (77%) disproportionately citing the United States. Interestingly, there are no significant regional differences nor variations on the basis of ownership and cultural nationalism.

While the vast majority of Canadians cited the United States as the focus of current trading efforts, a significant minority (21%) view Japan as the country from which Canada imports the most. Those among the most likely to say most imports are from Japan are women (24%), non-activists (27%), pro-Americans (29%), and persons of lower socio-economic status. Perceptions do not vary widely on a regional basis.

While the public currently views the United States as Canada's primary trading partner, there is no consensus that the United States should provide the focus of our future trade efforts. When asked, in "the future where Canada should try to sell more goods and services we produce," the United States did not dominate responses, although more people did mention it than any other area. Table 8 shows the regional responses.

Table 8

WHERE CANADA SHOULD TRADE BY REGION

REGION	U.S. %	PACIFIC %	EUROPE %	OTHER %
British Columbia	28	43	21	7
Alberta	35	31	24	10
Saskatchewan, Manitoba	30	26	26	18
Ontario	29	28	25	15
Quebec	37	20	26	15
Atlantic Canada	35	22	27	12
NATIONAL AVERAGE	33	27	25	13

Table 8 shows the relatively low priority attached to trade with the United States; indeed, strong majorities in every province can be mustered for diversification rather than reinforcing existing United States-centered trading patterns.

Crosstabular analyses reveal socio-demographic differences in attitudes toward where Canada should focus its trading efforts in the future. Among older respondents (38%) and the highly educated (35%), a plurality believe trade should be focused on the Pacific Rim, while men are equally divided between the Pacific Rim (31%) and the United States (31%). Respondents who usually read the business section thoroughly are the most likely to say that Canada should focus on the Pacific Rim (43%). Of particular note is the fact that cultural nationalists (23%) and anti-Americans (21%) are significantly less likely to say trade efforts should be focused on the United States than are non-cultural nationalists (39%) and pro-Americans (37%).

Respondents who did not believe that the United States should be the focus of Canada's future trade efforts were asked "How much effort should we place on our future trading opportunities with the United States?" As shown in Table 9, a plurality (44%) said that Canada should place a little more (28%) or a lot more (16%) emphasis on the United States than other countries.

Table 9

COMPARED TO OTHER COUNTRIES, HOW MUCH EMPHASIS SHOULD WE PLACE ON FUTURE TRADING OPPORTUNITIES WITH THE UNITED STATES*

	PERCENTAGE
A lot more	16
A little more	28
About as much as on other countries	37
A little less/A lot less	19

*n=1,335

On a regional basis, residents of British Columbia (51%), Newfoundland (62%), and Prince Edward Island (61%) are among the most in favour of placing a little more or a lot more emphasis on the United States in comparison to other countries. Attitudes do not vary widely on the basis of other socio-economic factors; however, persons who express the most anti-American feelings (38%) are the most likely to say that Canada should place a little less or a lot less trading emphasis on the United States.

These findings emphasize the public's perception of the current importance of the United States as Canada's primary trading partner. As well, while most Canadians express a desire for diversification in the country's future trading practices, even among those who do not want the United States to be the focus of future trade, a majority do not believe less effort should be placed on opportunities in this area.

V. IMPORTANCE OF TRADE

When asked about the trading that Canada does with other countries, the vast majority (68%) said that trade is very important to our country. Indeed, while 26% believe that trade is somewhat important, only 6% said that it is not very or not at all important.

Significant regional differences are evident in the perceptions of the importance which is attached to trade in general. Respondents were asked, "How important is trade to our country?" The regional responses showing the percentages that said "very important" are presented in Table 10.

Table 10

TRADE IS "VERY IMPORTANT"
TO COUNTRY BY REGION

REGION	PERCENTAGE
British Columbia	74
Alberta	80
Saskatchewan	74
Manitoba	71
Ontario	71
Quebec	55
Atlantic Canada	67
NATIONAL AVERAGE	68

A similar pattern is repeated when respondents are asked how important international trade is to the company for which they work. On a national level, seven out of 10 respondents said that trade is either very important (41%) or somewhat important (29%) for them personally. Again, Quebec respondents (34%) are significantly less likely to believe that trade is very important, while residents of Ontario (44%) and the West (44%) are more likely to say it is very important.

On the basis of other demographic factors, men (72%), persons over 45 years of age (73%), high income earners (80%) and the well educated (81%) are among the most likely to say that trade is very important to Canada, as are people who express the most anti-American feelings (75%). However, there are few demographic differences in the perceived importance of trade on a more personal level.

Even more telling, however, is the general drop off in the perceived importance of trade as one moves from the national level to the personal or household level. While 68% said that trade is "very important" to the country, only 41% believe that it is "very important" to their company or employer. This is a consistent pattern throughout the data: while trade is important, it is not very immediate.

VI. BENEFICIARIES OF FREER TRADE

While we have seen different attitudes about the importance of trade, there are also differences in the perceived beneficiaries of a trade agreement and in regional views of the national impact of freer trade. Respondents were asked "if trade barriers were removed, and goods and services were able to flow more freely across the Canada-United States border" would Canada benefit or lose.

As shown in Table 11, the overall response is favourable (54% say Canada would benefit) and attitudes have not changed significantly since July 1985.

Table 11

BENEFIT TO CANADA OF THE REMOVAL OF TRADE BARRIERS WITH UNITED STATES

	APRIL 1986 %	JULY 1985 %
Benefit a Great Deal	17	16
Benefit Somewhat	36	36
Neither Benefit nor Lose	9	13
Lose Somewhat	23	20
Lose a Great Deal	14	13

On a regional basis, residents of Alberta (69%) and Newfoundland (76%) feel most strongly that Canada would benefit from freer trade with the United States, while residents of Ontario (48%) and Manitoba (45%) are less likely to say the country would benefit. While those employed in the public sector (70%) disproportionately cite benefits with freer trade, few other socio-demographic differences are evident. In terms of nationalism, marked differences in attitudes appear; a majority of cultural nationalists (52%) and people with anti-American leanings (57%) believe that Canada would be the loser in a freer trade agreement with the United States.

As shown in Table 12, perceptions of the benefits of freer trade to Canada are related to attitudes of whether or not freer trade would be good for the country. Those who believe that freer trade would be good for Canada are more likely to believe that our country would benefit from a freer trade arrangement with the United States, while people who believe that no free trade is better tend to say that Canada would be the loser if trade barriers were removed.

Table 12

ATTITUDES TOWARD FREER TRADE IN RELATION TO PERCEPTIONS OF BENEFITS OF FREER TRADE

	BENEFIT SOMEWHAT/ GREAT DEAL %	LOSE SOMEWHAT/ GREAT DEAL %
Free Trade Good	73	18
No Free Trade Better	29	62

Respondents were also asked whether or not they, personally, would benefit from freer trade with the United States. While a plurality (46%) reported that they would benefit a great deal (17%) or somewhat (36%), a significant minority (34%) believe that they will neither benefit nor lose. As with perceptions of the benefits of freer trade on a national level, perceptions of personal benefits tend to vary by specific groups in much the same way.

If a freer trade agreement with the United States were negotiated, virtually all respondents agree that some provinces would benefit substantially more than others, and this belief has marginally increased since July 1985 (from 81% to 85%). On the other hand, the belief that all provinces would benefit equally has declined over the last year from 17% to 13%. While attitudes do not vary greatly, it is notable that Alberta (90%) and Prince Edward Island residents (90%), those earning over $50,000 (90%), the well educated (89%) and high-level social activists (89%) beleive most strongly that some provinces would benefit disproportionately.

While the vast majority of Canadians agree that some provinces would benefit more from a freer trade agreement with the United States, the public is also inclined to believe that their province of residence would benefit more from such an agreement. Table 13 shows the regional responses to the question of whether your province would benefit more or less than other provinces if trade barriers were removed.

Table 13

NET BENEFIT TO CANADA AND TO PROVINCE
OF THE REMOVAL OF
TRADE BARRIERS WITH UNITED STATES BY REGION

REGION	BENEFIT TO CANADA (Benefit - Lose)	BENEFIT TO PROVINCE (More - Less)
British Columbia	+28	+46
Alberta	+44	+61
Saskatchewan	+10	+26
Manitoba	+2	+13
Balance of Ontario	+7	+21
Toronto	-2	+15
Quebec	+19	+32
New Brunswick	+7	+39
Nova Scotia	+21	+36
P.E.I.	+16	+20
Newfoundland	+54	+46
NATIONAL AVERAGE	+19	+33

This table shows that there is an overall belief on the part of Canadians that the country will benefit, but an even stronger belief that their particular province will do better from freer trade than will the country as a whole. While this is clearly not possible, it points out the general mild optimism — or perhaps the hope that things will turn out well -- which underlies feelings in this debate.

The table also underscores a persistent concern. Ontario residents, while believing that the province will benefit disproportionately from freer trade, do not think that it will do much for the country. In Toronto, this feeling is particularly strong and, in fact, Torontonians believe that there will be a net cost to the country.

A comparison of Tables 10 and 13 points out another phenomenon: the lack of correlation between perceptions that trade is important and a belief that freer trade with the United States will benefit Canada, or that it will be particularly good for my region. This can be summarized regionally as follows:

o Trade is important <u>and</u> Canada benefits from freer trade with the United States:

- Alberta,
- British Columbia;

o Trade is important <u>but</u> Canada is unlikely to benefit much from freer trade with the United States:

- Ontario,
- Manitoba,
- Saskatchewan;

o Trade is not overly important <u>but</u> Canada is likely to benefit a fair amount:

- Quebec, and
- Atlantic Canada.

The conclusion is clear: there must be three distinct, regionally sensitive communications themes. In the two western most provinces, the continued thrust must be to emphasize the importance of freer trade to the region's economy. In Quebec and the Maritimes, the importance of trade — particularly United States trade -- needs to be emphasized. In Ontario, Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the importance of the current talks as part of a larger trade strategy seems to be the appropriate course. All of these patterns of preference are consistent with the preferences for future trade discussed earlier, as well as with perceptions of current trading patterns.

As a final look at regional views about the beneficiaries of freer trade, two issue propositions were included in a battery of statements. The first was that "freer trade with the United States would help Ontario industry more than industry in other provinces." Later, a similar statement was made about Quebec industry. The summary figures on these questions are interesting: 58% agree that Ontario will benefit disproportionately and 31% disagree, while only 29% agree that Quebec will benefit more than others and 53% disagree. Even more important are the regional figures on this question.

Table 14

QUEBEC AND ONTARIO'S NET BENEFIT FROM FREER TRADE WITH UNITED STATES BY REGION

	ONTARIO BENEFITS (Agree - Disagree) %	QUEBEC BENEFITS (Agree - Disagree) %
REGION		
British Columbia	+26	-27
Prairies	+23	-23
Ontario	+19	-30
Quebec	+34	-18
Atlantic Canada	+34	-23

This table points out three important facts. First, there is very little regional differentiation -- everyone agrees that Ontario industry wil' be helped more than industry in other provinces and everyone agrees that Quebec industry will not. Second, Ontario is seen as the winner. Finally, Quebec is seen as a likely loser, even among Quebecois.

The irony in these data is that Ontario is the province with the greatest resistance to freer trade with the United States, while Quebec generally favours it. This also means that there is the potential to have the worst of all worlds: a consensus that Ontario benefits, and thus the possibility of an anti-Ontario feeling being generated, without winning the support of Ontario.

VII. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

As the earlier section alerted us, there are mixed views about the United States. First, the fact of its dominant economic influence on Canada is recognized and is not a source of disquiet for most Canadians. It is, instead, a fact -- one which conditions the way in which we look at the world.

When asked to describe the current relationship which exists between Canada and the United States, a near majority (44%) said it was "business-like but neighborly." In contrast, only 11% said "the warmest and closest of friends," while 31% said "good friends and trading partners." Only one in 10 (13%) said the relationship was "cool and independent."

On a regional level, residents of Newfoundland (21%), Alberta (18%), and Manitoba (18%) are more likely to describe the relationship as "cool and independent," while New Brunswick (55%), Prince Edward Island (52%), and Toronto residents (50%) are more likely to say the relationship is "business-like." Attitudes do not vary greatly on the basis of other socio-economic factors.

As well, respondents were asked what form they would like our relationship with the United States to take. A plurality (46%) said they would like the relationship to be "business-like but neighborly," while 36% said "good friends and trading partners". Only 13% would like the United States to be "the warmest and closest of friends" and 6% said the relationship should be "cool and independent." In comparison with their assessments of the current relationship, this represents a very mild desire for a warmer relationship with the United States.

Preferences regarding what form our relationship with the United States should take differ along regional lines. Atlantic Canadians (41%) are somewhat more likely to say they would prefer the United States to be a "good friend and trading partner," while Quebecers (50%) and Torontonians (52%) would prefer a more business-like relationship. Although there are few differences on the basis of other demographic factors, senior citizens (23%) are significantly more likely to prefer the United States to be the "warmest and closest of friends," whereas, the university educated (52%) and high income earners (49%) would prefer a business-like relationship.

Crosstabular analyses reveal that preferences regarding Canada-United States trade relations are related to both perceptions of freer trade and perceptions of personal benefits of a freer trade agreement. Canadians who say freer trade would be good for Canada are more likely to want the United States to be a "good friend and trading partner" (40% compared to the national average of 36%), while people who say no free trade is better are more likely than the national average to prefer a business-like relationship (51% compared to 46%). In addition, people who believe they would benefit a great deal from freer trade are among the most likely to prefer the United States to be the "warmest and closest of friends" (17%), whereas a majority of those who believe they would lose a great deal with a free trade agreement would prefer relations to be business-like (53%).

As well, the respondents were asked for a description of "what the government sees as the ideal relationship with the United States." Overall, the respondents thought that the government wanted a significantly closer relationship with the United States than currently existed, or than they, the public, wanted (Table 15).

Table 15

CANADA-UNITED STATES RELATIONS

	CURRENT RELATIONS %	PERSONAL PREFERENCE REGARDING RELATIONS %	GOVERNMENT PREFERENCE REGARDING RELATIONS %
Warmest and Closest of Friends	11	13	21
Close Friends and Trading Partners	31	36	40
Business-like but Neighbourly	44	46	34
Cool and Independent	13	6	5

It is interesting to note that residents in Manitoba (32%), Metropolitan Toronto (27%) and Metropolitan Montreal (29%) are more likely to believe that the Canadian government wants their relationship to the United States to be the "warmest and closest," while the balance of Quebec (46%) and Prince Edward Island residents (40%) are more likely to say the government's ideal relationship would be business-like. Economic (26%) and cultural (27%) nationalists are more likely to perceive the government as wanting the closest and warmest of relations with the United States, as are people who believe they would lose a great deal if freer trade was negotiated with the United States (34%).

Overall, the public believes that the government wants a relationship which is out of step with public desires. This does not mean that Canadians want the country to distance itself from the United States, rather they only want to ensure that the relationship is not too close.

This preference seems to rest on a belief that the Americans are our friends, but that they will not put their own national interests aside just because of our friendship. Canadians expect the government of the United States to act in the interests of their own country, not of ours. Thus, 73% agree that "Americans, while they may like us, don't do us any special favours when it comes to trade and economics." Only 21% disagree with this position. While this feeling is dominant in all groups of society, Quebecers (83%), the university educated (82%), and high-level social activists (81%) disproportionately agree with the statement. As well, anti-Americans (82%) are significantly more likely to agree that the Americans will look after their own interests first than are pro-Americans (54%).

Taken together, these signs constitute a major warning for the government. Canadians want a friendly but formal relationship with the United States. They do not want us to be at all dependent on American largesse or friendship. Furthermore, such dependence, as well as being demeaning, is thought unlikely to be successful in achieving national economic goals.

VIII. FREER TRADE WITH THE UNITED STATES

A. The Current Trade Situation

When asked to describe the duties and tariffs or other barriers governing trade between Canada and the United States, a plurality (46%) said that there are a large number of tariffs and barriers on trade between the two countries. While 42% said that there are some tariffs and barriers on trade, only 12% believe there are only a few or no barriers.

Residents of Quebec (56%) and the Prairies (49%) are among those most likely to believe there are a large number of tariffs and trade barriers between Canada and the United States and Atlantic Canadians (19%) are more likely to say there are few or no barriers. Perceptions of trade barriers also vary according to socio-economic status and social activism; a majority of those earning over $50,000 (60%), the university educated (53%) and high-level social activists (54%) believe there are a large number of barriers to trade.

As well, respondents were asked whether they believe Canada or the United States was more protectionist towards the other. Fifty-five percent (55%) believe that the United States places more restrictions on goods coming from Canada; this is down from 60% recorded a year ago. However, there has been no change in the number of people reporting that Canada places more restrictions on goods coming from the United States (35%).

Quebecers (64%) and Atlantic Canadians (62%) continue to be more likely than average to feel the United States has erected the most barriers, while Ontarians (52%) and Westerners (49%) are less likely to feel this way. In addition, older Canadians (60%), the less well educated (61%), and people with low incomes (60%) are more likely than average to say the United States sets up more trade restrictions. It is interesting to note that no-cost ownership (60%) and cultural nationalists (62%) are among the most likely to view the United States as protectionist.

Just as Canadians are somewhat less likely now than a year ago to view the United States as protectionist, the number of respondents who feel it is very or somewhat likely that the American government might take protectionist action to protect jobs and industry has declined (from 74% to 66%). Quebecers (59%) remain less convinced that this will happen; residents of Saskatchewan and the Atlantic provinces, with the exception of Newfoundland, are currently most convinced. There are few significant differences on the basis of other factors; however, ardent anti-Americans (76%) and cultural nationalists (72%) are the most convinced the United States government may take these steps.

There is little disagreement over the effects such an action would have on the Canadian economy. Two in 10 respondents said the effect would be very serious, and 61% say somewhat serious. Indeed, perceptions of the seriousness of the effects have marginally increased since July 1985 (from 77% to 81%). While the university educated remain the most convinced of the seriousness of this action (86%), Canadians in all regions and socio-demographic groups agree the effect on the country's economy would be serious.

Although the previous findings indicate that Canadians believe the American government to be somewhat protectionist, the public believes that our country is a valuable trading partner with the United States. While a majority (57%) believe that Canada is either the most important (17%) or a fairly important (40%) trading partner to the United States, this also means that only one in six Canadians knows Canada's position as the United States' major trading partner. As shown in Table 16, there are significant regional differences in perceptions of Canada's importance.

Table 16

PERCEPTIONS OF CANADA'S IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES AS A TRADING PARTNER

	MOST IMPORTANT %	FAIRLY IMPORTANT %	AS IMPORTANT AS OTHERS %	NOT TOO/ NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT %
REGION				
British Columbia	21	40	25	14
Alberta	15	40	33	13
Saskatchewan	10	46	26	19
Manitoba	16	38	30	16
Ontario	21	41	29	9
Quebec	10	38	34	18
Atlantic Canada	18	44	25	14
NATIONAL AVERAGE	17	40	30	13

Clearly, Ontario and British Columbia residents attach the greatest importance to Canada as a trading partner with the United States, while Quebecers attach the least importance to Canada's role. As well, perceptions of Canada's importance to the United States vary greatly on the basis of age, sex, and media consumption. Older Canadians (25%), men (23%) and people who read the business section of newspapers most thoroughly (28%) are among the most likely to believe that Canada is the most important trading partner to the United States, as are ownership (21%) and cultural (22%) nationalists.

The data indicate that the public believes there is a strong mood of protectionism in the United States; however, there is an indication that Canadians believe this mood has dissipated somewhat over the last year. If the United States did move to further protect American industry and jobs, Canadians believe this would have a significant effect on the Canadian economy.

B. Perceptions of Freer Trade

Canadians were asked whether or not it would be a good idea to enter into "some type of more open trade agreement with the United States." While a majority (79%) said it would be a very good (18%) or good (61%) idea, support levels have significantly declined from one year ago (from 85%). Residents of British Columbia (86%) and Alberta (86%) were more likely to say this type of an agreement would be a good idea, while Ontarians (72%), especially those from Metropolitan Toronto (68%), were less likely to think so. Not surprisingly, those with the most anti-American leanings (65%), and ownership (73%) and cultural (66%) nationalists were among the least likely to think a more open trade agreement would be a good idea.

Crosstabular analyses reveal that attitudes toward freer trade are related to perceptions of whether or not a more open trade agreement between the United States and Canada is a good idea. As shown in Table 17, people who believe that freer trade would be good for the Canadian economy are the most likely to favour an agreement. However, even among those who say no free trade is better, a majority believe it would be a good idea for Canada to have a more open trade agreement with the United States.

Table 17

PERCEPTIONS OF WHETHER OR NOT A MORE OPEN TRADE AGREEMENT
IS A GOOD IDEA IN RELATION TO ATTITUDES TOWARD FREER TRADE

	GOOD IDEA TO ENTER TRADE AGREEMENT			
	Very Good %	Good %	Bad %	Very Bad %
PERCEPTIONS OF FREER TRADE				
Free Trade Good	28	67	4	1
No Free Trade Better	6	52	32	10

While there is general support for a more open trade arrangement between the two countries, respondents were subsequently asked how urgent they felt the need was to negotiate such an agreement. Only 42% of the respondents felt there was some urgency, (very urgent 7%, urgent 35%), down from 49% measured in July 1985. Again, residents of the two western-most provinces, British Columbia (47%) and Alberta (49%), are more likely to ascribe an urgency to such an agreement, while Torontonians (32%) are less so. Table 18 outlines other attitudinal differences toward the urgency of such an agreement.

Table 18

BELIEVE TRADE AGREEMENT IS URGENT

	PERCENTAGE
Business Section Readers	55
Non-Cultural Nationalists	52
Less Than High School Education	51
45-54 Years of Age	50
Pro-Americans	49
$50,000 Annual Income	47
NATIONAL AVERAGE	42
Ownership Nationalists	37
Students	37
18-24 Years of Age	35
Cultural Nationalists	28
Anti-Americans	27

If Canada did reach a trade agreement with the United States, respondents were asked how long it would be before the effects would be felt in Canada. Clearly, the public does not believe the effects would be immediate; only one in five said the effects would be felt right away. A plurality (45%) said it will be three to five years before Canada would feel any impact from such a trade agreement, while 23% said it will be five years or more. In addition, 12% of the respondents said it will be more than five years before Canada is affected.

Perceptions of the length of time before effects will be felt in Canada differ primarily along regional lines. Western Canadians (British Columbia, 27%; Prairies 25%) are more likely to say the effects will be felt in the immediate future, while residents of Quebec (17%) and Atlantic Canada (14%) are more likely to say the effects will be felt in the long-term.

If the trade agreement were planned in such a way as to phase in the effects on the Canadian economy over a 10 year period, a plurality (43%) said they would be no more or less likely to favour such an arrangement. However, 41% said they would be more likely to favour such an agreement, while only 11% said they would be less likely to do so. British Columbia (48%), and Alberta (46%) residents are more likely to favour such an agreement, while Quebecers (22%) are less likely to do so.

The data indicate that attitudes toward an agreement phased in over 10 years are related to general perceptions of such an agreement. As shown in Table 19, people who believe it is a good idea to enter a trade agreement are more likely to favour it if the effects are phased in over 10 years, while the vast majority of persons who do not think an agreement is a good idea say that if it were phased in over ten years this would not change their attitudes toward such a trade arrangement.

Table 19

ATTITUDES TOWARD A TRADE AGREEMENT PHASED IN OVER 10 YEARS IN RELATION TO ATTITUDES TOWARD A MORE OPEN TRADE AGREEMENT

	FAVOUR TRADE AGREEMENT IF PHASED IN		
	More Likely to Favour %	Less Likely to Favour %	No More/No Less Likely to Favour %
TRADE AGREEMENT			
Very Good Idea	47	15	37
Good Idea	45	16	39
Bad Idea	23	18	58
Very Bad Idea	11	17	72

These findings show that Canadians generally favour more open trade between Canada and the United States. As discussed previously, while trade is important, the public does not believe there is any urgency to achieve a trade agreement. In fact, there are strong indications that if trade were made more open, Canadians would prefer that it be phased in over a number of years.

C. The Economic Effects Of Freer Trade

Respondents were asked a series of questions regarding their perceptions of the economic effects freer trade with the United States would have on Canada. As shown in Table 20, attitudes are divided on the impact such an agreement would have.

Table 20

PERCEPTIONS OF THE EFFECT OF FREER TRADE
ON CANADA'S ECONOMY

	PERCENTAGE
COMPETITION	
Canadian companies could compete	53
Canadian companies could not compete	46
JOB CREATION	
More jobs created	55
Canadian industry would be overwhelmed	43
PRICES	
Prices would be lower	49
Prices would be no lower	50
SALES	
American companies would increase sales to Canada	59
Canadian companies would increase sales to United States.	38

Canadians are somewhat more likely to believe that Canadian companies would do well in head-on competition with the Americans. Similar to regional breaks on the question of the urgency of a trade agreement, British Columbia (66%) and Alberta (61%) residents disproportionately say that Canadian companies would do well, while a majority of Quebecers (54%) believe Canadian companies would not be able to compete, as do people employed in the manufacturing sector (53%).

On the job creation front, the Canadian public is somewhat inclined to believe that more jobs would be created because of the access to a new, larger market. Regional breaks are consistent with perceptions of competition; residents of in British Columbia (68%) and Alberta (65%) are most confident more jobs would be created.

A similar question probed the respondents on the issue of job creation. When asked specifically if more jobs, the same number, or less jobs would result from more open trade, four in 10 respondents replied that more jobs would be created (up from 35% in July 1985). This finding is consistent with results from the March 1986 Decima Quarterly, where 37% of respondents said that more jobs would be created. While 33% of the public said that the same number of jobs would result from such an agreement, only 27% said fewer jobs would result. It is notable that Newfoundland residents (53%), as well as British Columbia (46%) and Alberta (50%) residents are significantly more likely to believe more jobs would be created.

Perceptions of the effect of a freer trade agreement on the cost of goods in Canada are equally divided; 49% said prices would decrease and 50% said prices would be no lower than currently. While perceptions do not vary along regional lines, men (54%), high income earners (56%), and people employed in the public sector (65%) are the most likely to say prices will be lower, while those employed in the wholesale/retail sector (60%) and high-level social activists (56%) are most likely to say prices will not decrease.

In the area of increased consumer sales, a majority (59%) believe that American companies would increase their sales to Canada more than Canadian companies would increase their sales to the United States. Again, British Columbia (46%) and Alberta (49%) respondents disproportionately say that Canadian companies would increase their sales more; however, in no group do a majority say that Canadian companies would increase their sales more than American companies.

A consistent pattern emerges in relation to the economic benefits of freer trade with the United States and feelings of nationalism. People with anti-American leanings are more likely to say that Canadian companies cannot compete with Americans (52%), that fewer jobs would be created as a result of an agreement (42%), that prices would be no lower (55%), and that the United States would increase its exports more than Canada would (73%). As well, attitudes vary in much the same way among cultural nationalists.

Canadians were also probed as to which Canadian industries would be harmed or would benefit from a free trade agreement with the United States. Table 21 shows the perceived "winners" and "losers" from a free trade agreement.

Table 21

PERCEPTIONS OF BENEFIT/HARM OF FREER TRADE TO SPECIFIC SECTORS

	BENEFIT %	HARM %	NET BENEFIT %
Primary Renewable	13	17	-4
Lumber	17	5	+12
Energy	8	3	+5
Heavy Manufacturing	15	15	0
Primary Extractive	2	1	+1
Traditional Manufacturing	5	14	-9
Future Manufacturing	6	2	+4
Blue Collar/Trades	5	3	+2
White Collar/Business	3	5	-2
Other	12	18	-6

Table 21 illustrates that the lumber industry is perceived to be the big winner in a freer trade agreement with the United States, followed by energy and future manufacturing. The big losers are believed to be traditional manufacturing and primary renewable industries.

When these data are examined on a regional basis, we discover that there is a tendency for Canadians to believe that their province's products will do well in a freer Canada-United States trade agreement.

Table 22

NET BENEFIT OF FREER TRADE TO SPECIFIC SECTORS BY REGION

	B.C. %	PRAIRIES %	ONTARIO %	QUEBEC %	ATLANTIC %
INDUSTRY					
Primary Renewable	-15	-2	-4	-3	10
Lumber	47	4	5	13	4
Energy	0	11	2	7	2
Heavy Manufacturing	-14	-5	2	3	-2
Primary Extractive	2	2	2	2	-2
Traditional Manufacturing	-16	-4	-6	-12	-7
Future Manufacturing	3	3	5	4	2
Blue Collar/Trades	2	0	2	1	1
White Collar/Business	-1	-3	-2	-3	0
Other	-5	-3	-7	-6	-3

Table 22 indicates that Canadians in all regions of the country believe the lumber industry will benefit from a free trade agreement, however, people in British Columbia and Quebec express the most optimism. As well, Prairie residents are most likely to believe that the energy industry will benefit and Atlantic Canadians disproportionately cite the benefits that would accrue to primary renewable industries. While the public is less convinced that manufacturing industries would benefit from such a trade arrangement, Ontarians foresee the most benefits for this sector.

Respondents were also asked a series of questions regarding the impact of freer trade on specific industries. These data are presented in the following Table 23.

Table 23

IMPACT OF FREER TRADE ON SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES

INDUSTRY	HELP %	NO IMPACT %	HARM %	NET BENEFIT
High Technology Industry	63	13	23	+40
Forest Industry	62	13	24	+38
Fishing Industry	47	17	34	+13
Farming, Agriculture	46	16	37	+9
Manufacturing Sector	46	10	44	+2
Automobile Industry	40	20	39	+1
Cultural Industry	39	19	42	-3
Textile, Clothing Industry	36	14	50	-14

Clearly, Canadians believe that the high technology and forest industries will benefit the most from freer trade. Interestingly, residents of Alberta (72%) and Newfoundland (70%) expressed greater confidence that the high technology industry will be helped. On the other hand, British Columbia residents (76%) and Quebecers (68%) are among the most likely to say that the forest industry will benefit from an agreement.

The public is divided over whether or not farming, fishing and the manufacturing industries will benefit or be harmed by freer trade. A plurality in British Columbia (42%) and Ontario (44%) believe that the farming industry will be harmed, while a majority of Atlantic Canadians (60%) have confidence that the agreement will benefit the fishing industry. Residents of the Atlantic provinces (54%) are more inclined to believe that manufacturing industries will benefit; however, Ontarians (47%), especially those from Metropolitan Toronto (54%), express the greatest concern that this industry will be harmed.

While Canadians are just as likely to say that the Canadian automobile industry will be helped as harmed, Quebecers (43%) are more likely to say it will be helped. Perceptions of the effect of free trade on the automobile industry in Ontario do not differ from the national average. However, a majority in Ontario believe that the textile and clothing industry will be harmed (52%).

A plurality of respondents feel that the cultural industries would not be helped by freer trade. Ontario residents (46%), especially those from the Metropolitan Toronto area (47%), are the most likely to say this industry will be harmed. Respondents were also asked whether or not cultural industries should be included in the freer trade negotiations with the Americans. Over half (54%) of Canadians said that they should be included because it would provide new markets and opportunities to this industry. While 46% said they should not be included, one-third of this number would favour including them if by not including the industry in negotiations, jobs would be lost in other areas. However, 61% of those who oppose including cultural industries in negotiations would do so even if it cost jobs. These findings are consistent with those from the December 1985 Decima Quarterly. Not surprisingly, people who oppose including cultural industries in trade talks with the United States regardless of the costs involved are the most likely to believe that these industries would be harmed by freer trade (56%).

Table 24 summarizes the net benefit (percent help - percent harm) of freer trade with the United States for each of the specific industries examined by region. This table provides further evidence of the tendency for Canadians to believe their province's industries will benefit from such a trade agreement.

Table 24

NET BENEFIT OF FREER TRADE ON SPECIFIC INDUSTRIES BY REGION

INDUSTRY	B.C. %	PRAIRIES %	ONTARIO %	QUEBEC %	ATLANTIC %
Farming, Argriculture	-2	+15	-3	+24	+22
Forest Industry	+58	+32	+24	+51	+36
Fishing Industry	+13	+6	+4	+22	+30
High Technology Industry	+43	+41	+36	+41	+40
Manufacturing Sector	-10	+2	-2	+3	+19
Cultural Industry	0	0	-10	-5	+20
Textile/Clothing Industry	-24	-11	-19	-8	-5
Automibile Industry	-6	-5	-2	+10	+6

The data presented in this section indicate that the public is skeptical about the economic benefits to be derived from free trade with the United States. While Canadians generally support a more open trade agreement, they believe certain industries would benefit a great deal from such a trade arrangement, while other sectors would be "big losers." However, there is a hope among the public that their province's industries would do well in an open trade situation.

D. The Process Towards Freer Trade

As discussed in an earlier section, there is a preference among the public for a diversified series of economic relationships. However, this preference does not arise out of a fear of the United States or out of an inferiority complex. Indeed, 61% said that they were "confident that we will bargain firmly and effectively with the Americans," while 39% thought that "we will end up with a poor deal." It is notable that the number of people who believe that Canada will bargain effectively has increased over the last five months. In the December 1985 edition of The Decima Quarterly, 54% of the respondents polled said that Canada would be effective at the bargaining table, while 46% had qualms about our ability to negotiate.

Residents of Newfoundland (77%), Alberta (72%), and Prince Edward Island (70%) were the most confident that Canada would bargain firmly; Manitoba residents expressed the least confidence (52% were nervous about the negotiations). While senior citizens (51%) and those with an elementary education (46%) are somewhat more nervous about entering into negotiations, there are few other demographic differences in attitudes. However, cultural nationalists (54%) and people who would prefer a colder relationship with the United States (59%) are among the most likely to say we will end up with a poor deal.

Crosstabular analyses reveal that perceptions of Canada's bargaining ability are related to perceptions of free trade. As shown in Table 25, people who believe that free trade would be good for the Canadian economy express the most confidence that Canadians will bargain firmly and effectively.

Table 25

PERCEPTIONS OF CANADA'S BARGAINING ABILITY
IN RELATION TO PERCEPTIONS OF FREE TRADE

	BARGAINING ABILITY	
	U.S. Better Bargainer %	Canada Bargain Effectively %
FREER TRADE		
Free Trade Good	25	75
No Free Trade Better	57	43

When asked why they thought Canada would be able to bargain well, most people talked about the ability of our negotiators and the intelligence and resourcefulness of our leaders (58%). Only 15% believe it is because the United States needs Canadian products, while 4% say it is because of the friendly relationship that currently exists between the two countries. Through these responses, one can see a real sense of pride in our ability to deal with the Americans, and our ability to even out do them through wit and agility.

Canadians reject the idea that success in negotiations can come (indeed, even whether they should come) from close personal ties between the President and the Prime Minister. Seventy-two percent (72%) of the respondents said that "there are powerful industrial and congressional leaders who can force the President to take certain steps to improve the American economy even if this hurts Canada," while 27% agreed that "a good personal relationship between Prime Minister Mulroney and President Reagan is the most important ingredient in ensuring good economic relations."

It is interesting to note that residents of Manitoba (80%) and Metropolitan Toronto (81%) are most likely to believe that the American government may take steps which will harm Canada, while Newfoundland residents (43%) and residents in the balance of Quebec (36%) are most likely to say the close personal ties involved will ensure success. In addition, high income earners (15%), the university educated (12%), anti-Americans (13%), and cultural nationalists (18%) are less likely to say success will come from friendship.

Canadians would also like to see the government push our point of view more strongly with the Americans. Fifty-eight percent (58%) said that the Canadian government does not push its own point of view strongly enough with the Americans, while 33% believe that they have the right balance and 9% believe that they are pushing too hard. These attitudes have not changed substantially since July 1985.

On a regional basis, Quebec respondents (46%) are most convinced there is the right balance currently, while Nova Scotia (67%) and New Brunswick (70%) residents believe that the government does not push its own point of view strongly enough. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of ardent anti-Americans (72%) believe that the Canadian government does not push strong enough, while pro-Americans (52%) are less likely to say this.

Canadians were also questioned on whether or not the government should pursue a trade agreement if it lacked provincial approval. One-third of the public said the government should negotiate an agreement only if all the provinces approve, and 43% said only if most of the provinces approve. Only 6% said the government should negotiate if half the provinces approve, while 14% said the government should pursue an agreement regardless of opposition, if it is in the best interests of Canada. Although people from Metropolitan Montreal (51%) are more likely to say the government should have the approval of all the provinces, the vast majority in all groups believe the government should have the approval of all or most provinces before pursuing a trade agreement.

While Canadians believe the government should have provincial approval before proceeding with an agreement, they would be unlikely to oppose an agreement if other provinces benefited more than their own province. The data in Table 26 show that this feeling has not changed over the last year.

Table 26

SUPPORT OF FREER TRADE AGREEMENT IF OTHER PROVINCES BENEFIT MORE THAN PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE

	JULY 1985 %	APRIL 1986 %
Strongly Support	6	7
Support	57	55
Oppose	29	29
Strongly Oppose	6	9

While 62% said they would support an agreement even if some provinces would benefit more than their own, significant regional differences in responses are measured (Table 27).

Table 27

SUPPORT FOR FREER TRADE IF SOME PROVINCES BENEFIT DISPROPORTIONATELY

	SUPPORT %	OPPOSE %
REGION		
British Columbia	68	32
Alberta	74	24
Saskatchewan	62	34
Manitoba	61	36
Ontario	58	40
Quebec	61	39
New Brunswick	50	49
Nova Scotia	60	38
PEI	64	36
Newfoundland	53	46

It is notable that while British Columbia and Alberta residents are most likely to support an agreement, regardless of the disproportional benefits, they are also the most likely to say that their provinces would benefit more in comparison to other provinces if trade barriers were removed. On the other hand, while residents of New Brunswick and

Newfoundland are more likely to say their provinces would benefit from freer trade, they are most likely to say that they would oppose an agreement if benefits were not shared equally. As well, there is a significant minority in every province which would oppose more open trade if its benefits were not felt across the country. This is a sharp indication that if Canadians perceived that their province was not benefiting, they would not support the agreement.

Canadians were also asked whether or not they thought the federal government would be able to negotiate an agreement which would be satisfactory to the American government, the provincial governments, the labour union movement, and business in Canada. A majority (59%) believe that it is not too likely (37%) or not likely at all (22%) that such an agreement would be satisfactory to all parties involved; one in four respondents thought that it was likely. Attitudes do not vary greatly along regional lines; however, Metro Toronto residents (68% unlikely to satisfy all) expressed less confidence that the agreement would satisfy all involved and Newfoundland residents expressed more (59% likely to satisfy all). The university educated (72%) and high-level social activists (66%) are more likely to say such an agreement would not satisfy all parties involved. Attitudes among persons with a union affiliation do not differ from the national average.

Not surprisingly, perceptions of the agreement vary considerably on the basis of nationalism. People who would prefer a colder relationship with the United States (70%), ownership nationalists (65%), and cultural nationalist (69%) are the most convinced that an agreement would not be satisfactory to all parties involved. On the other hand, most people who believe that free trade is a good idea (57%) and who believe that attaining such an agreement is urgent (59%), believe it will be satisfactory.

The data show that the public does not believe that the federal government will be able to negotiate a trade agreement which will satisfy all parties involved. It is perceived to be important for the government to consult with the provinces before pursuing such an arrangement because, while it may be in Canada's best interests, regional effects may vary. However, when Canada does enter into negotiations, there is a very clear indication of opportunities. Canadians would very much like to be able to see themselves as out-bargaining the Americans. If their success came from agility and negotiating prowess, it would be a source of pride. If it were seen as something given by the Americans, it would be a source of embarrassment.

IX. THEMATIC ANALYSIS

E. Public Consensus On Free Trade Issues

Respondents to the survey were presented with 18 issue propositions, and asked whether they were more likely to agree or disagree with each statement. As shown in Table 28, public consensus varied depending on the specific issue examined. The propositions are ranked in order of public consensus, beginning with the issues of greatest consensus and following through to the issues over which there is the greatest division in attitudes.

Table 28

ISSUE STATEMENT	AGREE %	DISAGREE %
Americans, while they may like us, don't do us any special favours when it comes to trade and economics.	73	21
Canada must maintain entirely independent social, cultural, and foreign policies even if they lead to problems in our economic and trade relations with the United States.	65	29
Canadian trade with the United States essentially means that we sell them raw natural resources and that they sell us finished products.	64	29
American workers are generally more productive than Canadian workers.	28	63

ISSUE STATEMENT	AGREE %	DISAGREE %
All the discussions about free trade may matter to businesses, but free trade won't make any difference to the average Canadian worker.	31	63
There may be economic dislocations and short-term problems if Canada enters into free trade arrangements, but we will have to have free trade in order to ensure that there will be more jobs in the future.	61	28
Free trade with the United States would help Ontario industry more than industry in other provinces.	57	32
A lot of people talk about high technology and new types of industry, but we must recognize that Canada's future lies in the things we have always done well, like mining and forestry.	57	37
Canada should limit the amount of foreign goods which can be sold in Canada.	56	34
If Canada appears to be too friendly with the United States, the Americans will take advantage of us.	54	39
Free trade with the United States would help Quebec industry more than industry in other provinces.	29	53
We shouldn't be worried if the Canadian dollar continues to ground against the American dollar; it's better for our economy because we can sell more Canadian goods and services to Americans.	40	53
People who oppose a free trade agreement with the United States just don't have enough confidence in Canada.	52	41

ISSUE STATEMENT	AGREE %	DISAGREE %
In the years ahead our exports will probably be more in the areas of information, services, and research rather than in natural resources or manufactured goods.	51	40
Today, very few Canadian companies develop and manufacture world class products which can compete internationally.	43	50
Because Canada is small compared to the United States, Canadian companies would never survive if there were no trade barriers between the two countries.	43	49
I'm really concerned that the free trade issue is only going to create tensions and frustrations in Canada, just as things were getting better.	41	48
If our economy becomes any more closely tied to the American economy we will lose our political independence.	47	47

The data indicate that there is the greatest consensus among Canadians on the issues that deal with the very nature of Canada. While the public may view the United States as a friend, a majority agree that the Americans are unlikely to do Canada any economic favours and, in fact, may try to take advantage of our country's friendship. As well, free trade is perceived to be important, however, Canadian independence is more important.

Propositions in the middle of the pack centre more on the debate over free trade. There is consensus that Ontario would benefit more from such an agreement, while Quebec would not. In addition, there is a belief that the Canadian economy should continue to rely on traditional industries for which there is a market in the United States; however, the public is in favour of limiting the amount of foreign goods which can be sold in Canada.

The issues over which there is the greatest division have to do with the consequences of free trade. These issues concern whether or not Canadian companies could survive American competition, whether an agreement would create tension within Canada, and the fear of American domination.

B. Support For Freer Trade

An examination of the correlation between the various thematic issue statements and levels of overall support for the trade initiative suggests that views are formed more on the basis of emotional concerns than practical ones. More specifically, the dominant question appears not so much to be one of economic competitiveness, productivity, and trade balance, but one of arriving at a comfortable middle ground in our relationship with the United States.

On the one hand, many people are concerned that our political, cultural, and economic well being are at risk in any move to establish closer ties with the United States and oppose the initiative for that reason. Among supporters, the opposite view has wide appeal. They tend to believe we should not be so nervous about our ability to retain our independent qualities, and instead, should have a greater sense of confidence about our ability to work closely with Americans without becoming like them.

Two other issues are also heavily in play. First is the concept that freer trade will result in more jobs in the long-term, and that short-term shocks may be a necessary corollary. Second, the question of whether this debate will reopen healing wounds and damage the progress made towards national reconciliation is also a powerful predictor of attitudes towards the initiative in general.

Table 29 illustrates the degree of correlation between each of the 18 issue statements tested and the question which asked people if they thought "freer trade would be good for Canada" or "not having freer trade would be better." They are listed in descending order by strength of relationship.

Table 29

ISSUE STATEMENT	CORRELATION COEFFICIENT
Short-term problems, but free trade beneficial	.4401
Free trade will create tensions	.3305
Canada will lose political independence	.3103
Canada can't compete with Americans	.3018
Those opposed, lack confidence in Canada	.2786
United States will take advantage of our friendship	.2583
Canada should limit imports	.2273
United States won't do us any favours	.1142
Canada must remain independent	.1059
Canada sells raw natural resources/ United States sells finished products	.0929
United States workers more productive	.0656
Future exports will be information and services	.0637
Free trade help Quebec more	.0549
Free trade help Ontario more	.0392
Low dollar good for Canadian exports	.0224
Few Canadian world-class products	.0211
No difference for average Canadian worker	.0181
Future trade will be in mining and forestry	.0052

The first six statements reflect the dominant issues in the debate today, as shown by their high correlation to overall support for freer trade.

In short, the over arching concerns weighing on people's minds are about exposing ourselves to the risk of American domination, while the arguments scoring points in favour of the initiative focus on the expectation of long-term gain and a faith that Canada has nothing to fear from going "head-to-head" with the United States, rather, much to look forward to. At the same time, the prospect that freer trade negotiations could damage relations between groups and provinces within Canada is something very strongly linked to levels of support for the initiative and is thus a perception to be avoided, almost at any cost. Conversely, economic arguments about competitiveness, provincial effects, and the nature of future Canadian exports do not have a large effect on support or opposition to free trade.

C. Factor Analysis: Attitudes Toward Free Trade

Factor analysis was applied to the 18 issue propositions on general attitudes toward trade. This analysis helps to determine the interrelationships between these distinct issues and provides manageable information for understanding Canadians' attitudes toward trade and formulating a freer trade strategy. In factor analysis, those variables which are related to each other are linked together into a pattern of characteristics which can be used to collapse all the variables into a manageable few for discussion. These "factors" describe an underlying continuum of extremes for the grouped variables. The following discussion presents those variables which load highest on the factors, as well as a brief description of their correlation with demographic and nationalist variables.

1. Defining the factors

Four clearly defined factors result from the analysis. These factors define Canadians in terms of their general attitudes toward freer trade.

FACTOR 1 — Raw nationalists — the first factor is made up of the following variables.

PROPOSITION	FACTOR LOADING	EXCLUSIVE/SHARED
Canada will lose political independence	0.674	Exclusive
United States will take advantage of our friendship	0.657	Shared
Free trade will create tensions	0.649	Exclusive
Short-term problems, but free trade beneficial	-0.586	Shared
Canada can't compete with Americans	0.583	Shared
Canada should limit imports	0.492	Shared
Those opposed, lack confidence in Canada	-0.460	Shared
Canada must remain independent	0.328	Shared
Canada sells raw natural resources/United States sells finished products	0.325	Shared
United States won't do us any favour	0.294	Shared

In this analysis, the factor loading refers to the correlation between the issue proposition and the factor; propositions with the higher values are more important components of the factor. Propositions which are exclusive only appear in this factor; propositions which are shared will appear in another factor.

Clearly, raw nationalists perceive freer trade issues in terms of nationalistic sentiments. These people would prefer to place some distance between Canada and the United States, not out of economic concerns, but from a fear of lost independence and the creation of tensions within the country.

FACTOR 2 -- Optimistic Traditionalists

PROPOSITION	FACTOR LOADING	EXCLUSIVE/SHARED
Future trade in mining & forestry	0.699	Exclusive
No difference for average Canadian worker	0.598	Exclusive
Free trade help Quebec more	0.528	Exclusive
Few Canadian world-class products	0.400	Shared
Short-term problems, but free trade beneficial	0.346	Shared
Those opposed, lack confidence in Canada	0.325	Shared
Canada should limit imports	0.291	Shared

For these Canadians, trade is "rocks and logs" and they perceive a market for these products in the United States. They believe that freer trade would be beneficial for the Canadian economy, especially for Quebec, and that it would not affect the average Canadian a great deal.

FACTOR 3 — Wary Optimists

PROPOSITION	FACTOR LOADING	EXCLUSIVE/SHARED
Low dollar good for Canadian exports	0.553	Exclusive
United States won't do us any favours	0.525	Shared
Canada must remain independent	0.497	Shared
Free Trade help Ontario more	0.445	Exclusive
Short-term problems, but free trade beneficial	0.290	Shared
United States will take advantage of our friendship	0.266	Shared

These Canadians are wary of the United States; however, they are not opposed to free trade. They perceive economic benefits in a freer trade agreement with the United States, especially for Ontario; but this preference does not rest on the belief that the Americans are our friends. They would like to ensure that Canada remains entirely independent, even if this causes problems in reaching a trade agreement.

FACTOR 4 — Inferiority Complex

PROPOSITION	FACTOR LOADING	EXCLUSIVE/SHARED
United States workers more productive	0.683	Exclusive
Canada sells raw natural resources/US. sells finished products	0.503	Shared
Future exports will be information and services	0.313	Exclusive
Canada must remain independent	-0.287	Shared
Canada can't compete with Americans	0.281	Shared
Few Canadian world-class products	0.268	Shared

These Canadians clearly believe that Canadian industries cannot compete with Americans. In order for the country to survive economically in the future, Canadian industries must diversify rather than continue to depend on traditional exports. For these people, this means looking to the United States for support, even if it costs Canada its independence.

2. The factors

Tables 30 through 33 present a more descriptive look at the specific characteristics of those who comprise the four factor types. This analysis will illustrate which demographic groups are strongly or negatively associated with each of the factors; who is most likely or least likely to fall into the various groups and where they stand on specific policy issues.

Table 30

FACTOR I - RAW NATIONALISTS

	POSITIVE ASSOCIATION	NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION
DEMOGRAPHICS		
	Residents of Metro Toronto	Residents of British Columbia, Alberta, Newfoundland
	Balance of Quebec	
	18-24 years of age	
	65 years of age or older	
	$10,000 - $19,999	$50,000 or over
	Elementary/some high school education	University educated
	Currently unemployed	Currently employed
	French speaking	
	Employed in primary/ renewable industries	Employed in public sector

Note: It is noteworthy that there is no difference on the basis of social activism or union affiliation.

Table 30 -- Continued

	POSITIVE ASSOCIATION	NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION
POLICY ISSUES		
	Personally lose somewhat/ great deal if trade barriers removed bad/very bad idea	Personally benefit somewhat/a great deal if trade barriers removed
	Bad/very bad idea to enter trade agreement	Good/very good idea to enter more open trade agreement
	Not urgent at all to enter trade negotiations	Urgent/very urgent to enter trade negotiations
	Prefer cooler relationship with United States	Prefer same or warmer relationship with United States
	Ownership nationalist	
	Cultural or no-cost cultural nationalist	Non-cultural nationalist
SUPPORT/OPPOSITION TO FREE TRADE		
	No free trade better for Canada	Free trade good for Canada

This factor tends to be comprised of downscale respondents: the very young or senior citizens and those of lower socio-economic status. They are more likely to live in Metropolitan Toronto or the balance of Quebec. Raw nationalists do not believe that freer trade would be a good idea, and would prefer to distance Canada from the United States.

Table 31

FACTOR 2 -- OPTIMISTIC TRADITIONALISTS

	POSITIVE ASSOCIATION	NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION
DEMOGRAPHICS		
	Residents of the balance of Quebec, Newfoundland	Residents of the Prairies, Metropolitan Toronto
	18-24 years of age 65 Years or older	35-54 years of age
	Less than $20,000	$30,000 and over
	Elementary/some high school education	Some/graduated university
	Non-union member (weak)	Union member (weak)
	Currently unemployed	Currently employed
	Women	Men
	French speaking	English speaking
	Rural dwellers	Small urban dwellers
	Employed in wholesale/retail sector	Employed in service sector
	Not social activists	Social activists

Table 31 -- Continued

	POSITIVE ASSOCIATION	NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION
POLICY ISSUES		
		Personally lose somewhat/great deal if trade barriers removed
		Bad/very bad idea to enter trade agreement
	Urgent/very urgent to enter trade agreement	Not at all urgent to enter trade agreement
	Prefer closer relationship with United States	Prefer colder relationship with United States
		Ownership nationalist
	Non-cultural nationalist	Cultural nationalist
SUPPORT/OPPOSITION TO FREE TRADE		
	Free trade good (medium)	No free trade better

Optimistic traditionalists are very similar to raw nationalists along demographic lines, with the exception of location; these people are less likely to be residents of Toronto and more likely to be found in Newfoundland. These respondents look at the world differently than nationalists; they believe that free trade would be good for the country and that Canada should have a closer relationship with the United States.

Table 32

FACTOR 3 -- WARY OPTIMISTICS

	POSITIVE ASSOCIATION	NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION
DEMOGRAPHICS		
	Residents of Quebec	Residents of Alberta, Ontario, Newfoundland
	45-54 years of age	18-24 years of age
		65 years or older
	$40,000-$49,999	Less than $10,000
	Some/graduated university	Some high school education
	Men	Women
	French speaking	English speaking
	Urbanities	10,000-999,999 population
	High-level social activists	Non-activists
POLICY ISSUES		
		Lose somewhat/great deal if trade barriers removed
	Very good idea to enter trade agreement	Bad/very bad idea to enter trade agreement
	Prefer colder relationship with United States	Not at all urgent to enter trade negotiations
		Prefer closer relationship with United States

Table 32 -- Continued

	POSITIVE ASSOCIATION	NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION
SUPPORT/OPPOSITION TO FREE TRADE		
	Free trade good (medium)	No free trade better (medium)

Wary optimists tend to be upscale; middle-aged, those of high socio-economic status, and urbanities. While they think that free trade is a good idea for the Canadian economy, they would prefer to have a colder relationship with the United States.

Table 33

FACTOR 4 -- INFERIORITY-COMPLEX

	POSITIVE ASSOCIATION	NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION
DEMOGRAPHICS		
	Residents of Metropolitan Montreal	Residents of balance of Ontario and balance of Quebec
	55-64 years of age	
	Less than $10,000	
	Elementary education	
	Non-union family	Union affiliation
POLICY ISSUES		
	Very urgent/urgent to enter trade agreement	Not too urgent to enter trade agreement

Table 33 -- Continued

	POSITIVE ASSOCIATION	NEGATIVE ASSOCIATION
SUPPORT/OPPOSITION TO FREE TRADE		
	Free trade good (weak)	No free trade better (weak)

People in this group tend to be of lower socio-economic status and from the Metropolitan Montreal area. While they favour free trade somewhat, they are less likely to take a stand on the issues involved in negotiations.

3. Summary

As we might expect given the correlations on whether or not free trade would be good for Canada, the issues that drive support or opposition to an agreement are nationalist ones. The centre of the debate is around Canada's relationship with the United States; the economic issues are not as strong predictors of attitudes. Clearly, raw nationalists have the greatest fear of American intervention into Canada's political and social life; however, wary optimists would only favour free trade for economic reasons. There is a strong indication that they would with draw their support if they felt Canada's independence was threatened. While optimistic traditionalists favour a more open trade arrangement, this appears to be because they do not perceive the agreement as having non-economic effects. People with an inferiority complex are least likely to say they fear American domination, and do not show concern over a loss of Canadian independence; however, they are not strong supporters of freer trade.

X. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

- A national communications program, with national themes and regional sub-themes is possible and most appropriate.

- The national themes should focus on the fact that this initiative is a fundamental part of planning for Canada's future success and that we should feel proud of our capabilities and hence anxious for a chance to go "head to head" with the Americans in our trading relationship. This clearly implies harnessing Canadian nationalism and aligning it with support for the initiative.

- In each province, in focusing on the "future success" theme, every effort should be made to talk about that province's leading industries, and their potential to reap benefits from a trade deal.

- In some provinces, Manitoba and Saskatchewan in particular, it is particularly important to characterize the initiative as part of a multilateral push for greater trade, in order to avoid fueling concerns that Canada is too focused on its relationship with the United States

- Minimizing tensions within the country, in particular between the federal government and the provinces, is fundamental to ongoing support for the initiative.

TECHNICAL APPENDIXES

APPENDIX

A. SURVEY OVERVIEW

Ian McKinnon and Bruce Anderson were principal investigators for this study. They were assisted in the various phases of research and analysis by Wendy Webb and Martha Cronyn.

1. Sample Selection

The population consists of all Canadian residents, 18 years of age or older. Male and female respondents were selected in the same proportion as the general population, on a 50/50 sex quota. A total of 2,000 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 of the country into 11 strata or "regions" (Table A).

Table A presents the total population of Canada represented in each region, followed by the percentages of the total population. The third column presents the disproportionate sample actually completed, followed by the weights used in each region. The fifth column represents the number of cases in each strata after the weighting was applied.

Table A

SAMPLE STRATA

	TOTAL POPULATION	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION	DPS N	WEIGHTS	WEIGHTED N
REGIONS					
British Columbia	2,900,400	11.4	250	.916	229
Alberta	2,357,600	9.3	200	.93	186
Saskatchewan	1,020,100	4.0	125	.632	79
Manitoba	1,072,100	4.2	125	.68	85
Balance Ontario	6,947,100	27.3	324	1.6913	548
Metro Toronto	2,164,000	8.5	176	.9715	171
Quebec	6,597,700	25.9	450	1.1533	519
New Brunswick	719,400	2.8	100	.57	57
Nova Scotia	883,400	3.5	100	.70	70
PEI	127,700	0.5	50	.20	10
Newfoundland	581,100	2.3	100	.46	46

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.

3. 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 half males and half females before the interviewing began.

The interviews took place between April 10 and 20, 1986. 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 116 questions, eight of which required open-end responses, and took approximately 40 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 Assistant 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 secondly, 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 Assistant 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.

All work was edited by the Senior Field Supervisor, checked for completeness, quality, and skip-pattern adherence. Then, 15% of each interviewer's work was verified; that is, respondents were contacted by telephone and were asked to verify that the interview actually took place. Respondents were also asked to answer a few questions from the questionnaire in order to check the accuracy of the data collected.

4. Coding

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

- An initial briefing;
- Supervision of trained staff; and
- 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.

5. 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.

6. Confidence Limits and Validation

The weighted sample of 2,000 cases produces results which are accurate for the population of Canada as a whole within ±2.2 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 Canadian adult population.

Table B

SAMPLE VALIDATION

	SAMPLE (n=1997) %	UNIVERSE [1] (N=18,445,000) %
AGE		
18-19 Years	3.5	4.8
20-24 Years	12.0	13.0
25-29 Years	16.1	12.5
30-34 Years	13.0	11.4
35-39 Years	13.4	10.3
40-44 Years	9.4	8.1
45-49 Years	7.1	6.9
50-54 Years	6.6	6.8
55-59 Years	6.0	6.5
60-64 Years	5.3	6.0
65 Years and Older	7.5	13.5

[1] Adult population of Canada.
Source: Post Census Annual Estimates of Population by Marital Status, Age, Sex, and Components of Growth of Canada, Provinces and Territories June 1, 1984, Catalogue 92-210.

It should be noted that age has been validated for Canadians who are 18 years of age or older. As well, 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 analyze 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

A.	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
B.	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

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.

1. There have been discussions in the news over the last while about Canada becoming involved in free or freer trade with other countries. What exactly does the term free or freer trade mean to you? (PROBE...ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE...ANSWER MUST BE AT LEAST TEN WORDS)

REMOVAL/LESS TARIFFS	01	(17%)
NO TAX	02	(12%)
NO DUTY	03	(10%)
NO CHARGE ON GOODS CROSSING BORDER	04	(3%)
LESS RESTRICTIONS/BARRIERS/LIMITS	05	(15%)
LESS GOVERNMENT RESTRICTIONS/CONTROL	06	(2%)
TRADE BETWEEN COUNTRIES	07	(13%)
BETTER CANADA - UNITED STATES RELATIONS	08	(1%)
CHEAPER PRICES	09	(2%)
FEWER JOBS IN CANADA	10	(1%)
MORE JOBS IN CANADA	11	(1%)
PRICES SAME IN CANADA/UNITED STATES	12	(1%)
INCREASED TRADE	13	(3%)
LOSE INDEPENDENCE/UNITED STATES TAKEOVER	14	(2%)
NO POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT IN TRADE	15	(*)
GOOD FOR CANADIAN ECONOMY	16	(1%)
GOOD IDEA - GENERAL	17	(1%)
BAD IDEA - GENERAL	18	(2%)
INCREASED TAXES/DUTIES/TARIFFS	19	(*)
INCREASED PRICES	20	(*)
OTHER	21	(3%)
DON'T KNOW	22	(10%)
NO RESPONSE	23	(2%)

REFER TO APPENDIX C FOR COMPLETE VERBATIM RESPONSES

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2. Thinking generally about the trading that Canada does with other countries, how important would you say this trade is to our country...very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all?

VERY IMPORTANT	1	(67%)
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	2	(26%)
NOT VERY IMPORTANT	3	(5%)
NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL	4	(2%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(*)

3.	And what about the importance of Canada's international trade to you personally? In other words, how important is Canada's international trade to the well-being of the company you work for, or if you are not working, the company that the principal wage earner in your household works for...very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all?	VERY IMPORTANT................1	(41%)
		SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT............2	(29%)
		NOT VERY IMPORTANT............3	(13%)
		NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL..........4	(12%)
		NO ONE IN HOUSEHOLD WORKING (VOLUNTEERED)...............5	(5%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......6	(1%)

4.	Would you strongly favour, favour, oppose, or strongly oppose governments limiting foreign ownership of business in Canada?	STRONGLY FAVOUR (GO TO Q5)..................1	(10%)
		FAVOUR (GO TO Q5)..............2	(41%)
		OPPOSE (SKIP TO Q6)...........3*	(39%)
		STRONGLY OPPOSE (SKIP TO Q6)................4*	(9%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(2%)

IF "STRONGLY FAVOUR" OR "FAVOUR" TO Q4, ASK:

5.	What if less foreign ownership of business meant fewer jobs for Canadians? Would you favour or oppose governments allowing less foreign ownership of business in Canada?	FAVOUR.....................1	(40%)
		OPPOSE.....................2	(55%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(5%)

6. Thinking of the many kinds of goods and services which Canada produces, which particular kind of industry or products is Canada best at producing which Canada could sell world-wide? (PROBE...ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE...TRY FOR A VERY SPECIFIC RESPONSE...ANSWER CAN BE FIVE WORDS OR LESS)

WHEAT	01	(15%)
GRAIN - GENERAL	02	(6%)
AGRICULTURE	03	(4%)
FARMING	04	(1%)
TOBACCO	05	(*)
OTHER SPECIFIC GRAINS	06	(*)
WOOD/LUMBER/FORESTRY/TIMBER	07	(18%)
PULP AND PAPER	08	(4%)
OIL AND GAS	09	(6%)
AUTOMOBILE/CARS/TRUCKS	10	(4%)
IRON	11	(*)
STEEL	12	(2%)
MINERALS/MINING - GENERAL	13	(2%)
OTHER SPECIFIC MINERALS	14	(1%)
RESOURCE/NATURAL RESOURCES	15	(3%)
RAW MINERALS	16	(1%)
CLOTHING	17	(2%)
TEXTILES	18	(1%)
MANUFACTURING - GENERAL	19	(1%)
MANUFACTURING - SPECIFIC	20	(4%)
HIGH TECHNOLOGY	21	(4%)
COMPUTERS	22	(1%)
FISHING	23	(2%)
POTATOES	24	(*)
LIVESTOCK	25	(*)
MEAT	26	(*)
PRODUCE - FRUITS - VEGETABLES	27	(1%)
FOOD - GENERAL	28	(1%)
OTHER SPECIFIC FOOD	29	(1%)
ENERGY	30	(4%)
TOURISM	31	(*)
ELECTRONICS	32	(1%)
SHOES	33	(*)
ARTS/CULTURAL/MEDIA	34	(*)
NUCLEAR	35	(*)
HUMAN RESOURCES	36	(*)
COMMUNICATIONS	37	(1%)
ENGINEERING	38	(*)
NONE	39	(*)
EVERYTHING	40	(*)
OTHER	41	(*)
DON'T KNOW	42	(6%)
NO RESPONSE	43	(1%)

REFER TO APPENDIX C FOR COMPLETE VERBATIM RESPONSES

One issue which has been talked about lately is international trade. As you know, Canada buys goods and services from different countries, and sells to different countries as well.

7. To the best of your knowledge, which country or area of the world would you say Canada sells the most goods and services to? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE... DO NOT READ LIST).

UNITED STATES	01	(78%)
JAPAN	02	(6%)
ENGLAND/UNITED KINGDOM	03	(2%)
EUROPE	04	(5%)
CHINA	05	(2%)
RUSSIA	06	(2%)
THIRD WORLD	07	(*)
FRANCE	08	(*)
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	09	(1%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	10	(3%)

8. From which country or area of the world would you say Canada buys the most goods and services? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE...DO NOT READ LIST)

UNITED STATES	01	(69%)
JAPAN	02	(21%)
ENGLAND/UNITED KINGDOM	03	(1%)
EUROPE	04	(2%)
CHINA	05	(3%)
TAIWAN	06	(1%)
HONG KONG	07	(*)
KOREA	08	(*)
OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)	09	(1%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	10	(1%)

9.	Thinking about the future and where Canada should try to sell more of the goods and services we produce, what country or area of the world do you think our efforts should be focused? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE...DO NOT READ LIST)	FRANCE (GO TO Q10)...........01	(1%)
		ENGLAND/UNITED KINGDOM (GO TO Q10)................02	(3%)
		PACIFIC RIM (JAPAN, KOREA CHINA, AUSTRALIA) (GO TO Q10)................03	(27%)
		EUROPE (GO TO Q10)...........04	(19%)
		UNITED STATES (SKIP TO Q11)..05*	(33%)
		RUSSIA......................06	(2%)
		CANADA......................07	(1%)
		THIRD WORLD.................08	(3%)
		OTHER (SPECIFY) (GO TO Q10)..09	(9%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......10	(3%)

IF U.S. NOT MENTIONED IN Q9, ASK:

10.	Compared to other countries that we trade with, how much emphasis should we place on our future trading opportunities with the UNITED STATES...should we place a lot more emphasis on the United States than on other countries, a little more, as much as on other countries, a little less, or a lot less than other countries?	A LOT MORE..................1	(15%)
		A LITTLE MORE...............2	(28%)
		ABOUT AS MUCH AS ON OTHER COUNTRIES.................3	(36%)
		A LITTLE LESS...............4	(14%)
		A LOT LESS..................5	(5%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)....6	(1%)

11.	Which of the following best describes how you personally would like Canada's relationship with the U.S. to be... (READ AND ROTATE)...the warmest and closest of friends, close friends and trading partners, businesslike but neighbourly, cool and independent?	WARMEST AND CLOSEST OF FRIENDS.....................1	(13%)
		CLOSE FRIENDS AND TRADING PARTNERS....................2	(36%)
		BUSINESSLIKE BUT NEIGHBOURLY................3	(46%)
		COOL AND INDEPENDENT..........4	(6%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(*)

12. And which of those four do you think the Canadian government sees as the ideal relationship with the United States....(READ AND ROTATE)?

WARMEST AND CLOSEST OF FRIENDS	1	(21%)
CLOSE FRIENDS AND TRADING PARTNERS	2	(40%)
BUSINESSLIKE BUT NEIGHBOURLY	3	(34%)
COOL AND INDEPENDENT	4	(5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

13. And which do you think best describes the way the relationship is at the present time between our two countries...(READ AND ROTATE)?

WARMEST AND CLOSEST OF FRIENDS	1	(11%)
CLOSE FRIENDS AND TRADING PARTNERS	2	(31%)
BUSINESSLIKE BUT NEIGHBOURLY	3	(44%)
COOL AND INDEPENDENT	4	(13%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

14. Thinking about the amount of trade Canada does with the United States, I'd like you to tell me, to the best of your knowledge, how important a trading partner we are to them. Would you say we are their most important trading partner, a fairly important trading partner, about as important as other trading partners, not too important, or not at all important to the Americans as a trading partner?

MOST IMPORTANT	1	(17%)
FAIRLY IMPORTANT	2	(40%)
ABOUT AS IMPORTANT AS OTHER TRADING PARTNERS	3	(30%)
NOT TOO IMPORTANT	4	(12%)
NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	5	(1%)

As you may know, trade in goods and services between countries is not always completely free and open. Many countries place import taxes called tariffs or duties on certain goods and services coming into their country. There are also non-tariff barriers such as government regulations. These tariffs and other non-tariff barriers make the imported goods and services more costly to consumers, and thereby encourage them to buy goods and services produced in their own country.

15. Compared to most other people you know, would you say your understanding of how these trade barriers work is very good, good, not so good, or not good at all?

VERY GOOD	1	(12%)
GOOD	2	(48%)
NOT SO GOOD	3	(33%)
NOT GOOD AT ALL	4	(7%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(*)

16. Some people say that free or freer trade would be good for Canada because the removal of tariff and non-tariff barriers would increase our export opportunities and ultimately create jobs and stimulate the Canadian economy.

Other people say that not having free or freer trade is better for Canada's economy and job situation because by keeping trade barriers in place more people buy Canadian products and services.

Which one of these two points of view best represents your own?

FREE TRADE GOOD	1	(55%)
NO FREE TRADE BETTER	2	(42%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(3%)

17. Which of the following do you think best describes the duties or tariffs and other barriers governing trade between Canada and the United States...there are a large number of tariffs and barriers, some tariffs and barriers, only a few, or no tariffs and barriers at all governing trade between Canada and the United States?

THERE ARE A LARGE NUMBER OF TARIFFS AND BARRIERS	1	(46%)
SOME TARIFFS AND BARRIERS	2	(42%)
ONLY A FEW	3	(10%)
NO TARIFFS AND BARRIERS AT ALL	4	(2%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

18. To the best of your knowledge, which country, Canada or the United States, places the most restrictions on goods coming from the other?

CANADA	1	(35%)
UNITED STATES	2	(55%)
SAME/BOTH (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(9%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(1%)

19.	Actually, there are a fair number of barriers put in place by each country. If these barriers were all removed, and goods and services were able to flow more freely across the Canada-U.S. border, do you think Canada would benefit a great deal, somewhat, neither benefit nor lose, lose somewhat, or lose a great deal?	BENEFIT A GREAT DEAL..........1 BENEFIT SOMEWHAT..............2 NEITHER BENEFIT NOR LOSE......3 LOSE SOMEWHAT.................4 LOSE A GREAT DEAL.............5 NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......6	(17%) (36%) (9%) (23%) (14%) (1%)
20.	And how about your family and the wage earners in your family, do you think they would benefit a great deal, somewhat, neither benefit nor lose, lose somewhat, or lose a great deal?	BENEFIT A GREAT DEAL..........1 BENEFIT SOMEWHAT..............2 NEITHER BENEFIT NOR LOSE......3 LOSE SOMEWHAT.................4 LOSE A GREAT DEAL.............5 NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......6	(12%) (34%) (34%) (12%) (6%) (1%)
21.	Compared to other provinces, do you think your province would benefit a lot more, a little more, about the same, a little less, or a lot less if all trade barriers were removed?	A LOT MORE....................1 A LITTLE MORE.................2 ABOUT THE SAME................3 A LITTLE LESS.................4 A LOT LESS....................5 NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......6	(24%) (33%) (18%) (16%) (9%) (1%)

22. Thinking about what would change if Canada had free trade with the United States, which type of industry or worker would be most helped by free trade with the United States? (PROBE... ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE...TRY FOR A VERY SPECIFIC RESPONSE... ANSWER CAN BE FIVE WORDS OR LESS)

WHEAT	01	(1%)
GRAIN - GENERAL	02	(*)
AGRICULTURE	03	(3%)
FARMING	04	(3%)
TOBACCO	05	(*)
OTHER SPECIFIC GRAINS	06	(*)
WOOD/LUMBER/FORESTRY/TIMBER	07	(15%)
PULP AND PAPER	08	(2%)
OIL AND GAS	09	(6%)
AUTOMOBILE/CARS/TRUCKS	10	(12%)
IRON	11	(0%)
STEEL	12	(2%)
MINERALS/MINING - GENERAL	13	(2%)
OTHER SPECIFIC MINERALS	14	(*)
RESOURCE/NATURAL RESOURCES	15	(1%)
RAW MINERALS	16	(1%)
CLOTHING	17	(3%)
TEXTILES	18	(2%)
MANUFACTURING - GENERAL	19	(4%)
MANUFACTURING - SPECIFIC	20	(2%)
HIGH TECHNOLOGY	21	(4%)
COMPUTERS	22	(1%)
FISHING	23	(3%)
POTATOES	24	(0%)
LIVESTOCK	25	(*)
MEAT	26	(*)
PRODUCE - FRUITS - VEGETABLES	27	(*)
FOOD - GENERAL	28	(1%)
OTHER SPECIFIC FOOD	29	(*)
ENERGY	30	(3%)
TOURISM	31	(1%)
ELECTRONICS	32	(1%)
SHOES	33	(*)
NONE	34	(3%)
EVERYTHING	35	(1%)
BLUE COLLAR/LABOURERS/INDUSTRIAL/FACTORY	36	(3%)
CONSTRUCTION/TRADE	37	(2%)
BUSINESSMAN/WHITE COLLAR	38	(1%)
SMALL BUSINESS	39	(1%)
LARGE CORPORATIONS	40	(1%)
GOVERNMENT/CIVIC	41	(1%)
WORKER - UNSPECIFIED	42	(*)

22. Continued

MIDDLE CLASS	43	(*)
UPPER CLASS	44	(0%)
PRIVATE SECTOR	45	(0%)
RETAIL	46	(1%)
BANKING/FINANCIAL	47	(*)
ARTS/CULTURAL/MEDIA	48	(*)
SHIPPING/TRUCKING	49	(1%)
EXPORTERS	50	(*)
TRANSPORTATION	51	(1%)
SERVICE	52	(*)
MEDICAL	53	(0%)
METALLURGICAL	54	(*)
OTHER	55	(*)
DON'T KNOW	56	(11%)
NO RESPONSE	57	(1%)

REFER TO APPENDIX C FOR COMPLETE VERBATIM RESPONSES

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23. And which type of industry or worker would be most hurt by free trade with the United States? (PROBE...ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE TRY FOR A VERY SPECIFIC RESPONSE...ANSWER CAN BE FIVE WORDS OR LESS)

WHEAT	01	(1%)
GRAIN - GENERAL	02	(*)
AGRICULTURE	03	(3%)
FARMING	04	(7%)
TOBACCO	05	(*)
OTHER SPECIFIC GRAINS	06	(*)
WOOD/LUMBER/FORESTRY/TIMBER	07	(4%)
PULP AND PAPER	08	(1%)
OIL AND GAS	09	(3%)
AUTOMOBILE/CARS/TRUCKS	10	(14%)
IRON	11	(*)
STEEL	12	(1%)
MINERALS/MINING - GENERAL	13	(1%)
OTHER SPECIFIC MINERALS	14	(*)
RESOURCE/NATURAL RESOURCES	15	(1%)
RAW MINERALS	16	(*)
CLOTHING	17	(6%)
TEXTILES	18	(6%)
MANUFACTURING - GENERAL	19	(6%)
MANUFACTURING - SPECIFIC	20	(4%)
HIGH TECHNOLOGY	21	(1%)
COMPUTERS	22	(*)
FISHING	23	(2%)
POTATOES	24	(0%)
LIVESTOCK	25	(*)
MEAT	26	(*)

23. Continued

PRODUCE - FRUITS - VEGETABLES	27	(1%)
FOOD - GENERAL	28	(1%)
OTHER SPECIFIC FOOD	29	(*)
ENERGY	30	(*)
TOURISM	31	(*)
ELECTRONICS	32	(*)
SHOES	33	(1%)
NONE	34	(3%)
EVERYTHING	35	(1%)
BLUE COLLAR/LABOURER/INDUSTRIAL/FACTORY	36	(2%)
CONSTRUCTION/TRADE	37	(1%)
BUSINESSMAN/WHITE COLLAR	38	(1%)
SMALL BUSINESS	39	(4%)
LARGE CORPORATIONS	40	(*)
GOVERNMENT/CIVIC	41	(2%)
WORKER - UNSPECIFIED	42	(1%)
MIDDLE CLASS	43	(*)
UPPER CLASS	44	(*)
PRIVATE SECTOR	45	(*)
RETAIL	46	(1%)
BANKING/FINANCIAL	47	(*)
ARTS/CULTURAL/MEDIA	48	(2%)
SHIPPING/TRUCKING	49	(*)
EXPORTERS	50	(*)
TRANSPORTATION	51	(*)
SERVICE	52	(*)
MEDICAL	53	(*)
METALLURGICAL	54	(0%)
OTHER	55	(1%)
DON'T KNOW	56	(11%)
NO RESPONSE	57	(1%)

REFER TO APPENDIX C FOR COMPLETE VERBATIM RESPONSES

I'd like to read you a list of industries and ask you to tell me for each one, how you think that a freer trade agreement would affect those industries in Canada. For each one, please tell me whether you think that industry would be helped a great deal, helped a bit, neither helped nor harmed, harmed a bit, or harmed a great deal. How about...(READ AND ROTATE Q24 TO Q31).

24. farming and agriculture

HELPED A GREAT DEAL	1	(16%)
HELPED A BIT	2	(31%)
NEITHER HELPED NOR HARMED	3	(16%)
HARMED A BIT	4	(22%)
HARMED A GREAT DEAL	5	(15%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	6	(1%)

25. the forestry industry

HELPED A GREAT DEAL	1	(28%)
HELPED A BIT	2	(34%)
NEITHER HELPED NOR HARMED	3	(13%)
HARMED A BIT	4	(14%)
HARMED A GREAT DEAL	5	(10%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	6	(1%)

26. the fishing industry

HELPED A GREAT DEAL	1	(17%)
HELPED A BIT	2	(30%)
NEITHER HELPED NOR HARMED	3	(17%)
HARMED A BIT	4	(22%)
HARMED A GREAT DEAL	5	(13%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	6	(1%)

27. high technology industries

HELPED A GREAT DEAL	1	(29%)
HELPED A BIT	2	(34%)
NEITHER HELPED NOR HARMED	3	(13%)
HARMED A BIT	4	(13%)
HARMED A GREAT DEAL	5	(9%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	6	(1%)

28. the manufacturing sector

HELPED A GREAT DEAL	1	(16%)
HELPED A BIT	2	(30%)
NEITHER HELPED NOR HARMED	3	(10%)
HARMED A BIT	4	(28%)
HARMED A GREAT DEAL	5	(16%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	6	(1%)

29. cultural industries, such as book publishing, television, and the performing arts

HELPED A GREAT DEAL	1	(16%)
HELPED A BIT	2	(23%)
NEITHER HELPED NOR HARMED	3	(19%)
HARMED A BIT	4	(20%)
HARMED A GREAT DEAL	5	(22%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	6	(1%)

30.	the textile and clothing industry	HELPED A GREAT DEAL...........1	(13%)
		HELPED A BIT..................2	(23%)
		NEITHER HELPED NOR HARMED.....................3	(14%)
		HARMED A BIT..................4	(25%)
		HARMED A GREAT DEAL...........5	(25%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......6	(1%)

31.	the Canadian automobile industry	HELPED A GREAT DEAL...........1	(16%)
		HELPED A BIT..................2	(24%)
		NEITHER HELPED NOR HARMED.....................3	(20%)
		HARMED A BIT..................4	(20%)
		HARMED A GREAT DEAL...........5	(19%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......6	(1%)

END OF ROTATION

Now, I'm going to read you a list of statements different people have made recently about Canada-U.S. relations and ask you to tell me, for each of them, whether you agree or disagree. You can do this 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 32 THROUGH 49...READ FIRST STATEMENT...REPEAT SCALE INSTRUCTIONS IF REQUESTED) Where would you place yourself on this scale?

TOTALLY DISAGREE — DEPENDS — TOTALLY AGREE

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

		RATING -5 TO +5
32.	Americans, while they may like us, don't do us any special favours when it comes to trade and economics.	1.99
33.	Canadian trade with the U.S. essentially means that we sell them raw natural resources and that they sell us finished products.	1.28
34.	In the years ahead our exports will probably be more in the areas of information, services, and reseach rather than in natural resources or manufactured goods.	0.33

		RATING -5 TO +5
35.	American workers are generally more productive than Canadian workers.	-1.55
36.	We shouldn't be worried if the Canadian dollar continues to lose ground against the American dollar; it's better for our economy because we can sell more Canadian goods and services to Americans.	-0.67
37.	Because Canada is small compared to the United States, Canadian companies would never survive if there were no trade barriers between the two countries.	-0.18
38.	If Canada appears to be too friendly with the United States, the Americans will take advantage of us.	0.54
39.	Today, very few Canadian companies develop and manufacture world class products which can compete internationally.	-0.37
40.	There may be economic dislocations and short-term problems if Canada enters into free trade arrangements, but we will have to have free trade in order to ensure that there will be more jobs in the future.	1.10
41.	Free trade with the U.S. would help Ontario industry more than industry in other provinces.	0.79
42.	Canada should limit the amount of foreign goods which can be sold in Canada.	0.76
43.	All the discussions about free trade may matter to businesses, but free trade won't make any difference to the average Canadian worker.	-1.26
44.	If our economy becomes any more closely tied to the American economy we will lose our political independence.	-0.13
45.	People who oppose a free trade agreement with the United States just don't have enough confidence in Canada.	0.30
46.	A lot of people talk about high technology and new types of industry, but we must recognize that Canada's future lies in the things we have always done well, like mining and forestry.	0.73

		RATING -5 TO +5
47.	Free trade with the U.S. would help Quebec industry more than industry in other provinces.	-0.88
48.	Canada must maintain entirely independent social, cultural, and foreign policies even if they lead to problems in our economic and trade relations with the United States.	1.38
49.	I'm really concerned that the free trade issue is only going to create tensions and frustrations in Canada, just as things were getting better.	-0.24

END OF ROTATION

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50. There has been some talk about whether or not Canada's cultural industries such as television, book publishing, and the performing arts should be included in our trade negotiations with the United States. Some people say that Canada's cultural identity has been growing stronger and that we should include cultural industries in the negotiations because it would provide them with new markets and opportunities.

Other people say that cultural industries should not be included in the negotiations because if we do not protect these industries from American competition, sooner or later our cultural identity will be seriously threatened.

Thinking of these two points of view, which one best reflects your own?

SHOULD INCLUDE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES (SKIP TO Q52)	1*	(54%)
SHOULD NOT INCLUDE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NEGOTIATIONS (GO TO Q51)	2	(46%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(1%)

IF "SHOULD NOT INCLUDE CULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN NEGOTIATIONS" TO Q50, ASK:

51. What if not including cultural industries in our trade negotiations with the United States meant that we would have to make concessions in other areas which could cause the loss of jobs? Would you then favour or oppose including cultural industries in our trade negotiations with the United States?	FAVOUR........................1	(37%)
	OPPOSE........................2	(61%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(2%)

52.	Some people say that a good personal relationship between Prime Minister Mulroney and President Reagan is the most important ingredient in ensuring good economic relations with the United States as a whole. Others say that even though the President and Prime Minister might like each other, there are powerful industrial and congressional leaders who can force the President to take certain steps to improve the American economy even if this hurts Canada. Which one of these two points of view best represents your own?	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PM AND PRESIDENT MOST IMPORTANT....1	(27%)
		POWERFUL INDUSTRIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS........2	(72%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......3	(1%)

53.	Some people say that they are nervous about Canada entering into freer trade negotiations because they feel that the Americans are better bargainers than Canadians and therefore we will end up with a poor deal. Others say that they are confident that we will bargain firmly and effectively with the Americans and will get the best deal possible. Thinking of these two points of view, which <u>one</u> best reflects your own?	NERVOUS ABOUT ENTERING FREER TRADE NEGOTIATIONS (GO TO Q54)................1 CONFIDENT IN BARGAINING FIRMLY AND EFFECTIVELY (SKIP TO Q55)..............2* NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......3	(39%) (61%) (1%)

IF "NERVOUS ABOUT ENTERING FREER TRADE NEGOTIATIONS" TO Q53, ASK:

54. Why do you think the Americans are better bargainers? (PROBE... ACCEPT ONLY <u>ONE</u> RESPONSE...ANSWER MUST BE AT LEAST TEN WORDS)

MORE EXPERIENCE	01	(17%)
MORE POWERFUL	02	(16%)
MORE MONEY	03	(10%)
LARGER	04	(9%)
MORE INDUSTRY/BUSINESS	05	(5%)
MORE TO BARGAIN WITH	06	(3%)
WORLD REPUTATION	07	(2%)
MORE AGGRESSIVE	08	(5%)
OUT FOR THEMSELVES	09	(2%)
PAST PERFORMANCES	10	(2%)
SNEAKIER	11	(2%)
AHEAD OF US	12	(1%)
NEED THEM	13	(1%)
BETTER BARGAINERS - GENERAL	14	(4%)
SMARTER/BETTER	15	(4%)
TOUGHER	16	(1%)
MULRONEY/GOVERNMENT WEAK	17	(4%)
REAGAN/GOVERNMENT STRONG	18	(3%)
STRONGER BARGAINING POSITION	19	(6%)
OTHER	20	(2%)
DON'T KNOW	21	(1%)
NO RESPONSE	22	(*)

REFER TO APPENDIX C FOR COMPLETE VERBATIM RESPONSES

IF "CONFIDENT IN BARGAINING FIRMLY AND EFFECTIVELY" TO Q53, ASK:

55. Why do you think we can bargain firmly and effectively? (PROBE ...ACCEPT ONLY <u>ONE</u> RESPONSE...ANSWER MUST BE AT LEAST TEN WORDS)

NEGOTIATORS GOOD/SKILLED	01	(15%)
GOOD PARLIAMENT/POLITICIANS	02	(6%)
BRIAN MULRONEY	03	(2%)
CANADA STRONG	04	(3%)
CANADIANS INTELLIGENT	05	(9%)
PRODUCTS WANTED BY U.S	06	(8%)
UNITED STATES NEEDS CANADA	07	(2%)
MUTUAL BENEFITS	08	(2%)
GOOD CANADA/UNITED STATES RELATIONS	09	(4%)
WORLD REPUTATION	10	(3%)
KNOW/GET WHAT WE WANT	11	(2%)
UNIONS	12	(*)
GOOD REAGAN/PRIME MINISTER RELATIONS	13	(*)
STRONG/GOOD LEADERS - PEOPLE	14	(5%)
CONFIDENCE IN CANADA	15	(8%)
CANADA ABLE TO NEGOTIATE AS WELL	16	(9%)
STRONG CANADIAN ECONOMY	17	(1%)
OUR TECHNOLOGY/PRODUCTS	18	(5%)
CANADA WILL FIGHT	19	(3%)
EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES/FAIR	20	(3%)
NEED TO/NO CHOICE	21	(3%)
OTHER	22	(1%)
DON'T KNOW	23	(3%)
NO RESPONSE	24	(1%)

REFER TO APPENDIX C FOR COMPLETE VERBATIM RESPONSES

Many people have different views about the effects of entering into some form of free trade agreement with the United States. I'd like to read you a list of contrasting points of view and ask you to tell me for each set, which point of view best reflects your own. The first two statements are...(READ QUESTIONS 56 - 59, ROTATING ORDER) Which view is closest to your own?

56. Canadian companies would do very well in head-on competition with Americans. Canadian companies would not be able to compete head-on with the Americans.

WOULD DO VERY WELL	1	(53%)
WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO COMPETE	2	(46%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(2%)

57.	Canadian companies would create more jobs and be more profitable because of the access to a new, larger market. Canadian companies would be overwhelmed by the strength of larger, richer American competitors.	WOULD CREATE MORE JOBS AND BE MORE PROFITABLE..........1 WOULD BE OVERWHELMED BY THE STRENGTH....................2 NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......3	(55%) (43%) (2%)
58.	Canadian consumers would be able to buy American made goods and services at lower prices than they now pay. Prices of American goods and services probably would not be any lower than prices for the same Canadian goods and services.	PRICES WOULD BE LOWER.........1 PRICES WOULD BE NO LOWER......2 NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......3	(49%) (50%) (1%)
59.	American companies would increase their sales of goods and services to Canada more than Canadian companies would increase their sales to the United States. Canadian companies would increase their sales to the United States more than American companies would increase their sales to Canada. END OF ROTATION	AMERICAN COMPANIES WOULD INCREASE GOODS AND SERVICES TO CANADA...................1 CANADIAN COMPANIES WOULD INCREASE GOODS AND SERVICES TO UNITED STATES............2 NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......3	(59%) (38%) (3%)

60. If Canada entered into some form of more open trade agreement with the United States, some people have suggested that some of our industries would probably not be able to survive the competition with similar American industries, and jobs would be lost.

Others say that even if some jobs were lost in certain industries, about as many new jobs would be created in other industries where we can out-compete the Americans.

Still others say that such an agreement would cost some jobs, but even more new ones would be created.

Thinking about these three points of view, do you think there would be fewer jobs, the same number, or more jobs as result of this type of agreement?

FEWER JOBS	1	(27%)
THE SAME NUMBER	2	(33%)
MORE JOBS	3	(40%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(1%)

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61. Recently, there has been some talk among American congressional and business leaders about increasing the tariffs and barriers placed on Canadian goods and services coming into the United States, to protect American industry and jobs.

How likely do you feel it is that the American government might take this type of action ....very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not at all likely?

VERY LIKELY	1	(21%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	2	(45%)
NOT TOO LIKELY	3	(28%)
NOT AT ALL LIKELY	4	(6%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

62.	Now, if the American government did take this kind of action would you say the effect on the Canadian economy would be very serious, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not at all serious?	VERY SERIOUS..................1	(20%)
		SOMEWHAT SERIOUS..............2	(60%)
		NOT TOO SERIOUS...............3	(17%)
		NOT AT ALL SERIOUS............4	(2%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(1%)
63.	Do you think that in its dealings with the United States, the Canadian government pushes its own point of view too strongly, does not push its own point of view strongly enough, or has the right balance?	PUSHES ITS OWN POINT OF VIEW TOO STRONGLY................1	(9%)
		HAS THE RIGHT BALANCE.........2	(33%)
		DOES NOT PUSH ITS OWN POINT OF VIEW STRONGLY ENOUGH........3	(58%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(1%)
64.	If the federal government negotiated a more open trade agreement with the United States, do you think all of the provinces would be affected in pretty much the same way, or would some provinces benefit substantially more than others?	ALL AFFECTED IN PRETTY MUCH SAME WAY....................1	(13%)
		SOME BENEFIT SUBSTANTIALLY MORE THAN OTHERS............2	(85%)
		NO BENEFIT AT ALL (VOLUNTEERED)...............3	(2%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(*)
65.	What if other provinces benefited more than your own province did from such an agreement...if that were the case would you strongly support, support, oppose, or strongly oppose such an agreement?	STRONGLY SUPPORT..............1	(7%)
		SUPPORT.......................2	(55%)
		OPPOSE........................3	(29%)
		STRONGLY OPPOSE...............4	(9%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(1%)

66.	If the federal government were able to negotiate an agreement with the American government, should it pursue such an agreement only if (ROTATE)...all of the provinces approved of the agreement, most of the provinces approved, about half of the provinces approved, or in the face of opposition from most provinces, should the federal government pursue such an agreement if it is convinced that it would be in the best interests of Canada?	ALL OF THE PROVINCES..........1	(37%)
		MOST OF THE PROVINCES.........2	(43%)
		HALF OF THE PROVINCES.........3	(6%)
		PURSUE EVEN IF PROVINCES OPPOSE.....................4	(14%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(1%)
67.	How likely do you think it is that the federal government will be able to negotiate a deal which is satisfactory to the American government and also to the provincial governments, the labour union movement, and business in Canada? Would you say it is very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not likely at all?	VERY LIKELY...................1	(6%)
		SOMEWHAT LIKELY...............2	(34%)
		NOT TOO LIKELY................3	(37%)
		NOT LIKELY AT ALL.............4	(22%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(1%)
68.	In your view, if Canada and the U.S were able to reach an agreement on trade, how long do you think it would be before the effects would be felt in Canada...almost right away, two to three years, three to five years, five to ten years, or more than ten years?	ALMOST RIGHT AWAY.............1	(20%)
		TWO TO THREE YEARS............2	(45%)
		THREE TO FIVE YEARS...........3	(23%)
		FIVE TO TEN YEARS.............4	(8%)
		MORE THAN TEN YEARS...........5	(3%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......6	(*)
69.	If the agreement were planned in such a way as to phase in the effects on the Canadian economy over a ten year period, would this make you more likely to favour an agreement, less likely to favour an agreement, or no more nor less likely?	MORE LIKELY TO FAVOUR AN AGREEMENT....................1	(41%)
		LESS LIKELY TO FAVOUR AN AGREEMENT....................2	(16%)
		NO MORE NOR LESS LIKELY.......3	(43%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(1%)

70. Overall, would you say it would be a very good idea, a good idea, a bad idea, or a very bad idea to enter into some type of more open trade agreement with the United States?

VERY GOOD	1	(18%)
GOOD	2	(61%)
BAD	3	(16%)
VERY BAD	4	(4%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

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71. Would you say the need to negotiate such an agreement is very urgent, urgent, not too urgent, or not urgent at all?

VERY URGENT	1	(7%)
URGENT	2	(35%)
NOT TOO URGENT	3	(45%)
NOT URGENT AT ALL	4	(12%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(*)

Within the last two or three years have you...

72. Helped circulate a petition in order to influence the outcome of a public issue?

NO	1	(87%)
YES	2	(13%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(*)

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73. Contributed money to a political party or cause...never, seldom sometimes, or often?

NEVER	1	(70%)
SELDOM	2	(10%)
SOMETIMES	3	(14%)
OFTEN	4	(5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(*)

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74. When you are talking about public issues with someone else and your viewpoints differ, how often do you persuade the other person to accept your point of view... (READ LIST)?

VERY OFTEN	1	(7%)
OFTEN	2	(28%)
SELDOM	3	(40%)
VERY SELDOM	4	(25%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

Now, I have a few final questions for statistical purposes...

75. 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	01	(4%)
20-24 YEARS	02	(12%)
25-29 YEARS	03	(16%)
30-34 YEARS	04	(13%)
35-39 YEARS	05	(13%)
40-44 YEARS	06	(9%)
45-49 YEARS	07	(7%)
50-54 YEARS	08	(7%)
55-59 YEARS	09	(6%)
60-64 YEARS	10	(5%)
65 YEARS OR OLDER	11	(8%)

76. Which of the following income groups includes your annual household income? (READ CHOICES)

LESS THAN $ 5,000	01	(3%)
$ 5,000 - $ 9,999	02	(7%)
$10,000 - $14,999	03	(9%)
$15,000 - $19,999	04	(13%)
$20,000 - $24,999	05	(12%)
$25,000 - $29,999	06	(12%)
$30,000 - $34,999	07	(11%)
$35,000 - $39,999	08	(9%)
$40,000 - $44,999	09	(6%)
$45,000 - $49,999	10	(5%)
$50,000 AND OVER	11	(14%)

77. Would you say you watch the news...(READ LIST)?

ALWAYS	1	(43%)
USUALLY	2	(31%)
SOMETIMES	3	(17%)
SELDOM	4	(7%)
NEVER	5	(2%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	6	(0%)

78. Would you say you read a daily newspaper...(READ LIST)?

ALWAYS	1	(40%)
USUALLY	2	(23%)
SOMETIMES	3	(19%)
SELDOM	4	(12%)
NEVER	5	(6%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	6	(0%)

79. Thinking about the various sources of information available, what do you rely on the <u>most</u> for information on current issues and events...newspapers, radio, magazines, T.V., friends and family, or people you work with? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE)

NEWSPAPERS	1	(30%)
RADIO	2	(17%)
MAGAZINES	3	(4%)
T.V.	4	(45%)
FRIENDS AND FAMILY	5	(2%)
PEOPLE YOU WORK WITH	6	(2%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	7	(1%)

80. Which section of the newspaper do you usually read <u>most</u> thoroughly...the front page and national news, the front page and international news, the front page and local news, the business section, sports or entertainment, or lifestyles, fashion, shopping, or classified ads? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE)

FRONT PAGE, NATIONAL NEWS	1	(28%)
FRONT PAGE, INTERNATIONAL NEWS	2	(22%)
FRONT PAGE, LOCAL NEWS	3	(19%)
BUSINESS SECTION	4	(7%)
SPORTS OR ENTERTAINMENT	5	(12%)
LIFESTYLES, FASHION, SHOPPING	6	(4%)
CLASSIFIED ADS	7	(4%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	8	(5%)

84.	Are you currently employed outside of home?	YES (GO TO Q85)..............1	(64%)
		NO (SKIP TO Q86)..............2*	(36%)

IF "YES" TO Q84, ASK:

85. What type of company do you work for?

AGRICULTURE	01	(2%)
FORESTRY	02	(2%)
FISHING	03	(1%)
MINING	04	(1%)
OIL AND GAS	05	(2%)
CONSTRUCTION	06	(6%)
TRANSPORTATION	07	(4%)
COMMUNICATIONS	08	(2%)
PUBLIC UTILITIES	09	(2%)
PUBLIC SECTOR/GOVERNMENT	10	(10%)
ARMED FORCES	11	(1%)
FINANCE/INSURANCE/REAL ESTATE	12	(7%)
MANUFACTURING	13	(15%)
WHOLESALE	14	(2%)
RETAIL	15	(10%)
SERVICE	16	(33%)
STUDENT	17	(0%)
RETIRED	18	(0%)
UNEMPLOYED	19	(0%)
LIVE ALONE	20	(0%)
SELF EMPLOYED	21	(1%)

SKIP TO Q87*

81.A	Are you currently attending school, college, or university as a full-time student?	YES (SKIP TO Q82A)............6*	(10%)
		NO (GO TO Q81B)..............A	

IF "NO" TO Q81A, ASK:

81.B	What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed?	PUBLIC/ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (GRADE 1-8)...............1	(5%)
		SOME HIGH SCHOOL............2	(17%)
		GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12 OR 13)..........3	(29%)
		VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL/ COLLEGE/CEGEP.............4	(17%)
		SOME UNIVERSITY.............5	(6%)
		GRADUATED UNIVERSITY........7	(16%)

82.A	Do you have any children living in the home with you?	YES (GO TO Q82B)..............A	
		NO (SKIP TO Q83)..............1*	(50%)

IF "YES" TO Q82A, ASK:

82.B	How many?	ONE........................2	(18%)
		TWO........................3	(21%)
		THREE......................4	(9%)
		FOUR.......................5	(2%)
		FIVE.......................6	(*)
		MORE THAN FIVE.............7	(*)

83.	Do you or does any other member of your family belong to a labour union?	RESPONDENT...................1	(15%)
		OTHER........................2	(17%)
		BOTH (VOLUNTEERED)...........3	(4%)
		NONE.........................4	(65%)

86. What type of company does the principal wage earner in your household work for?

AGRICULTURE	01	(5%)
FORESTRY	02	(3%)
FISHING	03	(1%)
MINING	04	(2%)
OIL AND GAS	05	(1%)
CONSTRUCTION	06	(6%)
TRANSPORTATION	07	(4%)
COMMUNICATIONS	08	(1%)
PUBLIC UTILITIES	09	(*)
PUBLIC SECTOR/GOVERNMENT	10	(7%)
ARMED FORCES	11	(1%)
FINANCE/INSURANCE/REAL ESTATE	12	(3%)
MANUFACTURING	13	(11%)
WHOLESALE	14	(1%)
RETAIL	15	(2%)
SERVICE	16	(15%)
STUDENT	17	(1%)
RETIRED	18	(23%)
UNEMPLOYED	19	(8%)
LIVE ALONE	20	(4%)
SELF EMPLOYED	21	(2%)

87. Sex. (BY OBSERVATION)

MALE	1	(50%)
FEMALE	2	(50%)

88. Language of questionnaire.

ENGLISH	1	(77%)
FRENCH	2	(23%)

C. VERBATIM RESPONSES

Question 1

There have been discussions in the news over the last while about Canada becoming involved in free or freer trade with other countries. What exactly does the term free or freer trade mean to you?

01. Removal/Less Tariffs -- Free trade, no tariffs. / Trade without tariffs. / No tariffs on goods across borders. / Don't have tariffs on goods from United States and visa versa. / No tariffs on goods entering or leaving a country. / No tariffs on goods and services coming from another country. / No tariffs. / No tariffs placed on goods going between countries. / It means no tariffs on borders and I wonder how it will work between Canada and United States. / There would be no tariff to and from the United States in certain industries. / No tariffs on goods flowing between countries. / Lessening of tariffs between things from one country to another. / That we should be able to trade with other countries with no tariffs or less tariffs. / That would mean there would be no tariffs either way -- going in or out of the country. / No tariffs or less tariffs. / Dropping tariffs at the border. / Less tariffs. / Lesser tariffs or no tariffs. / That they would get rid of the tariffs between countries. / Lowering or removing tariffs on goods between two or more countries. / Being able to trade with other countries without tariffs. / It means reduction or elimination of tariff barriers. / Goods can travel from the United States to Canada without any tariffs being charged. / No tariffs -- everyone trades freely. I think it would not work. / Selling to us without tariffs. / No tariffs on goods passing over the border. / More goods and services flowing over the border without tariffs. / Free trade means a non-tariff trade between two countries. / It will definitely help because tariffs go off so you will have more American services up in Canada. / Removing tariffs on some things leads to creation of products in Canada with less cost to us. / Trade across the borders without any tariffs. / Cutting out tariffs on trade. / No tariffs placed on goods being imported or exported from or to Canada and United States. / Less tariffs on imported goods. / Products or goods crossing the border without tariff or trade barriers affecting their free flow back and forth. / No tariff structures or duties going back and forth over the border. / It means we can buy whatever we want and don't pay tariffs. / The lowering of the tariffs between two countries involved in trade. / Well, I guess taking down tariffs for free trade -- more exporting, more importing. / Less tariffs, lower import duties. / No tariffs on products which result in lower prices. / Fewer custom tariffs between nations. / Relaxing import tariffs to stimulate trade. / Trading of goods without tariffs like excise taxes. / No tariffs on goods coming in from other countries or on goods going to other countries. / It means that there will be no tariffs or taxes on goods travelling between Canada

Question 1 -- Continued

There have been discussions in the news over the last while about Canada becoming involved in free or freer trade with other countries. What exactly does the term free or freer trade mean to you?

01. continued -- and the United States. / No tariffs would be placed on goods and services exchanged between Canada and United States. / Less tariffs on imports from the United States, so cheaper products for us. / No tariffs on exports or imports to or from other countries. / Lifting off different tariffs on goods going across the border to increase competition. / Firms trading -- selling to other countries freely without tariffs. / Goods going from one country to another without any tariffs. / Trade without tariffs -- without costs added on. / No tariffs or lower tariffs. / Removal of tariffs going in and out of countries. / Anything entering Canada without tariffs and the same thing the other way. / Less tariffs. / Less tariffs on goods being traded. / Relaxation of tariffs between both countries. / Exchanging goods without tariffs. / Less tariff duties, taxes and cheaper goods. / No tariffs, or taxes on items that are being shipped to other countries. / Less tariffs and taxes on goods on either side. / No trade barriers or tariffs between the nations. / The lowering of all the tariff barriers is all I can say. / No tariffs or barriers affecting trade. / Less tariffs and barriers on imports. / A loosening of restrictive tariffs on commodities entering the countries. / No tariffs and no restriction on importing and exporting goods. / No tariffs or barriers on exported and imported products. / Removal of tariffs and barriers. / Each giving their products without undue tariffs or special limitations. / Tariffs and regulations placed on products. / No tariffs on imported or exported goods -- no protection between two countries. / I assume it means without restrictions, without tariffs. / No tariffs, duties or import quotas.

02. No Tax -- Lifting taxes from goods coming from other countries. / Lack of tax -- if I buy items from another country I have to pay more tax. / This means free trade -- not having to pay border taxes. / Well, something about taxes. / Means trading with other countries without taxes. / Free trade means more exchange of goods without taxes across the American and Canadian borders. / Something that has to do with doing away with taxes on products. / No taxes or duty on imports. / Reduced taxes on customs. / Don't have to pay taxes at borders. / They are not going to tax products coming over the border. There will be no excise tax on products. / I think it means taxes will be reduced. / There are lighter taxes for imports and exports. Canada will have a larger selection of goods to purchase. / I think it's to do with removing some kind of tax on certain things. / Trading with other countries without paying taxes for goods. / Free trade would mean no taxes for goods bought and sold between the United States and Canada. / I guess when they say free trade it means no tax on goods we import or export. / Good idea -- will bring taxes down. /

Question 1 -- Continued

There have been discussions in the news over the last while about Canada becoming involved in free or freer trade with other countries. What exactly does the term free or freer trade mean to you?

02. continued -- That there are no taxes on imported or on exported materials. / Isn't it about taxing stuff we ship to them and they ship to us? / I don't understand -- without excess taxes across the border, elimination of import and export tax, lumber subsidation. / Trade -- Canada and the United States without taxes. / No tax on import and export goods. / Exports without taxes -- goods coming in or out of a country without any taxes. / Being able to pass goods to and from countries without taxes on the goods. / No import taxes should bring down if there were no taxes. / It means that there would be no extra taxes on some goods and Canadian goods in the United States would cost the same as here. / It's when you bring things in from other countries without having to pay tax. / No tax on items imported and exported over the borders. / No tax on goods coming from another country. / Reduction of taxes on imports and exports. / It means trading back and forth without imposing higher taxes. / Free trade means no taxes on goods coming into Canada. / No taxes on imports. / Won't have to pay extra taxes. / Trading at the border without having to pay taxes for Canada and America. / Don't pay any taxes on goods. / Free exchange of goods across the border or internationally without paying taxes. / No taxes or tariffs. / It tends to lift the many taxes and tariffs from the country. / The removal of taxes and import duties on trading goods. / There is no limit on the import or export of customs and taxes. / The borders would be more open to products moving back and forth -- less taxes and stuff on them. It would be easier to bring products in and out of Canada. / It means less red tape, reduced taxes on goods coming into the country and going out. / The barrier is dropped, therefore Americans could buy things without any taxes. / Free trade with other countries -- no taxes or barriers. / No taxes or regulations on goods going between two countries. / Lowering import and export tax and quotas. This will have a spin off effect.

03. No Duty -- Wouldn't be any duty or customs on goods being brought over from the United States. / Not having to pay dut / Duty-free -- obtaining more for the dollar. / Elimination of duti.. on cross border trade. / Less duties. / It's a case of paying duties on imports from the United States. / The elimination of duties on anything crossing the border. It would be like there is no border. / That there is no duty placed on goods going between the two countries, between Canada and the United States. / No duties coming or going. / No duty on items coming across the border either way. / When there is no kind of tariff between two countries and no duties have to be paid. / It means trading of goods across the border, duty-free. / Free import duties. / Produce and goods move from one country duty-free. / To me, it would mean that there would

Question 1 -- Continued

There have been discussions in the news over the last while about Canada becoming involved in free or freer trade with other countries. What exactly does the term free or freer trade mean to you?

03. continued -- not be any imported duties there with free exchange. / Duty-free you buy something and don't pay taxes. / Free trade would mean no duties or excessive taxes between Canada and the United States. / No duty on things you buy in the United States. / Just bring over United States good without paying duties. / No import or export duties between Canada and the United States. / Trade in products across the border without duties to be payed. / Not having to pay any duties. / Duty you have to pay if you import or export any goods would be reduced or done away with completely. / No duties imposed. / Import duties are reduces. / Less duties and excise taxes. / I support it. It means enhanced trade without duties or tariffs. / Open up the border and have no duty. / Duties taken off across the borders, government restrictions taken off imports and exports. / It means that no duty or less restrictions would be placed on foreign goods entering Canada.

04. No Charge on Goods Crossing Border -- No import fees -- price of products would go down. / Not having to pay at the border. / Free goods, no money charges over the border. / Not having to pay money at the border. / Imports and exports sold from one country to another without charge. / Canada wouldn't be charged for bringing things over there and vice versa. / It means that Canadians can cross the border without having to pay anything. / Ability to trade goods without paying for it.

05. Less Restrictions/Barriers/Limits -- Less restrictions, tariffs, taxes on goods exported or imported. / Exchange with other countries or trade -- have no restrictions or taxes on goods. / No restrictions, tariffs or barriers. / Sell and buy goods back and forth with no restrictions, tariffs and duties. / Open the borders up both ways -- no restrictions, no import duties either way -- includes banking. / No restrictions on trade between Canada and the United States and no tariffs. / It is the limits that they set upon goods coming over the border. / Trading without protection on our goods and services. / No set limit to what export or import with anybody. / Protective banners -- free trade is free trade. / Being able to trade with whoever you want to with no restrictions whatsoever. / Less restrictions on movement of goods. / Drop of restrictions on imports. / A lot less restrictions on trade. / Trading with other countries without any restrictions. / The willingness to trade anything between two countries without any restrictions. / Means lack of trade barriers for products being shipped in and out. / Dropping barriers which are in place at the border. / Removing trade barriers and making it easier to trade. / It's a reduction of trade barriers between two countries. / No limitations on amount going in or out of country. / Can

Question 1 -- Continued

There have been discussions in the news over the last while about Canada becoming involved in free or freer trade with other countries. What exactly does the term free or freer trade mean to you?

05. continued -- bring as much stuff into the country without any hassle. / No regulations on goods. / Being able to trade what you want without any restrictions. / More trade both ways between Canada and the United States with less restrictions. / An agreement between Canada and the United States to buy and sell to each other without limitation. / Not as much restrictions on goods -- jobs will be effected. / More freedom on importing and exporting. / Be able to trade back and forth with no barriers. / It is supposed to stop the embargoes on a lot of goods which are being exchanged between Canada and other countries. / I think it means to trade with the United States or other countries and restrictions -- will be lifted. / Cutting quantity restrictions will be easier to export to other countries. That's all. / No restrictions, limits or embargoes -- no quotas either. That's what it means to me. / It means that there wouldn't be any restrictions on goods coming in or out of Canada. / It means the lifting of export and import restrictions. / It means less restrictions in trade. / I think this means there is no limit to how much can be traded and that people can trade for free. / Limiting restrictions between countries to allow Canadian companies to compete. / Trading things more freely without restrictions. / Free trade means that all barriers between countries will be broken down and goods can pass freely. / It's when two countries lower trade restrictions between the two of them. / That we are able to trade without restrictions. / There are less restrictions imposed on importing and exporting goods south of the border. / The ability to sell something without any regulations restricting the sale. / No restrictions on trade between countries. / Not as many restrictions on trade. / Less restrictions on import and export goods.

06. <u>Less Government Restrictions/Control</u> -- A decrease of government interference and an abolition of tariffs on goods that cross borders. / The government should govern not be a big business. / Being able to trade with anyone you want to with no government interference. / Freedom to trade with others in trade production -- less government restriction without tariffs and duties. / Without infringements from government -- to have no restrictions on trade from country to country. / No government control over what Canada sells and what the prices are. / Less government restrictions -- the tariffs at the border on trade. / No government intervention in the private sector. / There would be less government control and regulations on imports and exports.

Question 1 -- Continued

There have been discussions in the news over the last while about Canada becoming involved in free or freer trade with other countries. What exactly does the term free or freer trade mean to you?

07. Trade Between Countries -- You've got to be kidding -- trade between countries. / Importing and exporting to and from other countries. / It is where we trade or send goods back and forth. / Canada allowed to trade with different countries freely. / An easier way for trade between countries. / Hard to say -- making trading easier with other countries. / Trade something and get something else in return with other countries. / Easier trade between countries. / Being able to trade with other countries. / Dealing back and forth with other countries on exporting and importing goods. / It means basically trading back and forth goods with the States and visa versa. / Trading with a country that will trade back with us. / Open trade -- a free flow of goods and services between the States and Canada. / Free trade over the United States border. / There is free access between the United States and Canada. / Products being traded between countries in an open matter. / Trading between the two countries would be free. / Exchange of products between the two countries and goods. / Free exchange of goods and services between two countries. / It would open up a lot more opportunities for trade with other countries. / Import and export of goods between countries. / It's a country having a freer hand in trading with other countries. / Free trading with other countries. / It is to allow us to trade with whomever we want. / To open up trade back and forth across the border. / It means that free trade would bring more money into Canada -- trading between two countries without any cost. / We should import and export to other countries. / Just the freedom of export and import between the various countries. / Being able to trade freely between countries. / Competitive business transactions between communities, regardless of international borders. / We can buy anything that we want to and America can export anything that they want to.

08. Better Canada-United States Relation -- Hope it means peace - can't explain it. / Peace between Canada and the United States. / Probably better communications with other countries.

09. Cheaper Prices -- It means trade without additional cost to the consumer of Canada. / Cheaper prices stimulation of business growth and trade. / It means that things would be cheaper to buy. / It's better for Canadians because we don't have to pay as much. / Cheaper goods and prices for Canadians on goods from the States. / It means paying less for things. / My husband brings food from the United States so without the duty his prices wouldn't be so high. / Less costly trade. / Cheaper products. / Things would be cheaper to the consumer. / Lower prices for products from the States. / Things that have to come in over the border can have lower prices. / The buying and selling of products cheaper. / To me it means we will get goods cheaper from other countries.

Question 1 -- Continued

There have been discussions in the news over the last while about Canada becoming involved in free or freer trade with other countries. What exactly does the term free or freer trade mean to you?

10. Fewer Jobs in Canada -- Maybe after free trade there may be more unemployment. / Not too sure, but hope we don't lose many jobs -- want to know more. / It means a loss of a lot of jobs. / Free trade means loss of jobs or fewer jobs for Canada. / It means other countries gain jobs while we have jobs.

11. More Jobs in Canada -- It's alright for the Canadian economy and would make jobs. / It would mean more jobs. It would cost less to import and export and therefore more people would be able to work because the cost of products would come down.

12. Prices Same In Canada/United States -- I guess if we have goods from the United States we just pay our rate on the goods. / Dollar for dollar, it costs the same to buy something in Canada as it does in the United States. / Back and forth with America at equal prices. / If we give the United States something free then they give us something free in return. / We sell to them and they sell back to us at the same price.

13. Increased Trade -- More exports -- we would increase export out of the company. / More trade. / This means more importing and more exporting goods. / Freer trade means more goods crossing the border, creating more work. / Greater access to products from the States and easier to get products to the States.

14. Lose Independence/United States Takeover -- A matter of Americanizing Canada. / Free trade means that eventually we will become part of the United States. / Trade with United States would be disastrous -- Canada couldn't make it. The United States is too, big too smart -- leave Canada where it is. / America can dump everything in here. / We're gonna get raked by the Americans. / They'll bring in food and destroy the Island's farming income. / The more I hear is that free trade won't be good for the country it will take away our independence. / That the country; is losing it's backbone. / The United States coming and dominating our economy.

15. No Political Involvement In Trade -- Without political hindrance -- too many inspections and United States is not fair. / Trade is governed by market issues instead of political factors.

16. Good For Canadian Economy -- Free trade with the United States -- just what it says, free trade. Free trade -- it would be good for the Canadian economy. / Better economics ahead for all of us. / I think it means some sort of economical improvement. / Bring money into Canada -- from other countries and United States.

Question 1 -- Continued

There have been discussions in the news over the last while about Canada becoming involved in free or freer trade with other countries. What exactly does the term free or freer trade mean to you?

17. Good Idea - General -- Free is good for Canada in a certain way -- with restrictions in quantity. / It is a great idea. / It's a good idea. / I think it's a good thing. / Good idea -- it would help everybody. / Trading goods like manufactured goods -- good for Canada. / A better trading relationship. / We get a fairer deal when we trade with them, I guess. / Dealing without having as hard a time as before.

18. Bad Idea - General -- It's not a good idea for this country. / It's not a good idea for Canada. / We might get shafted. We have to be careful how we go into it, especially with under developed countries. / Trouble -- I'm not in favour of it. / I don't think we should do it as we'll lose too much. / It's not working out well. / Losing money for Canada. / I think that it will hurt all small business / Free trade -- we'll probably up prices for good in Canada.

19. Increased Taxes/Duties/Tariffs

20. Increased Prices

21. Other -- To be able to do what you want to do. / Canadian exports more expensive here yet imports cheaper in other countries. / I could run my business the way I want to. / This is pretty involved; I don't know how one can achieve a consensus when it involves so many industries. / The government should say more about how free trade is going to affect us. / Something similar to the common market in Europe. / Doesn't understand why people don't want it -- will be something that we don't like about it. / We would have to pay less income tax. / From what I understand, it is free for a while, but we will be paying it back. Isn't it that we pay back eventually, 10 years down the road. / If Canada could be more idealistic instead of practical. / The policy to ship goods across borders. / It's going to be the same, no difference. It might help the companies to write off taxes. / That all people are equal and are generous to each other. / There are pros and cons -- you hear of one thing and hear of something else. What is it? / That's what I wish to know -- relationship between Canada and the United States business I think. / Canada wants trade with the United States. / Money, money, money. / Our trust for the United States in our dealings with them. / Sometimes we're giving away things; we're giving away more trade here, loosing trade. / Trading with someone else. Having to pay for trade. / Differences between costs of buying and selling in the countries. / Free trade with limited States. / Getting closer in trading with the United States. / Giving away our natural resources. / There is no such thing as free trade. Everything is taxed.

Question 1 -- Continued

There have been discussions in the news over the last while about Canada becoming involved in free or freer trade with other countries. What exactly does the term free or freer trade mean to you?

22. Don't Know

23. No Response

Question 54

Why do you think the Americans are better bargainers?

01. More Experience -- Because they have more experience -- in a better bargaining position all around. / They are more experienced then Canadians. / Americans have much more experience in bargaining than Canadians have. / More experience -- I think they are better businessmen. / They have more experience in bargaining and talking . / They have been at it longer than we have -- negotiation and bargaining. / They have probably done more trading so they are probably better at it. / More experience -- greater number of people to choose from (as bargainers). They have more to bargain with e.g. greater industrial base and a greater market. / They have been in the business longer than we have. / Because they've been at it longer. / They have been at it longer as a nation. / More experience -- they are bigger, bring more strength to the issue. / More experienced people so they have a larger and better choice. / They're more experienced. / They've been at it longer. / They've dealt with more problems -- larger country, larger problems. / Because they've been at it longer and they know all the dirty tricks. / They've had more experienc; they're a more powerful country. / They have more experience in dealing with the rest of the world. / They have a lot more experience in negotiating with people than our government. / More experienced. / At it longer -- more experience in bargaining with other countries.

02. More Powerful -- The Americans have more power and wit than the Canadians. / I just think that they are better bargainers. They are powerful, period. They know it and they let you know. / Simply because they are a more powerful country. / Powerful country that they are. / Americans are more powerful. / More powerful. / I simply think the Americans are a more powerful country. / They have the power. / More powerful, a little more financial help -- their taxes. / They have power behind them because of the size of the country and bigger industry. / They have more power, more at stake for every decision they make. It has more impact than a Canadian decision. / More powerful. / I just think because they are a big power, they can get away with more than we can. We are underdogs to them. / They have more power in negotiating. / They have more power. They have more to bargain with. / More power, influence -- richer country with more business experience. / Have more power than Canada -- better economic power. / Power makes a very strong bargaining position, threatening. They can always use other things besides free trade. / Because the United States have more power both monitary and military. / The United States is the more powerful nation, can influence others. / More powerful than us. They have more to bargain with. / Because they are more powerful they have more strength behind them. / Because they are more powerful than we are, we have no military.

Question 54 - Continued

Why do you think the Americans are better bargainers?

03. <u>More Money</u> --They are richer than us and know more about it. / They have more behind them economically. / The weight of their economic wealth. / They are stronger economically. / Because they have better economic clout. / They possibly have more dollars to back themselves. / They have more money, more lawyers, more power -- much more experience. / They have more money and power backing them up. / They have the money and the power -- that's all you need for bargaining. / They have the money. The United States does not need us as much as we need them. / They have more money. They have more to bargain with. / They have more money power to negotiate with. / More rich and powerful people in the States -- they would tell the government what to do. They are not the government.

04. <u>Larger</u> -- They are a lot bigger country then us. / They are a bigger country. / They are different people from us. They are bigger and have more gaul. / The population is huge and they seem more powerful. I don't know. / Just because they are bigger. / They are bigger and have got to do more bargaining. / They are a pretty large country. / Larger country. / They are larger. / More of them and they have more at stake than the Canadians do. / They have more people. / More of them to fight against the less manned Canadians.

05. <u>More Industry/Business</u> -- They have a lot more industry, more at stake then Canada. / Americans have the industries. / There is more business in the United States and they control a lot of Canadian industry. / Because they have a manufacturing basis and a market 10 times the size of our. They have more to bargain for. / Because they have more quantity and bigger industries to bargain with. / Big business is a lot more prominent in the United States. There is a larger market -- used to more competition. / They have larger corporations, more people, more money, more power more world wide recognition. / More to bargain with -- think of all the companies that the United States owns. Free trade is to their advantage. / They are more forceful because they have more resources to back them up. / Because they are better investors in companies, the country and generally money.

06. <u>More To Bargain With</u> -- More to bargain with. / They have more than we have to bargain with. / They have more to bargain with. / They have a lot more to offer. / Because they have more to bargain with, they are better off -- not that they are better bargainers. / America has more to offer. / They have more to gain -- natural resources.

07. <u>World Reputation</u> -- America is already well-known but Canada isn't really known yet, but is getting there. / They have a world-wide reputation of getting what they want, so they get it. / They have a greater position in the world than Canada.

Question 54 -- Continued

Why do you think the Americans are better bargainers?

08. More Aggressive -- They're more aggressive. / They put us at a disadvantage maybe because we aren't as forward as they are. / They are more forceful in their negotiations. / More structured, aggressive. / Maybe they are more aggressive then we are. / For one thing, they are much more pushier than Canadians. / They are more aggressive and are more competitive. They are survivors. / I think it is a matter of outlook. We tend to be people of compromise and they are aggressive. / Rough, tough and bull-headed -- must be to get along with the Russians.

09. Out For Themselves -- They're out for themselves; they don't think about their country when making deals. / They're not so inward looking. Canadians are always keeping one eye on the flag. / The Americans look out for themselves first and foremost. They really don't care about us. / They always look after their own kind. / They look out for themselves more but just for themselves -- we don't so much. / They are so full of themselves and they think they are number one. / They are there for their own pockets, not for Canadians. / The Americans won't give anything away. They are more stubborn and selfish perhaps.

10. Past Performances -- They usually have won in the past negotiations e.g. acid rain. / Historically, they've always been, because Canada is not firm enough. / Historically, a smaller nation will not get a better deal from a larger nation. / They just seem to get the better deals on every issues. When they were dealing about fishing along the coast they got the best deal. / Historically Americans expect people to follow the American way -- American way is the right way.

11. Sneakier -- They're more devious and sneaky. / Americans are sneaky in doing things. / They have more pockets, more con-artists than we have in Canada.

12. Ahead Of Us -- They are better because they seem to be one step ahead. / They seem to be way ahead of us in terms of their technology, population, everything.

13. Need Them -- Because Canada depends on the United States. / I don't think they will settle for much less because we are more dependent on them. /We are more dependent on them than they are on us. / We need them more than they need us so we are forced to a certain extent to go along. / We are approaching them first so they know that we really need it -- we have exposed ourselves. / Because they don't need us we need them, so they have nothing to lose.

Question 54 -- Continued

Why do you think the Americans are better bargainers?

14. Better Bargainers - General -- They are, that's a fact. Canada has never been known to exercise the two with powerful nations. / They always seem to do better in bargaining with Canadians. / I don't know; I just feel that they are.

15. Smarter/Better -- Canada doesn't have the people who can bargain as well as the Americans. We're not using the right bargainers. / There are more well educated people in the United States. / They have more confidence in themselves as a nation. / Seem to have more influence. / They are more sophisticated and understand business and industrial affairs as a whole. / They are fast at thinking and have to be on their toes to compete with them.

16. Tougher -- Because they don't really care whether they are liked or not. / They have a one track mind and won't change their mind. / They are harder nosed. They like to talk. There are more people in the United States who are in a better position to bargain. / Because they are stricter and get the better deal.

17. Mulroney/Government Weak -- Brian's not really as confident, so he won't push as hard as the States. / The politicians of Canada do not have the power behind them to stand up to the United States. / I feel that Mulroney can't bargain effectively with the United States. / We don't have strong bargainers in government. / Our government doesn't stand up for our needs like the acid rain issue.

18. Reagan/Government Strong -- Because of Reagan, his policies -- he's a stronger person. / Government -- they don't ask people, they just do it. / They have more government, more backing.

19. Stronger Bargaining Position -- They may not be better bargainers, but they will end up with the better end of the deal. / We would sell ourselves out for money and lose out because of greed. / We give up too much and get back too little. / Because Canadians are showing their interest by putting everything on the table, the Americans can afford to bargain better. / They're bargaining from a stronger position. This gives them an advantage in bargaining. / Because we're on the short-stick of it. We probably need free-trade and export more than they do, so that leaves us in a bad bargaining position. / They are a developed, independent country and can walk away from Canada whenever they wish.

20. Other -- Just form deals you hear and see -- oil deal which Canadians have purchased and nothing is there. / They want it all buy cheap from us and sell for more in the United States. / The people have more to say about it. We have a few who make the decision. In the United States, they have to go through many people before they make a decision.

Question 54 -- Continued

Why do you think the Americans are better bargainers?

21. Don't Know

22. No Response

Question 55

Why do you think we can bargain firmly and effectively?

01. Negotiators Good/Skilled -- We have people who are capable of negotiating with the Americans. / Have good bargainers, should be able to bargain firmly. / I trust the people who will bargain with the United States. / I have a strong belief in the bargaining abilities of Canadian economists. / We have the right people who can bargain for us. / We have the people who can do it. We aren't inferrier. / Because we have enough good people to bargain at the upper level with the Americans. / We have the personnel that can handle negotiations. / Qualifications of our bargainers -- they are good. / Same people, government has experience. / We have the people and the know how to bargain property without losing our shirts. / We have people in the country who can do it. Don't know why, but I think they are there. / We have people capable of dealing with people in the United States. / Because there are smart guys working for Mulroney. / We have strong people that can bargain too. / Because the level of people that we would send would be as capable as the Americans to do the task. / There are very confident people in our country. They know what they are doing. / Well, I think we're pretty good negotiators. / It's part of our heritage. The people in Canada are good bargainers. / I think we are just as good bargainers as they are. / We are capable, competent people and if the right people are sent we could definitely bargain firmly and effectively. / We have enough skilled people who can bargain effectively with the Americans. / Our trade negotiators are just as trained as the American negotiators. / We have a lot of skill and negotiators. / If we get the right person to negotiate, we should have not problems. / We've got experienced people. / Because I think we have good people in Ottawa and they will get us the best deal they can. / They know what they are doing. / Because we have waited long enough for this agreement and are well prepared for the negotiation. / We do have thinking power on our own. We're not afraid of or influenced by them. / Because we wouldn't just give anything away without getting something in return. / I think Canada has become much more experienced at dealing with the United States, so they make sure we get a fair shake. / We improve on our work and skills. / We will benefit by it so we'll do a good job. / We initiated the free trade talks and we studied more than the Americans.

02. Good Parliament/Politicians -- We have our government down there. There's a major force down there in the United States. / We have a good government in Canada. / Because I believe strongly in the government we have now and I believe they can do it. I believe Mulroney can do it. / I think we should be able to do that. We have good politicians; they know what they doing. / Because I think we have some good politicians who are able to hold their own in international exchanges. / We have some smart men in Canada's politics. / I guess because we have a good government

Question 55 -- Continued

Why do you think we can bargain firmly and effectively?

02. continued -- behind us. / Our government has experience enough to negotiate effectively. / We have competent politicians and we'll bargain effectively. / Because we are Canadian -- when the government puts its mind to it, they can do things well. / Existing government knows what it wants. They won't make concessions, but back down instead. / Well, we have a political system as old as the States and our politicians will do their best to get a good deal. / Good Parliament -- we know how to go about it. / We're not pushovers. I feel that we have a good government.

03. Brian Mulroney -- I have faith in Mulroney. He's a strong man. / Mulroney talks well and I hope he wouldn't let us down no he'll handle it well. / Mr. Mulroney can handle himself well. / It is very important that we have a very good Prime Minister to improve everything. / Good leadership -- Mulroney is very flexible. / Because of Mulroney -- after doing it for a while we'd get experience. / Brian Mulroney is a pretty good man -- I think he can bargain pretty well. / Hopefully, we have elected a leader with enough tact to be a good negotiator.

04. Canada Strong -- I should hope that the government has the strength not be get bullied into a bad deal. / We are strong and equal enough. / Because Canadian people are as strong as American people. / We are strong enough to hold our own. / I hope that Canada is strong enough to bargain firmly and effectively. / We're as strong as they are. We're not inferior to them. / Because we're as strong as the United States. / Because we are strong, independent negotiators who will not loose our credibility in bargaining. / Canada will show strength in the negotiations. / We are strong enough to survive.

05. Canadians Intelligent -- I think the negotiators are intelligent enough to see that we get treated fairly. / We have a certain amount of knowledge in building trade offers. / Well, we're not all stupid. We know what's best for us. / We are just as bright as the United States. / We're as smart as the Americans. / We're no stupider than the Americans. / Because we're not any more stupid then the Americans. / Were not stupid and we have a good knowledge of the world market. / Just as intelligent and we have a lot of products they want. / Smaller country, but we have intelligent people, good education and good businessmen. / We are just as smart as they are. / We have just as much intelligence. / I think there are just as smart people in our government as in the United States. / Canadians are just as intelligent and know the issues as well as the Americans. / We have just as much knowledge about the issues as the Americans do. / We are much smarter now. We have better economists and

Question 55 -- Continued

Why do you think we can bargain firmly and effectively?

05. continued -- bankers etc. to back us. / There have a lot of intelligent people in Canada who will be able to bargain effectively for Canada. / Because the Canadians aren't that stupid. / Our people are just as intelligent and as good in business as the Americans. / The heads of the American corporations aren't necessarily any smarter then the heads of the Canadian corporations. / Because we're more aware now of how to protect our own interest, equally knowledgeable on bargaining as United States and we're not so apt to follow the United States "rule" as in years past.

06. Products Wanted By United States -- We have things they don't, hydro, mining and forestry. / We have a lot of resources that should be a benefit to them and the readers should be competent enough to manage it property. / Reliable data available to United States and we have enough resources to bargain effectively. / We have a lot of natural resources that we can bargain with at least as well as they can. / We have things they need, natural gas, hydro, so they need us. / We have the natural resources they need. / Because we have the resources and industries with which to bargain effectively. / We have natural resources which are a necessity to the Americans. / We have natural resources, minerals. / We have something that they want and can sell, like wood and mining. / With our roots and our resources, we can produce just as good products as the United States. We are just as important. / Because we have a lot to sell to the United States -- electricity, power and fresh water and lumber and natural gas. / We have an advantage when it comes to our resources. / We still hold the natural resources that they needs. / We have products and materials they want eg. radium. / We have lots to offer: natural resources, industrial industry, high technology universities and research. / Because we have a lot of products that could be sold for cheaper then they have. / What we have to sell is a good product. We have just as much bargaining power as they do. / We have products that they want and we must have people in the government who know how to bargain to get them. / Because we produce products that the United States needs and wants and will have to bargain for. / We have the goods they want. / Because we have good that they need. / We have the know-how and they want some of our products. / Because Canada has a lot of products -- we are a very stable country.

07. United States Needs Canada -- United States needs us so they must play fair. / We have the backing of lowering things the United States wants. / We have the things, some of them that are needed by United States. / We have the bargaining tools. We have what they want. / Because we have just as much to offer. / Because Canada has a lot to offer. / We have lots to bargain with too. / We should bargain. We have a lot to offer.

Question 55 -- Continued

Why do you think we can bargain firmly and effectively?

08. Mutual Benefits -- No difference in ability between United States and Canada. Canada has a lot to offer -- United States will also benefit. / We can each offer a lot so competition will be kept at a minimum. / I just don't think that we have to beg to have our products purchased by Americans. They need us as much as we need them. / We have what they want and they have what we want. / Because they have ideas and we are the ones with potential for American investment. / Canada will gain more with the United States.

09. Good Canada/United States Relations -- Because Canada and the United States are like brother and sister. / Because they are our neighbours -- we are good friends, similar cultures. / We're a neighbourly kind of country. / We always been friends with the United States. They would not hurt us. / Because we are close countries so it will be easier to trade.

10. World Reputation -- Lately Canada has proven to hold their own -- more recognized around the world. / Because of our reputation in international business. / We've had international experience and can bargain equally well with anyone. / We haven't lost out in what we have taken a stand -- past experience -- we can hold our own.

11. Know/Get What We Want — Canadians know what they want and will not be pushed around. / Because we know what we want and we don't give in until we've got what we want or until we get at least three-quarters of what we want. / We know what we want and we won't settle for less. / We know what we're looking for so we won't be sold out. / Because we know what we want and we will go for it. / We have our own ideas and we are not any less than the Americans.

12. Unions -- We have strong unions. This makes the people better bargainers. / The unions are much more powerful, put up a good fight.

13. Good Reagan/Prime Minister Relations -- Because of the good understanding between President Reagan and our Premier.

14. Strong/Good Leaders - People -- Because most of our leaders are able to bargain and come out on top. / We have good leaders and businessmen. We can do it. / Just as good as their leaders -- know what we want and don't want. / I think we can stand up for ourselves. We have strong leaders. / Well, because I think that we have strong leadership qualities. / I think we have equal people and it would be fair. / Because we're good planners -- we will know what we are getting into. / We have to have confidence in our leaders to do a good job; if we don't, we should. / If we picked a good leader, hopefully we will be able to. / We have just the same good leaders as the United States. / We have good leaders too and they are educated and negotiate the same as thiers.

Question 55 -- Continued

Why do you think we can bargain firmly and effectively?

15. Confidence in Canada -- It is an accessibility we have to bargain firmly and I think we do. Canada has brains. / I just have confidence. / Because I have great confidence in the people of Canada. / I have some faith they'll do their best. I don't think they're pushovers. / I believe in Canadians and we have enough "backbone" to do it. / It's a good country and if Canadians think it's good for the country they will be effective. / Because of the fact that we're Canadians. / I just think we will be able to. / I have confidence in Canada. / We are confident, maybe not powerful, but confident. / I'm confident in Canada's ability to negotiate effectively. We are not idiots as the Americans might think / We should have confidence in our federal leadership. / We are small but we know how to handle our own country's affairs. We may lose but in the long run we will win. / Because Canadians have stood up for themselves up until now.

16. Canada Able To Negotiate As Well -- We have the same negotiation ability as the Americans and even better. / We are just as good as they are. / I think we have a mind of our own as well as everyone else. Canada should be able to voice her own interests with the United States. / No particular reason -- just don't see why we shouldn't negotiate as well as the Americans. / I feel we can bargain as well as they can.

17. Strong Canadian Economy -- Right now, we've still got a vital economy so we won't have to make vital concessions. / Economy is set -- it would take a lot of money for anyone to damage Canada's economy.

18. Our Technology/Products -- We have the capability and resources to compete, but the people in charge of industry might not have our best interest at heart. / We have as much capability and technology as they have. / We have our independence as well as our technology and expertise. / Because we are a main part of the market place and have a strong say in where our goods go. / We have a lot different industries to work with and help a lot. / Because we produce just as good a product and deal business wise as good as others. / We have the technology and know-how.

19. Canada Will Fight -- Canadians will put up a fight for ourselves and not let Canada be taken over. / Because we are suddenly realizing that we have to be a little craftier to get what we want. / I don't know -- we can't give up. The Americans will not hand us anything; We must fight for it.

Question 55 -- Continued

Why do you think we can bargain firmly and effectively?

20. Equal Opportunities/Fair -- Won't do anything that will disadvantage us. / I think it would work out great because we can co-operate. / There are good points on either side -- bargaining would be wide open. / Because Canada is our country and nobody has the right to deny us fairness. / Everyone should be given a fair chance. We should be able to bargain firmly -- Canadians. / They're as honest as Canadians. / Americans are decent. They won't set out to destroy. Besides, we aren't completely stupid. / Well, it's that we have equal opportunity for both. If we didn't, it wouldn't be fair. / Can work together, get good deal more jobs.

21. Need to/No Choice

22. Other -- We still have the final word. We still have a choice of whether or not we go into free trade. / Because we've been getting the short end of the stick all this time. It's about time to get more. / There would be a political uproar if they didn't bargain effectively. They have to. / Because of the position that we're in now. / Because our interest are different and we have different needs. / We should stop being afraid to do it. We should get off our ass and get on with it. / I don't see why we can't. / I think they can manage well on their own. / Once we get the wind kicked out of us, we'll have to compete and bargain, without the granddaddy government looking over our shoulder. / Because we are more a weak country. / Because otherwise there would not be any trade talks. / I'm basing it on day-to-day living that we will bargain effectively. / Canada is a strange country. / Because our dollar is low and the American dollar is worth more. / We need to. / Sincerity. / I just hope we could bargain effectively. / Wealthier. / I just think that they are. / Trading purposes. / Duty is ridiculous -- the duty added to costs of the goods makes everything too expensive. / They won't be looking for votes so they can deal firmer.

23. Don't Know

24. No Response

D. DERIVATION OF NEW VARIABLES

89. SAMPLE STRATA

was derived from questionnaire identification numbers.
The resulting categories were labelled as follows:

1.	B.C.;	(12%)
2.	ALBERTA;	(9%)
3.	SASKATCHEWAN;	(4%)
4.	MANITOBA;	(4%)
5.	BALANCE ONTARIO;	(27%)
6.	METRO TORONTO	(9%)
7.	QUEBEC;	(26%)
8.	NEW BRUNSWICK;	(3%)
9.	NOVA SCOTIA;	(4%)
10.	PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND; and	(1%)
11.	NEWFOUNDLAND.	(2%)

90. REGION 1

was derived from
Q.89
by collapsing responses in the following manner:

Q.89	Q.90		
1	1.	B.C.;	(12%)
2,3,4	2.	PRAIRIES;	(18%)
5,6	3.	ONTARIO;	(36%)
7	4.	QUEBEC; and	(26%)
8,9,10,11	5.	ATLANTIC.	(9%)

91. COMMUNITY SIZE

was derived from questionnaire identification numbers.
The resulting categories were labelled as follows:

1.	1,000,000 AND OVER;	(29%)
2.	100,000-999,999;	(27%)
3.	10,000-99,999;and	(10%)
4.	UNDER 10,000/RURAL.	(34%)

92. UNION FAMILY

was derived from
Q.83
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.83	Q.92		
1-3	1.	UNION FAMILY; and	(35%)
4	2.	NON-UNION FAMILY.	(65%)

93. Q1C:DEFINITION FREE TRADE

was derived from
Q.1
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.1	Q.93		
1,2,3,4	1.	LESS - NO TARIFS/TAX;	(42%)
5,6	2.	LESS RESTRICTION/GOV;	(16%)
7,8,13	3.	INCREASE TRADE/RELAT;	(16%)
14,18,19,20,10	4.	BAD IDEA FOR CDA/NEG;	(6%)
9,11 16,17	5.	GOOD IDEA;	(5%)
12,15,21	6.	OTHER; and	(3%)
22,23	7.	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE.	(12%)

94. Q6C:BEST CDN EXPORTATION

was derived from
Q.6
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.6	Q.94		
1,2,3,4,5,6,15,16 23,24,25,26,27,28,29	1.	PRIMARY RENEWABLE;	(35%)
7,8	2.	LUMBER;	(22%)
9,30,35	3.	ENERGY;	(10%)
10,11,12	4.	HEAVY MANUFACTURING;	(6%)
13,14	5.	PRIMARY EXTRACTIVE;	(4%)
17,18,33	6.	TRADITIONAL MANUFAC;	(4%)
21,22,32	7.	FUTURE MANUFACTURING;	(6%)
19,20,34,36,37,38, 40,41,31	8.	OTHER; and	(6%)
39,42,43	9.	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE.	(7%)

95. Q22C:CDN INDUS MOST HELD

was derived from
Q.22
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.22	Q.95		
1,2,3,4,5,6,15,16			
23,24,25,26,27,28,29	1.	PRIMARY RENEWABLE;	(13%)
7,8	2.	LUMBER;	(17%)
9,30	3.	ENERGY;	(8%)
10,11,12	4.	HEAVY MANUFACTURING;	(15%)
23,24	5.	PRIMARY EXTRACTIVE;	(2%)
17,18,33	6.	TRADITIONAL MANUFAC;	(5%)
21,22,32	7.	FUTURE MANUFACTURING;	(6%)
36,37	8.	BLUE COLLAR/TRADES;	(5%)
38,29,40	9.	WHITE COLLAR/BUSINESS;	(3%)
19,20,31,35,41-55	10.	OTHER; and	(12%)
34,56,57	11.	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE.	(15%)

96. Q23C:CDN INDUS MOST HARM

was derived from
Q.23
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.23	Q.96		
1,2,3,4,5,6,15,16			
23,24,25,26,27,28,29	1.	PRIMARY RENEWABLE;	(17%)
7,8	2.	LUMBER;	(5%)
9,30	3.	ENERGY;	(3%)
10,11,12	4.	HEAVY MANUFACTURING;	(15%)
13,14	5.	PRIMARY EXTRACTIVE;	(1%)
17,18,33	6.	TRADITIONAL MANUFAC;	(14%)
21,22,32	7.	FUTURE MANUFACTURING;	(2%)
36,37	8.	BLUE COLLAR/TRADES;	(3%)
38,39,40	9.	WHITE COLLAR/BUSINESS;	(5%)
19,20,31,35,41-55	10.	OTHER; and	(18%)
34,56,57	11.	DON'T KNOW/NO RESPONSE.	(18%)

97. Q32C:US DON'T DO FAVOURS

was derived from
Q.32
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.32	Q.97		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(21%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(6%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(73%)

98. Q33C:CDA RAW/US FINISHED

was derived from
Q.33
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.33	Q.98		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(29%)
7	2.	DEPENDS; and	(8%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(64%)

99. Q34C:FUTUR EXPORT = INFORM

was derived from
Q.34
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.34	Q.99		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(40%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(9%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(51%)

100. Q35C:US WORKER MORE PROD

was derived from
Q.35
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.35	Q.100		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(63%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(9%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(28%)

101. Q36C:LOW $-GOOD ECONOMY

was derived from
Q.36
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.36	Q.101		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(53%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(7%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(40%)

102. Q37C:CDN CO WON'T SURVIVE

was derived from
Q.37
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.37	Q.102		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(49%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(8%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(43%)

103. Q38C:US AVANTAG/CDN FRND

was derived from
Q.38
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.38	Q.103		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(39%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(7%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(54%)

104. Q39C:FEW CDN W-CLAS PROD

was derived from
Q.39
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.39	Q.104		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(50%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(8%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(43%)

105. Q40C:FEW PROB BUT NEED

was derived from
Q.40
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.40	Q.105		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(28%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(11%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(61%)

106. Q41C:FREE T. HELP ONTARIO

was derived from
Q.41
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.41	Q.106		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(32%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(12%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(57%)

107. Q42C:CDA SHLD LIMIT GOOD

was derived from
Q.42
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.42	Q.107		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(34%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(10%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(56%)

108. Q43C:NO DIF FOR AV CDNS

was derived from
Q.43
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.43	Q.108		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(63%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(6%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(31%)

109. Q44C:CDA WILL LOSE INDEP

was derived from
Q.44
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.44	Q.109		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(47%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(6%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(47%)

110. Q45C:OPON-NO CONFIDENCE

was derived from
Q.45
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.45	Q.110		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(41%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(7%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(52%)

111. Q46C:FUTUR = MINE & FOREST

was derived from
Q.46
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.46	Q.111		
1-5	1.	DISAGREE;	(37%)
6	2.	DEPENDS; and	(6%)
7-11	3.	AGREE.	(57%)

115. Q54C:WHY US BETTER BARGN

was derived from
Q.54
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.54	Q.115		
1,10,7	1.	MORE EXPERIENCE;	(43%)
2,4	2.	MORE POWERFUL/LARGER;	(25%)
3	3.	MORE MONEY;	(10%)
15,16,19,14,8,18	4.	STRONGER BARGAINER;	(22%)
5,6	5.	MORE INDUS/BUSINESS;	(8%)
12,17	6.	US AHEAD/CDA WEAK;	(6%)
9,11,13,20	7.	OTHER; and	(7%)
21-22	8.	DON'T KNOW/NR.	(2%)

116. Q55C:WHY CDA CAN BARGAIN

was derived from
Q.55
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.55	Q.116		
1	1.	NEGOTRS GOOD/SKILLED;	(15%)
2,14	2.	GOOD GOV/LEADERS;	(12%)
4,5,11,15,16	3.	CDA STRONG/CAPABLE;	(31%)
9,13	4.	GOOD CDA/US RELATION;	(4%)
6,7,18	5.	US NEED CDN/PRODUCT;	(15%)
8,20	6.	MUTUAL BENEFITS;	(5%)
3	7.	BRIAN MULRONEY;	(2%)
10,12,17,19,21,22	8.	OTHER; and	(11%)
23,24	9.	DON'T KNOW/NR.	(4%)

117. Q85C:TYPE OF CO/SELF

was derived from
Q.85
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.85	Q.117		
1,3	1.	PRIMARY RENEWABLE;	(3%)
2	2.	LUMBER;	(2%)
4	3.	PRIMARY EXTRACTIVE;	(1%)
5	4.	ENERGY;	(2%)
13	5.	MANUFACTURING;	(15%)
16	6.	SERVICE;	(33%)
14,15	7.	WHOLESALE/RETAIL;	(12%)
10,	8.	PUBLIC SECTOR;	(10%)
12	9.	FINANCIAL SECTOR;	(7%)
6	10.	CONSTRUCTION;	(6%)
7,8	11.	TRANSPORT/COMMUNICAT;	(6%)
9,11,20,21	12.	OTHER;	(4%)
17	13.	STUDENT;	(0%)
18	14.	RETIRED; and	(0%)
19	15.	UNEMPLOYED.	(0%)

118. Q86C:TYPE CO/WAGE EARNR

was derived from
Q.114
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.114	Q.118		
1,3	1.	PRIMARY RENEWABLE;	(6%)
2	2.	LUMBER;	(3%)
5	3.	PRIMARY EXTRACTIVE;	(2%)
6	4.	ENERGY;	(1%)
13	5.	MANUFACTURING;	(11%)
16	6.	SERVICE;	(15%)
14,15	7.	WHOLESALE/RETAIL;	(3%)
10	8.	PUBLIC SECTOR;	(7%)
12	9.	FINANCIAL SECTOR;	(3%)
6	10.	CONSTRUCTION;	(6%)
7,8	11.	TRANSPORT/COMMUNICAT;	(5%)
9,11,20,21	12.	OTHER;	(7%)
17	13.	STUDENT;	(1%)
18	14.	RETIRED; and	(23%)
19	15.	UNEMPLOYED.	(8%)

119. SOCIAL ACTIVISM SCALE

was derived from
Q.100
Q.101
Q.102
according to the following scale:

CODE VALUE	0	1	2	3	4	5
Q100	999	3	12	999	N/A	N/A
Q101	999	3	6	9	12	999
Q102	999	8	6	4	2	999
RANGE	8	-----------------------				32
STATS	8	-----------------------				32

The resulting response categories are labelled as follows:

1. Inactive; (20%)
2. Low Level Activist; (27%)
3. Mid Level Activist; and (37%)
4. High Level Activist. (17%)

120. EMPLOYMENT BY SEX

was derived from
Q.87
Q.84
according to the following reference matrix:

Q.87: SEX	Q.84: EMPLOYED 0	1	2
0	0	0	0
1	0	2	1
2	0	4	3

The resulting response categories were labelled as follows:

1. MEN UNEMPLOYED; (11%)
2. MEN EMPLOYED; (39%)
3. WOMEN UNEMPLOYED; and (25%)
4. WOMEN EMPLOYED. (25%)

121. SELF/GOVT AND U.S.

was derived from
Q.12
Q.11
according to the following reference matrix:

		Q.11					
		0	1	2	3	4	5
Q.12	0	X	X	X	X	X	X
	1	X	3	2	1	1	0
	2	X	4	3	2	1	0
	3	X	5	4	3	2	0
	4	X	6	5	4	3	0
	5	0	0	0	0	0	0

The resulting response categories were labelled as follows:

1. COLDER THAN GOVT; (14%)
2. COOLER; (23%)
3. SAME; (39%)
4. CLOSER; and (18%)
5. MUCH CLOSER. (6%)

122. OWNERSHIP NATIONALIST

was derived from
Q.4:FAVOUR LIMIT FOREIGN OWN
Q.5:LIMIT FOR OWN IF LESS JOBS
according to the following reference matrix:

Q.5 \ Q.4	0	1	2	3	4	5
0	X	X	X	X	X	X
1	X	1	1	3	3	4
2	X	2	2	3	3	4
3	X	4	4	3	3	4

The resulting response categories are labelled as follows:

1. NATIONALIST; (21%)
2. NO COST NATIONALIST; (29%)
3. NON-NATIONALIST; and (49%)
4. DON'T KNOW - N/A. (2%)

23. CULTURAL NATIONALIST

was derived from
Q.50
Q.51
according to the following reference matrix:

		Q.50			
		0	1	2	3
Q.51	0	X	X	X	X
	1	X	3	2	4
	2	X	3	1	4
	3	X	3	4	4

The resulting response categories are labelled as follows:

1. NATIONALIST; (28%)
2. NO COST NATIONALIST; (17%)
3. NON NATIONALIST; and (54%)
4. DON'T KNOW/N/A. (1%)

124. REGION 2

was derived from questionnaire numbers.
The resulting categories were labelled as follows:

1. BRITISH COLUMBIA;
2. ALBERTA; (12%)
3. SASKATCHEWAN; (9%)
4. MANITOBA; (4%)
5. BALANCE ONTARIO; (4%)
6. METRO TORONTO; (27%)
7. BALANCE QUEBEC; (9%)
8. METRO MONTREAL; (20%)
9. NEW BRUNSWICK; (6%)
10. NOVA SCOTIA; (3%)
11. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND; and (4%)
12. NEWFOUNDLAND. (1%)

(2%)