Report to the Department of External Affairs on attitudes toward Canada-U.S. free trade. 1987.

Department of External Affairs   Ministère des Affaires extérieures
Canada

Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0G2

March 11, 1988

Dear Librarian,

On January 14, the Department of External Affairs published the results of two public opinion polls on free trade conducted for it in October and November/December 1987. In addition to releasing these polls to the media, the Department is also distributing them to selected libraries in Canada which may find them a useful addition to their collections. Please note that the final report on the November/December poll is not yet available; it will be sent to you as soon as possible.

A.J. R[illegible]

Director,
Communications Strategy
Group

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

OCTOBER 1987

2570

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS -- Continued

I. INTRODUCTION

Decima Research is pleased to present this report to the Department of External Affairs on the results of a nation-wide survey of Canadians regarding Canada-U.S. free trade. The survey was conducted among a randomly selected sample of 1,998 adult Canadians between October 7 and October 18, 1987. Results for a sample of this size are accurate to within ±2.2%, 95 out of 100 times. The purpose of the survey was to probe Canadians' views on Canada-U.S. free trade following the agreement by Canadian and U.S. negotiators on October 3 on the outlines of a free trade agreement between the two countries.

Details concerning the various issues examined in the survey appear in the Technical Appendix to this report. The report itself is structured along the broad outlines of the questionnaire utilized in the survey and as such, begins with a review of Canadians' level of awareness, and familiarity and attentiveness regarding the Canada-U.S free trade negotiations. It then proceeds through a review of levels of and reasons for both support and opposition to the free trade agreement, followed by a discussion of various anticipated consequences of Canada's signing this agreement. Perceptions of aspects of the federal government's management of the free trade negotiations, along with expectations as to the likelihood of the deal being formally signed are also explored.

A regional and demographic analysis has been carried out for each of the issues examined in the study, with important regional differences in attitudes and perceptions identified throughout the report. Major demographic differences in opinion are summarized in Section VIII.

II. AWARENESS AND SUPPORT

A. Awareness and Attentiveness Re: Outcome of Free Trade Negotiations

Previous surveys in 1987 show that a majority of Canadians were not following the Canada-U.S. free trade discussions very closely. This pattern has changed in response to the events of early October, with a majority of 57% of Canadians in October saying that they have been following the discussions about free trade with the United States either closely or very closely. Table 1 shows that despite the majority of Canadians claiming to be attentive to the trade discussions, they are not that familiar with what is contained in the agreement. Almost two-thirds (63%) say they are either "not too familiar" or "not familiar at all" with what is contained in the agreement.

Table 1

AWARENESS AND FAMILIARITY

	JUNE %	AUGUST %	OCTOBER %
FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS ON FREE TRADE			
Closely	41	42	57
Not closely	59	59	43
HEARD OUTCOME OF CANADA-U.S. FREE TRADE TALKS			
Yes, free trade deal reached	--	--	44
Yes (other)	--	--	21
No	--	--	34
FAMILIARITY WITH WHAT IS CONTAINED IN AGREEMENT			
Very familiar	--	--	5
Familiar	--	--	31
Not familiar	--	--	52
Not familiar at all	--	--	11

Among those claiming familiarity with the contents of the agreement, slightly higher than average levels of support are evident.

Results in Table 1 also show that even among those Canadians who claim to have read or heard something about the outcome of the Canada-U.S. negotiations on free trade, there are different views as to exactly what the outcome has been. For instance, 44% say that a free trade deal was reached, but 21% indicate a view that the outcome was something other than an agreement being reached. Such a response should not necessarily be interpreted as a lack of knowledge on the part of respondents, but could also suggest or reflect an accurate perception on the part of many Canadians that the Canada-U.S. trade agreement has yet to be formally signed and ratified in both countries.

There are several distinct regional differences in attentiveness to the agreement and familiarity with it. Residents of the Prairie provinces are less attentive (45% "follow closely/very closely" versus 56% average) with residents of Alberta especially so (42%). Prairie residents are also less familiar with the contents of the free trade agreement (29% familiar versus average of 35%) and more likely not to have heard the outcome of the talks (43% not heard versus average of 34%).

Those Canadians who have been following the discussions most closely are Quebecers (62% say closely). In terms of familiarity, Torontonians are much more likely than other Candians to claim they are familiar (51% versus 36% on average) with what is contained in the free trade agreement.

B. Support/Opposition to Free Trade Agreement

1. Overall support/opposition

Overall support for free trade with the United States remains constant, with close to half the population (48%) supporting the free trade agreement reached with the United States, 43% opposing the agreement and 9% having no opinion. This level of support is consistent with the percentage of Canadians in previous surveys conducted before the agreement was reached, who felt that it would be a good idea "for Canada to enter into a free trade agreement with the United States."

Opinions on the free trade agreement vary on the basis of respondents' expectations as to the economic benefits or drawbacks for Canada. Those feeling that the agreement will have positive economic effects for Canada's economy in general and employment in particular are more likely to be supportive, with those people anticipating negative economic effects more likely to be opposed to the free trade agreement. As in previous surveys, however, these constant figures at the aggregate level mask underlying shifts in the extent of support for free trade on the basis of respondents' region of residence.

Table 2

SUPPORT FOR FREE TRADE BY REGION

	JUNE	AUGUST	OCTOBER	CONFIDENCE INTERVAL* (OCT.SURVEY)
	%	%	%	%
GOOD IDEA/SUPPORT FREE TRADE AGREEMENT				
National average	50	50	48	±2.2
British Columbia	63	52	57	±6.7
Prairies	47	50	49	±5.4
Ontario	41	37	37	±3.8
Balance of Ontario	38	34	35	±4.3
Toronto	47	43	42	±7.7
Quebec	52	64	59	±4.4
Atlantic region	51	45	49	±7.5

* Because public opinion polls are based on a sample rather than the entire population, the survey results represent an estimate of public support of free trade. The October findings, based on a sample of 1,998, are accurate within ±2.2%, 19 times out of 20. As indicated above, the confidence interval is larger for regional data.

Table 2 shows that support among Britsh Columbians for the free trade agreement is slightly higher in the October survey (57%) as compared to in the August survey (52%), yet the October results are consistent with the finding in June that 63% of British Columbians thought Canada's entering into a free trade agreement with the United States would be a good idea. Given the sample sizes for British Columbia in each of the surveys, the results reflect perhaps some slight shifts in opinion within the province, but essentially reflect consistently higher than average levels of support for a Canada-U.S. free trade deal among British Columbians.

The other apparent change in support levels in October is among Quebec residents, among whom 59% support the agreement, as compared to 64% in August who thought entering into a free trade deal with the Americans would be a good idea. Again, however, the shifts are marginal in nature, with the results in October confirming previous findings showing consistently higher than average levels of support for free trade among Quebecers.

2. Reasons for support/opposition

Previous research shows that various aspects of perceived economic benefits were among the main reasons cited by Canadians for thinking that entering into a free trade agreement with the United States would be a good idea, along with a belief that the deal would generally be of benefit to both countries. Main reasons mentioned by those opposing free trade were: more negative economic consequences; issues relating to Canadian identity; and that it was felt to likely be only good for the U.S.

Canadians were asked in October to indicate the reasons why they support or oppose the free trade agreement. Results appear in Table 3.

Table 3

REASONS FOR SUPPORT/OPPOSITION TO FREE TRADE

REASONS GIVEN	PERCENTAGE
Support	48
Market size/more open trade	11
Positive for both Canada/U.S.	9
Unemployment/jobs	6
Economic changes in Canada	7
Dollar changes/consumer prices/duties/taxes	7
Specific/general industry effects	4
Other	4
Oppose	42
U.S./resource takeover	10
Canada will lose	9
Unemployment/jobs	6
Specific/general industry effects	6
Not enough information	3
Economic/market/price changes	3
Other	5

The reasons identified in Table 3 highlight the principal concerns or issues which evidence elsewhere in this and previous survey results show to be most important in influencing Canadians' views regarding Canada-U.S. free trade. These concern, first off, assessments or expectations of tangible economic benefits or costs for Canadians, as well as concerns about possible loss of control and perceived threats to Canada's sovereignty or independence.

The reasons offered in support of the trade agreement all point to various positive economic consequences for Canada, be these in the form of expanded markets for the sale of Canadian goods, lower prices, duties and taxes on goods, or in an anticipated stimulus to Canadian industries as a result of free trade. The reasons cited by those opposed to the trade agreement include both anticipated negative economic consequences of free trade for Canada and, most importantly, fears that "Canada will lose" and will risk loss of control and independence due to expected U.S. takeovers accompanying free trade.

More detail on the precise reasons for support and opposition summarized in Table 3 appear in the verbatim responses to the question probing reasons for support and opposition to free trade. which appear in the Technical Appendix to this report.

3. Satisfaction with how Canada's key issues are handled

In ascertaining reactions to the free trade agreement reached, one of the issues explored was the level of satisfaction among Canadians as to how three main issues in dispute of primary concern to Canada were handled in the agreement. Results reflect the low level of familiarity with what is contained in the agreement as reported above and also provide continuing evidence of uncertainty in Canadians' responses. Levels of satisfaction with the way each of the three issues was handled in the agreement are as follows:

	PERCENTAGE SATISFIED
Finding a way to settle future trade disputes	46
Canada's regional development policies	43
Canada's cultural assistance policies	44

Ontario residents are less satisfied than average with the treatment of two of the key issues -- dispute settlement process (41% versus 46% on average) and Canada's regional development policies. Residents of the "balance of Ontario" outside Metropolitan Toronto are even less satisfied than Ontarians with the treatment of each issue. Quebecers, on the other hand, are more satisfied (50% in each case) with the way the agreement handles Canada's regional development policies and also Canada's cultural assistance policies.

4. Canada and the U.S. -- who got the better deal and how will bilateral relations be affected

Canadians are strongly of the view that the Americans "got a better deal than Canada," with 61% holding this view. A further 28% feel that the deal is fair and balanced for both countries, while 7% say that "Canada got a better deal than the Americans."

Ontarians (68%) and those respondents residing in the balance of Ontario in particular (70%) are more likely to think that the Americans "got a better deal" than Canada. Canadians may not necessarily think, however, that any other outcome would have been achievable in light of the relative strengths of the two countries. This is reflected in findings showing that a significant proportion of those who favour free trade also view the Americans' bargaining ability and performance more favourably. In this context, the more relevant question in terms of public support is whether the agreement is perceived as a good one for Canada in and of itself, quite apart from questions of the relative attractiveness of the deal for Canada and the United States.

Canadians were also asked whether they feel Canada's overall relations with the United States would be better, worse, or about the same because a free trade agreement was reached. Results show that more than eight-in-ten Canadians believe that relations will either improve (41%) or stay the same (43%), while only 15% expect relations to worsen. Once again, Ontario residents (21%) are somewhat more likely to expect that relations will be worse. Not surprisingly, those who support the agreement are more apt to expect a positive effect on bilateral relations with those opposed more likely to expect a negative effect. Overall, however, the predominate view among Canadians is that the agreement will either have a positive or at worst neutral effect on Canada's relations with the U.S.

III. ANTICIPATED EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE

A. Overview of Anticipated Effects

Respondents were asked to consider a number of possible outcomes or consequences of free trade and to indicate whether they think these outcomes are likely or not. Results appear in Table 6.

Table 6

ANTICIPATED EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE

	SOMEWHAT/VERY VERY LIKELY		CORRELATION GAMMA*		CORRELATION COEFFICIENT**
	August %	October %	August	October	October
Whether Canada and the U.S. will become similar in many ways	82	79	-.219	-.257	NS***
Whether we will be able to maintain current government programs such as UI and health insurance	66	72	.447	.459	.069
Whether American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase	72	71	-.286	-.322	-.048
Whether prices for most consumer goods in Canada will generally be lower	66	71	-.286	-.322	-.048
Whether the Canadian wood and paper products industry will increase sales in the U.S.	71	70	.348	.376	0.052
Whether our economy will become so closely tied to the U.S. economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own decisions	68	63	-.556	-.648	-.201

Table 6 -- Continued

	SOMEWHAT/VERY VERY LIKELY		CORRELATION GAMMA*		CORRELATION COEFFICIENT**
	August %	October %	August	October	October
Whether the U.S. will keep to the terms of the agreement	54	60	.431	.466	.055
Whether governments will be restricted on how much help they are allowed to give to Canadian businesses in poorer regions of the country	70	59	-.345	-.405	-.053
Whether overall there will be more jobs gained than lost in Canada	54	51	.483	.622	.181
Whether differences in economic development among regions in Canada will gradually be reduced	47	44	.015	-.002	NS
Whether the free trade agreement will be fair and equitable for both Canada and the U.S.	45	41	.638	.704	.229
Whether many American companies will close their plants in Canada	41	38	-.315	-.292	NS
Whether Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now	32	26	.428	.462	.057

* Each issue statement was correlated with overall support for the free trade agreement. The larger the gamma statistic, the more closely associated the two attributes.

** The standardized regression coefficient indicates the nature of the relationship between each possible consequence and overall support for the free trade agreement. The larger the number, the more closely associated that particular variable is to attitudes toward the free trade agreement.

*** Indicates that the relationship between the independent variable and attitudes about the free trade agreement is statistically insignificant.

The data in Table 6 reveal an increase in the strength of the correlation between support/opposition to free trade and both economic items and independence items. The Gamma measure data on correlation between expectations as to each consequence presented to Canadians and support/opposition to free trade show that opinions on the following are most strongly related to opinions on the trade agreement:

1. Whether overall there will be more jobs gained than lost; and

2. Whether our economy will become so closely tied to the U.S. economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own decisions.

Major findings to note regarding the public's anticipation of the consequences of free trade include the following:

- Seven-in-ten Canadians (71%) expect that consumer prices will be lower as a result of the free trade agreement, yet only 26% expect higher incomes;

- In terms of specific industries, expectations are positive for the wood and paper products industry, whereas two-thirds continue to be of the view that "the Canadian automobile industry will lose jobs to the United States;"

- On the question of independence, 63% believe that Canada's economy "will become so closely tied to the U.S. economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own decisions." Evidence that many Canadians do not really know what will happen under the free trade arrangement with the United States is apparent in the fact that while two-thirds fear loss of control over decision-making, 72% think that "we will be able to maintain current government programs such as unemployment insurance and health insurance;"

- There is also concern about loss of control and independence -- reflected in the persistent belief of Canadians that American influence over Canada's culture will increase (71%) and that Canada and the United States will become similar in many ways (79%); and

- On the other hand, a smaller majority (59%) than in August (70%) think that the Canadian governments will be restricted in the amount of assistance they will be able to provide to Canadian businesses in poorer regions of the country.

In order to determine which of the various possible outcomes have the most impact on the public's overall assessment of a free trade deal as good or bad, a technique known as multiple regression was employed. This analysis reveals:

1. The most important factor affecting assessments of free trade is whether the agreement is perceived as being fair and equitable for both countries. Canadians who think this outcome is likely are more inclined to support free trade;

2. Of second most importance in terms of the extent of relative impact on overall support/opposition to the trade agreement is the issue of whether people think Canada's economy will become so closely tied to the American economy that we lose our ability to make our own decisions; and

3. The third in the list of anticipated consequences with the strongest effects on support for free trade is whether there will be more jobs gained than lost.

Other items affecting support for free trade (in order of importance) are whether:

- Prices of goods imported from the U.S. will be lower;
- We will be able to maintain social programs like Unemployment Insurance and health insurance;
- Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now;
- The United States will keep to the terms of the agreement;
- Governments will be restricted in the amount of help they can provide;
- The wood and paper products industry will increase sales;
- American influence on our books, magazines and parts of our culture will increase; and
- The Canadian automobile industry will lose jobs to the United States.

B. Regional Differences in Anticipated Effects

The main regional differences in opinion are apparent in the responses of residents of Ontario, Quebec and the Prairie provinces.

Ontario -- Opinions of residents of Ontario are distinguished from those of Canadians on average as follows. They are:

- More likely (43%) to expect many American companies will close their plants in Canada and to believe that closer ties with the United States will lead to a gradual loss in our ability to make our own decisions (68%);

- More apt than average (35% versus 24%) to think it unlikely that the free trade agreement will benefit Canada and the U.S. equally and that the U.S. will keep to the terms of the deal (55% versus 60%);

- Less likely to expect that more jobs will be gained than lost (45% versus 51%) or that Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now (45% versus 51%); and

- More inclined to see it as "very likely" (33% versus 25%) that the Canadian automobile industry will lose some jobs to the United States.

Quebec -- The optimism of Quebecers is apparent in the fact they are more likely to think that the free trade deal will benefit Canada and the U.S. equally (62%), that differences in economic development among regions will be reduced (50%), and that Canadians will have higher incomes (35% versus 26%).

Prairies -- People living in the Prairie provinces think it unlikely (78%) that many American companies will close plants and that Canadians will have higher incomes (20%).

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

1. Effect on business sectors

Canadians were presented with a list of various industries and for each one were asked whether they expect the free trade agreement with the United States will mean that the industry would be better or worse off as a result of the agreement. Results appear in Table 7, which also presents results from a June survey in which Canadians were asked what they anticipated or expected the effect of a free trade agreement would be on the various sectors.

Table 7

EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON CANADIAN BUSINESS

Key: (1) June (2) October

	BETTER		WORSE		NO EFFECT		CORRELATION GAMMA	
	(1) %	(2) %	(1) %	(2) %	(1) %	(2) %	(1)	(2)
Wood and paper products	52	59	42	32	5	8	.428	.445
Oil and gas industry	54	58	35	32	9	8	.404	.441
Fish and fish products	47	43	40	40	11	12	.359	.406
Films, books and magazines	45	36	45	46	10	16	.280	.320
Beer industry	--	36	--	38	--	25	--	.209
Wine industry	--	28	---	56	--	14	--	.274
Agriculture and farming	43	32	48	56	7	11	.475	.484
Cars and car parts	51	29	39	57	10	13	.227	.405

Those sectors which Canadians expect to be better off under free trade are the wood and paper products sector and the oil and gas industry. At present, the sectors seen as likely to be worse off under free trade are agriculture and farming, the wine industry, cars and car parts, and films, books and magazines. The data reveal a major difference in opinion among Canadians about the prospects for the automotive industry under free trade. This perhaps reflects public reactions to the debate on this issue enjoined during the provincial election campaign in Ontario, as well as efforts by opponents of the free trade initiative to express their views about the consequences for the Canadian automotive sector which they anticipate will result from free trade.

The Gamma correlation measure data in Table 7 illustrate that for those industries which are seen to likely be better or worse off, perceptions of the effect of free trade on the prospects for that industry are strongly related to levels of support or opposition to the free trade agreement. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that there is a considerably stronger relationship in October than apparent in June between expectations as to the prospects for the cars and car parts sector and overall support or opposition to free trade.

Several distinct regional differences in opinion can also be noted, again relating mainly to Ontario and Quebec. Consistent with their more skeptical outlook on free trade, Ontarians are more pessimistic than average about the prospects for the wine industry (70% worse off), the cars and car parts industry (65%) and the films, books and magazines industry (51% worse off).

Quebec residents are more positive than average in some cases and apparently more unsure of the likely effects of the agreement on different sectors. For instance, they are slightly more optimistic than average about the prospects for Canada's wood and paper products industry (63% better off versus 59%) and less pessimistic than

Ontarians regarding the automotive sector (49% worse off). On the other hand, high levels of "not affected" and a fairly even distribution of responses between those expecting the sector to be better or worse off respectively are apparent in the views of Quebecers regarding the prospects for each of the following industries:

- o Wine (35% worse, 39% better, 25% not affected);
- o Films, books and magazines (39% better, 40% worse, 20% not affected); and
- o Beer (30% better, 36% worse, 33% not affected).

These results perhaps reveal a fair degree of uncertainty and perhaps guesswork as operative or underlying the responses of Quebec residents regarding the above sectors.

Prairie residents are less negative in their expectations of the prospects for the agriculture and farming sector under free trade, yet almost half (48%) still are of the view that the industry will be worse off. Albertans in particular stand out from the norm on this count, with 48% expecting that the free trade agreement will mean the agriculture and farming sector will be worse off.

2. Regional development

It was reported above that 44% of Canadians thought it likely that differences in economic development among regions in Canada will be gradually reduced now that there is a free trade agreement between Canada and the U.S. In addition, levels of agreement were sought with the statement, "I'm concerned that free trade is only going to increase tension among regions and groups in Canada." A slight majority of Canadians (54%) express agreement with the statement, while 36% disagree and the response of 11% is that it "depends." Views are fairly uniformly held across all regions and population segments, although residents of British Columbia are more likely to disagree with the statement. Correlation analysis reveals a very strong relationship between perceptions of the effects of free trade on regional tensions in Canada and support for the agreement. Those who think regional tensions will stem from free trade are much more likely to oppose the agreement, while those who do not expect this are supportive of the agreement.

IV. ECONOMIC AND INDEPENDENCE ISSUES

A. Overview

The analysis of anticipated effects or consequences of free trade outlined above indicates the two major underlying concerns of Canadians around which opinion about the free trade agreement is forming. These are issues and concerns relating to perceived economic effects and to the perceived effect of free trade on Canada's independence or sovereignty and Canada's ability under a free trade agreement to retain control over its own economic and political affairs. Concerns about economic effects pertain to both perceptions of the overall effect on the Canadian and individual provincial economies, but most importantly as well are concerns about the impact of a free trade agreement on jobs.

The views of Canadians concerning several other aspects of the economic effects and independence/control issues were probed in the survey as well, with the results summarized below.

B. Jobs and American Investment

Both the proponents and the opponents of Canada-U.S. free trade concur with the view that the free trade agreement will very likely lead to increased American investment in Canada. One of the propositions of the supporters of the agreement is that this will be beneficial for Canada and will lead to the creation of more jobs. Many opponents of free trade express concern about the effect of such increased American investment on Canadian autonomy, due to expectations of increased American influence in Canada as accompanying the expected increased investment. Table 8 provides the results for a question in the October survey ascertaining the views of Canadians on this question.

Table 8

JOBS AND AMERICAN INVESTMENT

	JUNE 1987 %	AUGUST 1987 %	OCTOBER 1987 %
The jobs which may be created by increased American investment in Canada are not as important as limiting American influence in the Canadian economy	41	41	39
The jobs created by increased American investment in Canada are more important than limiting American influence in the Canadian economy	59	57	59

A majority of Canadians consistently believe that the jobs created by increased U.S. investment in Canada are more important than limiting American influence in the Canadian economy. Atlantic Canadians are disproportionately among those Canadians who express this view, as 69% feel that "jobs are more important." On the other hand, a sizeable minority of Canadians have with equal consistency over the past several months indicated a belief that "the jobs created by increased American investment in Canada are not as important as limiting American influence in the Canadian economy." Those more likely to hold this view are Ontario residents (44%), women (43%) and the university educated (45%). In addition, respondents who feel that the free trade agreement will have a bad effect on the Canadian economy are more likely than average to hold this opinion as well.

C. Free Trade and Canadian Independence and Identity

The issues of the perceived effects of the free trade agreement on Canadian identity and independence were examined from two perspectives. The first focuses on the extent to which Canadians feel that government measures are required to protect Canadian identity and whether Canadians feel this identity is threatened in any way under free trade. A second perspective from which perceptions are probed is in terms of the effect of the free trade agreement on Canada's ability to play an independent role in the world. Table 9 shows that results for these two questions probing the independence/identity issue from different perspectives.

Table 9

CANADIAN INDEPENDENCE AND IDENTIFY

	JUNE 1987 %	AUGUST 1987 %	OCTOBER 1987 %
1. IDENTITY			
Should not have free trade because it could mean the end of those government measures which protect Canada's identity and make us different from the U.S.	47	50	44
We should be confident enough to enter a free trade agreement because Canada's identity is now strong enough that it no longer needs as much protection through government measures	52	48	56
2. INDEPENDENCE			
The free trade agreement will...			
Strengthen Canada's economy and thus enable it to continue to play an independent role in the world	--	--	43
Tie Canada so closely to the U.S. that it will weaken our ability to play an independent role in the world	--	--	56

On the question of whether an agreement threatens Canadian identity in any way, a majority (56%) feel that Canadians should be confident "because Canada's identity is now strong enough that it no longer needs as much protection through government measures. This constitutes a slight difference in opinion from that evident in August prior to the signing of an agreement -- at which time opinion was split. Residents of Ontario (51%) and Saskatchewan (60%) are more likely than average to oppose free trade in this context and to be concerned about the effect it could have on Canada's identity. Quebecers, in contrast, are more apt (60%) to express confidence that Canada's identity is strong enough to withstand the absence of protection from various government measures.

As might be expected, views concerning the independence question are strongly related to support for free trade. Those Canadians who are confident of Canada's identity under the free trade agreement are more likely (83%) than average (55%) to support the agreement, whereas those who oppose free trade because of its anticipated effects on Canadian identity are more likely to oppose (76%) the agreement.

Aggregate results regarding the independence question show a similar 60/40 split in opinion, but in a different direction. In this case, the majority of 56% think that the free trade agreement will "tie Canada so closely to the United States that it will weaken our ability to play an independent role in the world." Quebecers (50%) and Canadians with annual family incomes of over $50,000 (50%) are more likely to think that free trade will strengthen our ability to play an independent role in world affairs.

As above, a relationship is apparent between respondents' views on this independence question and support for the free trade agreement. Those in opposition are more likely (84%) to think that the effect of free trade will be to weaken Canada's ability to play an independent role in the world.

In contrast, those supporting the agreement think it will strengthen Canada's independence in this context. Moreover, views on this question are quite strongly related to overall support or opposition to free trade.

V. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT

Respondents were presented with a number of "issue statements" concerning the federal government's management and objectives in the free trade talks. Responses provide an indication of public perceptions of how the federal government has handled the negotiations, whether it is prepared for the changes anticipated under free trade, and whether the free trade initiative is an isolated one or part of a broader plan for Canada's economic development. Table 10 presents the aggregate responses for each of these statements.

Table 10

PERCEPTIONS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT AND OBJECTIVES REGARDING FREE TRADE

	PERCENTAGE AGREE	GAMMA CORRELATION
I see the free trade deal with the Americans as part of a general effort by the government to improve Canada's trade situation with countries around the world	64	.690
From what I've heard or read, Canada gave away too much to the Americans in the free trade agreement	61	-.707
I'm concerned that free trade is only going to increase tensions among regions and groups in Canada	54	-.503
I think the government has a good idea of how to deal with the changes the free trade agreement will bring in Canada	50	.722
All the discussions about free trade may matter to businesses but free trade won't make any difference to the average Canadian worker	38	.147
The federal government has provided the Canadian people with enough information about the free trade agreement	26	.462

The above data contain both positive and disconcerting news for the proponents of free trade and the federal government in particular. On the positive side:

- Close to two-thirds of the population regard the trade deal as in some sense "part of a general effort to improve Canada's trade situation around the world" and therefore is not necessarily regarded as an isolated or exclusively continental focus in Canadian trade policy. Quebecers are more likely (70%) than average to hold this view, whereas Ontarians (59%) and people 65 years of age and older (56%) are less likely to see the trade deal in this light; and

- Opinion is split as to whether people think the federal government has a good idea of how to deal with the changes a free trade agreement will bring in Canada. More likely to think that it does are Quebecers (64%), non-working men (56%) and Canadians with lower levels of education. Residents of Ontario (47%) and British Columbia (45%), as well as university educated Canadians (47%) are less likely to agree that the government has a good idea of how to deal with these changes.

Less encouraging for the proponents of free trade are the following results:

- Only about one-quarter (26%) agree that the federal government has provided enough information about the free trade agreement to Canadians, a perception which could conceivably change once the final text of the agreement is agreed upon and made public;

- More than six-in-ten (61%) -- especially Ontario residents (65%) and women -- think Canada gave away too much to the Americans in the free trade agreement, whereas high-income Canadians are less likely to hold this view (54%);

- Canadians in most groups and regions disagree with the statement that "free trade won't make any difference to the average Canadian worker." Even stronger levels of disagreement are evident among higher socio-economic status individuals and residents of the Prairies and Ontario.

The importance of the attitudes reflected in Table 10 in terms of their relationship to support for the free trade agreement is highlighted by the gamma statistic in the Table. These data show that all of the issues in the Table bear some relationship to overall support or opposition to free trade, but those which are most important are perceptions of:

1. Whether the government is prepared for the changes the free trade agreement will bring; and

2. Whether people think Canada gave away too much to the Americans in the free trade agreement.

VI. EXPECTATIONS RE TIMING OF THE EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE, U.S. PROTECTIONISM AND ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE

A. Timing of Effects and Expectations Re Adjustment Assistance

Canadians were asked not only whether they feel the free trade agreement is good or bad for Canada's economy in various contexts, but also how long they think it will be before the effects of the trade agreement will be felt in Canada. Results are arrayed in Table 11.

Table 11

ANTICIPATED TIME FRAME FOR EFFECTS OF THE FREE TRADE AGREEMENT BEING FELT IN CANADA

	JUNE 1987 %	OCTOBER 1987 %
Almost right away	20	11
Two-to-five years	35	42
Three-to-five years	29	29
Five-to-ten years	11	15
More than 10 years	5	4

As in June, more than eight-in-ten Canadians anticipate that the effects of the free trade agreement will be felt within five years. Expectations as to the timing of effects continue to vary on the basis of age and region. Quebecers remain more likely than average to be of the view that the effects will be felt in three-to-five years, or five-to-ten years. Canadians aged 25-to-34 years are still more likely to expect the effects to be apparent sooner, within two-to-three years. In short, these data clearly indicate that consistent with their earlier expectations, Canadians believe that the effects of the free trade agreement with the United States will be felt more in the relatively short to medium term.

Views on the question of the provision of adjustment assistance were also explored. Specifically, respondents were asked whether to the best of their knowledge, the federal government will be "providing help to those individuals and industries who may be negatively affected as a result of the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement." Results indicate considerable uncertainty among Canadians about this and opinion is split evenly (49% yes; 48% no).

B. U.S. Protectionism

Concern about U.S. protectionism does not appear to have diminished now that Canada and the United States have reached an agreement. Respondents were informed that there recently has been talk among American Congressional and business leaders about increasing the tariffs and barriers placed on foreign goods and services coming into the United States in order to protect American industry and jobs. They were then asked whether they feel it is likely the American government might take this type of action.

Results show that seven-in-ten Canadians (70%) think that protectionist action of this type is likely, while 29% think it is not likely. Those groups more likely to think such action is likely include Ontario residents (75%), Quebecers (71%), union members (74%) and the university educated (75%).

C. Expectations Re Signing of the Agreement

It was noted above that overall awareness of the outcome of the trade discussions reveals that 21% of Canadians say that the outcome of the discussions was other than the reaching of a free trade agreement. Among the outcomes perceived by these respondents is what in fact has occurred -- an agreement to the outline of a Canada-U.S. free trade agreement which still must be ratified by the American Congress and Canadian Parliament.

The survey examined Canadians' expectations regarding the likelihood that "the free trade agreement will be finally signed and approved in both countries." For those feeling this is unlikely, they were further asked to indicate if they feel this will most likely be due to the objections of Canada or those of the United States. Results are shown in Table 12.

Table 12

PERCEIVED LIKELIHOOD THE TRADE AGREEMENT
WILL BE FINALLY SIGNED AND APPROVED

	PERCENTAGE
LIKELIHOOD DEAL WILL BE REACHED	
Likely	73
Unlikely	26
THOSE SAYING "UNLIKELY" FEEL IT WILL BE DUE TO THE OBJECTIONS OF....	
Canada	47
United States	48

A majority think it likely that the deal will be finalized but there is no consensus (and indeed considerable guesswork and uncertainty) among those thinking it unlikely the deal will be finally signed, as to whether this will result from Canadian or American objections.

VII. FREE TRADE OPINION LEADERS

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

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

Results appear in Table 13, together with results for a similar question posed before the agreement was reached, regarding who Canadians feel would be the likely sources to whom they would turn for information in the event a deal was signed.

Table 13

FREE TRADE OPINION LEADERS

	AUGUST 1987 %	OCTOBER 1987 %
WOULD CONSIDER MOST THE OPINION OF..		
Economists and other specialists	40	25
Business leaders	20	15
News media	13	29
Federal government leaders	9	11
Provincial government leaders	6	11
Labour leaders	8	6

Some major differences are apparent between the results in August and those in October. More than twice as many Canadians in October than in August say they are relying more on the media for information in making up their minds about free trade, while on the other hand, considerably fewer say they are relying on the views of economists and other specialists. There is also evidence of a modest increase in the proportion of the population saying they are relying on the opinions of their provincial government. Nevertheless, the percentage mentioning opinion leaders who have a clear and considerable vested interest in free trade continues to be relatively low. Eleven percent (11%) mention each of federal government leaders and their provincial government, while 6% say labour leaders.

The tendency to look to economists and other specialists continues to be evident across all segments of the population, particularly among higher SES respondents, including those with annual household incomes of $50,000 or more, professionals and owners/managers. Even unionized employees are more likely to look to economists and other specialists (26%) than to labour leaders (10%). Lower SES respondents are more likely than average to look to the media for the opinions they rely on in making up their minds about free trade.

VIII. MAJOR DEMOGRAPHIC DIFFERENCES

The main demographic bases other than region upon which opinions vary are gender, age and education. This section summarizes the major differences apparent in the data for each of these three demographic categories.

A. Gender

1. Summary of major differences

The October results show that there continue to be major differences between men and women in their outlook on free trade. These can be summarized as men being more supportive of the free trade agreement and more convinced of the economic benefits likely to result than are women.

More specifically, the main attitudinal differences among men and women include:

- Women (67%) are more likely than men (57%) to believe that the Americans got a better deal than did Canada, and less likely (46% versus 51%) to support the deal;

- On the question of overall economic impact, more men (66%) than women (59%) expect the free trade agreement to benefit Canada's economy. Women, on the other hand, are more likely than men to expect free trade to have a negative effect on their provincial economy. While 64% of men feel the deal will be either good or very good for their provincial economy, 55% of women hold this view;

- Men are also more optimistic than women about specific economic benefits from free trade in terms of jobs and consumer prices. They are more likely (55% versus 47% for women) to expect that Canada will gain more jobs than it loses under free trade and to expect that the prices of imported goods will be lower (77% of men versus 64% of women see this as likely);

- Both similarities and differences are apparent in the views of men and women about the industry sector effects of the free trade agreement. Both are about equally of the view that the agriculture, auto and auto parts and cultural industries would be affected in a negative manner;

- As for energy in general and the oil and gas sector in particular, men are more optimistic than women about the effects of the free trade agreement on the sector;

- There are less prominent gaps between the opinions of men and women on questions which impinge on the free trade agreement's effect on Canadian identity. More men (59%) than women (51%) believe "we should be confident enough about the free trade agreement because Canada's identity is now strong enough that it no longer needs as much protection through government measures."

- A significant "gender gap" exists with respect to the respective views of men and women as to whom they regard as the people they would "rely on most in making up their minds about the free trade agreement." Women are more likely (31%) than men (26%) to respect the opinion of the media.

2. Key concerns

Women are less convinced than men of the positive economic effects of free trade for Canada. There is also evidence of some apprehension among women about the anticipated effects of free trade on local or regional economies. The data indicate that women are more likely than men to rely on the opinions of the news media in making up their minds about the free trade agreement.

The key finding regarding men emerging from the data is their relatively more positive disposition toward the trade agreement and its anticipated effects.

B. Age

1. Summary of major differences

The two segments of the population defined on the basis of age which stand out as having distinct views on many of the trade questions are youths and those over the age of 55. The former are basically less informed and less aware of the details of the issues involved in free trade, yet in some cases are more likely to be optimistic about the economic effects of free trade for Canada. In contrast, people aged 55 and over are more informed about free trade, but less supportive and more likely to anticipate negative economic effects.

Specific differences of note include:

- More people than average aged 55 years and over claim to be familiar with the deal, with only about 7% saying they are "not familiar at all with the deal." At the other extreme, 18-24 year olds are least informed, with 75% claiming to be "not familiar at all with the deal";

- Canadians over the age of 55 are also most opposed to the deal (50%) and also far more pessimistic about free trade in a number of areas than are the younger respondents. For instance, fewer than average think that "we will be able to maintain current government programs such as Unemployment Insurance and health insurance." In addition, as the age of respondents increases, so too does the percentage believing it "very likely" that Canada would lose auto industry jobs to the U.S.;

- These Canadians over 55 years of age also are more likely (61% versus 55% on average) to believe the agricultural industry will be worse off with a free trade deal. On the other hand, Canadians of retirement age think the oil and gas industry in particular and the energy industry in general would be better off under the free trade agreement. Those at the other end of the age spectrum (18-24 years) are the most optimistic, with 54% seeing free trade as a good deal for the energy sector.

- On the question of stakeholder credibility, younger Canadians are more likely to rely on the media in making up their minds about the free trade agreement, and respondents' propensity to identify the media in this context declines as age increases.

2. Key concerns

With reference to the two overriding issues of economic effects and impact on sovereignty or independence, the data show that variations on the basis of age relate mainly to the economic effects question. Those Canadians over the age of 55 are on balance somewhat more pessimistic about the likely economic benefits of free trade.

Among youth, the main issue relates to this group of Canadians being relatively less well-informed about free trade, but also in several respects more likely to be prepared to accept or expect positive economic benefits. Except in terms of differences in outlook on the basis of education levels as defined below, youth in Canada seem no more or less concerned than do other Canadians about the independence or sovereignty question.

C. Education

1. Summary of major findings

Unlike opinion variations on the basis of age and gender, differences in opinion on the basis of respondents' level of education relate to both of the two major issues of economic impact and independence or control issues. More highly educated Canadians are more familiar with the free trade agreement and more positive than average in their expectations of economic benefits. On the other hand, they also exhibit greater than average levels of concern with the effect of free trade on Canada's sovereignty and independence.

Specific findings which illustrate these general trends include:

- o University graduates being more likely (68% versus 62% on average) to feel that the free trade agreement would be either a good or a very good thing for the Canadian economy;

- o They are also more likely to expect declines in consumer prices as a result of free trade, reflecting an overall trend toward this view as the education level of respondents increases;

- o In terms of specific sectors, the higher respondents' education levels, the greater the likelihood of their expecting that Canada's auto and auto parts industry would be worse off under free trade. On the other hand, university educated Canadians are more likely to regard the oil and gas industry as better off under the free trade agreement; and

- o More highly educated Canadians are also most likely to believe that Canada's "films, books and magazines" industry would be worse off under the free trade deal, with 62% of university graduates holding this view.

The data clearly indicate that university educated Canadians, as well as those currently "at school," are most concerned about the independence question and more likely than average to be moved by this concern to oppose the free trade agreement.

Specific highlights from the data revealing this pattern include:

- o As a slight exception to the trend, fear of Canada's gradually losing control of "our ability to make our own economic decisions" is higher among the less well-educated than among more highly educated Canadians;

- o Sixty-five percent (65%) of university educated respondents (versus average of 56%) are of the view that the deal will weaken Canada's ability to play an independent role in the world; and

- o University educated Canadians are more likely to believe (62% versus 46% on average) that Canada's "films, books and magazines" industry will be worse off under the free trade agreement.

2. Summary and key issues

The main conclusion from the analysis of opinion differences attributable to respondents' levels of education relates to both of the key issues around which support for the trade agreement is being won or lost. More highly educated Canadians are more likely to recognize positive economic benefits as resulting from the free trade agreement, with some exceptions relating to specific industry sectors like the autos and auto parts industry and the so-called "cultural industries." They are also more attuned to possible risks to Canada's independence in various contexts or manifestations, resulting from the Canada-U.S. free trade agreement.

IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This segment of the report presents a summary of the main conclusions and findings which emerge from the October survey. They are grouped below according to the various topic areas explored in the report.

Awareness and Attentiveness Re Outcome of Free Trade Negotiations

- Despite a majority of Canadians claiming to be attentive to the trade discussions, most Canadians are not that familiar with what is contained in the agreement. Almost two-thirds (63%) say they are either "not too familiar" or "not familiar at all" with what is contained in the agreement.

- There are differing views among those Canadians who claim to have read or heard something about the outcome of the Canada-U.S. free trade negotiations as to what exactly the outcome has been. While 44% of Canadians say that a free trade deal was reached, 21% believe that the outcome was something other than an agreement being reached.

Support/Opposition to the Initiative

- Overall support for the free trade with the United States remains constant, with close to half the population (48%) supporting the free trade agreement reached with the United States, 43% opposing it and 9% having no opinion. Opinions on the agreement vary on the basis of respondents' expectations as to the economic benefits or drawbacks for Canada.

- The reasons offered in support of the free trade agreement all point to various positive economic consequences for Canada, be these in the form of expanded markets for the sale of Canadian goods, lower prices, duties and taxes on goods, or in an anticipated stimulus to Canadian industries as a result of free trade.

- Reasons cited by those opposing the free trade agreement include both anticipated negative economic consequences of free trade for Canada and, most importantly, fears that "Canada will lose" and that Canada risks loss of control and independence.

- Canadians are strongly of the view that the Americans "got a better deal than Canada," with 61% holding this view. Canadians, however, may not necessarily think that any other outcome would have been achievable in light of the relative strengths of the two countries.

- In terms of bilateral relations, the predominate view among Canadians is that the agreement will either have a positive, or at worst, a neutral effect on Canada's relations with the Americans.

Anticipated Effects of Free Trade

- Seven-in-ten Canadians (71%) expect that consumer prices will be lower as a result of the free trade agreement, yet only 26% expect higher incomes.

- Expectations are positive for the wood and paper products industry, whereas two-thirds continue to be of the view that "the Canadian automobile industry will lose jobs to the United States."

- Evidence that many Canadians do not really know what will happen under the free trade agreement with the United States is apparent in the fact that while two-thirds fear loss of control of decision-making, 72% think that "we will be able to maintain current government programs such as unemployment insurance and health insurance."

- Seventy-one percent (71%) believe that "American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase" and 79% think it likely that the free trade agreement will lead to Canada and the United States becoming similar in many ways.

Effect on Canadian Business or Industry Sectors

- Those sectors which Canadians expect to be better off under free trade are the wood and paper products sector and the oil and gas industry. Sectors seen as likely to be worse off under free trade are agriculture and farming, the wine industry, cars and car parts, and films, books and magazines.

Economic and Independence Issues

- A majority of Canadians consistently believe that the jobs created by increased U.S. investment in Canada are more important than limiting American influence in the Canadian economy. Atlantic Canadians are disproportionately among those Canadians expressing this view.

- A majority (56%) also feel that Canadians should be confident "because Canada's identity is now strong enough that it no longer needs as much protection through government measures," whereas 44% believe we "should not have free trade because it could mean the end of those government measures which protect Canada's identity and make us different from the U.S."

- Results for the independence question show a similar 60/40 split in opinion, but in a different direction. In this case the majority (56%) think that the free trade agreement will "tie Canada so closely to the United States that it will weaken our ability to play an independent role in the world."

Federal Government Management

- Close to two-thirds of the population regard the trade deal as in some sense "part of a general effort to improve Canada's trade situation around the world." Opinion is split as to whether people think the federal government has a good idea of how to deal with the changes a free trade agreement will bring to Canada.

- One-quarter (26%) of the population agree that the federal government has provided enough information about the free trade agreement to Canadians and 61% think Canada gave away too much to the Americans in the free trade agreement.

Expectations Re Timing of Effects and U.S. Protectionism

- As in June, more than eight-in-ten Canadians anticipate that the effects of the free trade agreement will be felt within five years.

- Concern about U.S. protectionism does not appear to have diminished now that Canada and the United States have reached an agreement. Seventy percent (70%) think it likely that the Americans will increase tariffs and barriers placed on foreign goods and services coming into the United States, so as to protect American industry and jobs.

- Most Canadians also think that it is likely that the trade agreement reached will be finally signed and approved by both countries.

TECHNICAL APPENDIXES

APPENDIX

A. SURVEY OVERVIEW

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

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

1. Sample Selection

The population consists of all adult Canadian residents. Male and female respondents were selected in the same proportion as the general population, on a 50/50 sex quota. A total of 1,998 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 proportionate to size at the level. The first step in the sampling procedure was the division into strata or "regions" (Table A). The definition of the boundaries for these regions is presented in the following map.

Table A

SAMPLE STRATA

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION	PPS	N
REGIONS		
British Columbia	11.3	226
Alberta	9.2	184
Saskatchewan	4.0	80
Manitoba	4.2	86
Balance Ontario	26.7	532
Toronto	8.8	176
Quebec	26.5	530
New Brunswick	2.9	58
Nova Scotia	3.5	70
Prince Edward Island	0.5	10
Newfoundland	2.3	46
1,998		

Table A presents the total population of represented in each region, followed by the percentages of the total population and by the proportionate number of cases in each.

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

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

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

2. Field Procedures

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

The interviews took place between October 7 and October 20, 1987. 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 questions and took approximately 21 minutes to complete.

Experienced telephone interviewers were used to collect the data. A briefing was held by the Field Supervisor and the Research Analyst was present to answer questions or clarify procedures. The Field Supervisor first read the questionnaire to the interviewers, thereby ensuring that pronunciation would be correct and uniform, and 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 day in the field, the Research Analyst listened to the interviewers on an extension monitor. The monitor prevents the interviewer and respondent from knowing they are being listened to. This ensured that the skip and rotation patterns were followed correctly and that there were no questions causing interviewers any particular difficulty. When an error was caught, the interviewer was briefed again and the respondent was called back in order to correct the questionnaire.

3. Coding

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

o An initial briefing; and

o Supervision of trained staff.

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 sample of cases produces results which are accurate for the population of 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 category of the population with figures provided by Statistics Canada. Table B outlines the percentage of respondents in each age category for the sample, and the corresponding population figures. As these figures suggest, the sample drawn for this study reflects the more general characteristics of the adult population.

Table B

SAMPLE VALIDATION

AGE	SAMPLE (n=1,992) %	UNIVERSE [1] (N=1) %
18-19 years of age	3	5
20-24 years of age	9	13
25-29 years of age	14	13
30-34 years of age	14	11
35-39 years of age	15	10
40-44 years of age	10	8
45-49 years of age	7	7
50-54 years of age	6	7
55-59 years of age	6	7
60-64 years of age	6	6
65 years and older	10	14

[1] Adult population of Canada. Source: 1981 Census of Canada Catalogue.

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

B. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

OCT. 1987

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
C.	Do you, or does anyone in your family or household work in the following kinds of business ...a market research firm, advertising agency, public relations firm, or the news media?	YES (THANK AND TERMINATE -- RECORD INCIDENCE ON CALL RECORD SHEET)...............A NO (CONTINUE)................B

1. How closely would you say you have been following the discussions about free trade with the United States? Would you say you've been following these discussions...(READ LIST)?

NOT CLOSELY AT ALL............	1	(9%)
NOT VERY CLOSELY..............	2	(35%)
CLOSELY.......................	3	(42%)
VERY CLOSELY..................	4	(14%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......	5	(0%)

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.

2.A Have you heard or read anything recently about the outcome of the Canadian-American negotiations on free trade?

YES (GO TO Q2.B)..............A		
NO (SKIP TO Q4 PREAMBLE)......1*	(36%)	

IF "YES" TO Q2.A, ASK:

2.B And what have you heard or read?

FREE TRADE DEAL REACHED.....2	(42%)
OTHER.......................3	(21%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)....4	(1%)

3. Would you say you are very familiar, familiar, not too familiar, or not familiar at all with what is contained in the free trade agreement between Canada and the United States?

NOT FAMILIAR AT ALL...........1	(10%)
NOT TOO FAMILIAR..............2	(54%)
FAMILIAR......................3	(30%)
VERY FAMILIAR.................4	(5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(1%)

PREAMBLE

In fact, the Canada - United States free trade negotiations have resulted in a free trade agreement.

4. Generally speaking, do you strongly support, support, oppose, or strongly oppose the free trade agreement that was reached by Canada and the United States?

STRONGLY OPPOSE...............1	(10%)
OPPOSE........................2	(32%)
SUPPORT.......................3	(44%)
STRONGLY SUPPORT..............4	(5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(9%)

5. Why is that? (PROBE...ANSWER MUST BE AT LEAST TEN WORDS)

UNEMPLOYMENT	01	(13%)
CANADA WILL LOSE	02	(9%)
U.S. TAKEOVER	03	(9%)
CULTURAL IDENTITY	04	(2%)
ECONOMIC CHANGES IN CANADA	05	(9%)
OPEN TRADE RELATIONS	06	(5%)
RESOURCE TAKEOVER	07	(2%)
FARMING	08	(3%)
ENERGY	09	(1%)
DOLLAR CHANGES	10	(1%)
MARKET SIZE	11	(4%)
INDUSTRY	12	(5%)
COMPETITION	13	(2%)
CONSUMER PRICES	14	(4%)
U.S. PROTECTIONISM	15	(1%)
BENEFIT BOTH COUNTRIES	16	(3%)
AUTO PACT	17	(1%)
DUTY/TAX	18	(2%)
FORESTRY	19	(1%)
SOME GOOD SOME BAD	20	(1%)
POSITIVE FOR CANADA	21	(7%)
NOT ENOUGH INFORMATION	22	(5%)
ANTI-AMERICAN	21	(1%)
RUSHED FREE TRADE	22	(1%)
POLITICALLY HONEST/DISHONEST	23	(1%)
OTHER	24	(6%)
DON'T KNOW	25	(3%)
NO RESPONSE	26	(1%)

REFER TO APPENDIX C FOR COMPLETE VERBATIM RESPONSES

You may recall that prior to the free trade agreement being reached, the negotiations were suspended for a little while. At the time, there were three main issues in dispute. For each of these, I'd like you to tell me whether you are very satisifed, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the way it was handled in the agreement. The first one is...(READ AND ROTATE)

6. Finding a way to settle future trade disputes.

VERY DISSATISFIED	1	(9%)
SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED	2	(33%)
SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	3	(42%)
VERY SATISFIED	4	(4%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(13%)

7. Canada's regional development policies.

VERY DISSATISFIED	1	(6%)
SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED	2	(31%)
SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	3	(41%)
VERY SATISFIED	4	(3%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(20%)

8. Canada's cultural assistance policies.

VERY DISSATISFIED	1	(8%)
SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED	2	(29%)
SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	3	(41%)
VERY SATISFIED	4	(4%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(18%)

END OF ROTATION

9. If you had to guess, would you say that Canada got a better deal than the Americans, that the Americans got a better deal than Canada, or do you think that the free trade deal is fair and balanced for both countries?

CANADA GOT A BETTER DEAL THAN THE AMERICANS	1	(7%)
THE AMERICANS GOT A BETTER DEAL THAN CANADA	2	(62%)
THE FREE TRADE DEAL IS FAIR AND BALANCED	3	(28%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(2%)

I'd like you to tell me for each of the following whether you think the fact that a trade agreement is a very good, good, bad, or very bad thing. How about in terms of its effect on...(READ AND ROTATE ITEMS 10 TO 12)

10. The Canadian economy?

VERY BAD.......................1	(7%)
BAD............................2	(28%)
GOOD...........................3	(55%)
VERY GOOD......................4	(7%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(3%)

11. Your provincial economy?

VERY BAD.......................1	(6%)
BAD............................2	(31%)
GOOD...........................3	(51%)
VERY GOOD......................4	(9%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(4%)

12. Economic well-being of you and your family?

VERY BAD.......................1	(5%)
BAD............................2	(24%)
GOOD...........................3	(56%)
VERY GOOD......................4	(6%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(9%)

END OF ROTATION

13. Do you think that because a free trade agreement was reached, Canada's relations with the United States overall will be better, worse, or the same as they have been in the past?

THE SAME.......................1	(43%)
WORSE..........................2	(15%)
BETTER.........................3	(41%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(1%)

I am going to read you a list of statements various people have made about what might happen now that there is a free trade agreement between Canada and the United States. For each one, I'd like you to tell me whether you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely, that this will result? The first one is...(READ AND ROTATE STATEMENTS 14-28)

14. Overall, there will be more jobs gained than lost in Canada.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(16%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(32%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(39%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(12%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

15. Prices of many goods imported from the United States into Canada will be lower.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(8%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(21%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(50%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(20%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

16. Canadians will have less control over our energy resources.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(--)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(--)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(--)
VERY LIKELY	4	(--)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(--)

17. We will be able to maintain current government programs such as unemployment insurance and health insurance.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(7%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(20%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(48%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(24%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(2%)

18. Many American companies will close their plants in Canada.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(19%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(42%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(27%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(12%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

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19. Our economy will become so closely tied to the American economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own economic decisions.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(11%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(26%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(35%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(27%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

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20. Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(22%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(51%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(22%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

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21. Differences in economic development among regions in Canada will gradually be reduced.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(12%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(40%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(37%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(7%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(3%)

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22. American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(6%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(23%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(43%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(28%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

---

23. Canada and the United States will become more similar in many ways.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(4%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(17%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(49%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(29%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(*)

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24. The free trade agreement will benefit Canada and the United States equally.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(24%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(34%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(31%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(10%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

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25. The United States will keep to the terms of the agreement.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(12%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(26%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(46%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(14%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(3%)

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26. The Canadian wood and paper products industry will increase sales in the United States.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(7%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(20%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(54%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(17%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(3%)

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27. The Canadian automobile industry will lose jobs to the United States.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(6%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(26%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(41%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(25%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(2%)

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28. Governments will be restricted in how much help they are allowed to give to Canadian businesses in poorer regions of the country.

VERY UNLIKELY................1	(8%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY............2	(30%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY..............3	(39%)
VERY LIKELY..................4	(20%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(3%)

28B. Based on what you have seen, read, or heard, would you say that, as far as energy is concerned, the free trade agreement is a very good, good, bad, or very bad deal for Canada?

VERY BAD DEAL................1	(14%)
BAD DEAL.....................2	(29%)
GOOD DEAL....................3	(48%)
VERY GOOD DEAL...............4	(9%)

END OF ROTATION

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29. Some people say we should not have free trade because it will mean the end of some of those government measures which protect Canada's identity and make us different from the United States.

Other people say that we should be confident enough about the free trade agreement because Canada's identity is now strong enough that it no longer needs as much protection through government measures.

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

SHOULD NOT HAVE FREE TRADE................................1	(44%)
SHOULD BE CONFIDENT.......................................2	(55%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)..................................3	(1%)

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30. Some people say that the jobs which may be created by increased American investment in Canada are not as important as limiting American influence in the Canadian economy.

Other people say that the jobs created by increased American investment in Canada are more important than limiting American influence in the Canadian economy.

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

JOBS NOT AS IMPORTANT AS LIMITING INFLUENCE...............1	(39%)
JOBS MORE IMPORTANT THAN LIMITING INFLUENCE...............2	(59%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)..................................3	(2%)

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31. Some people say that the free trade agreement will strengthen Canada's economy and thus enable it to continue to play an independent role in the world.

Other people say that the free trade agreement will tie Canada so closely to the United States that it will weaken our ability to play an independent role in the world.

Thinking of these two points of view, which <u>one</u> best reflects your own?

WILL STRENGTHEN ABILITY TO PLAY INDEPENDENT ROLE................	1	(43%)
WILL WEAKEN ABILITY TO PLAY INDEPENDENT ROLE.....................	2	(56%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)..	3	(1%)

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32. Thinking about the various people whose opinions you respect on the free trade agreement, whose opinion are you relying on most in making up your mind about the free trade agreement since it was signed...economists and other specialists, business leaders, labour leaders, federal government leaders, your provincial government or the news media?

ECONOMISTS AND OTHER SPECIALISTS................................	1	(25%)
BUSINESS LEADERS..	2	(15%)
LABOUR LEADERS..	3	(6%)
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS......................................	4	(11%)
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT...	5	(11%)
NEWS MEDIA..	6	(29%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)..	7	(3%)

Now, I'm going to read you a list of statements various people have made at one time or another. I'd like you to tell me how you personally feel about each statement by giving me a number between -5 and +5, where -5 means you totally disagree with the statement and +5 means you totally agree with the statement. Many people's opinions fall somewhere in between these two points depending on how they feel about the statement. The first statement is...(ROTATE STATEMENTS 33 - 38...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

	MEAN RATING
33. From what I've heard or read, Canada gave away too much to the Americans in the free trade agreement.	1.36
34. The federal government has provided the Canadian people with enough information about the free trade agreement.	-1.86
35. All the discussions about free trade may matter to businesses, but free trade won't make any difference to the average Canadian worker.	-0.79
36. I'm concerned that free trade is only going to increase tensions among regions and groups in Canada.	0.55
37. I see the free trade deal with the Americans as part of a general effort by the government to improve Canada's trade situation with countries around the world.	1.15
38. I think the government has a good idea of how to deal with the changes the free trade agreement will bring in Canada.	0.13

END OF ROTATION

39. Recently, there has been some talk among American Congressional and business leaders about <u>increasing</u> the tariffs and barriers placed on foreign 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?

NOT AT ALL LIKELY	01	(7%)
NOT TOO LIKELY	02	(22%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	03	(43%)
VERY LIKELY	04	(28%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	05	(1%)

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40. In your view, now that Canada and the U.S. have been able to reach an agreement on trade, how long do you think it will be before the effects will be felt in Canada...almost right away, two or three years, three to five years, five to 10 years, or more than 10 years?

ALMOST RIGHT AWAY	1	(11%)
TWO TO THREE YEARS	2	(41%)
THREE TO FIVE YEARS	3	(29%)
FIVE TO 10 YEARS	4	(15%)
MORE THAN 10 YEARS	5	(4%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	6	(*)

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41. As far as you are aware, will the federal government be providing help to those industries and individuals who may be negatively affected as a result of the Canada - U.S. free trade agreement?

YES	1	(49%)
NO	2	(48%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(3%)

Now I'm going to list some Canadian businesses and I'd like you to tell me for each one whether you think the free trade agreement with the United States will mean the industry will be better off, or worse off as a result. How about...(READ AND ROTATE Q42 TO Q49)

42. Oil and gas industry?

WORSE OFF	1	(32%)
BETTER OFF	2	(58%)
NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(8%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(2%)

43. Wine industry?

WORSE OFF	1	(56%)
BETTER OFF	2	(28%)
NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(14%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(2%)

44. Wood and paper products?

WORSE OFF	1	(32%)
BETTER OFF	2	(59%)
NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(8%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(1%)

45. Fish and fish products?

WORSE OFF	1	(40%)
BETTER OFF	2	(43%)
NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(14%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(3%)

46. Agriculture and farming?

WORSE OFF	1	(56%)
BETTER OFF	2	(32%)
NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(11%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(1%)

47. Cars and car parts?

WORSE OFF	1	(57%)
BETTER OFF	2	(29%)
NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(13%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(1%)

48. Films, books, and magazines?

WORSE OFF	1	(46%)
BETTER OFF	2	(36%)
NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(16%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(2%)

49. Beer industry?

WORSE OFF	1	(38%)
BETTER OFF	2	(36%)
NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(25%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(2%)

END OF ROTATION

50. As you may know, the Canada - U.S. free trade agreement is subject to discussions in Canada and in the U.S. Congress over the next few months before it is finalized. Do you think it is very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely, that following these few months of discussion, the free trade agreement will be finally signed and approved in both countries?

VERY UNLIKELY................	1	(7%)
UNLIKELY......................	2	(19%)
LIKELY (SKIP TO Q52)..........	3*	(52%)
VERY LIKELY (SKIP TO Q52).....	4*	(21%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......	5	(1%)

IF "UNLIKELY" OR "VERY UNLIKELY" TO Q50, ASK:

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51. Which country's objections would you say are most likely to prevent the deal from being finalized -- those of Canada or those of the United States?

THOSE OF CANADA.............	1	(47%)
THOSE OF UNITED STATES......	2	(48%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)....	3	(4%)

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

52. 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	(3%)
20-24 YEARS	02	(9%)
25-29 YEARS	03	(14%)
30-34 YEARS	04	(14%)
35-39 YEARS	05	(15%)
40-44 YEARS	06	(10%)
45-49 YEARS	07	(7%)
50-54 YEARS	08	(6%)
55-59 YEARS	09	(6%)
60-64 YEARS	10	(6%)
65 YEARS OR OLDER	11	(10%)

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

LESS THAN $ 5,000	01	(3%)
$ 5,000 - $ 9,999	02	(6%)
$10,000 - $14,999	03	(8%)
$15,000 - $19,999	04	(11%)
$20,000 - $24,999	05	(10%)
$25,000 - $29,999	06	(13%)
$30,000 - $34,999	07	(11%)
$35,000 - $39,999	08	(10%)
$40,000 - $44,999	09	(7%)
$45,000 - $49,999	10	(5%)
$50,000 AND OVER	11	(17%)

54.A Are you currently attending school, college, or university as a full-time student?

YES (SKIP TO Q55)	5*	(7%)
NO (GO TO Q54.B)	A	

IF "NO" TO Q54.A, ASK:

54.B What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed?

PUBLIC/SOME HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 1-8)	1	(28%)
GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12 OR 13)	2	(27%)
VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL/COLLEGE/CEGEP	3	(16%)
SOME/GRADUATED UNIVERSITY	4	(23%)

55. Are you currently employed outside the home?

NO (SKIP TO Q58)	1*	(36%)
YES (GO TO Q56)	2	(64%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(*)

IF "YES" TO Q55 ASK:

56. Are you working full-time or part-time?

FULL-TIME	1	(81%)
PART-TIME	2	(19%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(1%)

57. What is your occupation, that is, what are your main job responsibilities? What type of company do you work for?

PROFESSIONAL	01	(7%)
AGRICULTURE	02	(3%)
CIVIL SERVANT	03	(1%)
OWNER/SELF EMPLOYED	04	(2%)
MANAGEMENT/EXECUTIVE	05	(8%)
CULTURAL	06	(1%)
TEACHER	07	(8%)
MEDIUM-LEVEL SERVICE	08	(8%)
LOW-LEVEL SERVICES	09	(12%)
MEDIUM-LEVEL OFFICE WORKER	10	(9%)
LOW-LEVEL OFFICE WORKER	11	(11%)
MEDIUM-LEVEL PRODUCTION WORKER	12	(17%)
LOW-LEVEL PRODUCTION WORKER	13	(9%)
HOUSEWIFE	14	(0%)
STUDENT	15	(0%)
RETIRED	16	(0%)
ARMY	17	(1%)
UNEMPLOYED	18	(0%)
SCIENTIFICAL/TECHNICAL	19	(5%)

58. Do you, or does any other member of your family belong to a labour union?

RESPONDENT	1	(14%)
OTHER MEMBER OF FAMILY	2	(16%)
BOTH (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(4%)
NONE (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(66%)

59. Sex. (BY OBSERVATION)

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

60. Language of questionnaire.

ENGLISH	1	(76%)
FRENCH	2	(24%)

C. VERBATIM RESPONSES

Question 5

Generally speaking, do you strongly support, support, oppose, or strongly oppose the free trade agreement that was reached by Canada and the United States?

Why is that?

01. Unemployment/Jobs -- I support -- it offers better job opportunities. / Because of the loss of jobs. / Canadians will be out of a job. / Loss of jobs in Canada. / Because we are not geared up -- Canada is going to lose jobs. / Jobs will be affected -- our culture will be hurt. / Create jobs. / Good for Canada, create more jobs for Canadians. / It will create more jobs. / Think country would benefit -- more jobs make industries competing. / It will provide more jobs in Canada. / Because there is a loss of Canadian jobs for many people, including young. / Free trade can cause a lot of job losses, rather than creating jobs. / Lose jobs, energy controlled by Americans. / I just think it would be a good thing, it would mean more jobs and help our economy. / Enhance Canada, strengthen bond more jobs. / Might be a good thing -- give more jobs to Canada. / Mainly for the jobs that may be created as a result of the agreement. / Good for Canada. More jobs, increased productivity, and more money in our pockets. / Some of our provincial government is against it and I agree with them. I think I will lose jobs. / Cost Canadian people jobs in manufacturing and auto trade. Very negative effect in Ontario. / Mainly because what I'm hearing that a lot of people will be losing their jobs -- free trade agreement -- not in favour of Canada. / Lots of Canadians will lose their jobs. Lots of unemployed workers (truck drivers -- my jobs) -- There will be a loss of jobs in Canada. / Because of the job situation I don't think they can create the jobs that will be lost. / Because I don't think the government is giving any assurances that we won't lose a lot of jobs. I don't trust them at all. / We would be losing jobs in Ontario, but these new jobs that the government is predicting might not be in Ontario so we could lose a lot. / Don't think it's the best thing for us and a lot of Canadians will lose their job. / I think Canada will lose a lot of jobs to the Americans. / Because it helps others find jobs. More U.S. companies coming here. / Good because it would bring more jobs or so you hear from the TV. / Increase in jobs and trade. / The loss of jobs, especially for women. / It's going to mean job lost for some people -- mean loss of Canadian sovereignty. I think we might be swallowed up by the U.S. They are a much stronger country. / More jobs for Canadians. / I support free trade because it is very beneficial. In the long run create employment and better standards in Canada. / It will benefit Canada job-wise. / I believe in free trade. It is good for the country because maybe it will increase jobs. / Extra jobs in oil industry for Alberta. / Divided opinions -- I think free trade may mean more job losses in the long run.

02. Canada Will Lose -- Generally Canada will get a worse deal. / Canadians don't get as much. / Not enough in it for Canada. / I'm not sure that it is going to be fair to Canada. / Canadians are going to lose a lot and Americans are going to gain everything. / We gave too much away to the U.S. I just think it is a bad deal. / I'm leery of the agreement. I think Canada will be sold out because the Americans are better bargainers. / We'll lose while the U.S. gains -- investment will only go one way. We've opened up for them while they haven't for us. / We always get the short end of the stick so it's better if we didn't get involved. The Americans always come out ahead -- in all ways. / I don't think it's good for Canada. We're giving too much away. / I think we're giving in to the Americans and we're losing out. / Canada is not getting a good deal. / Won't do Canada that much good. Laurier lose election will benefit U.S. twice than Canada. / We are giving everything away. / Canada will not gain too much. U.S. is bigger, people say we will become the 52nd state. They want to invest in Canada and own U.S. They want our energy resources. The wine industry will collapse. / Canada will get screwed -- pardon the expression. / Freed trade agreement will benefit the Americans more than the Canadians. / The agreement gave the advantages to the States. / Because I think it will benefit U.S. more than it will Canada. / I feel the Americans are going to benefit more than the Canadians. / The U.S. got too much. Canada didn't get enough. / Because as far as I am concerned the U.S. government will not give in until they feel they have the better part of the deal. / Going into the American favour and I think it could be a sell out. / I feel that Canada was taken advantage of -- just what is the U.S. trading. / Because it's not going to do Canada any good -- no sovereignty protection, no binding dispute mechanism. Wine industry will be hurt very badly -- 500,000 jobs lost in Canada. / Because the States will screw us.

03. U.S. Takeover -- I do believe Americans will take over our country if we have free trade. / We're Canadians and if the free trade went through we would be dominated by the U.S. / Before long there won't be a Canada because the United States will buy us out. / Americans will take over Canada. / Canada needs to be more independent, the country itself. / Because when Americans are involved it's not good, they have too much power. / Because the states is controlling more things in Canada than Canada is. / Canada is being taken over. / Because U.S. virtually controls us already and we don't need any more control by them. / Because Canada will lose its independence, the U.S. will soon dominate our economy. / The states are going to take us for everything we have. / Because the Americans will take over Canada -- just like that. I think we should stand on our own two feet. / I think it will give the Americans a foothold in Canada -- especially Ontario. / Americans trying to take over Canada -- they are getting too much influence in Canada. / Doesn't know what's going to happen with Americans taking over. / Selling out of Canada -- U.S. will take over. / America won't give us a fair deal. / Americans will take over. / We're just going to end up being a 52nd state of the U.S.A. / Canada will lose its power and become just another state. / I feel that Canada is too small of a country to be dealing in U.S. who is very large. / Given the size of the United States and their track record, Canada will get crushed and go down the drain economically. / I'd

like to keep Canada to ourselves, not give it away to the states. / I am of the opinion that because it is quite a greater population in the U.S. they would benefit more than we would. / Anything we do here is geared towards the states. / Well, I think they have an edge on us so it's probably another reason they'll take over. / Because it leans to too much American control, not enough Canadian independence. / We are supposed to be separate countries, we would become one. / States forcing us to buy their goods rather than buying ours.

04. Cultural Identity -- Cultural influences by U.S. on our Canadian culture. / I don't want to become an American. I like to be a Canadian. / I don't like American people taking over our culture. / As long as our cultural identity is kept. / Haven't given us enough information about the cultural industry. / Because we have certain Canadian values that the free trade will infringe on us. / We are selling out Canada's national identity -- I just don't feel we are getting a good deal from the U.S. / We are becoming more and more Americanized and this deal will make us even more so. / Because of the effect it will have on our way of life.

05. Economic Changes -- Canada -- Canada is not strong enough economically to have free trade without negative effects. / Because it might shock the Canadian economy. / It will improve Canada's economy financially. / It will be beneficial to our economy and strengthen it. / I think Canada will profit financially. / It will improve our economy as a result that will help us compete worldwide. / Will improve economy -- will benefit the consumer. / It will be good for the Canadian economy as a whole. / I feel it will help Canada's overall economy. / It is the only way we will be able to exist as a country economically -- wise. / It will strengthen the economy because U.S. is such a large country combined they can have more influence. / Optimistic -- better for Canada to have it economically. / Good for the economy. / Economy will benefit. / Better for the economy. / It will benefit the Canadian economy. / It would be good for Canada's economy. / It seems it will be better for the Canadians economically. / I think we'll benefit economically and they will benefit as well. / Good deal economically for some sectors of Canada, but the issue of cultural sovereignty bothers me -- needs to be protected. / I don't think that some of the issues will be good for the Canadian economy. / Because the government will do anything they want on the subject whether it will help our economy or not. Personally I think it will hurt the economy. / Sounds like a bad deal for Canada -- financially. / I don't believe it will be beneficial to the countries economically. / Sounds good for Canada and its economy. / I think it's good because it will make good business for Canada.

06. Open Trade Relations/U.S.-Canada Relations -- Some things -- living close to the U.S. border seems feasible to have freedom to move back and forth. / We have to work together sometime so why not start now. / Help each other out, get closer together with the Americans. / Like to see us one country. / We are close enough -- don't see why a line should make any difference in what we pay. / I think it is a good idea -- it's good for countries to be trading -- better relations with other countries. / It opens up our boundaries and helps the oil and farming industries. /

Because I'm European and I am used to open border provinces. / We live closely together so we should get along and not be like those in West and East Germany. / Does both countries good -- don't need all the red tape - should be more freely open to both countries. / Well, I think we should be on equal ground. We're neighbours. / It will make room and opportunity for more trade.

07 Resource Takeover -- They have their hands on too many valuable Canadian resources. / We will be able to sell more of our resources to the large U.S. market -- greater market access. / We've handed over the country to the U.S. They have the rights to all our resources. / Canada has given away the rights to our natural resources. / Because Canada is a better country and Canada has more resources than U.S. / The unlimited access that the Americans will have to our resources -- no restrictions have been established. / Because we're selling Canada out -- giving up our natural resources to them. / Support if benefit but does not want our natural resources depleted. / Because we are selling out to the U.S. all our resources and economy. / I think we'll be giving all our natural resources.

08. Farming -- Because it affects the farmers with products like eggs and milk. / I farm, might be a good deal, won't know till see details. / Work in cattle industry -- free trade is good for the cattle industry. / Be better -- it will pick up the agriculture economy. Bring them more business. / It is not going to help the grain producers at all. / Because of what it will do to agriculture farmers won't be able to compete with the Americans. / It will hurt Canada -- the poultry industry. They will bring in cheaper stuff, this will hurt farmers.

09. Energy -- Not sure it is good -- worried about energy deal and farm subsidy being effected. / Shouldn't cut the hydro out -- energy issue bothers me.

10. Dollar Changes -- I think the way our dollar value is compared to the U.S. dollar we could be in trouble. / Border crossings we'll be reminded and our dollar will gain. / Well, if its $1.00 in U.S. it's $3.00 in Canada. / Bring our dollar on par with the U.S. / Rise in the Canadian dollar. / Will help economically -- increase our dollar value. / U.S. is bringing materials in at an unequivalent to our dollar percentages.

11. Market Size -- Going to open up markets for some of our manufacturing -- also for the potash industry -- also give us cheaper goods from U.S. / It would be good for Canada to have the American market open to our products. / Without free trade were going to be in difficulties -- shut out of certain markets. / Possible it can extend markets for Canadian goods. / It would open up a greater market for Canadian firms. / Canada has lots to gain. We would gain in market accessibility and natural resources. / Because of the agreement we will have access to more market goods. / Canada not strong enough to fight trade have to protect our market.

12. Industry -- Bad for manufacturing. / We're not getting as good a deal as the Americans. Our industry will probably suffer. / We live in an industrial region and four plants here were closed by U.S. parent companies. / Would affect Canadian businesses in the long run. / Harm some of the industry. / I think it can benefit Canada in the trading business. / Because I believe that it will benefit my business and Canada as a whole. / The deal is giving up a lot of freedom within Canadian business. / American government might take over Canadian business. / It provides more opportunities for entrepreneurs. / Because I feel it will wipe us out in a couple of years -- our industry. / I prefer that Canadian industries be protected. Canadian economy will suffer. / I think the industry in Canada will suffer economically. / It will be good for industries and jobs. / I am opposed to the free trade because our businesses will be affected. Our sales will go to the U.S.A. / Because of the kind of business he's in, it will be affected.

13. Competition -- Free trade would create more competition, which will lower prices, thus benefitting the consumer. / Because competition is healthy, Canada and the U.S. should compete because of easier and cheaper prices. / It should make Canada's industry more competitive. / We're selling out -- Canada is so much smaller we can't compete. / Steel industry -- pretty good for Canada in competition with the U.S. as well as other industries. / We're so similar it is time we got going and competed with the U.S. -- we can compete with them. / Because Canadians cannot compete with the U.S. corporations. / I don't think we are quite as competitive as U.S. and, therefore, we will lose remarkably on the market. / More competition the better -- prices go down in time, production gets better.

14. Consumer Prices -- It would bring down consumer prices. / Because goods will be bought at a cheaper price from the U.S.A. / I think it will help the country and goods will be cheaper. / It will equalize prices on products. / Well, hopefully it will save us money -- keeping things coming in from the U.S. / I think goods will be cheaper coming from the U.S. / I think it will help the consumers -- things will be cheaper. / Benefit Western Canada -- cheaper for consumers. / It will be good for the economy -- reducing prices and reducing duties. / It will be good for consumers the market will become more competitive so the prices will be lower. / Think its better for the consumers of Canada. / Support it if it meant easier access to American products. / Well, I believe it will improve our living conditions by making things more available and less expensive in due time.

15. U.S. Protectionism -- Basically, if it is accepted, which I doubt, it's supposed to give us protection against U.S. protectionist laws. / Canada must protect self from protectionism and must be competitive.

16. Benefit Both Countries -- It will help the overall economy for both countries. / It's better for both countries financially. / I think it's going to benefit everyone here. / Because I think it will be a good thing for both countries in the future. / It's good for both countries economies. / Good for both countries. / If it's a deal that is good for both countries then I would be in favour of it. / I think it would be

easier for both sides with imports and exports (Canada and U.S.). / It will bring out good for Canada and the U.S. / Because we can each help the other in areas that we are short in -- help each other out. / Our countries are closely linked and we have to depend on each other in every way.

17. Auto Pact -- Overall it would be of benefit to everyone, including the CAW. / I am against the auto pact in the agreement. / No good for auto workers and that is Windsor's backbone. / Don't like the effect on auto workers.

18. Duty/Tax -- I think it would be a good idea because we wouldn't have to pay sales tax. / Without duties, shopping will be easier -- easier to go over the border and bring things back. / It might lower prices by taking the tariffs off. / Because duty will be less between our two countries. I think this will be a good idea. / Because of the duty across the border. / They'll stop charging at the customers on the border and I'm all in favour of that.

19. Forestry -- Better for this end -- for Canada because markets in California are down and we can help supplement their needs here -- basically the forest industry. / Seems that U.S.A. is getting more -- taking over forestry. / It will open up more in the lumber industry, make lumber cheaper for customers.

20. Some Good Aspects -- Some Bad -- Some things I agree with and some things I don't. / There are so many aspects to it some good for Canada and some not so good. / In between -- good for some and not good for others. / Not interested in politics but do support free trade a bit. / Going to hurt some people and many not. / Neutral. / In order to have access to American markets, which is good for some business. We've lost Canadian sovereignty. We've become part of the U.S. They will have access to our resources. Jobs lost. Seems we've lost more than we gained. / I hope it is good for U.S. because I think the Americans would not sign anything against their interest and I hope our government wouldn't either. / I just think it would probably do good in some ways. We probably have everything the U.S. needs.

21. Positive/Good for Canada -- Good for Canada. / Think the way it is done and will effect Canada is better. / I think it would be good for Canada. / Beneficial for Canada. / I think it will be of benefit to Canada in terms of the general opportunities that will be there. / Good for country and good for your business. / Overall it is good for Canada. / Because things in Canada will be better. / It will benefit U.S. and we need that. / Best interest of our country. / We're better off the way we are now. / It will be better off for Canada because it will help us with U.S. / Because it will probably be better for us in the future. / I have not heard anything really negative about it. Most people seem to think it will be good for us. / Balances in Canada's favour -- overall the benefits out weigh the disadvantages. / Overall, the long-term gains will be better. Canadians will be able to work and conduct business across borders more freely. / Because I feel in the long run a freer business

environment. I guess I don't believe in government interference. / Good for Canada because we need the strength of the U.S. in industry and power in world. / Good. / It's a good idea. / A lot of Canadians are blowing up the issues involved it will have an effect on Canadians -- a negative effect in the short run but a positive effect on the long run. / Because I think the way society can maximize benefits of modern society is to do what we are good at -- if we do it well we will survive -- we shouldn't have to support weaker businesses. / We can't stay isolated -- we need to expand -- good for businesses to trade internationally. / Better for Canada -- financially biggest part of exports to states.

22. Don't Have Enough Information -- Lot of things are not clear -- Canada wants a mechanism installed by which Canadian government will sort out the differences between both countries. / Won't have enough information. / Not enough information. / No knowledge on free trade. / Because at this time we don't know everything that is in the agreement. / Because I don't know enough about the issue to decide. / Because I don't understand fully. / Not to sure -- I don't keep up to much on free trade. / I haven't been following it so I don't have a strong opinion. / It's just that I don't know very much about what free trade means. / We don't have enough information. / I'm not too familiar with the issues but I would say an agreement would be good. / Because I don't know enough about it. / Because although I have been listening to debates I really don't know what is contained in this whole free trade deal with the U.S.. / Don't know much about the deal. / Don't know enough. / I've been studying all of the time, I haven't gotten a chance to watch the news or read the newspaper. / I really don't think that Canadians are well enough informed to make a decision. / Don't know enough in deciding whether to support or oppose. / Don't feel that I am getting the full picture -- only heard the Canadian side, not the American. / Because I have no idea what the agreement actually contains. / Don't know enough about the agreement to answer honestly. / Not enough information given to the public. / I don't really know enough about what's in the agreement to have an opinion. / Because I don't trust the government -- the public is not properly informed. / Because I don't know what effect it will have on Canadian business. / Totally confused -- don't know what will happen -- not enough information. / Haven't told us what's going on. I don't like final agreement. / I can't tell what's going on I'm disgusted with the whole thing. / Don't know too much about it but Canada must be careful or they will lose out. / Mulroney is not listening to other premiers by going full ahead and public doesn't have enough information. / I think we are rushing into to quickly. I would like to know more details before anything is signed. / No clear definition, what would be the economical and political ramifications. / Curious to see what will happen.

23. Anti-American -- Don't like U.S. much at all. / Because I dislike Americans. / I don't like making deals with the United States -- that's all. / U.S. and Canada will become to closely related for my comfort. / Nationalist -- I don't like the idea of opening our doors to the U.S.. / Because I'm a Canadian and everything should be kept in Canada and we should be our own individuals.

24. Free Trade Was Rushed -- It's been rushed. / Because the Canadian government rushes into everything.

25. Politicians Honest/Dishonest -- These men are honest people and any agreement they make. / Don't trust the negotiaters. /

26. Other -- Just because. I support it. / No particular reason but I approve. / If Vander Zalm is in favour I'm against it. I don't trust him, he is usually wrong. / Jehova Witness -- God will protect us, so we don't have to worry. / Because Americans don't give up anything -- they always get something in back -- they are very good business men. / Well, I'd have to say because I work for the government. / So many people don't want it. / I don't believe it should be legislated, shouldn't be dictated to us what you can and can't do. / Won't be any good -- something that was in the agreement -- not sure can't remember exactly. / I have my reasons and I do not want to discuss them. / Future for my children is at stake. / I only go by husbands opinion. I don't know why I'm opposed to it. / We have been sold down the river. There is no protection for Canada in terms of the binding application of U.S. laws. We will have no greater access to American market, so therefore we have sold out to the U.S. i.e. our culture, our industries which will include many will suffer. / I don't think it will do us any good. / Were selling out the Americans will be able to invest in Canada freely with no limitations. / On alot of bases they're giving the country away. / Canada needs the states -- in case of war, they'd help us out more willingly. / I think because the states is such a great compared to the Canada it could cause problems no can't even forsee at present. / The Americans will not give us anything we want -- everything from us nothing from them. / I support it because they already agreed to it anyway. / Because the world is open through communication and transportation, we should be trading in a free manner but setting it up cautiously. / Only support free trade if it was for Canadas advantage. / Canada is self sufficient so we can look after our own food industry. / Country can function on its own. / We should leave Canada the way it is. / America has higher grade products. / Afraid that it's going to upset some social programs such as medicare. / More money coming in -- they'll be hiring more people and setting up new businesses -- Americans. / Government promises -- Happen? Lots of negative attitudes. / I feel like I haven't been given a choice. / Better for the working class. / I don't think the government would do something to ruin the country.

27. Don't Know

28. No Response

D. DERIVATION OF NEW VARIABLES

63, 64 were derived from the sample frame and corresponding questionnaire numbers to form the sample strata and region variables

65: 4C: SUPPORT FT DEAL

was derived from
24: support FT deal
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.4	Q.65
1,2	1. OPPOSE
3,4	2. SUPPORT

66 to 71 ISSUE STATEMENTS

were derived from Q33 to 38
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

33 to 38	66 to 21
1-5	1. DISAGREE
6	2. DEPENDS
7-11	3. AGREE

Q72: NEWVAR #1: ECONOMY VERSUS INDEPENDENCE

was derived from
Q10: GOOD/BAD FOR ECONOMY
Q30: JOBS VERSUS INDEP
Q31: EFF ON INDEP

The following matrices were used in creating this variable

A. STEP 1: CREATE TEMPORARY VARIABLE

		Q.30		
		0	1	2
	0	0	3	0
Q.10	1	0	3	2
	2	0	3	2
	3	0	3	1
	4	0	3	1

B. STEP 2

		Q.31		
TEMPORARY VARIABLE		0	1	2
	0	0	0	0
	1	1	1	1
	2	4	4	4
	3	0	2	3

The new variable categories are:

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

74: 52C: AGE

was derived from
52: age
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q52	Q74
1,2	1. 18-24 YEARS
3,4	2. 25-34 YEARS
5,6	3. 35-44 YEARS
7,8	4. 45-54 YEARS
9,10	6. 65 YEARS AND OLDER

75: 53C: HOUSEHOLD INCOME

was derived from
Q53: Household income
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q53	Q75
1,2	1. LESS THAN $10,000
3,4	2. $10,000 - $19,999
5,6	3. $20,000 - $29,999
7,8	4. $30,000 - $39,999
9,10	5. $40,000 - $49,999
	6. $50,000 AND OVER

76: NV#3: DESIRE VERSUS SPPRT FT

was derived from

72: NEWVAR#1 ECON VERSUS INDEP
4: SUPPORT FT

The following matrix was created:

		Q4				
		0	1	2	3	4
	0	0	0	0	0	0
Q72	1	0	3	3	1	1
	2	0	4	4	2	2
	3	0	8	8	6	6
	4	0	7	7	5	5

The resulting categories are as follows:

1. ECON MET/SUPPORT
2. INDEP MENT/SUPPORT
3. ECON MET/OPPOSE
4. INDEP MET/OPPOSE
5. ECO NT MET/SUPPORT
6. IND NT MET/SUPPORT
7. ECO NT MET/OPPOSE
8. IND NT MET/OPPOSE

77: 5C WHY SUPPORT/OPPOSE DEAL

was derived from
Q5: Why support/oppose deal
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q5	77
1	1. UNEMPLOYMENT/JOBS
2	2. CANADA WILL LOSE
3,7	3. U.S./RESOURCE TAKEOVER
5	4. ECONOMIC CHANGES -- CANADA
6,11,13,15	5. MARKET/TRADE CHGES
10,14,18	6. DOLLAR/PRICES/TAXES
8,9,17,19	7. SPECIFIC INDUSTRY
16,21	8. POSITIVE FOR CANADA/BOTH
22	9. NOT ENOUGH INFORMATION
12	10. INDUSTRY
4,23	11. CULTURAL IDENTITY ANTI-USA
20,24-26	12. OTHER

78: 57C: OCCUPATION

was derived from
Q57: occupation
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q57	Q78
1,19,7	1. PROFESSIONAL/TECHNICAL
4,5	2. OWNER/MANAGEMENT
8,10,12	3. MED-LEVEL OCCUPATION
9,11,13	4. LOW-LEVEL OCCUPATION
2,3,6,17	5. OTHER

79 EMPLOYMENT BY SEX

was derived from
Q59: sex
Q55: employed outside home

using the following matrix:

		Q.55		
		0	1	2
Q59	0	0	0	0
	1	0	2	1
	2	0	4	3

producing the following categories:

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

E. FRENCH QUESTIONNAIRE

A.	Avez-vous 18 ans ou plus et êtes-vous un(e) résident(e) du Canada?	OUI (CONTINUEZ)..............A NON (DEMANDEZ À PARLER À UN RÉPONDANT ADMISSIBLE, SI LA RÉPONSE EST TOUJOURS "NON", REMERCIEZ ET TERMINEZ)......B
B.	Vous ai-je rejoint(e) à votre numéro de téléphone de votre domicile?	OUI (CONTINUEZ)..............A NON (DEMANDEZ À PARLER À UN RÉPONDANT ADMISSIBLE, SI LA RÉPONSE EST TOUJOURS "NON", REMERCIEZ ET TERMINEZ)......B
C.	Est-ce que vous, ou un autre membre de votre famille ou de votre foyer travaillez dans le genre d'entreprises suivantes... une compagnie d'études de marché, une agence de publicité, une compagnie de relations publiques, un média d'information?	OUI (REMERCIEZ ET TERMINEZ -- INSCRIVEZ L'APPEL SUR LE "RAPPORT DES APPELS"........A NON (CONTINUEZ)..............B

1. À quel point avez-vous suivi de près les discussions sur le libre-échange avec les États-Unis? Diriez-vous que vous avez suivi ces discussions...(LISEZ LA LISTE)?

SANS AUCUNE ATTENTION.........1
SANS GRANDE ATTENTION.........2
AVEC ATTENTION.................3
AVEC BEAUCOUP D'ATTENTION.....4

2.A Avez-vous lu ou entendu quoi que ce soit dernièrement au sujet du résultat des négociations canado-américaines sur le libre-échange?

OUI (ALLEZ À Q2B).............A
NON (PASSEZ AU PRÉAMBULE DE Q4)............1*

SI "OUI" À Q2A, DEMANDEZ :

2.B Et qu'avez-vous lu ou entendu?
<u>NE LISEZ PAS LA LISTE</u>

ACCORD DE LIBRE-ÉCHANGE
CONCLU....................2
AUTRE.....................3

3. Diriez-vous que vous êtes très au courant, au courant, pas très au courant ou pas au courant du tout de ce qui est contenu dans l'accord de libre-échange entre le Canada et les États-Unis?

PAS AU COURANT DU TOUT........1
PAS TRÈS AU COURANT...........2
AU COURANT....................3
TRÈS AU COURANT...............4

* ALLEZ À Q4, <u>NE LISEZ PAS</u> LE PRÉAMBULE

PRÉAMBULE

De fait, les négociations sur le libre-échange entre le Canada et les États-Unis ont abouti à un accord de libre-échange.

4. D'une façon générale, êtes-vous fortement favorable, favorable, opposé ou fortement opposé à l'accord de libre-échange qui a été conclu entre le Canada et les États-Unis?

FORTEMENT OPPOSÉ..............1
OPPOSÉ........................2
FAVORABLE.....................3
FORTEMENT FAVORABLE...........4

5. Pourquoi pensez-vous comme cela? (SONDEZ...N'ACCEPTEZ QU'<u>UNE SEULE</u> RÉPONSE...LA RÉPONSE DOIT AVOIR AU MOINS DIX MOTS)

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Vous vous souvenez peut-être que, avant que l'accord de libre-échange soit conclu, les négociations ont été suspendues pendant une courte période. À ce moment-là, il y avait principalement trois enjeux dans le conflit. Pour chacun d'eux, j'aimerais que vous me disiez si vous êtes très satisfait, assez satisfait, assez insatisfait ou très insatisfait de la façon dont il a été réglé dans l'accord. Voici le premier enjeu...(LISEZ ET ALTERNEZ L'ORDRE DES ITEMS 6 À 8)

6. La façon de régler les futures disputes commerciales.

TRÈS INSATISFAIT..............1
ASSEZ INSATISFAIT.............2
ASSEZ SATISFAIT...............3
TRÈS SATISFAIT................4

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7. Les politiques de développement régional du Canada.

TRÈS INSATISFAIT..............1
ASSEZ INSATISFAIT.............2
ASSEZ SATISFAIT...............3
TRÈS SATISFAIT................4

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8. Les politiques canadiennes en matière de culture.

TRÈS INSATISFAIT..............1
ASSEZ INSATISFAIT.............2
ASSEZ SATISFAIT...............3
TRÈS SATISFAIT................4

FIN DE L'ALTERNANCE

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9. Si vous deviez deviner, diriez-vous que le Canada a fait une meilleure affaire que les Américains, que les Américains ont fait une meilleure affaire que le Canada, ou croyez-vous que l'accord de libre-échange est juste et bien partagé entre les deux pays?

LE CANADA A FAIT UNE MEILLEURE AFFAIRE QUE LES AMÉRICAINS.......1
LES AMÉRICAINS ONT FAIT UNE MEILLEURE AFFAIRE QUE LE CANADA.....2
L'ACCORD DE LIBRE-ÉCHANGE EST JUSTE ET BIEN PARTAGÉ............3

J'aimerais que vous me disiez si selon vous, pour chacune des réalités suivantes, un accord commercial est une très bonne chose, une bonne chose, une mauvaise chose ou une très mauvaise chose. Qu'en est-il, en ce qui concerne l'effet que cela aura sur...(LISEZ ET ALTERNEZ L'ORDRE DES ITEMS 10 À 12)

10. L'économie canadienne?

TRÈS MAUVAISE..................1
MAUVAISE.......................2
BONNE..........................3
TRÈS BONNE.....................4

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11. Votre économie provinciale?

TRÈS MAUVAISE..................1
MAUVAISE.......................2
BONNE..........................3
TRÈS BONNE.....................4

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12. Le bien-être financier de vous et votre famille?

TRÈS MAUVAISE..................1
MAUVAISE.......................2
BONNE..........................3
TRÈS BONNE.....................4

FIN DE L'ALTERNANCE

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13. Croyez-vous que, parce que l'accord de libre-échange a été conclu, les relations du Canada avec les États-Unis dans l'ensemble seront meilleures, pires ou les mêmes qu'elles ont été dans le passé?

LES MÊMES......................1
PIRES..........................2
MEILLEURES.....................3

Je vais vous lire une liste de déclarations faites par différentes personnes à propos de ce qui peut arriver maintenant qu'il y a un traité de libre-échange entre le Canada et les États-Unis. Pour chacune d'elles, j'aimerais que vous me disiez si vous croyez qu'il est très probable, assez probable, assez improbable ou très improbable que cela se produise. Voici la première déclaration... (LISEZ LA LISTE ET ALTERNEZ L'ORDRE DES DÉCLARATIONS 14 À 28)

14. Dans l'ensemble, il y aura plus d'emplois gagnés que d'emplois perdus au Canada.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

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15. Le prix de beaucoup de biens de consommation importés des États-Unis par le Canada sera plus bas.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

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16. Les Canadiens auront moins de contrôle sur leurs ressources énergétiques.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

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17. Nous pourrons maintenir les programmes gouvernementaux actuels, tels que l'assurance-chômage et l'assurance-maladie.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

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18. De nombreuses compagnies américaines fermeront leurs usines au Canada.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

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19. Notre économie deviendra tellement étroitement liée à l'économie américaine que nous perdrons progressivement notre capacité de prendre nos propres décisions d'ordre économique.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

---

20. Les Canadiens auront un revenu plus élevé qu'actuellement.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

---

21. Les différences entre les régions du Canada, en matière de développement économique, seront progressivement réduites.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

---

22. L'influence américaine sur nos livres, nos revues, nos films et sur d'autres traits de notre culture sera plus importante.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

---

23. Le Canada et les États-Unis deviendront plus semblables de bien des façons.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

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24. Le traité de libre-échange sera également avantageux pour le Canada et pour les États-Unis.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

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25. Les États-Unis s'en tiendront aux termes de l'entente.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

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26. L'industrie canadienne des produits du bois et du papier augmentera ses ventes aux États-Unis.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

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27. L'industrie canadienne de l'automobile perdra des emplois au profit des États-Unis.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

28.A Les gouvernements seront restreints dans l'importance de l'aide qu'ils pourront offrir aux entreprises canadiennes dans les régions les plus pauvres du pays.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE..............1
ASSEZ IMPROBABLE.............2
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............3
TRÈS PROBABLE................4

*FIN DE L'ALTERNANCE

28.B D'après ce que vous avez vu, lu ou entendu, diriez-vous que, pour ce qui est de l'énergie, l'accord de libre-échange est une très bonne affaire, une bonne affaire, une mauvaise affaire ou une trés mauvaise affaire pour le Canada?

TRÈS MAUVAISE AFFAIRE........1
MAUVAISE AFFAIRE.............2
BONNE AFFAIRE................3
TRÈS BONNE AFFAIRE...........4

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29. Certains disent que nous ne devrions pas avoir le libre-échange parce que cela signifiera la fin de certaines mesures gouvernementales qui protègent l'identité du Canada et nous rendent différents des États-Unis.

D'autres disent que nous devrions être assez confiants au sujet du traité de libre-échange parce que l'identité du Canada est maintenant assez forte pour ne plus avoir besoin d'autant de protection par des mesures gouvernementales.

De ces deux points de vue, lequel correspond le plus au vôtre?

NE DEVRIONS PAS AVOIR LE LIBRE-ÉCHANGE.......................1
DEVRIONS ÊTRE CONFIANTS......................................2

---

30. Certains disent que les emplois qui peuvent être créés par l'accroissement des investissements américains au Canada ne sont pas aussi importants que la limitation de l'influence américaine sur l'économie canadienne.

D'autres disent que les emplois créés par l'accroissement des investissements américains au Canada sont plus importants que la limitation de l'influence américaine sur l'économie canadienne.

De ces deux points de vue, lequel correspond le plus au vôtre?

LES EMPLOIS NE SONT PAS AUSSI IMPORTANTS QUE LA LIMITATION DE L'INFLUENCE..1
LES EMPLOIS SONT PLUS IMPORTANTS QUE LA LIMITATION DE L'INFLUENCE..2

---

31. Certains disent que l'accord de libre-échange va renforcer l'économie canadienne et lui permettra ainsi de continuer à jouer un rôle indépendant sur la scène mondiale.

D'autres disent que l'accord de libre-échange liera si fortement le Canada aux États-Unis que notre capacité de jouer un rôle indépendant sur la scène mondiale sera affaiblie.

De ces deux points de vue, lequel correspond le plus au vôtre?

RENFORCERA LA CAPACITÉ DE JOUER UN RÔLE INDÉPENDANT............1
AFFAIBLIRA LA CAPACITÉ DE JOUER UN RÔLE INDÉPENDANT............2

---

32. En pensant aux différentes personnes dont vous respectez l'opinion sur l'accord de libre-échange, sur l'opinion de qui vous basez-vous le plus pour vous faire une idée sur l'accord de libre-échange depuis sa signature... les économistes et autres spécialistes, les chefs d'entreprises, les chefs syndicaux, les dirigeants du gouvernement fédéral, votre gouvernement provincial ou les médias d'information? (N'ACCEPTEZ QU'UNE SEULE RÉPONSE)

LES ÉCONOMISTES ET AUTRES SPÉCIALISTES..........................1
LES CHEFS D'ENTREPRISES...2
LES CHEFS SYNDICAUX...3
LES DIRIGEANTS DU GOUVERNEMENT FÉDÉRAL..........................4
LE GOUVERNEMENT PROVINCIAL......................................5
LES MÉDIAS D'INFORMATION..6

Je vais maintenant vous lire une liste de déclarations que diverses personnes ont faites à un moment ou à un autre. J'aimerais que vous m'indiquiez ce que vous pensez, personnellement, de chacune des déclarations, en me donnant un chiffre de -5 à +5; une note de -5 voulant dire que vous êtes en désaccord complet avec la déclaration et +5 que vous êtes tout-à-fait d'accord avec cette déclaration. La plupart des opinions des gens se situent quelque part entre ces deux points, selon ce qu'ils pensent de la déclaration. Voici la première déclaration...(ALTERNEZ LES DÉCLARATIONS 33 À 38...LISEZ LA PREMIÈRE DÉCLARATION...RÉPÉTEZ LES EXPLICATIONS SUR L'ÉCHELLE SI NÉCESSAIRE) Où vous situez-vous sur cette échelle?

DÉSACCORD COMPLET					CELA DÉPEND					TOUT À FAIT D'ACCORD
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5

ÉVALUATION

33. D'après ce que j'ai lu ou entendu, le Canada en a trop donné aux Américains dans le traité de libre-échange ________

34. Le gouvernement fédéral a offert assez de renseignements aux Canadiens sur l'accord de libre-échange. ________

35. Toutes les discussions au sujet du libre-échange peuvent avoir de l'importance pour les entreprises, mais le libre-échange ne fera aucune différence pour le travailleur canadien ordinaire. ________

36. Je crains que le libre-échange ne fasse qu'accroître les tensions entre différentes régions et différents groupes au Canada. ________

37. Je vois le traité de libre-échange avec les Américains comme faisant partie de l'ensemble des efforts faits pour améliorer la situation commerciale du Canada avec les autres pays du monde. ________

38. Je crois que le gouvernement a une bonne idée des moyens à prendre pour réagir aux changements qu'entraînera le traité de libre-échange au Canada. ________

FIN DE L'ALTERNANCE

---

39. Il y eu certains pourparlers récemment entre dirigeants du Congrès américain et chefs d'entreprises au sujet de l'augmentation des tarifs et des barrières douanières, qui sont imposées sur les biens et services étrangers entrant aux États-Unis, afin de protéger l'industrie et les emplois américains.

Quelle est la probabilité, à votre avis, que le gouvernement américain puisse prendre ce type d'action...très probable, assez probable, peu probable ou tout-à-fait improbable?

TOUT-À-FAIT IMPROBABLE.......01
PEU PROBABLE.................02
ASSEZ PROBABLE...............03
TRÈS PROBABLE................04

---

40. D'après vous, maintenant que le Canada et les États-Unis ont pu en arriver à un accord de libre-échange, combien de temps cela prendra-t-il avant qu'on en ressente les effets au Canada... presque tout de suite, deux à trois ans, trois à cinq ans, cinq à dix ans ou plus de dix ans?

PRESQUE TOUT DE SUITE.........1
DEUX À TROIS ANS..............2
TROIS À CINQ ANS..............3
CINQ À DIX ANS................4
PLUS DE DIX ANS...............5

---

41. À votre connaissance, est-ce que le gouvernement fédéral offrira de l'aide aux industries et aux individus qui pourraient souffrir suite à l'accord de libre-échange entre le Canada et les États-Unis?

OUI...........................1
NON...........................2

Maintenant, je vais vous énumérer certaines entreprises canadiennes et j'aimerais que vous me disiez, pour chacune d'elles, si vous croyez que l'absence d'un accord de libre-échange avec les États-Unis signifiera que cette industrie connaîtra une meilleure situation ou une situation pire dans le futur. Qu'en est-il...(LISEZ ET ALTERNEZ L'ORDRE DE Q42 - 49)

42. De l'industrie du pétrole et du gaz?

SITUATION PIRE................1
SITUATION MEILLEURE...........2
NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ
(RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).........3

---

43. De l'industrie du vin?

SITUATION PIRE................1
SITUATION MEILLEURE...........2
NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ
(RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).........3

---

44. Des produits du bois et du papier?

SITUATION PIRE................1
SITUATION MEILLEURE...........2
NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ
(RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).........3

---

45. Des pêcheries et des produits de la pêche?

SITUATION PIRE................1
SITUATION MEILLEURE...........2
NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ
(RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).........3

---

46. De l'agriculture et de l'élevage?

SITUATION PIRE................1
SITUATION MEILLEURE...........2
NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ
(RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).........3

---

47. De l'automobile et des pièces d'automobiles?

SITUATION PIRE................1
SITUATION MEILLEURE...........2
NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ
(RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).........3

---

48. Du cinéma, des livres et des revues?

SITUATION PIRE................1
SITUATION MEILLEURE...........2
NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ
(RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).........3

---

49. De l'industrie de la bière?

SITUATION PIRE...............1
SITUATION MEILLEURE..........2
NE SERAIT PAS INFLUENCÉ
(RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE)........3

FIN DE L'ALTERNANCE

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50. Comme vous le savez peut-être, l'accord de libre-échange entre le Canada et les États-Unis sera l'objet de discussions au Canada et au Congrès américain pendant les prochains mois avant d'être ratifié. Croyez-vous qu'il est très probable, probable, improbable ou très improbable que suite à ces quelques mois de discussions, l'accord de libre-échange sera finalement signé et approuvé par les deux pays.

TRÈS IMPROBABLE
(ALLEZ À Q51)..............1
IMPROBABLE (ALLEZ À Q51).....2
PROBABLE (PASSEZ À Q52).......3*
TRÈS PROBABLE (PASSEZ À Q52)..4*

SI "IMPROBABLE" OU "TRÈS IMPROBABLE" À Q50, DEMANDEZ :

51. D'après vous, les objections de quel pays sont les plus susceptibles d'empêcher la ratification de l'accord... celles du Canada ou celles des États-Unis?

CELLES DU CANADA...........1
CELLES DES ÉTATS-UNIS......2

Ce sondage est effectué pour le compte du ministère des Affaires extérieures. Afin de nous permettre de classer vos réponses, nous aimerions que vous répondiez à quelques questions d'ordre purement statistique. Nous désirons vous assurer que vos réponses seront tenues strictement confidentielles, de deux façons. D'abord, votre nom ne sera pas divulgué au ministère des Affaires extérieures. Deuxièmement, vos réponses seront combinées à celles des autres participants au sondage avant d'être remises au ministère des Affaires extérieures. Ce sondage est enregistré en vertu de la Loi sur l'accès à l'information et de la Loi sur la protection des renseignements personnels.

52.	Quel âge avez-vous, s'il vous plaît? (SI LE RÉPONDANT REFUSE DE RÉPONDRE, OFFREZ LUI DE LIRE LES CATÉGORIES AFIN QU'IL(ELLE) PUISSE VOUS DIRE OÙ L'INSCRIRE).	18-19 ANS....................01 20-24 ANS....................02 25-29 ANS....................03 30-34 ANS....................04 35-39 ANS....................05 40-44 ANS....................06 45-49 ANS....................07 50-54 ANS....................08 55-59 ANS....................09 60-64 ANS....................10 65 ANS OU PLUS...............11
53.	Dans quelle catégorie puis-je inscrire le revenu annuel de votre foyer? (LISEZ LA LISTE)	MOINS DE 5 000 $.............01 5 000 $ - 9 999 $..........02 10 000 $ - 14 999 $..........03 15 000 $ - 19 999 $..........04 20 000 $ - 24 999 $..........05 25 000 $ - 29 999 $..........06 30 000 $ - 34 999 $..........07 30 000 $ - 39 999 $..........08 40 000 $ - 44 999 $..........09 45 000 $ - 49 999 $..........10 50 000 $ ET PLUS............11

54.A Fréquentez-vous actuellement une école, un collège, ou une université en tant qu'étudiant(e) à plein temps?

OUI (PASSEZ À Q55)............6*
NON (ALLEZ À Q54A)............A

SI "NON" À Q54A, DEMANDEZ :

54.B Quel est le niveau de scolarité le plus élevé que vous ayez atteint?

ÉCOLE PUBLIQUE/PRIMAIRE (ANNÉES 1 À 8)...............1
QUELQUES ANNÉES D'ÉCOLE SECONDAIRE......................2
DIPLÔME D'ÉTUDES SECONDAIRES (ANNÉES 12 OU 13)........3
COLLÈGE PROFESSIONNEL/TECHNIQUE/CÉGEP..................4
QUELQUES ANNÉES D'UNIVERSITÉ...........................5
DIPLÔME UNIVERSITAIRE..................................7

55.	Travaillez-vous présentement hors de chez vous?	NON (PASSEZ À Q58)...........1* OUI (ALLEZ À Q56).............2

SI "OUI" À Q55, DEMANDEZ :

---

56. Travaillez-vous à plein temps ou à temps partiel?

PLEIN TEMPS................1
TEMPS PARTIEL..............2

---

57. Quelle est votre occupation, c'est-à-dire quelles sont vos principales responsabilités au travail? Pour quel genre de compagnie travaillez-vous?

____

____

____

---

58. Est-ce que vous ou un membre de votre famille faites partie d'un syndicat?

RÉPONDANT....................1
AUTRE MEMBRE DE LA FAMILLE....2
LES DEUX (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE)..3
AUCUN (RÉPONSE SPONTANÉE).....4

---

59. Sexe. (D'APRÈS VOTRE OBSERVATION) MASCULIN.....................1
FÉMININ......................2

---

60. Langue du questionnaire. ANGLAIS......................1
FRANÇAIS.....................2

---

61. DATE DE L'ENTREVUE : __________________________

TRADE:
Securing Canada's Future

LE COMMERCE:
la clé de l'avenir

COMMUNIQUÉ

No. 016 January 14, 1988.

MAJORITY OF CANADIANS SUPPORT FREE TRADE AGREEMENT

Public opinion research conducted for the Department of External Affairs since agreement was reached on Free Trade with the United States in early October shows a majority of Canadians supported the pact after signing of the final text.

On behalf of the Department of External Affairs, Decima Research of Toronto conducted four national polls between October 7, 1987 and December 16, 1987.

The following table shows the national results of those polls:

PERIOD	SUPPORT	OPPOSE	NO OPINION
	%	%	%
Oct. 7 - 17	49	42	9
Nov. 12 - 19	46	46	8
Nov. 25 - Dec. 4	46	46	8
Dec. 8 - 16	51	42	8

The October poll of a proportional sample of 1998 adult Canadians is accurate within plus or minus 2.2 per cent 19 out of 20 times.

The November and December polls of weighted samples of 1524, 1503 and 1469 respectively are accurate to within plus or minus 3.4 per cent 19 out of 20 times.

Attached is a summary by Decima Research of public opinion trends, along with poll questions and results.

For further information: Pierre Pichette (613) 995-1877.

\- 30 -

Free Trade

Sumary of Public Opinion Trends

Overall Support/Opposition

Levels of overall support for the free trade initiative have been remarkably consistent for quite some time. Approximately half of the adult Canadian population say they support the Free Trade Agreement, while a slightly smaller proportion consistently say they oppose the deal. Precise levels of support and opposition vary considerably from province to province, with residents of Alberta, British Columbia and Quebec generally more supportive and residents of Ontario more opposed. Attitudes in Atlantic Canada tend to reflect the national averages.

Economic Considerations

More than half (between 53% and 62%) of those surveyed consistently reported feeling that the free trade initiative would result in economic benefits at a national, provincial and personal level. During the first two weeks after the trade agreement was reached, this perception dipped noticeably, but has recovered since that time.

Most people seem uncertain about specifically how these economic benefits will materialize: They are uncertain about whether there will be a net increase in the number of jobs, tend to doubt that incomes will be higher, but are broadly convinced that consumer prices will be lower. Most people doubt that many U.S. "branch plants" will close.

To the extent that they will make predictions about the effect of free trade on specific industries, people generally assume that the oil and gas, wood and paper products, and fish and fish products industries will benefit, while agriculture, wine, autos, and films, books and magazines will be adversely affected. It should be strongly noted that the degree of consensus on any of these is very slight: Most people acknowledge their unfamiliarity with the contents of the Agreement and appear to have absorbed little information about sector-specific effects.

A consistent majority of Canadians have said that they will be basing their view of free trade on economic criteria, rather than those relating to Canada's degree of independence from the United States. Among this group, two of three say they anticipate economic gains rather than losses for Canada.

.../2

Other Issues

Questions about how free trade might affect Canada's ability to retain its independence from the U.S. have attracted a lot of public attention. Nevertheless, the number of people who say they consider this issue to be paramount and who feel that our independence will be weakened has not at any time exceeded 30% and may have been declining slightly through December.

At the same time, many more Canadians have continued to express some concerns in this area. While large majorities have consistently said they feel free trade will end up making Canada and the U.S. more similar in many ways, considerably fewer have felt that Canada will lose some ability to make its own decisions. While people are generally confident that our unique social programs will remain intact, a majority feel that the agreement may weaken Canada's ability to play an independent role in world affairs. The clear and consistent implication from the data in this area is that most Canadians share an abiding desire to have a "close, but not too close" relationship with the U.S. Among those who support the free trade deal, a certain number share some fears in this area, but have decided that either the dangers are not too great, or that the benefits outweigh the downsides.

A consistent, but shrinking majority, believe that Canada "gave away too much" in the free trade negotiations, and similar numbers have expressed the view that the United States will benefit more than will Canada. Much of this seemed predicated on a going-in assumption that either Americans were innately better bargainers than Canadians, or that the U.S. was bargaining from a position of greater strength. In essence, people are saying that what they expected to happen, did happen. It is worth noting that, just as is the case on matters related to Canadian independence, people can hold concerns in this area and continue to say they support the Agreement in overall terms. Clearly, the fundamental criterion is how the deal will affect Canada, not how it might affect the U.S.

October 1987 Questionnaire

OCT. 1987

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
C.	Do you, or does anyone in your family or household work in the following kinds of business ...a market research firm, advertising agency, public relations firm, or the news media?	YES (THANK AND TERMINATE -- RECORD INCIDENCE ON CALL RECORD SHEET)...............A NO (CONTINUE).................B

1. How closely would you say you have been following the discussions about free trade with the United States? Would you say you've been following these discussions...(READ LIST)?

NOT CLOSELY AT ALL............	1	(9%)
NOT VERY CLOSELY..............	2	(35%)
CLOSELY.......................	3	(42%)
VERY CLOSELY..................	4	(14%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......	5	(0%)

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.

2.A Have you heard or read anything recently about the outcome of the Canadian-American negotiations on free trade?

YES (GO TO Q2.B)	A	
NO (SKIP TO Q4 PREAMBLE)	1*	(36%)

IF "YES" TO Q2.A, ASK:

2.B And what have you heard or read?

FREE TRADE DEAL REACHED	2	(42%)
OTHER	3	(21%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(1%)

3. Would you say you are very familiar, familiar, not too familiar, or not familiar at all with what is contained in the free trade agreement between Canada and the United States?

NOT FAMILIAR AT ALL	1	(10%)
NOT TOO FAMILIAR	2	(54%)
FAMILIAR	3	(30%)
VERY FAMILIAR	4	(5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

PREAMBLE

In fact, the Canada - United States free trade negotiations have resulted in a free trade agreement.

4. Generally speaking, do you strongly support, support, oppose, or strongly oppose the free trade agreement that was reached by Canada and the United States?

STRONGLY OPPOSE	1	(10%)
OPPOSE	2	(32%)
SUPPORT	3	(44%)
STRONGLY SUPPORT	4	(5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(9%)

5. Why is that? (PROBE...ANSWER MUST BE AT LEAST TEN WORDS)

You may recall that prior to the free trade agreement being reached, the negotiations were suspended for a little while. At the time, there were three main issues in dispute. For each of these, I'd like you to tell me whether you are very satisifed, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the way it was handled in the agreement. The first one is...(READ AND ROTATE)

6. Finding a way to settle future trade disputes.

VERY DISSATISFIED	1	(9%)
SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED	2	(33%)
SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	3	(42%)
VERY SATISFIED	4	(4%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(13%)

---

7. Canada's regional development policies.

VERY DISSATISFIED	1	(6%)
SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED	2	(31%)
SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	3	(41%)
VERY SATISFIED	4	(3%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(20%)

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8. Canada's cultural assistance policies.

VERY DISSATISFIED	1	(8%)
SOMEWHAT DISSATISFIED	2	(29%)
SOMEWHAT SATISFIED	3	(41%)
VERY SATISFIED	4	(4%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(18%)

END OF ROTATION

---

9. If you had to guess, would you say that Canada got a better deal than the Americans, that the Americans got a better deal than Canada, or do you think that the free trade deal is fair and balanced for both countries?

CANADA GOT A BETTER DEAL THAN THE AMERICANS	1	(7%)
THE AMERICANS GOT A BETTER DEAL THAN CANADA	2	(62%)
THE FREE TRADE DEAL IS FAIR AND BALANCED	3	(28%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(2%)

I'd like you to tell me for each of the following whether you think the fact that a trade agreement is a very good, good, bad, or very bad thing. How about in terms of its effect on...(READ AND ROTATE ITEMS 10 TO 12)

10. The Canadian economy?

VERY BAD	1	(7%)
BAD	2	(28%)
GOOD	3	(55%)
VERY GOOD	4	(7%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(3%)

11. Your provincial economy?

VERY BAD	1	(6%)
BAD	2	(31%)
GOOD	3	(51%)
VERY GOOD	4	(9%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(4%)

12. Economic well-being of you and your family?

VERY BAD	1	(5%)
BAD	2	(24%)
GOOD	3	(56%)
VERY GOOD	4	(6%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(9%)

END OF ROTATION

13. Do you think that because a free trade agreement was reached, Canada's relations with the United States overall will be better, worse, or the same as they have been in the past?

THE SAME	1	(43%)
WORSE	2	(15%)
BETTER	3	(41%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(1%)

I am going to read you a list of statements various people have made about what might happen now that there is a free trade agreement between Canada and the United States. For each one, I'd like you to tell me whether you think it is very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely, that this will result? The first one is...(READ AND ROTATE STATEMENTS 14-28)

14. Overall, there will be more jobs gained than lost in Canada.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(16%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(32%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(39%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(12%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

---

15. Prices of many goods imported from the United States into Canada will be lower.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(8%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(21%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(50%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(20%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

---

16. Canadians will have less control over our energy resources.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(--)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(--)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(--)
VERY LIKELY	4	(--)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(--)

---

17. We will be able to maintain current government programs such as unemployment insurance and health insurance.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(7%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(20%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(48%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(24%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(2%)

---

18. Many American companies will close their plants in Canada.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(19%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(42%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(27%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(12%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

19. Our economy will become so closely tied to the American economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own economic decisions.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(11%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(26%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(35%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(27%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

20. Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(22%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(51%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(22%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

21. Differences in economic development among regions in Canada will gradually be reduced.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(12%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(40%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(37%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(7%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(3%)

22. American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(6%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(23%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(43%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(28%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

23. Canada and the United States will become more similar in many ways.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(4%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(17%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(49%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(29%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(*)

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24. The free trade agreement will benefit Canada and the United States equally.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(24%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(34%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(31%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(10%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

---

25. The United States will keep to the terms of the agreement.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(12%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(26%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(46%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(14%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(3%)

---

26. The Canadian wood and paper products industry will increase sales in the United States.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(7%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(20%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(54%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(17%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(3%)

---

27. The Canadian automobile industry will lose jobs to the United States.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(6%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(26%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(41%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(25%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(2%)

---

28. Governments will be restricted in how much help they are allowed to give to Canadian businesses in poorer regions of the country.

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(8%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(30%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(39%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(20%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(3%)

28B. Based on what you have seen, read, or heard, would you say that, as far as energy is concerned, the free trade agreement is a very good, good, bad, or very bad deal for Canada?

VERY BAD DEAL	1	(14%)
BAD DEAL	2	(29%)
GOOD DEAL	3	(48%)
VERY GOOD DEAL	4	(9%)

END OF ROTATION

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29. Some people say we should not have free trade because it will mean the end of some of those government measures which protect Canada's identity and make us different from the United States.

Other people say that we should be confident enough about the free trade agreement because Canada's identity is now strong enough that it no longer needs as much protection through government measures.

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

SHOULD NOT HAVE FREE TRADE	1	(44%)
SHOULD BE CONFIDENT	2	(55%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(1%)

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30. Some people say that the jobs which may be created by increased American investment in Canada are not as important as limiting American influence in the Canadian economy.

Other people say that the jobs created by increased American investment in Canada are more important than limiting American influence in the Canadian economy.

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

JOBS NOT AS IMPORTANT AS LIMITING INFLUENCE	1	(39%)
JOBS MORE IMPORTANT THAN LIMITING INFLUENCE	2	(59%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(2%)

---

31. Some people say that the free trade agreement will strengthen Canada's economy and thus enable it to continue to play an independent role in the world.

Other people say that the free trade agreement will tie Canada so closely to the United States that it will weaken our ability to play an independent role in the world.

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

WILL STRENGTHEN ABILITY TO PLAY INDEPENDENT ROLE	1	(43%)
WILL WEAKEN ABILITY TO PLAY INDEPENDENT ROLE	2	(56%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(1%)

---

32. Thinking about the various people whose opinions you respect on the free trade agreement, whose opinion are you relying on most in making up your mind about the free trade agreement since it was signed...economists and other specialists, business leaders, labour leaders, federal government leaders, your provincial government or the news media?

ECONOMISTS AND OTHER SPECIALISTS	1	(25%)
BUSINESS LEADERS	2	(15%)
LABOUR LEADERS	3	(6%)
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS	4	(11%)
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT	5	(11%)
NEWS MEDIA	6	(29%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	7	(3%)

Now, I'm going to read you a list of statements various people have made at one time or another. I'd like you to tell me how you personally feel about each statement by giving me a number between -5 and +5, where -5 means you totally disagree with the statement and +5 means you totally agree with the statement. Many people's opinions fall somewhere in between these two points depending on how they feel about the statement. The first statement is...(ROTATE STATEMENTS 33 - 38...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

		MEAN RATING
33.	From what I've heard or read, Canada gave away too much to the Americans in the free trade agreement.	1.36
34.	The federal government has provided the Canadian people with enough information about the free trade agreement.	-1.86
35.	All the discussions about free trade may matter to businesses, but free trade won't make any difference to the average Canadian worker.	-0.79
36.	I'm concerned that free trade is only going to increase tensions among regions and groups in Canada.	0.55
37.	I see the free trade deal with the Americans as part of a general effort by the government to improve Canada's trade situation with countries around the world.	1.15
38.	I think the government has a good idea of how to deal with the changes the free trade agreement will bring in Canada.	0.13

END OF ROTATION

39. Recently, there has been some talk among American Congressional and business leaders about <u>increasing</u> the tariffs and barriers placed on foreign 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?

NOT AT ALL LIKELY	01	(7%)
NOT TOO LIKELY	02	(22%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	03	(43%)
VERY LIKELY	04	(28%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	05	(1%)

---

40. In your view, now that Canada and the U.S. have been able to reach an agreement on trade, how long do you think it will be before the effects will be felt in Canada...almost right away, two or three years, three to five years, five to 10 years, or more than 10 years?

ALMOST RIGHT AWAY	1	(11%)
TWO TO THREE YEARS	2	(41%)
THREE TO FIVE YEARS	3	(29%)
FIVE TO 10 YEARS	4	(15%)
MORE THAN 10 YEARS	5	(4%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	6	(*)

---

41. As far as you are aware, will the federal government be providing help to those industries and individuals who may be negatively affected as a result of the Canada - U.S. free trade agreement?

YES	1	(49%)
NO	2	(48%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(3%)

Now I'm going to list some Canadian businesses and I'd like you to tell me for each one whether you think the free trade agreement with the United States will mean the industry will be better off, or worse off as a result. How about...(READ AND ROTATE Q42 TO Q49)

42.	Oil and gas industry?	WORSE OFF......................1	(32%)
		BETTER OFF.....................2	(58%)
		NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(8%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(2%)
43.	Wine industry?	WORSE OFF......................1	(56%)
		BETTER OFF.....................2	(28%)
		NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(14%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(2%)
44.	Wood and paper products?	WORSE OFF......................1	(32%)
		BETTER OFF.....................2	(59%)
		NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(8%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(1%)
45.	Fish and fish products?	WORSE OFF......................1	(40%)
		BETTER OFF.....................2	(43%)
		NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(14%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(3%)
46.	Agriculture and farming?	WORSE OFF......................1	(56%)
		BETTER OFF.....................2	(32%)
		NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(11%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(1%)
47.	Cars and car parts?	WORSE OFF......................1	(57%)
		BETTER OFF.....................2	(29%)
		NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(13%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(1%)
48.	Films, books, and magazines?	WORSE OFF......................1	(46%)
		BETTER OFF.....................2	(36%)
		NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(16%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(2%)
49.	Beer industry?	WORSE OFF......................1	(38%)
		BETTER OFF.....................2	(36%)
		NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(25%)
		NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......4	(2%)

END OF ROTATION

50. As you may know, the Canada - U.S. free trade agreement is subject to discussions in Canada and in the U.S. Congress over the next few months before it is finalized. Do you think it is very likely, likely, unlikely, or very unlikely, that following these few months of discussion, the free trade agreement will be finally signed and approved in both countries?

VERY UNLIKELY	1	(7%)
UNLIKELY	2	(19%)
LIKELY (SKIP TO Q52)	3*	(52%)
VERY LIKELY (SKIP TO Q52)	4*	(21%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)

IF "UNLIKELY" OR "VERY UNLIKELY" TO Q50, ASK:

51. Which country's objections would you say are most likely to prevent the deal from being finalized -- those of Canada or those of the United States?

THOSE OF CANADA	1	(47%)
THOSE OF UNITED STATES	2	(48%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(4%)

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

52. 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	(3%)
20-24 YEARS	02	(9%)
25-29 YEARS	03	(14%)
30-34 YEARS	04	(14%)
35-39 YEARS	05	(15%)
40-44 YEARS	06	(10%)
45-49 YEARS	07	(7%)
50-54 YEARS	08	(6%)
55-59 YEARS	09	(6%)
60-64 YEARS	10	(6%)
65 YEARS OR OLDER	11	(10%)

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

LESS THAN $ 5,000	01	(3%)
$ 5,000 - $ 9,999	02	(6%)
$10,000 - $14,999	03	(8%)
$15,000 - $19,999	04	(11%)
$20,000 - $24,999	05	(10%)
$25,000 - $29,999	06	(13%)
$30,000 - $34,999	07	(11%)
$35,000 - $39,999	08	(10%)
$40,000 - $44,999	09	(7%)
$45,000 - $49,999	10	(5%)
$50,000 AND OVER	11	(17%)

54.A Are you currently attending school, college, or university as a full-time student?

YES (SKIP TO Q55)	5*	(7%)
NO (GO TO Q54.B)	A	

IF "NO" TO Q54.A, ASK:

54.B What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed?

PUBLIC/SOME HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 1-8)	1	(28%)
GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12 OR 13)	2	(27%)
VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL/COLLEGE/CEGEP	3	(16%)
SOME/GRADUATED UNIVERSITY	4	(23%)

55. Are you currently employed outside the home?

NO (SKIP TO Q58)	1*	(36%)
YES (GO TO Q56)	2	(64%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(*)

IF "YES" TO Q55 ASK:

56. Are you working full-time or part-time?

FULL-TIME	1	(81%)
PART-TIME	2	(19%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(1%)

57. What is your occupation, that is, what are your main job responsibilities? What type of company do you work for?

PROFESSIONAL	01	(7%)
AGRICULTURE	02	(3%)
CIVIL SERVANT	03	(1%)
OWNER/SELF EMPLOYED	04	(2%)
MANAGEMENT/EXECUTIVE	05	(8%)
CULTURAL	06	(1%)
TEACHER	07	(8%)
MEDIUM-LEVEL SERVICE	08	(8%)
LOW-LEVEL SERVICES	09	(12%)
MEDIUM-LEVEL OFFICE WORKER	10	(9%)
LOW-LEVEL OFFICE WORKER	11	(11%)
MEDIUM-LEVEL PRODUCTION WORKER	12	(17%)
LOW-LEVEL PRODUCTION WORKER	13	(9%)
HOUSEWIFE	14	(0%)
STUDENT	15	(0%)
RETIRED	16	(0%)
ARMY	17	(1%)
UNEMPLOYED	18	(0%)
SCIENTIFICAL/TECHNICAL	19	(5%)

58. Do you, or does any other member of your family belong to a labour union?

RESPONDENT	1	(14%)
OTHER MEMBER OF FAMILY	2	(16%)
BOTH (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(4%)
NONE (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(66%)

59. Sex. (BY OBSERVATION)

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

60. Language of questionnaire.

ENGLISH	1	(76%)
FRENCH	2	(24%)

November/December
1987

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
C.	Do you, or does anyone in your family or household work in the following kinds of business ...a market research firm, advertising agency, public relations firm, or the news media?	YES (THANK AND TERMINATE -- RECORD INCIDENCE ON CALL RECORD SHEET)..............A NO (CONTINUE)................B

1. Would you say you are very familiar, familiar, not too familiar, or not familiar at all with what is contained in the free trade agreement between Canada and the United States?

	I	II	III
NOT FAMILIAR AT ALL..........1	(12%)	(14%)	(14%)
NOT TOO FAMILIAR.............2	(53%)	(55%)	(55%)
FAMILIAR.....................3	(31%)	(28%)	(28%)
VERY FAMILIAR................4	(4%)	(3%)	(3%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)......5	(*)	(0%)	(*)

KEY

I = WAVE I -- NOVEMBER 12 - NOVEMBER 19, 1987
II = WAVE II -- NOVEMBER 25 - DECEMBER 4, 1987
III = WAVE III -- DECEMBER 8 - DECEMBER 16, 1987

Note 1: Responses may not sum to 100% due to rounding throughout the Technical Appendixes.

2: (*) denotes a percentage value greater than 0 but less than 0.5 throughout the Technical Appendixes.

I II III

As you probably know, the Canada - United States free trade negotiations have resulted in a free trade agreement.

2. Generally speaking, do you strongly support, support, oppose, or strongly oppose the free trade agreement that was reached by Canada and the United States?

		I	II	III
STRONGLY OPPOSE	1	(11%)	(10%)	(9%)
OPPOSE	2	(35%)	(36%)	(33%)
SUPPORT	3	(41%)	(41%)	(46%)
STRONGLY SUPPORT	4	(5%)	(5%)	(5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(8%)	(8%)	(8%)

I'd like you to tell me for each of the following whether you think the Canada -- United States free trade agreement is a very good, good, bad, or very bad thing. How about in terms of its effect on...(READ AND ROTATE ITEMS 3 TO 5)

3. The Canadian economy?

		I	II	III
VERY BAD	1	(7%)	(7%)	(6%)
BAD	2	(36%)	(33%)	(34%)
GOOD	3	(47%)	(49%)	(51%)
VERY GOOD	4	(6%)	(7%)	(7%)
NO OPINION	5	(4%)	(4%)	(3%)

4. Your provincial economy?

		I	II	III
VERY BAD	1	(7%)	(8%)	(6%)
BAD	2	(36%)	(32%)	(32%)
GOOD	3	(46%)	(47%)	(50%)
VERY GOOD	4	(7%)	(8%)	(7%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(4%)	(6%)	(5%)

5. Economic well-being of you and your family?

		I	II	III
VERY BAD	1	(3%)	(6%)	(6%)
BAD	2	(30%)	(28%)	(26%)
GOOD	3	(50%)	(50%)	(53%)
VERY GOOD	4	(6%)	(5%)	(6%)
NO OPONION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(11%)	(12%)	(10%)

END OF ROTATION

	I	II	III

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

6. Overall, there will be more jobs gained than lost in Canada.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(18%)	(19%)	(16%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(33%)	(29%)	(32%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(34%)	(35%)	(37%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(13%)	(15%)	(14%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(2%)	(2%)	(2%)

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7. Prices of many goods imported from the United States into Canada will be lower.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(10%)	(9%)	(9%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(22%)	(21%)	(20%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(45%)	(45%)	(49%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(21%)	(24%)	(22%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)

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8. We will be able to maintain current government programs such as unemployment insurance and health insurance.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(11%)	(10%)	(10%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(18%)	(20%)	(16%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(45%)	(41%)	(45%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(24%)	(26%)	(26%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(2%)	(3%)	(3%)

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9. Many American companies will close their plants in Canada.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(18%)	(19%)	(19%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(39%)	(39%)	(39%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(25%)	(25%)	(27%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(16%)	(16%)	(13%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(2%)	(2%)	(2%)

		I	II	III

10. Our economy will become so closely tied to the American economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own economic decisions.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(13%)	(14%)	(16%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(22%)	(22%)	(25%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(31%)	(30%)	(30%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(33%)	(33%)	(29%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)

11. Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(29%)	(25%)	(29%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(46%)	(46%)	(46%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(19%)	(21%)	(19%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(4%)	(6%)	(5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)	(2%)	(1%)

12. Differences in economic development among regions in Canada will gradually be reduced.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(15%)	(15%)	(15%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(35%)	(33%)	(38%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(36%)	(35%)	(35%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(10%)	(12%)	(10%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(4%)	(4%)	(3%)

13. American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(8%)	(9%)	(8%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(24%)	(20%)	(22%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(36%)	(40%)	(40%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(32%)	(31%)	(28%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)

14. Canada and the United States will become more similar in many ways.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(6%)	(7%)	(6%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(16%)	(15%)	(14%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(42%)	(43%)	(47%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(35%)	(35%)	(33%)
NO OPINION (VOLUINTEERED)	5	(1%)	(1%)	(*)

		I	II	III

15. The United States will keep to the terms of the agreement.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(18%)	(18%)	(14%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(29%)	(26%)	(26%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(40%)	(39%)	(42%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(12%)	(14%)	(16%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(2%)	(3%)	(2%)

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16. The Canadian automobile industry will lose jobs to the United States.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(6%)	(8%)	(10%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(24%)	(24%)	(26%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(37%)	(36%)	(36%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(31%)	(30%)	(24%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(2%)	(2%)	(3%)

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17. Governments will be restricted in how much help they are allowed to give to Canadian businesses in poorer regions of the country.

		I	II	III
VERY UNLIKELY	1	(9%)	(11%)	(12%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY	2	(27%)	(27%)	(27%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY	3	(38%)	(36%)	(36%)
VERY LIKELY	4	(24%)	(23%)	(20%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(3%)	(3%)	(5%)

END OF ROTATION

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18. Some people say that the jobs which may be created by Free Trade with the U.S. are not as important as limiting American influence in Canada.

Other people say that the jobs which may be created by freer Canada-U.S. trade are more important than limiting American influence in the Canadian economy.

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

		I	II	III
JOBS NOT AS IMPORTANT AS LIMITING INFLUENCE	1	(38%)	(35%)	(35%)
JOBS MORE IMPORTANT THAN LIMITING INFLUENCE	2	(58%)	(62%)	(62%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(4%)	(3%)	(3%)

		I	II	III

19. Some people say that the free trade agreement will strengthen Canada's economy and thus enable it to continue to play an independent role in the world.

Other people say that the free trade agreement will tie Canada so closely to the United States that it will weaken our ability to play an independent role in the world.

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

		I	II	III
WILL STRENGTHEN ABILITY TO PLAY INDEPENDENT ROLE	1	(38%)	(40%)	(42%)
WILL WEAKEN ABILITY TO PLAY INDEPENDENT ROLE	2	(61%)	(59%)	(58%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(1%)	(2%)	(1%)

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20. Thinking about the various people whose opinions you respect on the free trade agreement, whose opinion are you relying on most in making up your mind about the free trade agreement since it was signed...economists and other specialists, business leaders, labour leaders, federal government leaders, your provincial government or the news media? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE)

		I	II	III
ECONOMISTS AND OTHER SPECIALISTS	1	(23%)	(22%)	(21%)
BUSINESS LEADERS	2	(14%)	(13%)	(15%)
LABOUR LEADERS	3	(6%)	(6%)	(6%)
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT LEADERS	4	(9%)	(10%)	(12%)
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT	5	(11%)	(12%)	(11%)
NEWS MEDIA	6	(32%)	(30%)	(32%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	7	(5%)	(5%)	(4%)

I II III

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

TOTALLY DISAGREE DEPENDS TOTALLY AGREE

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

	MEAN RATING I	II	III
21. From what I've heard or read, Canada gave away too much to the Americans in the free trade agreement.	1.51	1.36	1.14
22. I'm concerned that free trade is only going to increase tensions among regions and groups in Canada.	0.91	0.82	0.69
23. I see the free trade deal with the Americans as part of a general effort by the government to improve Canada's trade situation with countries around the world.	1.00	0.94	1.20
24. I think the government has a good idea of how to deal with the changes the free trade agreement will bring in Canada.	-0.27	-0.11	0.13

END OF ROTATION

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25. As far as you are aware, will the federal government be providing help to those industries and individuals who may be negatively affected as a result of the Canada - U.S. free trade agreement?

		I	II	III
YES	1	(42%)	(46%)	(52%)
NO	2	(53%)	(48%)	(46%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(5%)	(6%)	(3%)

			I	II	III

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

			I	II	III
26. Oil and gas industry?	WORSE OFF	1	(35%)	(34%)	(33%)
	BETTER OFF	2	(56%)	(55%)	(57%)
	NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(7%)	(9%)	(8%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(2%)	(2%)	(2%)
27. Wine industry?	WORSE OFF	1	(58%)	(58%)	(56%)
	BETTER OFF	2	(29%)	(26%)	(31%)
	NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(11%)	(13%)	(11%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(2%)	(3%)	(2%)
28. Wood and paper products?	WORSE OFF	1	(45%)	(44%)	(41%)
	BETTER OFF	2	(48%)	(47%)	(51%)
	NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(5%)	(7%)	(7%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(2%)	(2%)	(1%)
29. Fish and fish products?	WORSE OFF	1	(47%)	(44%)	(44%)
	BETTER OFF	2	(41%)	(42%)	(43%)
	NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(10%)	(11%)	(11%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(3%)	(3%)	(2%)
30. Agriculture and farming?	WORSE OFF	1	(57%)	(53%)	(55%)
	BETTER OFF	2	(33%)	(36%)	(35%)
	NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(8%)	(10%)	(9%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)
31. Cars and car parts?	WORSE OFF	1	(59%)	(56%)	(50%)
	BETTER OFF	2	(31%)	(30%)	(36%)
	NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(9%)	(11%)	(12%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTERED)	4	(1%)	(3%)	(2%)
32. Films, books, and magazines?	WORSE OFF	1	(47%)	(48%)	(42%)
	BETTER OFF	2	(37%)	(35%)	(41%)
	NOT AFFECTED (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(14%)	(15%)	(15%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(2%)	(3%)	(2%)

END OF ROTATION

	I	II	III

33. Based on what you may have seen, read, or heard, would you say that, as far as energy is concerned, the free trade agreement is a very good, good, bad, or very bad deal for Canada?

		I	II	III
VERY BAD DEAL	1	(13%)	(12%)	(11%)
BAD DEAL	2	(30%)	(29%)	(26%)
GOOD DEAL	3	(45%)	(46%)	(52%)
VERY GOOD DEAL	4	(8%)	(9%)	(8%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	5	(4%)	(4%)	(3%)

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34. Some people say guaranteeing access to U.S. markets for Canadian energy resources will create development, jobs and energy security in Canada.

Others say it would be better not to encourage sales of Canadian energy to the United States, because this would weaken Canada's control over its energy resources.

Which one of these two views is closer to your own?

		I	II	III
GUARANTEEING ACCESS TO U.S. FOR ENERGY RESOURCES WILL CREATE DEVELOPMENT, JOBS, ENERGY SECURITY	1	(41%)	(43%)	(48%)
WOULD BE BETTER NOT TO ENCOURAGE SALES OF CANADIAN ENERGY TO THE UNITED STATES	2	(57%)	(55%)	(51%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(2%)	(2%)	(1%)

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35. Based on what you have heard or read, are most U.S. Members of Congress in favour of, or opposed to the free trade agreement with Canada?

		I	II	III
OPPOSED TO FREE TRADE	1	(39%)	(38%)	(33%)
IN FAVOUR OF FREE TRADE	2	(52%)	(51%)	(58%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(9%)	(11%)	(9%)

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36. Does knowing this make you more likely or less likely to support the agreement yourself, or does it not affect your view at all?

		I	II	III
MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT TRADE AGREEMENT	1	(10%)	(10%)	(13%)
LESS LIKELY TO SUPPORT TRADE AGREEMENT	2	(23%)	(23%)	(23%)
DOES NOT AFFECT YOUR VIEW	3	(64%)	(62%)	(61%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(3%)	(4%)	(4%)

		I	II	III

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

37. What is your age, please? (IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, OFFER TO READ CATEGORIES AND HAVE HIM/HER TELL YOU WHICH CATEGORY HE/SHE FALLS INTO)

		I	II	III
18-19 YEARS	01	(4%)	(5%)	(3%)
20-24 YEARS	02	(11%)	(9%)	(10%)
25-29 YEARS	03	(12%)	(13%)	(16%)
30-34 YEARS	04	(14%)	(14%)	(13%)
35-39 YEARS	05	(15%)	(13%)	(14%)
40-44 YEARS	06	(11%)	(12%)	(9%)
45-49 YEARS	07	(8%)	(7%)	(7%)
50-54 YEARS	08	(5%)	(7%)	(7%)
55-59 YEARS	09	(6%)	(5%)	(6%)
60-64 YEARS	10	(6%)	(7%)	(5%)
65 YEARS OR OLDER	11	(9%)	(9%)	(9%)

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

		I	II	III
LESS THAN $ 5,000	01	(2%)	(3%)	(3%)
$ 5,000 - $ 9,999	02	(6%)	(5%)	(7%)
$10,000 - $14,999	03	(9%)	(10%)	(8%)
$15,000 - $19,999	04	(12%)	(11%)	(12%)
$20,000 - $24,999	05	(12%)	(12%)	(10%)
$25,000 - $29,999	06	(12%)	(12%)	(12%)
$30,000 - $34,999	07	(9%)	(11%)	(13%)
$35,000 - $39,999	08	(9%)	(7%)	(9%)
$40,000 - $44,999	09	(9%)	(7%)	(6%)
$45,000 - $49,999	10	(5%)	(5%)	(4%)
$50,000 AND OVER	11	(16%)	(17%)	(16%)

39.A Are you currently attending school, college, or university as a full-time student?

		I	II	III
YES (SKIP TO Q42)	6*	(6%)	(6%)	(7%)
NO (GO TO Q39B)	A			

	I	II	III

IF "NO" TO Q39A, ASK:

39.B What is the highest level of schooling that you have completed?

		I	II	III
PUBLIC/ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (GRADE 1-8)	1	(8%)	(8%)	(9%)
SOME HIGH SCHOOL	2	(19%)	(21%)	(19%)
GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12 OR 13)	3	(30%)	(28%)	(27%)
VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL/COLLEGE/CEGEP	4	(14%)	(15%)	(19%)
SOME UNIVERSITY	5	(7%)	(6%)	(6%)
GRADUATED UNIVERSITY	7	(16%)	(16%)	(14%)

40. Are you currently employed outside the home?

		I	II	III
NO (SKIP TO Q42)	1*	(33%)	(33%)	(33%)
YES (GO TO Q41)	2	(66%)	(64%)	(67%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(1%)	(2%)	(1%)

IF "YES" TO Q40 ASK:

41. What type of company or business do you work in? (READ ALL CHOICES ROTATING ORDER)? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE REPONSE)

		I	II	III
AGRICULTURE	01	(3%)	(3%)	(3%)
FORESTRY	02	(2%)	(4%)	(3%)
FISHING	03	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)
MINING	04	(1%)	(1%)	(1%)
OIL AND GAS	05	(2%)	(2%)	(2%)
CONSTRUCTUION	06	(7%)	(6%)	(7%)
TRANSPORTATION	07	(5%)	(4%)	(4%)
COMMUNICATIONS	08	(3%)	(2%)	(4%)
PUBLIC UTILITIES	09	(6%)	(5%)	(6%)
PUBLIC SECTOR/GOVERNMENT	10	(13%)	(16%)	(16%)
ARMED FORCES	11	(1%)	(*)	(*)
FINANCE/INSURANCE/REAL ESTATE	12	(8%)	(5%)	(5%)
MANUFACTURING	13	(10%)	(13%)	(10%)
WHOLESALE	14	(2%)	(3%)	(2%)
RETAIL	15	(6%)	(7%)	(6%)
SERVICE	16	(14%)	(12%)	(14%)
EDUCATION	17	(9%)	(8%)	(8%)
SELF EMPLOYED	18	(7%)	(10%)	(9%)

			I	II	III
42. Do you, or does any other member of your family belong to a labour union?	RESPONDENT	1	(14%)	(14%)	(14%)
	OTHER MEMBER OF FAMILY	2	(15%)	(15%)	(17%)
	BOTH (VOLUNTEERED)	3	(4%)	(3%)	(4%)
	NONE (VOLUNTEERED)	4	(68%)	(69%)	(66%)
43. Sex. (BY OBSERVATION)	MALE	1	(50%)	(50%)	(50%)
	FEMALE	2	(50%)	(50%)	(51%)
44. Language of questionnaire.	ENGLISH	1	(75%)	(77%)	(73%)
	FRENCH	2	(25%)	(23%)	(27%)
45. Date.	DAY 1 -- NOVEMBER 12	1	(24%)	(0%)	(0%)
	DAY 2 -- NOVEMBER 13	2	(20%)	(0%)	(0%)
	DAY 3 -- NOVEMBER 14	3	(6%)	(0%)	(0%)
	DAY 4 -- NOVEMBER 17	4	(37%)	(0%)	(0%)
	DAY 5 -- NOVEMBER 18	5	(14%)	(0%)	(0%)
	DAY 6 -- NOVEMBER 19	6	(*)	(0%)	(0%)
	DAY 7 -- NOVEMBER 25	7	(0%)	(35%)	(0%)
	DAY 8 -- NOVEMBER 26	8	(0%)	(18%)	(0%)
	DAY 9 -- DECEMBER 2	9	(0%)	(42%)	(0%)
	DAY 10 -- DECEMBER 3	10	(0%)	(6%)	(0%)
	DAY 11 -- DECEMBER 8	11	(0%)	(0%)	(11%)
	DAY 12 -- DECEMBER 9	12	(0%)	(0%)	(40%)
	DAY 13 -- DECEMBER 14	13	(0%)	(0%)	(36%)
	DAY 14 -- DECEMBER 15	14	(0%)	(0%)	(7%)
	DAY 15 -- DECEMBER 16	15	(0%)	(0%)	(6%)