

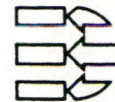
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REPORT TO THE  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ON  
ATTITUDES TOWARD CANADA-U.S. FREE  
TRADE

JUNE 1987



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REPORT TO THE  
DEPARTMENT OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ON  
ATTITUDES TOWARD CANADA - U.S. FREE TRADE  
JUNE 1987  
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## I. INTRODUCTION

Decima Research is pleased to present this report to the Department of External Affairs (DEA) on the results of a nation-wide survey conducted for the Department between May 27 and June 7, 1987. The survey probed the views of a disproportionate, randomly selected sample of adult Canadians regarding their attitudes and perceptions of issues related to Canada-U.S. free trade. A disproportionate sample which included a minimum of 100 cases for each province was used in order to facilitate interprovincial comparisons of Canadians' attitudes and opinions on the Canada-U.S. trade issues explored in the survey.

The report is structured as follows. Canadians' overall levels of awareness, understanding and perceptions of the discussions between Canada and the United States about free trade are reviewed in Section II following this Introduction, together with an analysis of the levels of support and opposition to Canada entering into a free trade agreement with the United States and the reasons for this support/opposition. Perceptions of economic and socio-political effects of a Canada-U.S. free trade agreement are discussed in Sections III and IV respectively, followed by a review of attitudes concerning U.S. protectionism and U.S. investment in Canada in Sections V and VI. A final section looks at Canadians' perceptions of the federal government's overall approach to Canada-U.S. free trade, with the main findings of the research presented in the "Summary of Conclusions" segment of the report.

## II. CANADA-U.S. FREE TRADE: SALIENCE, AWARENESS AND SUPPORT

### A. Salience - Most Important Problem Facing Canada

At the outset of the survey, respondents were asked what they feel "is the most important problem facing Canada today." The "top of mind" problem for a plurality (37%) of Canadians continues to be unemployment and youth unemployment. Other issues identified on this "unaided" or top of mind basis appear in Table I.

Table I

#### MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM FACING CANADA TODAY

<u>ISSUE</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Unemployment/youth unemployment	37
Economic issues	13
Social/moral issues	9
Government general/spending	6
Free trade/Canada-U.S. relations	6
Pollution/conservation	5
Constitution/national unity	4
Nuclear war/world peace	2
Other	8
Don't know/no problem/no response	8

The question posed asks Canadians to identify what they see as the most important problem for Canada today, not for themselves personally. In this context, the 37% mentioning unemployment/youth unemployment seems to reflect the fact that respondents are providing what they perceive to be the "correct answer" in an objective sense. Free trade and Canada-U.S. relations, although mentioned by only 6% as the top problem, occupies a relatively high place in Table I relative to other top issues. It also is relatively high in comparison to the level of some other government priorities mentioned in the past. One benchmark for comparison is the issue of the deficit. Despite considerable debate and priority attached to the deficit issue in public communications by the federal government, it has in the past typically been mentioned top of mind by only 4% as the most important problem facing Canada today.



Some of the verbatim responses offered by those identifying free trade are illustrative of some basic themes which emerged in the other survey findings. Concern over U.S. protectionism and loss of control by Canadians over aspects of their economic or political sovereignty are evident in several statements pointing to free trade and Canada-U.S. relations as the most important problem facing Canada today, such as the following:

- o "I don't think it's a good idea because the Americans want too much from us. They don't want to give anything up";
- o "I don't think it will work because of U.S. protectionism";
- o "I don't think it's a good idea because the U.S. has taken too much of a protectionist attitude";
- o "If they do get free trade the Americans will take over"; and
- o "Free trade. I'm worried about its effects on Canada."

The nature of these mentions does suggest that those who identify it as a top issue are speaking from a personal concern about the importance of questions of control and domination by the United States.

## B. Awareness and Understanding of Free Trade and Canada-U.S. Trade Relations

### 1. Awareness and understanding of free trade discussions

A rare anomaly is apparent in the survey findings regarding "attentiveness" to and understanding of the Canada-U.S. free trade discussions. As evidence of the complexity of the issue as perceived by the Canadian public and consequent difficulties in Canadians' understanding the issue, the survey results in Table 2 reveal that more people claim to have been closely following discussions about free trade than claim to understand the issue as well as they would like.



Table 2  
AWARENESS AND SUPPORT

	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
<u>FOLLOWING DISCUSSIONS ON FREE TRADE</u>	
Closely	41
Not Closely	59
<u>UNDERSTAND ISSUE OF FREE TRADE</u>	
Yes	24
No	76

A majority (59%) claim they are not following the discussions closely, while three out of four (76%) say that they do not understand the issue as well as they would like. Not surprisingly, those who say they understand the issue are more likely (54%) than average to say they are following the issue closely, and vice versa.

2. Perceptions of Canada's trade relations and its importance to Canadians personally

While most Canadians say they do not understand the issue of free trade with the U.S. as well as they would like, they nevertheless appear to believe that it is important to them personally. About two-thirds (65%) of Canadians say that international trade is important to their livelihood and half of these (34% of all respondents) claim that Canada's international trade is "very important" to them personally.

Further evidence of the importance of trade in general and the free trade discussions in particular to Canadians personally appears in responses to the statement, "All the discussions about free trade may matter to businesses, but free trade won't make any difference to the average Canadian worker." A slight majority (53%) express disagreement, with 42% indicating agreement. Lower socio-economic status (SES) individuals and Francophones (55%) are more likely than average to indicate agreement, whereas the university educated (64%) and Anglophones (64%) are more likely to disagree.

Perceptions of the personal importance of free trade are also illustrated by the finding that 69% of the population feel that if Canada does conclude a free trade deal with the United States, "this will cause some changes in Canada's economy and in the lives of individual Canadians."

Despite the conviction or belief about the importance of Canada's trade to them personally, as evident above, most Canadians do not hold an accurate view of the importance of the United States to Canada's export and import trade. Respondents were asked to think about the amount of goods and services which Canada imports from the United States, or sells to that country. Table 3 shows that only one-quarter to one-third are convinced that Canada and the United States are each other's biggest trading partners.

Table 3

PERCEPTIONS OF CANADA'S EXPORT/IMPORT RELATIONSHIP  
WITH THE UNITED STATES

	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
<u>AS AN EXPORTER TO THE U.S. CANADA SELLS...</u>	
More than any other country	24
More than all but a few	28
A fair amount, but several sell more	35
Less than most other countries	11
<u>AS AN IMPORTER OF GOODS AND SERVICES FROM THE U.S., CANADA BUYS...</u>	
More than any other country	33
More than all but a few	27
A fair amount, but several buy more	33
Less than most other countries	6

The distribution of responses across the various answer categories depicted in Table 3 is almost random in nature, reflecting a lack of public knowledge or appreciation of the nature and relative importance for each country of Canada's trading relationship with the United States. Those respondents claiming to have been closely following the discussions about free trade are more likely to know that Canada and the U.S. are each other's biggest trading partners.

### C. Support/Opposition to Free Trade

Public opinion is at present divided as to whether it would be a good idea or a bad idea for Canada to enter into a free trade agreement with the United States. Overall levels of support and opposition, as well as the main reasons given by respondents for their support or opposition, appear in Table 4.

Table 4

## SUPPORT AND OPPOSITION TO FREE TRADE

	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
<u>OVERALL SUPPORT/OPPOSITION</u>	
Good idea	50
Bad idea	43
<u>REASONS GIVEN</u>	
Good idea:	
Economic impact	22
Fewer barriers	10
Benefit both countries	12
Good idea generally	6
Bad Idea:	
Only good for the U.S.	19
Economic impact	11
Lose identity/independence	5
Bad idea generally	8

The main reasons identified in Table 4 highlight the principal factors which evidence elsewhere in the survey results show to be most important in influencing Canadians' views regarding Canada-U.S. free trade. They concern possible loss of control and sovereignty or independence, and assessments or expectations of tangible economic benefits or losses for Canadians. As evident in Table 4, economic benefits are mentioned by respondents as factors both in support of and in opposition to free trade. Consideration of the verbatim responses offered by respondents when asked to state the reasons for their support or opposition to free trade provide a sense of the flavour of public attitudes underlying support or opposition to free trade. The views of supporters and opponents are considered separately.

#### D. Supporters (Economic Benefits)

The most frequently mentioned economic benefit by those feeling free trade is a good idea is jobs or employment. The following are a typical host of statements which underscore this feeling:

- o "The free trade deal might create more jobs/ It can create more employment in Canada/ It can create more jobs"; and
- o "If they let the American businesses invest -- they'll make more businesses creating more jobs in Canada."

Others stress the broader benefits for Canada's economy which they foresee as accompanying free trade, such as:

- o "Trading is essential for economic growth. The whole economy of Canada will open up and benefit";
- o "Our economy would prosper and there would be more jobs. I think it would be good for the Canadian economy"; and
- o "If you have free trade, the economy will be stronger in the long run because there would not be protection over weak businesses."

Still others point to the larger market available to Canada:

- o "The United States has a bigger trade base to work in, so it would benefit us";
- o "We need free trade -- Canada does not have the population or resources to go it alone, unlike the United States";
- o "I feel it would help Canadian manufacturers to supply a larger market"; and
- o "Opening up additional markets, 10 times as big as we are."

### E. Opponents (Concern for Control and U.S. Domination)

The statements of those feeling free trade is a bad idea articulate the underlying concerns and fears of the potential loss of sovereignty or control and of the prospects for domination by the U.S. Typical of the statements made are the following:

- o "I don't like the United States anyway. They may take over Canada. We will be ruled by them if we have free trade";
- o "The United States has too much control over us already";
- o "Giving too much to the Americans; sooner or later they will want it all";
- o "It just means that we will be exploited by the Americans";
- o "The Americans will just end up telling us what to do";
- o "Canada's economy would be controlled by the United States. The Americans will become dominant in the free trade -- the agreement will become lopsided to the Americans' advantage"; and
- o "I'm afraid that Canada will be swallowed up."

These statements illustrate the strength of emotion inherent in the rationales for opposition to free trade offered by Canadians, in contrast to supporters of free trade who focus more on expectations of tangible economic benefits.

The data also reveal a relationship between respondents' understanding of and level of attentiveness to the free trade discussions and their overall support or opposition to the initiative. Those who claim to have been following the discussions "very closely" are more likely (29%) than average to say that free trade will "only be good for the U.S." Among those with firm or intense views on the trade initiative (feel it is a very good or a very bad idea), the same relative proportion indicate that they understand the issue as well as they would like.

To summarize, Canadians' views are at present split on whether it would be a good idea or a bad idea to enter into a free trade agreement with the United States, and most feel that they do not understand the issue as well as they would like. Key issues influencing

opinions are the perceived effect of free trade on Canada's independence and capacity for asserting control over its own affairs vis-à-vis the United States, as well as expectations of the tangible economic effects of free trade. Opinions are not uniformly held across the country, however, as illustrated in section F.

## F. Regional and Demographic Differences

### 1. Region

The main differences in awareness, understanding and opinions concerning Canada-U.S. free trade on the basis of respondents' region or province of residence involve residents of British Columbia, Ontario and parts of Atlantic Canada. Variations are most notable concerning the ultimate question on whether respondents think a free trade agreement with the United States is a good idea. Table 5 portrays the level of support and opposition to free trade across Canada.

Table 5  
SUPPORT FOR FREE TRADE BY REGION AND PROVINCE

<u>REGION/PROVINCE</u>	<u>GOOD IDEA</u> %	<u>BAD IDEA</u> %	<u>CONFIDENCE</u> <u>LIMIT*</u> (±X%)
British Columbia	63	35	8.7
Prairies	47	38	5.7
Alberta	61	34	9.8
Saskatchewan	45	39	10.3
Manitoba	33	41	10.3
Ontario	41	52	5.5
Balance Ontario	38	53	6.7
Metro Toronto	47	48	10.0
Quebec	52	43	5.7
Atlantic Canada	51	41	5.0
Newfoundland	64	30	10.3
Prince Edward Island	36	54	10.3
Nova Scotia	48	45	10.3
New Brunswick	56	34	10.3
National Average	50	43	

\*NOTE: Results by province and region are accurate within plus or minus the percentage indicated, 95 times out of 100.

Table 5 shows that support for free trade with the United States is strongest in British Columbia and Newfoundland and weakest in Ontario. Most opposed in Ontario are those residing outside of Metropolitan Toronto, while Metro Toronto residents are split on whether it would be a good or a bad idea.

Some differences in opinion on the basis of region are also apparent regarding what is perceived to be Canada's "top problem." Not surprisingly, given the relative strengths of the provincial economies in each case, residents of British Columbia, Alberta and



Atlantic Canada are more likely than average to cite unemployment or youth unemployment as the most important problem facing Canada today, and Ontario residents are less likely.

In terms of perceptions concerning the importance of Canada's international trade to them personally, Quebec residents (72%) are more likely to regard this as important to them personally.

## 2. Demographics

The major differences in opinion on the basis of demographic characteristics involve gender, with some variations also apparent on the basis of respondents' age and annual household income. These can be summarized as follows:

- o **Gender** -- men, especially those who are employed, are much more likely than women to claim they have been following the discussions about free trade with the United States closely, to claim that they understand the issue as well as they would like, and to correctly identify Canada as the largest exporter to the U.S. Men are also more likely than women to feel that Canada's entering into a free trade agreement with the United States is a good idea; and
- o **Age and Income** -- differences in responses on the basis of age and annual household income relate to the extent to which respondents have been following the discussions about trade with the United States and knowledge of the significance of the United States as an export market to Canada. Both age and income are positively related to the likelihood of respondents saying they have been following the discussions about free trade closely. This is particularly noticeable at the extremes of the income scale. Those respondents having annual household incomes of less than \$10,000 are much more likely (70%) to be not following the discussions closely, while those with annual household incomes in excess of \$50,000 are more likely (56%) to claim they have been following the discussions closely. Older people are also more likely to say that Canada sells more to the U.S. than does any other country.

### III. PERCEPTIONS OF ECONOMIC, INDUSTRIAL AND REGIONAL EFFECTS OF FREE TRADE

#### A. Net Benefits/Losses for Canada

##### I. Will Canada benefit?

After respondents were probed for awareness, understanding and overall assessments of the free trade initiative, they were asked for their views on the overall effect of free trade on Canada. That is, they were asked what would be the effect on Canada resulting from the elimination of duties and other barriers in Canada and the United States on goods and services coming from the other country. Not surprisingly, given that people are (and acknowledge that they are) unfamiliar with the details of the trade talks, the results depicted in Table 6 reveal that there is no strong consensus that a free trade deal would help or harm Canada's economy.

Table 6

#### PERCEIVED BENEFITS/LOSSES OF FREE TRADE FOR CANADA

	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>	
<u>IF BARRIERS AND TAXES WERE ELIMINATED, CANADA WOULD...</u>		
Benefit a great deal	17	
Benefit somewhat	32	49
Neither benefit nor lose	13	
Lose somewhat	22	
Lose a great deal	16	38
<u>OF THOSE THINKING CANADA WILL BENEFIT, WHICH COUNTRY DO THEY THINK WOULD BENEFIT MORE?</u>		
Canada will benefit more	25	
U.S.A. will benefit more	27	
Both will benefit equally	48	

The lack of a profound sense of what the economic benefits of free trade would be, reflected in the distribution of responses in Table 6, is further evidence of the complexity of the free trade issue for Canadians and of the low level of understanding previously noted. Those who foresee benefits tend to view these as equally shared rather than disproportionately in Canada's favour.

What is noteworthy about the results in Table 6 is the extent to which the distribution of responses here mirrors that obtained for the question asking Canadians if they think free trade is a good or a bad idea. A total of 49% of Canadians think that Canada would benefit either somewhat or a great deal, as compared to 50% who think that Canada's entering into a free trade agreement with the United States is a good idea. On the other side, 38% expect that Canada would lose somewhat or a great deal, compared to 43% who think free trade with the U.S. is a bad idea. As could be expected, those respondents feeling free trade is a good idea are more likely to anticipate that Canada would benefit, while those opposed to free trade expect Canada would lose.

Almost half of Canadians who think Canada would benefit from the elimination of duties and barriers to trade between Canada and the U.S. expect that both countries would benefit equally. Among the rest, roughly equal proportions think that either Canada or the United States would benefit more than the other.

## 2. When would effects be felt in Canada?

Canadians were asked not only whether they think Canada would benefit or not from free trade with the U.S., but also how long they think it would be before the effects would be felt in Canada if an agreement on trade were reached. The results are arrayed in Table 7.

Table 7

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

	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Almost right away	20
Two-to-five years	35
Three-to-five years	29
Five-to-10 years	11
More than 10 years	5

More than eight-in-10 Canadians anticipate that if a trade agreement were reached between Canada and the United States, the effects would be felt within five years. Expectations vary on the basis of age, language and region. Francophones and Quebec residents are more likely than average to expect the effects to be felt in Canada in three-to-five years, or five-to-10 years. Canadians aged 25-to-34 years are more likely to expect the effects to be apparent within two to three years.

The extent to which these expectations will be fulfilled will depend upon the nature of any agreement reached between Canada and the United States. What these data clearly indicate is that most Canadians anticipate that the effects of a Canada-U.S. free trade agreement would be felt more in the relatively short to medium term.

B. Effect on Canadian Industries

The same pattern of split opinion apparent in overall support/opposition to free trade and perceptions of the extent to which Canada would benefit, also appears in Canadians' assessments of the effect of a Canada-U.S. free trade agreement on different kinds of businesses. Respondents were read a list of different industries and asked to indicate whether they think these industries would be better off or worse off under a Canada-U.S. free trade agreement. The findings appear in Table 8.

Table 8

## EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON CANADIAN BUSINESSES

<u>INDUSTRY</u>	<u>BETTER</u>	<u>WORSE</u>	<u>DIFFERENCE</u>	<u>GAMMA</u>
	%	%	%	
Electricity	59	30	+29	.303
Aircraft and space	56	29	+27	.199
Electronics	55	31	+24	.202
Oil and gas	54	35	+19	.404
Computer hardware	50	35	+15	
Household appliances	51	36	+15	.209
Mining	49	35	+14	.260
Beer/wine	48	36	+12	.253
Cars/car parts	51	39	+12	.227
Wood/paper products	52	42	+10	.428
Shipbuilding	45	36	+10	.272
Chemical products	43	38	+10	.202
Fish/fish products	47	40	+7	.359
Steel	43	40	+3	.230
Films/books/magazines	45	45	--	.280
Clothing/footwear	44	45	-1	.295
Banking/insurance	38	41	-3	.217
Agriculture/farming	43	48	-5	.435

Note: Gamma is a measure of the strength and direction of the relationship between each of these variables and whether a free trade agreement is a good or bad idea. The closer gamma is to  $\pm 1.0$ , the stronger the relationship, and the + or - sign indicates the direction of the relationship.

The list of industries expected to benefit from free trade include many of those drawing on Canada's natural resources, as well as several in manufacturing. Prominent among the natural resource industries mentioned are electric power, oil and gas, wood and paper products and mining. The manufacturing industries identified as likely to benefit include "high technology" industries such as aircraft and space, electronics and computer hardware, as well as more traditional manufacturing sectors like household appliances and even shipbuilding. Agriculture/farming is seen as likely to be worse off under free trade.

These aggregate results conceal some significant regional differences in perception, which are of critical importance to an understanding of the factors affecting Canadians' overall attitudes toward the Canada-U.S. free trade initiative. A comprehensive listing of these regional differences highlighting those provinces/regions in which the relevant industry is of greatest significance appears in Appendix B. At this point, several key findings can be identified.

Industries which are of disproportionate importance to the economies of particular regions are those which are identified as likely to be better or worse off under free trade. Ontario residents are consistently less likely than Canadians on average to anticipate that individual industries will benefit, particularly manufacturing industries. Quebec residents, on the other hand, are consistently more likely than average to expect that all sectors will benefit, especially those involved in manufacturing. Among the particular regional differences in perspective are the following:

- o British Columbians are more convinced that the wood and paper products sector will benefit and, along with Atlantic Canadians, are more inclined to think that the fishery sector will benefit;
- o Ontarians are, as noted above, generally less likely to see benefits for any sector and are in particular less convinced than other Canadians that the household appliance sector will benefit. They are also much more likely to expect that the farming and agriculture sector would be worse off;
- o Quebecers are much more convinced that the electrical power industry will benefit, along with the household appliance and cars/car parts sectors; and
- o Prairie residents are split on whether the agriculture/farming industry will benefit.

Insights into the extent to which opinions on free trade are influenced by perceptions of its likely effect on industries of significance to one's own region can be obtained by examining the gamma measure of association depicted in Table 8. This measure provides an indication of the strength with which these perceptions reflect or are associated with respondents' overall views as to whether it is a good or bad idea for Canada to enter into a free trade agreement with the United States. On the basis of the gamma measure, perceptions of industrial impacts which seem most critical relate to oil and gas, wood

and paper products, electrical power, fish/fish products, and agriculture/farming. In each case, these industry sectors are of disproportionate importance to particular regions of Canada and it is perceptions of benefits to one's own region that appear to matter the most.

### C. Effect of Free Trade on Regions and Regional Development in Canada

The hypothesis postulated above is supported by other survey findings stemming from a more explicit probing of Canadians' expectations of the regional effects of Canada-U.S. free trade. Canadians are split between those who would favour (52%) an agreement which would be "good for Canada as a whole, but meant that (their) own province would probably benefit less than the rest of Canada," and those who would oppose such an agreement (48%). The intensity of opinion on this is stronger among opponents than supporters, as 15% are strongly opposed compared to 7% strongly in favour. Reflecting the regional differences observed in overall support for free trade with the U.S., residents of British Columbia are more likely (63%) to favour a free trade deal of this type while Quebecers are more opposed.

While perceptions of the benefits of free trade to one's own region matter most, there is evidence to suggest that Canadians expect that free trade may benefit some more than others. A majority of 55% agree with the statement, "I'm concerned that free trade is only going to increase tension among regions and groups in Canada," with Quebecers even more likely (61%) to indicate agreement.

One of the considerations or issues which has arisen in the trade negotiations is the economic development assistance provided to businesses in Canada by federal and provincial governments. The vast majority of Canadians (88%) believe that such help provided to businesses is important to the economic development of their province, with almost half of the population (47%) saying that it is "very important." Not surprisingly, virtually all Newfoundland residents (98%) feel such assistance is important in this context, while residents of Metro Toronto, Ontario and British Columbia are less likely than average to say that such help is important for economic development in their province.

Canadians were also asked for their opinions of a free trade agreement with the United States which would be good for Canada as a whole, but would mean that "federal and provincial governments could not give as much help to businesses in your province." Again the population is virtually split on the question -- 48% in favour and 52% opposed. Residents of British Columbia (55%) are more likely than average to favour an agreement, while Prince Edward Island residents (68%) are more likely to be opposed.

Table 9 summarizes the survey results relating to overall support/opposition to free trade and the above findings concerning support/opposition to the initiative under the two scenarios mentioned.

Table 9  
SUPPORT FOR FREE TRADE IF GOOD FOR CANADA  
AS A WHOLE, BUT MEANT...

	<u>FAVOUR</u> %	<u>OPPOSE</u> %
Less help to businesses in your province	48	52
Your own province would probably benefit less than the rest of Canada	52	48
Overall	50	43

The consistency in the results evident in Table 9 further underscores the conclusion that perceptions of the benefits or impacts of free trade for one's own region influences overall attitudes toward the initiative. This consistency also suggests that perceptions of the regional effects are a necessary, but not a sufficient basis for explaining Canadians' overall support or opposition to free trade. The other significant factors influencing opinions are discussed in Section IV.



#### IV. ANTICIPATED EFFECTS AND FACTORS CLAIMED IMPORTANT IN SHAPING OPINION

##### A. Likelihood and Perceived Importance of Possible Consequences

##### 1. Likely effects

Respondents were presented with a list of statements some people have made about what might happen if there were free trade between Canada and the United States. They were asked whether they think each one is likely, as well as whether they consider it important or not in making up their mind about free trade. Results are summarized in Table 10.

Table 10

## PERCEIVED LIKELIHOOD AND IMPORTANCE OF POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES

ITEMS	<u>IMPORTANT</u>	<u>LIKELY</u>	<u>GAMMA</u>
	%	%	
Whether more jobs are gained than lost	93	55	.529
Whether we are able to maintain programmes like unemployment insurance and health insurance	92	62	.370
Whether our economy will become so closely tied to the American economy that we will lose our ability to make our own decisions	85	65	-.572
Whether prices for consumer goods will be lower	84	66	.323
Whether differences between regions will gradually be reduced	80	46	.136
Whether many American companies will close their plants	75	44	-.288
Whether Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now	73	28	.427
Whether there will be fewer trade disputes with the U.S. than there are now	72	71	.212
Whether women will lose relatively more jobs than men	70	32	-.224
Whether American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase	66	76	-.265



The various possible effects listed in Table 10 can be grouped into the categories of "Economic Effects" and "Socio-political effects," with the results for each summarized as follows.

#### Economic Effects

- o Two-thirds of Canadians anticipate lower consumer prices as a result of free trade and 55% expect a net increase in employment. The fact that just over half of the population expect an increase in employment suggests that the proponents of free trade face a continuing communications challenge to address this question, given that this anticipated consequence is one of the main arguments or rationales being presented in support of their position;
- o Only 28% believe that Canadians will have higher incomes with free trade than they do now;
- o More than seven-in-10 expect fewer trade disputes with the U.S. than there are now; and
- o As for regional economic disparities, there is doubt about whether a free trade deal will help to reduce or alleviate these, as 46% see this as likely.

#### Socio-Political Effects

- o There is an apparent consensus that a free trade agreement will lead to some increase in American influence in Canada, but that this will stop short of forcing Canadians to abandon programmes such as unemployment and health insurance;
- o Three out of four say that "American influence over our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase"; and
- o Sixty-five percent (65%) feel it likely that "our economy will become so closely tied to the U.S. economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own decisions," although 62% hold the view that Canada will be able to maintain current government programmes such as unemployment and health insurance.

Concerns people have seem to relate more to Canadian control over our economy and social system rather than Canadian control over our culture -- something which people seem prepared to think is not so clearly at stake. Nevertheless, only a bare majority of the population (52%) believe that, "we should be confident enough to enter into a free trade agreement because Canada's identity is now strong enough that it no longer needs as much protection through government measures." On the other hand, 47% of Canadians believe that "we should not have free trade because it could mean the end of some of those government measures which protect Canada's identity and make us different from the United States.

## 2. Factors claimed important in shaping opinion

Several of the economic and socio-political effects emerge as most important in shaping opinion about free trade between Canada and the U.S. In terms of economic effects, jobs and lower consumer prices are deemed most important. As for socio-political effects, Canadians are most likely to say that the ability to define and retain key social and economic policies are key to making up their minds about a free trade agreement. Relatively less important among economic effects is the impact on incomes, and among socio-political effects, the impact of "American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture."

A look at the correlation between attitudes toward these specific items and attitudes toward the initiative tends to confirm this focus. These data indicate that, in essence, most support for free trade is being won or lost on the basis of whether people are convinced:

- o That there will or will not be job and consumer price benefits (in one's own region); and
- o That there will or will not be an erosion in the ability of Canadians to determine our own national economic and social policies.

## B. Regional and Demographic Differences

### I. Region

As evident in regard to overall support, regional differences in opinion relate primarily to residents of British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec and Alberta.

- o **British Columbia** -- Residents of British Columbia are less likely to feel it is important to them in forming opinions on free trade, "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." It is also less important to British Columbia residents, "whether American influences on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase"; and "whether many American companies will close their plants."
- o **Ontario** -- Ontarians are less optimistic overall about some of the possible economic consequences of free trade and more concerned about socio-political effects. On the economic side, they are less likely to think that free trade will lead to there being more jobs gained than lost in Canada, and also less likely to expect that "differences in economic development among regions in Canada will gradually be reduced." Less importance is attached by Ontarians to whether most consumer prices will be lower and whether Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now. On the socio-political effects question, Ontarians are more likely than Canadians on average to think that "our economy will become so closely tied to the U.S. economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own decisions"; and
- o **Quebec** -- Views of Quebec residents are distinguished by greater optimism than average about the economic consequences of free trade. Specifically, they are more likely to anticipate higher incomes for Canadians as a result of free trade and to attach more importance to this in forming their opinions about the initiative. They also stand out in terms of optimism that free trade will contribute to the alleviation of regional economic disparities. In terms of socio-political effects, they are most concerned about American cultural influence, with 81% saying it is important to them in making up their minds about free trade, "whether American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase."

## 2. Demographics

The major differences in opinion on the basis of demographic characteristics relate to socio-economic status (SES), gender, and language. The SES differences can be summarized as follows, while the language differences reflect the findings related to Quebec.

**SES** -- Income and education are negatively related to perceptions of the likelihood that differences in economic development among regions will be reduced under free trade. Higher SES individuals are less likely to expect a reduction in these differences under free trade, while lower SES Canadians are more likely to expect this. Education is also negatively related to perceptions of the importance in shaping one's opinion about free trade, of whether most consumer prices will generally be lower. Those with lower education levels attach more importance to this in shaping their opinion than do those with higher levels of education.

Lower SES individuals are also more likely to feel that women will likely lose more jobs than will men, are more likely to attach importance to whether most consumer prices will be lower under free trade, and are less likely to anticipate that Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now.

**Gender** -- Differences in opinion on the basis of gender are most apparent regarding those factors deemed important by individuals in making their minds up about free trade. Women are more likely than men to say that each of the following are important considerations in this context:

- "Whether prices for most consumer goods in Canada will generally be lower";
- "Whether women will lose relatively more jobs than men";
- "Whether we will be able to maintain current government programs such as unemployment insurance and health insurance," (especially women employed outside the home); and
- "Whether American influence on our books, magazines, films and other parts of our culture will increase."

## V. PROTECTIONISM, INVESTMENT, AND SAFEGUARDS FOR CANADIAN INDUSTRY

### A. U.S. Protectionism

One of the issues in the debate about Canada-U.S. free trade is whether evidence of "protectionism" in the U.S. argues for or against Canada's pursuing a free trade agreement with the United States. A related issue in the debate has been the potential consequences for Canada of doing nothing to secure and protect, as well as enhance, Canadian access to American markets.

Canadians' current attitudes regarding protectionism and the effect of such attitudes on overall impressions were explored when respondents were initially asked for their impressions of the extent of American protectionism over the past year or two. Specifically, they were asked if they think that over this period "...the American government has made it more easy for Canadian goods and services to be sold in the United States, more difficult, or has there not been a change?". Results are displayed in Table 11.

Table 11  
PERCEPTIONS OF U.S. PROTECTIONISM

	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
<u>OVER PAST YEAR OR TWO, THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IT....</u>	
Easier for Canadian goods and services to be sold in the United States	6
More difficult for Canadian goods and services to be sold in the United States	57
Has been no change	35
<u>OBSERVING THIS (U.S. MAKING IT MORE DIFFICULT) HAS MADE ME...</u>	
More inclined to support a free trade agreement with the United States	38
Less inclined to support a free trade agreement with the United States	48
No change	13

In addition to the data revealed in Table 11, concern over the threat of future U.S. protectionism is also evident in the fact that 56% agree with the statement, "I'm now convinced that if we did not try to get a trade agreement with the Americans, they would do things to make it more and more difficult to sell our goods and services to them."

These data reveal that a majority of Canadians recognize that the American government has become more protectionist vis-à-vis Canadian exports of goods and services to the U.S. over the past year or two. Of the majority who say they detect a growth in American protectionism, 58% say this has made them less inclined to support a free trade agreement while 33% say they are more inclined. Of those perceiving no change, 43% are more inclined to support a free trade agreement and 35% are less inclined.



These findings present a challenge for the supporters of free trade, in that a majority of the public at present does not appear to move from a recognition of growing American protectionism, to being more inclined to support a Canada-U.S. free trade agreement. The apparent paradox this presents from the perspective of the advocates of free trade is further illuminated by survey findings regarding expectations of the trend in American protectionism in the future and its likely impact.

Respondents were informed of recent "protectionist" initiatives taken by the American government against Canadian goods and services entering the United States, and were then asked how likely they feel it is that the American government might take further actions of this type in the future. A strong consensus exists among Canadians that continuation of this kind of action by the United States is likely, as 83% say they think it is likely, with another 41% saying they feel it is "very likely." Only 17% of the population think that it is not likely that the American government will take further actions of this type.

Not only do Canadians expect more protectionist actions from the Americans, but they also think that such actions would have a serious effect on the Canadian economy. Half of the population (49%) anticipate that if the American government continued to take this kind of action it would have a "serious" effect on the Canadian economy. Another 34% anticipate that it would have a "very serious" effect. Those Canadians claiming to have been following the free trade discussions very closely are much more likely than average to anticipate that this kind of action by the Americans in the future would have a "very serious" effect on the Canadian economy.

Despite these expectations of continued protectionist initiatives by the American government and of serious consequences for the Canadian economy resulting from them, only 38% of Canadians say that observing increased American protectionist actions over the past year or two makes them more inclined to support free trade.

This may indicate a certain amount of belligerence in responses by Canadians. The data suggest that Canadians appear somewhat less inclined to favour free trade if it is really a defensively oriented initiative, aimed at defusing or preventing American initiatives

which make it harder for Canadian goods and services to enter the United States. More critical in determining support or opposition for the initiative are those considerations noted in Section IV, relating to tangible job and consumer price benefits, particularly in one's own region, and considerations of political control and sovereignty.

## B. Safeguards for Canadian Industry

Attitudes were explored regarding whether Canadians think that safeguards or forms of protection are required for several specific industry sectors, namely energy resources, and wine and beer. Results obtained were as follows.

### 1. Energy

Respondents were informed that there are, at present, limits on American access to Canadian energy resources -- such as oil and gas -- in terms of the extent to which Americans are allowed to own such resources or have a guaranteed supply of them. They were then asked: "Do you think that a free trade agreement should give Americans and Canadians equal access to energy resources in each country?". Results for this and a follow-up probe of those against providing equal access appear in Table 12.

Table 12

## ATTITUDES TOWARD RECIPROCAL ACCESS TO ENERGY RESOURCES

	<u>YES</u> %	<u>NO</u> %
Should a free trade agreement give equal access to energy resources in each country?	53	46
If "No" to above;...		
Still oppose if this meant fewer sales for the Canadian energy industry and fewer jobs for Canadian workers?	70	29

As these data reveal, a slight majority favour reciprocal access for Canadians and Americans to energy resources in each other's country. Not surprisingly, those Canadians who think free trade is a good idea are more likely (63%) to advocate reciprocal access, while those who think it is a bad idea are more likely to say no (58%). Opposition to giving equal access to energy resources in each country is reasonably firm, as seven-in-10 of those opposed to reciprocal access still oppose it even if it meant negative economic consequences for Canada.

## 2. Wine and Beer

For each of these industries, respondents were informed of the current situation regarding the provision of preferences for the domestic industry in Canada, and of possible or probable consequences for each industry were Canada to enter into a free trade agreement with the United States. They were then presented with alternative arguments regarding approaches which could be taken to dealing with these industries under a free trade agreement between Canada and the United States. Results are summarized in Table 13.

Table 13

ATTITUDES TOWARD FREE TRADE AND THE  
CANADIAN WINE AND BEER INDUSTRIES

	<u>INDUSTRY</u>	
	<u>Wine</u> %	<u>Beer</u> %
<u>A FREE TRADE AGREEMENT SHOULD...</u>		
End/remove protection immediately	13	16
Not end/keep the present protection	33	41
End/remove protection gradually	54	43

A large majority of Canadians feel that, for both the wine and beer industries, the present protection in place should either be kept or removed gradually. In the case of the wine industry, a majority of 54% feel that a free trade agreement should "end protection gradually because Canadian industry can compete if it has time to adjust." Opinion is more divided in regard to the beer industry:

- o Forty-one percent (41%) believe "a free trade agreement should keep the present protection to save jobs even though beer prices would not go down"; and
- o Forty-three percent (43%) believe that "a free trade agreement should remove protection gradually so the industry could adjust and workers in it who lost their jobs would have time to find other work."

C. Free Trade and American Investment

While people are uncertain what effect, in terms of job creation, is caused by American takeovers of existing Canadian businesses, they are convinced that when Americans start up new businesses in Canada this does create jobs. Consider the data appearing in Table 14.

Table 14

## FREE TRADE AND AMERICAN INVESTMENT

PERCEIVED EFFECT OF AMERICAN INVESTMENT

	<u>Creates</u> <u>Jobs</u> <u>%</u>	<u>No</u> <u>Effect</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Eliminates</u> <u>Jobs</u> <u>%</u>
<u>WHEN AMERICAN COMPANIES</u>			
Buy existing Canadian companies	37	25	37
Start up new businesses	82	9	9

PERCENTAGESECTOR RESTRICTIONS

Should be restrictions or limits on American investment in certain sectors...	72
Should be no restrictions or limits...	28

Even while seeing the job creation benefit of American companies starting up new businesses in Canada, the majority of Canadians (72%) still reject the notion that there should be no restrictions whatsoever on American investment in Canada. When asked what sectors they prefer to see protected in some way from American investment, the bulk of responses presented in Table 15 pin-point resource industries, while 24% mention some type of manufacturing. Relatively few (9%) mention arts, culture or the media among those sectors where they feel there should be some restrictions on American investment.

Table 15

IF THERE WERE SOME SECTORS IN WHICH THERE WOULD  
BE RESTRICTIONS ON AMERICAN INVESTMENT,  
WHICH ONES SHOULD THESE BE?

<u>SECTORS</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE</u>
Primary renewable	37
Energy	32
Lumber	25
Total manufacturing	24
Heavy manufacturing	11
Traditional manufacturing	7
Future manufacturing	6
Financial	13
Arts/cultural/media	9
Other	15
None	27

If there were fewer restrictions on American investment in Canada under a free trade agreement and the resulting increase in American investment led to more jobs being created in Canada, 65% of Canadians would find this a strong reason to support free trade. This sentiment is backed up by responses to another question which asked people to choose between the importance of limiting American influence in the economy and taking steps that lead to job creation.

The precise question posed is as follows:

o "Some people say that the jobs 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.

Which of these two points of view is closer to your own?"

JOBS NOT AS IMPORTANT	40%
JOBS MORE IMPORTANT	59%

Clearly, the issue of American influence in Canada is one which has attracted a lot of attention and the results summarized above provide evidence of some support for the basic arguments being made by proponents of free trade. They underscore the finding noted in Section IV, that perceptions of the benefits of free trade in terms of jobs and other tangible economic benefits are critical determinants of how Canadians view the prospect of Canada-U.S. free trade.

## D. Regional and Demographic Differences

### 1. Region

Major regional differences in opinion concerning the issues explored in the above Section can be summarized as follows:

- o **British Columbia** -- Residents of British Columbia are both more likely to have perceived an increase in American protectionism and to be moved to increase their support for free trade as a result, although the consensus is not overwhelming (46% more inclined; vs 37% less inclined);
  - . British Columbians are more in favour of removing protection for the Canadian beer industry gradually under a free trade agreement (55%);
- o **Quebec** -- Those respondents residing in Quebec are more likely than average to think that there has been no change in the extent of American protectionism over the past year or two, yet are also more likely to expect that further protectionist actions by the Americans are likely in the future;
  - . They are also more likely than Canadians on average to feel that protection for the Canadian wine industry should not be ended because of a belief that some Canadian workers would lose their jobs;
- o **Ontario** -- Observing increased American protectionism has made Ontarians even more likely than average (52%) to be less inclined to support such an agreement. They are also more likely than Canadians overall to think that when American companies buy existing Canadian companies, it eliminates some jobs; and
- o **Prairies** -- Those residing in the Prairie provinces are more likely to think that the American government has made it more difficult over the past year or two for Canadian goods and services to be sold in the United States. In contrast to Atlantic Canadians who favour reciprocal access for Canadians and Americans to energy resources in each country, Prairie residents are more opposed to this than average. Albertans in particular stand out as being opposed to this.



## 2. Demographics

SES and language are the main bases for differences in opinion on the basis of demographic characteristics.

- o **SES** -- Education is positively related to perceptions that the Americans have made it more difficult over the past year or two for Canadian goods and services to be sold in the United States;
  - . Those with high incomes are more inclined than average to support free trade having observed this increased protectionism. Both education and income are positively related to opposition to a free trade agreement giving the United States and Canadians equal access to energy resources in each others' countries.
- o **Language** -- Francophones' views are distinguished by the fact they are:
  - . Less likely to perceive difficulties with increased U.S. protectionism; but more likely to think it "somewhat likely" that the American government might take further actions of this type,
  - . More in favour of not ending protection for the beer and wine industry, and
  - . More likely to expect that the effect of U.S. companies buying Canadian companies will create new jobs.

## VI. PERCEPTIONS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S APPROACH TO FREE TRADE

### A. Summary of Perceptions

Attitudes and perceptions regarding the federal government's handling of the free trade initiative were probed through several questions towards the end of the questionnaire. A majority of 67% say they see the Canada-U.S. trade initiative as part of a general effort to improve Canada's trade situation with countries around the world. Ontarians are less likely (57%) to concur in this majority view. Fewer, but still a majority (59%), see the free trade effort as part of a broader plan to reform the Canadian economy, rather than as an "isolated initiative which is not part of any overall economic development plan for Canada." Residents of B.C. and Atlantic Canada are more inclined to see the free trade initiative as part of a broader plan.

People were also probed for their views as to whether the federal government has a pretty clear sense of what it wants to gain and what it's prepared to give up in the trade talks. A total of 56% believe that the government does have a clear sense of what it wants to gain and is prepared to give up. A majority (54%) also believe that the government has a good idea of how to deal with the changes which a free trade agreement would bring. Quebec residents are most likely (64%) to hold this view, with Metro Toronto (50%) and Ontario residents (46%) least likely.

Many people (51%) express concern that Canadian negotiators will not be as effective as their American counterparts.

## VII. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

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

### Canada-U.S. Free Trade: Salience, Awareness and Support

- o A majority of Canadians say they are not following the discussions about free trade with the United States closely, although even more people claim to have been following the discussions closely than claim to understand the issue as well as they would like.
- o While most Canadians say they do not understand the issue as well as they would like, they nevertheless believe it is important to them personally.
- o Most Canadians do not hold an accurate view of the importance of the United States to Canada's export and import trade, with only one-quarter to one-third convinced that Canada and the United States are each other's biggest trading partners.
- o Public opinion is at present divided as to whether it would be a good idea (50%) or a bad idea (43%) for Canada to enter into a free trade agreement with the United States.
- o Key issues influencing opinions are expectations of the tangible economic impacts of free trade, and the perceived effect of free trade on Canada's independence and capacity for asserting control over its own affairs.
- o Support for free trade with the United States is strongest in British Columbia and Newfoundland and weakest in Ontario.

### Perceptions of Economic, Industrial and Regional Effects of Free Trade

- o There is no strong sense among Canadians of what the economic benefits of free trade will be, reflecting the complexity of the free trade issue for Canadians and of their relative levels of understanding. Those who do foresee benefits tend to view these as equally shared rather than disproportionately in Canada's favour.
- o More than eight-in-ten Canadians anticipate that if a free trade agreement were reached between Canada and the United States, the effects would be felt within five years.
- o Opinion is also split in terms of Canadians' assessments of the effect of a Canada-U.S. free trade agreement on different kinds of businesses. Industries which Canadians expect to benefit from free trade include many of those drawing on Canada's natural resources, as well as several in manufacturing. Prominent among the natural resource industries mentioned are electric power, oil and gas, wood and paper products, and mining.
- o Those sectors identified as possible winners tend to be of disproportionate importance to particular regions of Canada, and perceptions of the benefits or impacts of free trade for one's own region strongly influence Canadians' overall support or opposition to free trade.

### Anticipated Effects and Factors Claimed Important in Shaping Opinion

- o Two-thirds of Canadians anticipate lower consumer prices as a result of free trade and 55% expect a net increase in employment, but only 28% believe that incomes will rise. Less than half of the population (46%) believe that a free trade deal will help to
  - reduce regional economic disparities in Canada.
- o In terms of socio-political effects, there is an apparent consensus that a free trade agreement will lead to some increase in American influence in Canada, but that this will not force Canadians to abandon programs such as unemployment insurance and health insurance.
- o Concerns relate more to Canadian control over our economy and social system, rather than Canadian control over our culture.
- o Jobs, lower consumer prices and the ability to define and retain key social and economic policies are those items which people are most likely to say are the keys to making up their minds about a free trade agreement.

### Protectionism, Investment and Safeguards for Canadian Industry

- o A majority of Canadians recognize that the American government has become more protectionist vis-a-vis Canadian exports of goods and services to the U.S. over the past year or two. Of those who detect this, a majority of 53% say they are less inclined to support a free trade agreement.
- o A strong consensus exists among Canadians that continuation of this kind of protectionist action by the Americans is likely and that such actions, if they do occur, will have a serious effect on the Canadian economy.



- o Canadians favour by a slight majority giving Canadians and Americans equal access to energy resources in each country. Opposition to such reciprocal access is intense, however, as seven-in-ten of those opposed to reciprocal access still oppose it even under a scenario postulating negative economic consequences for Canada.
- o Canadians feel that for both the domestic wine and beer industries, the present protection in place should either be kept or removed gradually.
- o On the effects of American investment, people are uncertain what job creation effects are caused by American takeovers of existing Canadian businesses, but are convinced that new jobs are created when Americans start up new businesses in Canada.
- o If there were to be restrictions on American investment by industry sector under free trade, most frequently mentioned by Canadians as desired sectors for such restriction are resource industries. Some type of manufacturing industry is mentioned by 24% and relatively few (9%) mention arts, culture or the media.
- o If a free trade agreement led to an increase in American investment resulting in new job creation, a majority of Canadians said they would find this a strong reason to support free trade.
- o A total of 67% of Canadians see the Canada-U.S. trade initiative as part of a general effort to improve Canada's trade situation with countries around the world. Slight majorities also believe that the federal government has a pretty clear sense of what it wants to gain and is prepared to give up in the trade discussions, although 51% express concern that Canadian negotiators will not be as effective as their American counterparts.

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## A. SURVEY OVERVIEW

Bruce Anderson and David MacMartin were the Senior Research Consultants and principal investigators for this study, and were assisted in the various phases of research and analysis by Martha Cronyn and Kevin Smith.

### 1. Sample Selection

The population consists of all 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 1500 interviews were completed.

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

The sampling technique produced a systematic random sample with probability of selection disproportionate to size at the national level. The first step in the sampling procedure was the division into 11 strata or "regions," i.e., British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Balance Ontario, Metropolitan Toronto, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland (see Table A).



Table A

## SAMPLE STRATA

	<u>Percentage of population</u>	<u>Pps N</u>	<u>Dps N</u>	<u>Weights</u>	<u>Weighted N</u>
<u>RÉGIONS</u>					
British Columbia	11.3	170	136	1.0	136
Alberta	9.2	138	111	1.0	111
Saskatchewan	4.0	60	100	0.6	60
Manitoba	4.2	63	100	0.63	63
Balance Ontario	26.7	401	229	1.0	229
Metro Toronto	8.8	132	106	1.0	106
Quebec	26.5	398	318	1.0	318
New Brunswick	2.9	43	100	0.43	43
Nova Scotia	3.5	52	100	0.52	52
Prince Edward Island	0.5	8	100	0.08	8
Newfoundland	2.3	35	100	0.35	35
		<u>1,500</u>	<u>1,500</u>		

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

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 -- 2 males and 1 female or 2 females and 1 male. This procedure ensured that the 50/50 sex quota would be met by preselecting half males and half females before the interviewing began.

The interviews took place between May 27 and June 7, 1987, and 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 88 questions and took approximately 30 minutes to complete. Fifteen percent (15%) of all interviews were monitored while in progress for procedure and content from an extension monitor. All interviews were carefully edited as soon as they were completed to ensure that no questions were omitted and that skip-patterns were followed correctly.

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



On the first evening in the field, the Research 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.

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

### 3. Coding

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

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

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

#### 4. Data Processing

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

#### 5. Confidence Limits and Validation

The sample of 1,500 cases produces results which are accurate for the population of as a whole within  $\pm 2.6$  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 this figure suggests, the sample drawn for this study reflects the more general characteristics of the adult population.

Table B

## SAMPLE VALIDATION

	SAMPLE	UNIVERSE <sup>1</sup>
	(n=1,500) %	(N=18,445,00) %
<u>AGE</u>		
18-19 years	4.4	4.8
20-24 years	10.3	13.0
25-29 years	13.9	12.5
30-34 years	13.5	11.4
35-39 years	13.1	10.3
40-44 years	11.2	8.1
45-49 years	7.3	6.9
50-54 years	6.6	6.8
55-59 years	6.1	6.5
60-64 years	4.0	6.0
65 years or older <sup>2</sup>	9.6	13.5

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue 92-210 Post Censal Annual Estimates of Population By Marital Status, Age, Sex, and Components of Growth for Canada, Provinces, and Territories June 1, 1984.

<sup>2</sup> Added Categories: 65-69, 70-74, 75-79, 80-84, 85-89, 90+.

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

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

## B. EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON CANADIAN BUSINESSES

<u>INDUSTRY</u>	<u>BETTER</u>	<u>NO EFFECT</u>	<u>WORSE</u>	<u>CORRELATION*</u>	<u>JULY '86</u> <u>TRACKING</u> <u>INDUSTRY WOULD</u> <u>BE HELPED BY</u> <u>AN AGREEMENT</u> <u>%</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>GAMMA</u>		
<u>ELECTRIC POWER</u>						
National	59	9	30	.303		
Quebec	69	5	26			
Ontario	51	10	37			
<u>AIRCRAFT AND SPACE</u>						
National	56	12	29	.199		
Ontario	51	11	34			
Quebec	63	9	26			
<u>ELECTRONICS</u>						
National	55	11	31	.202		
Ontario	48	15	36			
Quebec	63	7	29			
<u>OIL AND GAS</u>						
National	54	9	35	.404	N/A	
Alberta	57	4	39			
Prairies	51	10	36			
<u>WOOD AND PAPER PRODUCTS</u>						
National	52	5	42	.428	54	
British Columbia	64	4	32			
Quebec	59	4	37			



## EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON CANADIAN BUSINESSES -- Continued

	<u>BETTER</u> %	<u>NO EFFECT</u> %	<u>WORSE</u> %	<u>CORRELATION*</u> GAMMA	JULY '86 TRACKING INDUSTRY WOULD BE HELPED BY AN AGREEMENT %
<u>HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES</u>					
National	51	11	36	.290	N/A
Ontario	43	12	43		
Quebec	52	9	37		
<u>CARS AND CAR PARTS</u>					
National	51	10	39	.227	44
Ontario	39	11	49		
Quebec	58	9	32		
<u>COMPUTER HARDWARE</u>					
National	50	11	35	.221	N/A
Ontario	43	13	39		
<u>MINING</u>					
National	49	13	35	.260	N/A
Ontario	46	11	38		
Quebec	54	13	32		
<u>BEER AND WINE</u>					
National	48	13	36	.253	N/A
Ontario	46	11	38		
British Columbia	51	15	35		
<u>FISH AND FISH PRODUCTS</u>					
National	47	11	40	.359	45
Atlantic	52	8	41		
British Columbia	54	9	37		

## EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON CANADIAN BUSINESSES -- Continued

	<u>BETTER</u> %	<u>NO</u> <u>EFFECT</u> %	<u>WORSE</u> %	<u>CORRELATION*</u> <u>GAMMA</u>	JULY '86 TRACKING INDUSTRY WOULD BE HELPED BY AN AGREEMENT %
<u>SHIPBUILDING</u>					
National	45	14	36	.272	N/A
Atlantic	47	14	38		
British Columbia	47	19	34		
<u>FILMS, BOOKS AND MAGAZINES</u>					
National	45	10	45	.280	44
Quebec	44	8	48		
Ontario	39	10	49		
<u>CLOTHING AND FOOTWEAR</u>					
National	44	10	45	.295	42
Ontario	38	10	50		
Quebec	45	8	48		
<u>AGRICULTURE AND FARMING</u>					
National	43	7	48	.475	49
Ontario	33	6	59		
Prairies	44	6	45		
<u>CHEMICAL PRODUCTS</u>					
National	43	14	38	.202	N/A
Ontario	36	13	46		
Quebec	49	14	32		
<u>STEEL</u>					
National	43	12	40	.230	N/A
Ontario	36	10	48		
Nova Scotia	43	15	41		





## EFFECT OF FREE TRADE ON CANADIAN BUSINESSES -- Continued

	<u>BETTER</u> %	<u>NO EFFECT</u> %	<u>WORSE</u> %	<u>CORRELATION*</u> GAMMA	JULY '86 TRACKING INDUSTRY WOULD BE HELPED BY AN AGREEMENT %
<u>BANKING AND INSURANCE</u>					
National	38	16	41	.217	43
Ontario	35	16	45		

\* CORRELATION WITH OPINIONS ON WHETHER CANADA ENTERING INTO A FREE TRADE AGREEMENT WOULD BE A GOOD OR BAD IDEA.

## C. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

A. Are you 18 years of age or older and a resident of Canada? YES (CONTINUE).....A  
NO (ASK TO SPEAK TO ELIGIBLE RESPONDENT, IF STILL "NO," THANK AND TERMINATE).....B

B. Have I reached you at your home phone number? YES (CONTINUE).....A  
NO (ASK TO SPEAK TO ELIGIBLE RESPONDENT, IF STILL "NO," THANK AND TERMINATE).....B

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. In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing Canada today? (PROBE...ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE...ANSWER MUST BE AT LEAST TEN WORDS)

UNEMPLOYMENT.....	01	(28%)
YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT.....	02	( 9%)
INFLATION/COST OF LIVING.....	03	( 3%)
ECONOMY.....	04	( 5%)
GOVERNMENT -- SPENDING.....	05	( 1%)
GOVERNMENT - GENERAL.....	06	( 6%)
DEFICIT.....	07	( 4%)
FREE TRADE.....	08	( 5%)
CANADA-UNITED STATES RELATIONS.....	09	( 1%)
TAXES.....	10	( 2%)
CONSTITUTION/NATIONAL UNITY.....	11	( 4%)
AGRICULTURE/FARMING PROBLEM.....	12	( 2%)

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.



## Question 1 - continued

NUCLEAR WAR/DISARMAMENT.....	13	( 2%)
POLLUTION/ACID RAIN.....	14	( 4%)
SOCIAL/MORAL.....	15	( 5%)
AIDS/HEALTH.....	16	( 3%)
DRUGS.....	17	( 1%)
HOUSING.....	18	( 1%)
ECONOMIC REGIONAL DISPARITY.....	19	( 1%)
SENIORS/PENSIONERS.....	20	( * )
MULRONEY/CONSERVATIVE PARTY.....	21	( 1%)
WORLD PEACE.....	22	( * )
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES.....	23	( * )
CONSERVATION OF THE ENVIRONMENT.....	24	( 1%)
STRIKES/BILLS 19 AND 20.....	25	( 1%)
EDUCATION.....	26	( * )
OTHER.....	27	( 3%)
NO PROBLEMS.....	28	( 1%)
DON'T KNOW.....	29	( 7%)
NO RESPONSE.....	30	( 1%)

REFER TO APPENDIX C FOR COMPLETE VERBATIM RESPONSES

2. 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	(17%)
NOT VERY CLOSELY.....	2	(42%)
CLOSELY.....	3	(32%)
VERY CLOSELY.....	4	( 9%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	5	( 0%)

3. Regardless of how closely you may have been following the discussions about free trade, do you feel that you understand the issue as well as you would like?

YES.....	1	(24%)
NO.....	2	(76%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	3	( * )



4. Overall, would you say it would be a very good idea, a good idea, a bad idea, or a very bad idea for Canada to enter into a free trade agreement with the United States?

VERY BAD IDEA.....1	( 9%)
BAD IDEA.....2	(34%)
GOOD IDEA.....3	(43%)
VERY GOOD IDEA.....4	( 7%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 7%)

5. Why do you say that? (PROBE...ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE...ANSWER MUST BE AT LEAST TEN WORDS)

UNITED STATES OVERPOWERING.....01	( 9%)
UNITED STATES BENEFIT.....02	( 3%)
DON'T TRUST UNITED STATES.....03	( 2%)
CAN'T COMPETE WITH UNITED STATES.....04	( 2%)
CANADA SELLING OUT.....05	( 2%)
LOSS OF JOBS.....06	( 5%)
CANADIAN ECONOMY.....07	( 2%)
NATURAL RESOURCE TAKEOVER.....08	( 1%)
SMALL BUSINESS.....09	( 1%)
PROTECTION OF INDUSTRY.....10	( 1%)
IDENTITY LOSS.....11	( 3%)
PRICE CHANGES.....12	( 1%)
INDEPENDENT CANADA.....13	( 3%)
TRADE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.....14	( * )
IMPORTS/EXPORTS.....15	( 1%)
FARM INDUSTRY.....16	( 1%)
ISSUES UNRESOLVED.....17	( 2%)
READ/HEARD/KNOWLEDGE.....18	( 1%)
SOCIAL SERVICES/MEDICARE -- NEGATIVE.....19	( * )
BAD IDEA -- GENERAL.....20	( 2%)
BAD -- OTHER.....21	( 1%)
JOB CREATION.....22	( 7%)
HELP ECONOMY.....23	( 8%)
EASIER TO MOVE GOODS/SERVICES.....24	( 2%)
TARIFFS LIFTED.....25	( 3%)
COST LOWERED.....26	( 3%)
CLOSE NEIGHBOURS.....27	( 6%)
LARGER MARKETS.....28	( 5%)
RESOURCE BASED.....29	( 1%)
CONTROLS/COMMITMENT.....30	( 1%)
COMPETITION.....31	( 2%)
BENEFIT INDUSTRIES.....32	( 2%)
BENEFIT THE COUNTRY/COUNTRIES -- GENERAL.....33	( 4%)
EQUALITY/MUTUAL BENEFIT.....34	( 2%)



## Question 5 - continued

ELIMINATE TRADE DEFICIT/SURPLUS.....	35	( * )
GOOD IDEA -- GENERAL.....	36	( 3% )
GOOD -- OTHER.....	37	( 2% )
DON'T KNOW.....	38	( 6% )
NO RESPONSE.....	39	( * )

REFER TO APPENDIX C FOR COMPLETE VERBATIM RESPONSES

6. How important would you say Canada's international trade is to you personally? In other words, how important is Canada's international trade to the job you hold, or if you are not working, the job of the principal wage earner in your household ...very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important at all?

NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL.....	1	(14%)
NOT VERY IMPORTANT.....	2	(17%)
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT.....	3	(31%)
VERY IMPORTANT.....	4	(34%)
NO ONE IN HOUSEHOLD WORKING (VOLUNTEERED).....	5	( 4% )
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	6	( * )

7. Thinking about the amount of goods and services Canada exports, that is, sells to the United States, to the best of your knowledge, which of the following would you say best describes Canada's relative position as an exporter to the United States? Do you think Canada...(READ AND ROTATE)?

SELLS MORE GOODS TO THE UNITED STATES THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY SELLS TO THE UNITED STATES.....	1	(24%)
SELLS MORE GOODS TO THE UNITED STATES THAN ALL BUT A FEW OTHER COUNTRIES SELL TO THE UNITED STATES.....	2	(28%)
SELLS A FAIR AMOUNT TO THE UNITED STATES BUT SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES SELL MORE TO THE UNITED STATES.....	3	(35%)
SELLS LESS TO THE UNITED STATES THAN MOST OTHER COUNTRIES DO.....	4	(11%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	5	( 2% )



8. Thinking about the amount of goods and services which Canada imports, that is, buys from the United States....would you say that Canada...(READ AND ROTATE)?

BUYS MORE FROM THE UNITED STATES THAN ANY OTHER COUNTRY DOES....1	(33%)
BUYS MORE FROM THE UNITED STATES THAN ALL BUT A FEW OTHER COUNTRIES DO.....2	(27%)
BUYS A FAIR AMOUNT FROM THE UNITED STATES, BUT SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES BUY MORE.....3	(33%)
BUYS LESS THAN MOST COUNTRIES WHICH BUY FROM THE UNITED STATES.....4	( 6%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)

9. As you may know, both Canada and the United States place import taxes, called duties, on goods and services coming from the other country. They also have other barriers to trade between them, such as government regulations. If all these barriers and taxes were removed and goods and services could move freely across the Canada-U.S. border, do you think Canada would benefit a great deal, benefit somewhat, neither benefit nor lose, lose somewhat, or lose a great deal?

LOSE A GREAT DEAL (SKIP TO Q12).....1*	(16%)
LOSE SOMEWHAT (SKIP TO Q12).....2*	(22%)
NEITHER BENEFIT NOR LOSE (SKIP TO Q12).....3*	(13%)
BENEFIT SOMEWHAT (GO TO Q10).....4	(32%)
BENEFIT A GREAT DEAL (GO TO Q10).....5	(17%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....6	( 1%)

IF "BENEFIT SOMEWHAT" OR "BENEFIT A GREAT DEAL" TO Q9, ASK:

10. Do you think Canada would benefit more than the United States, the United States would benefit more than Canada, or would both benefit equally?

CANADA MORE (GO TO Q11).....1	(25%)
U.S.A. MORE (GO TO Q11).....2	(27%)
BOTH EQUALLY (SKIP TO Q12).....3*	(48%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 1%)

IF "CANADA MORE" OR "U.S.A. MORE" TO Q10, ASK:

11. Is that a lot more, somewhat more, or a little bit more?

A LOT MORE.....1	(40%)
SOMEWHAT MORE.....2	(41%)
A LITTLE BIT MORE.....3	(19%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)..4	( 0%)

I'm going to read you a list of different kinds of Canadian businesses and would like you to tell me whether in your opinion they would tend to be better or worse off under a Canada-U.S. free trade agreement. The first one is...(READ AND ROTATE ITEMS 12-29)?

12. Agriculture and farming?	WORSE.....1	(48%)
	BETTER.....2	(43%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	( 7%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 2%)

13. Clothing and footwear?	WORSE.....1	(45%)
	BETTER.....2	(44%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(10%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 2%)

14. Fish and fish products?	WORSE.....1	(40%)
	BETTER.....2	(47%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(11%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 3%)

15. Cars and car parts?	WORSE.....1	(39%)
	BETTER.....2	(51%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(10%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 1%)



16. Aircraft and space?	WORSE.....1	(29%)
	BETTER.....2	(56%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(12%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	(4%)
<hr/>		
17. Mining?	WORSE.....1	(35%)
	BETTER.....2	(49%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(13%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	(4%)
<hr/>		
18. Wood and paper products?	WORSE.....1	(42%)
	BETTER.....2	(52%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(5%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	(1%)
<hr/>		
19. Oil and gas?	WORSE.....1	(35%)
	BETTER.....2	(54%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(9%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	(2%)
<hr/>		
20. Electric power?	WORSE.....1	(30%)
	BETTER.....2	(59%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(9%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	(2%)
<hr/>		
21. Steel?	WORSE.....1	(40%)
	BETTER.....2	(43%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(12%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	(5%)
<hr/>		
22. Banking and insurance?	WORSE.....1	(41%)
	BETTER.....2	(38%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(16%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	(5%)
<hr/>		
23. Computer hardware?	WORSE.....1	(35%)
	BETTER.....2	(50%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(11%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	(4%)



24. Films, books and magazines?	WORSE.....1	(45%)
	BETTER.....2	(45%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(10%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 2%)
<hr/>		
25. Chemical products?	WORSE.....1	(38%)
	BETTER.....2	(43%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(14%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 5%)
<hr/>		
26. Electronics?	WORSE.....1	(31%)
	BETTER.....2	(55%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(11%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 3%)
<hr/>		
27. Shipbuilding?	WORSE.....1	(36%)
	BETTER.....2	(45%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(14%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 5%)
<hr/>		
28. Household appliances?	WORSE.....1	(36%)
	BETTER.....2	(51%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(11%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 2%)
<hr/>		
29. Beer and wine?	WORSE.....1	(36%)
	BETTER.....2	(48%)
	NOT BE AFFECTED (VOL).....3	(13%)
	NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 3%)
<hr/>		
END OF ROTATION		
<hr/>		



I am going to read you a list of statements different people have made about what might happen if there were free trade 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 would result if there were free trade between Canada and the United States? The first one is...(READ AND ROTATE STATEMENTS 30-39)

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

VERY UNLIKELY.....1	(19%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY.....2	(26%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(37%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	(18%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( * )

---

31. Prices for most consumer goods in Canada will generally be lower.

VERY UNLIKELY.....1	(10%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY.....2	(24%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(46%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	(20%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)

---

32. Women will lose relatively more jobs than men.

VERY UNLIKELY.....1	(21%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY.....2	(45%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(22%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	(10%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 2%)

---

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

VERY UNLIKELY.....1	(14%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY.....2	(23%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(38%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	(24%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)

---

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

VERY UNLIKELY.....1	(23%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY.....2	(33%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(28%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	(16%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)

---

35. 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	(13%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY.....2	(22%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(29%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	(36%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)

---

36. There will be fewer trade disputes with the United States because trade will be covered by a legal agreement.

VERY UNLIKELY.....1	(10%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY.....2	(18%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(43%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	(28%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)

---

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

VERY UNLIKELY.....1	(29%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY.....2	(41%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(21%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	( 7%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)

---

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

VERY UNLIKELY.....1	(20%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY.....2	(33%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(35%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	(11%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 2%)

---



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

VERY UNLIKELY.....1	( 7%)
SOMEWHAT UNLIKELY.....2	(17%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(34%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	(42%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( * )

END OF ROTATION

Different things are important to different people in making up their minds about an issue such as free trade with the United States. I'd like you to tell me for each of the following again, whether you yourself consider it very important, important, not very important, or not important at all in making up your mind about free trade. The first one is...(READ AND ROTATE Q40 TO Q49)

40. Whether overall, there will be more jobs gained than lost in Canada?

NOT AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AT ALL.....1	( 1%)
NOT A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....2	( 6%)
IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....3	(37%)
VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....4	(56%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( * )

41. Whether prices for most consumer goods in Canada will generally be lower?

NOT AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AT ALL.....1	( 3%)
NOT A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....2	(14%)
IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....3	(48%)
VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....4	(36%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( * )

42. Whether women will lose relatively more jobs than men?

NOT AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AT ALL.....1	( 6%)
NOT A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....2	(22%)
IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....3	(39%)
VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....4	(31%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)



43. Whether we will be able to maintain current government programs such as unemployment insurance and health insurance?
- |   |       |
|---|-------|
| NOT AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AT ALL.....1 | ( 2%) |
| NOT A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....2    | ( 7%) |
| IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....3               | (32%) |
| VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....4          | (60%) |
| NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5              | ( 0%) |
- 

44. Whether many American companies will close their plants in Canada?
- |   |       |
|---|-------|
| NOT AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AT ALL.....1 | ( 5%) |
| NOT A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....2    | (20%) |
| IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....3               | (40%) |
| VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....4          | (35%) |
| NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5              | ( * ) |
- 

45. Whether our economy will become so closely tied to the American economy that we will gradually lose our ability to make our own economic decisions?
- |   |       |
|---|-------|
| NOT AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AT ALL.....1 | ( 4%) |
| NOT A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....2    | (11%) |
| IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....3               | (32%) |
| VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....4          | (53%) |
| NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5              | ( * ) |
- 

46. Whether there will be fewer trade disputes with the United States because trade will be covered by a legal agreement?
- |   |       |
|---|-------|
| NOT AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AT ALL.....1 | ( 4%) |
| NOT A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....2    | (23%) |
| IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....3               | (47%) |
| VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....4          | (25%) |
| NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5              | ( 1%) |
- 

47. Whether Canadians will have higher incomes than they do now?
- |   |       |
|---|-------|
| NOT AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AT ALL.....1 | ( 4%) |
| NOT A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....2    | (22%) |
| IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....3               | (46%) |
| VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....4          | (27%) |
| NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5              | ( * ) |
-

48. Whether differences in economic development among regions in Canada will gradually be reduced?

NOT AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AT ALL.....	1	( 3%)
NOT A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....	2	(16%)
IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....	3	(53%)
VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....	4	(27%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	5	( * )

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

NOT AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION AT ALL.....	1	( 8%)
NOT A VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....	2	(25%)
IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....	3	(35%)
VERY IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION.....	4	(31%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	5	( 0%)

END OF ROTATION

50. Some people say that they are nervous about Canada entering into a free trade deal because they feel that the Americans are better bargainers than Canadians and therefore we will end up with a poor deal.

Others say that they are confident that we are as effective bargainers as the Americans and will get the best deal possible.

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

NERVOUS ABOUT ENTERING INTO A FREE TRADE DEAL.....	1	(51%)
WE ARE AS EFFECTIVE BARGAINERS AS THE AMERICANS.....	2	(48%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	3	( 1%)

51. Some people say we should not have free trade because it could 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 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.

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

SHOULD NOT HAVE FREE TRADE.....1	(47%)
SHOULD ENTER FREE TRADE AGREEMENT.....2	(52%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....3	( 2%)

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

ALMOST RIGHT AWAY.....1	(20%)
TWO TO THREE YEARS.....2	(35%)
THREE TO FIVE YEARS.....3	(29%)
FIVE TO 10 YEARS.....4	(11%)
MORE THAN 10 YEARS.....5	( 5%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....6	( * )

53. Is it your impression that over the last year or two, the American government has made it more easy for Canadian goods and services to be sold in the United States, more difficult, or has there not been a change?

MORE DIFFICULT.....1	(57%)
NO CHANGE.....2	(35%)
MORE EASY.....3	( 6%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 2%)

54. Has observing this made you more inclined to support a free trade agreement with the United States, or less inclined to support such an agreement?

LESS INCLINED TO SUPPORT....1	(48%)
MORE INCLINED TO SUPPORT....2	(38%)
NO CHANGE (VOLUNTEERED)....3	(13%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED)....4	( 1%)

55. Recently, the United States has taken a number of initiatives which make it harder for some Canadian goods and services to enter the United States, such as softwood lumber, cedar shakes and shingles and certain kinds of fish.

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

NOT AT ALL LIKELY.....1	( 4%)
NOT TOO LIKELY.....2	(13%)
SOMEWHAT LIKELY.....3	(42%)
VERY LIKELY.....4	(41%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)

56. Now, if the American government continued to take this kind of action, would you say the effect on the Canadian economy would be very serious, serious, not too serious, or not at all serious?

NOT AT ALL SERIOUS.....1	( 2%)
NOT TOO SERIOUS.....2	(15%)
SERIOUS.....3	(49%)
VERY SERIOUS.....4	(34%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( * )

57. If there were a free trade agreement, which would benefit Canada as a whole, but which meant that your own province would probably benefit less than the rest of Canada, would you strongly favour, favour, oppose, or strongly oppose such an agreement?

STRONGLY OPPOSE.....1	(15%)
OPPOSE.....2	(33%)
FAVOUR.....3	(45%)
STRONGLY FAVOUR.....4	( 7%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)





58. At present, there are limits on American access to Canadian energy resources, such as oil and gas, that is, limits on the extent to which Americans are allowed to own such resources or have a guaranteed supply of them. Do you think that a free trade agreement should give Americans and Canadians equal access to energy resources in each country?

NO (GO TO Q59).....1	(46%)
YES (SKIP TO Q60).....2*	(53%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....3	( 1%)

IF "NO" TO Q58, ASK:

59. What if this meant fewer sales for the Canadian energy industry and fewer jobs for Canadian workers in that sector, would you still oppose equal access for Americans to Canadian energy resources?

NO.....1	(29%)
YES.....2	(70%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....3	( 1%)



60. At present, provincial government agencies charge more for American wine than they do for comparable Canadian products in order to protect the Canadian industry.

Some people say that a free trade agreement should end such protection immediately so as to give Canadian consumers lower prices right away.

Other people say that even if it meant prices stayed the same a free trade agreement should not end this protection because if it did some Canadian workers would lose their jobs because of American competition.

Still others say that protection should be ended gradually, because the Canadian industry could compete with the American industry if it had time to adjust, and the Canadian workers in it who lost their jobs would have time to find other work.

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

PROTECTION SHOULD BE ELIMINATED IMMEDIATELY BECAUSE IT WILL RESULT IN LOWER PRICES RIGHT AWAY.....1	(13%)
SHOULD NOT END PROTECTION BECAUSE SOME CANADIAN WORKERS WILL LOSE THEIR JOBS.....2	(33%)
END PROTECTION GRADUALLY BECAUSE CANADIAN INDUSTRY CAN COMPETE IF IT HAS TIME TO ADJUST.....3	(54%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 1%)

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61. Thinking about the beer industry...Canadian beer companies are at present required by provincial governments to locate plants in each province they sell beer in. As with wine, provincial government agencies also charge more for American beer in order to protect the Canadian beer industry.

A free trade agreement would probably mean the end of such protection and to compete with American beer companies the larger Canadian beer companies would likely move their production to a few large plants resulting in an overall loss of jobs in the industry across Canada. On the other hand, free trade in the beer industry would also mean lower beer prices and a wider choice for Canadian consumers.

Thinking about these probable results of free trade in the beer industry, which one of the following would you favor...(READ AND ROTATE).

A FREE TRADE AGREEMENT SHOULD REMOVE PROTECTION IMMEDIATELY SO THERE WOULD BE LOWER BEER PRICES AND A WIDER CHOICE RIGHT AWAY.....1	(16%)
A FREE TRADE AGREEMENT SHOULD KEEP THE PRESENT PROTECTION TO SAVE JOBS EVEN THOUGH BEER PRICES WOULD NOT GO DOWN.....2	(41%)
A FREE TRADE AGREEMENT SHOULD REMOVE PROTECTION GRADUALLY SO THE INDUSTRY COULD ADJUST AND WORKERS IN IT WHO LOST THEIR JOBS WOULD HAVE TIME TO FIND OTHER WORK.....3	(43%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....4	( 1%)

62. As you may know, many businesses receive help from the federal and provincial governments. How important would you say such help is for economic development in your province...(READ LIST)?

VERY UNIMPORTANT.....1	( 3%)
SOMEWHAT UNIMPORTANT.....2	( 8%)
SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT.....3	(41%)
VERY IMPORTANT.....4	(47%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( * )

63. If a free trade agreement were good for Canada as a whole, but meant that federal and provincial governments could not give as much help to businesses in your province...would you strongly favour, favour, oppose, or strongly oppose such an agreement?

STRONGLY OPPOSE.....1	( 13%)
OPPOSE.....2	( 39%)
FAVOUR.....3	( 42%)
STRONGLY FAVOUR.....4	( 6%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( 1%)

Another issue in the free trade talks is American investment in Canada. There are, as you may know, two different types of investment, one which involves Americans buying existing Canadian businesses, the other which involves Americans starting up totally new businesses.

64. When American companies buy existing Canadian companies, what effect do you think this usually has on employment in Canada....do you think this creates many new jobs, some new jobs, has no effect, eliminates some jobs, or eliminates many jobs ?

ELIMINATES MANY JOBS.....1	( 7%)
ELIMINATES SOME JOBS.....2	( 30%)
HAS NO EFFECT.....3	( 25%)
CREATES SOME NEW JOBS.....4	( 34%)
CREATES MANY NEW JOBS.....5	( 3%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....6	( 1%)

65. And what about when American companies start up new businesses in Canada...do you think this creates many jobs, some jobs, has no effect, eliminates some jobs, or eliminates many jobs ?

ELIMINATES MANY JOBS.....1	( 2%)
ELIMINATES SOME JOBS.....2	( 7%)
HAS NO EFFECT.....3	( 9%)
CREATES SOME NEW JOBS.....4	( 68%)
CREATES MANY NEW JOBS.....5	( 14%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....6	( 1%)

66. Some people say there are certain sectors, that is, parts of the economy, in which there should be restrictions or limits on American investment, whether we are talking about Americans buying existing Canadian businesses, or starting up new ones.

Other people say that there should be no restrictions or limits on American investment in different sectors of the Canadian economy, either for Americans buying existing Canadian businesses or starting up new ones in Canada.

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

SHOULD BE RESTRICTIONS OR LIMITS.....1	(72%)
SHOULD BE NO RESTRICTIONS OR LIMITS.....2	(28%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....3	( 1%)

67. If there were going to be any sectors of the economy where there would be some restrictions on American investment, can you tell me which ones you feel these should be? (PROBE...ACCEPT UP TO FIVE RESPONSES)

WHEAT.....01	( * )
GRAIN -- GENERAL.....02	( * )
AGRICULTURE.....03	(12%)
FARMING.....04	( 3%)
TOBACCO.....05	( 1%)
OTHER SPECIFIC GRAINS.....06	( 0%)
WOOD/LUMBER/FORESTRY/TIMBER.....07	(22%)
PULP AND PAPER.....08	( 4%)
OIL AND GAS.....09	(24%)
AUTOMOBILE/CARS/TRUCKS.....10	( 9%)
IRON.....11	( * )
STEEL.....12	( 2%)
MINERALS/MINING -- GENERAL.....13	(13%)
OTHER SPECIFIC MINERALS.....14	( 1%)
RESOURCES/NATURAL RESOURCES.....15	(12%)
RAW MATERIALS.....16	( 1%)
CLOTHING.....17	( 5%)
TEXTILES.....18	( 2%)
MANUFACTURING -- GENERAL.....19	( 3%)
MANUFACTURING -- SPECIFIC.....20	( 2%)
HIGH TECHNOLOGY.....21	( 2%)
COMPUTERS.....22	( 2%)
FISHING.....23	(13%)
POTATOES.....24	( 0%)
LIVESTOCK.....25	( * )
MEAT.....26	( 0%)
PRODUCE -- FRUITS/VEGETABLES.....27	( 1%)
FOOD -- GENERAL.....28	( 1%)
OTHER SPECIFIC FOOD.....29	( 4%)
ENERGY.....30	(14%)



## Question 67 - continued

TOURISM.....	31	( * )
ELECTRONICS.....	32	( 3% )
SHOES.....	33	( 2% )
NONE.....	34	( 8% )
EVERYTHING.....	35	( 2% )
CONSTRUCTION/TRADE.....	36	( 1% )
SMALL BUSINESS.....	37	( * )
LARGE CORPORATIONS.....	38	( * )
GOVERNMENT/CIVIC.....	39	( 1% )
PRIVATE SECTOR -- GENERAL.....	40	( * )
RETAIL.....	41	( 1% )
BANKING/FINANCIAL.....	42	(10%)
ARTS/CULTURAL/MEDIA.....	43	( 9% )
SHIPPING/TRUCKING.....	44	( * )
EXPORTERS.....	45	( * )
TRANSPORTATION.....	46	( 1% )
SERVICE.....	47	( * )
MEDICAL/HEALTH CARE.....	48	( 1% )
REAL ESTATE.....	49	( 3% )
SHIP BUILDING.....	50	( * )
EDUCATION.....	51	( * )
COMMUNICATIONS.....	52	( 2% )
AEROSPACE.....	53	( 1% )
ARMED FORCES.....	54	( 1% )
INSURANCE.....	55	( 1% )
BUSINESS -- GENERAL.....	56	( 1% )
CHEMICAL INDUSTRY.....	57	( 1% )
OTHER.....	58	( 0% )
DON'T KNOW.....	59	(18%)
NO RESPONSE.....	60	( 2% )

68. If there were fewer restrictions on American investment in Canada under a free trade agreement and the resulting increase in investment led to more jobs being created in Canada, would this be a strong reason for you to support a free trade agreement, or would it not be an important factor to you in forming an opinion about a free trade agreement ?

WOULD BE A STRONG REASON FOR YOUR SUPPORT.....	1	(65%)
WOULD NOT BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR.....	2	(34%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	3	( 1% )

69. Some people say that the jobs 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	(40%)
JOBS MORE IMPORTANT THAN LIMITING INFLUENCE.....2	(59%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....3	( 1%)

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 70 - 75...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
70. All the discussions about free trade may matter to <u>businesses</u> , but free trade won't make any difference to the average Canadian worker.											-0.60	
71. I'm concerned that free trade is only going to increase tensions among regions and groups in Canada.											0.64	
72. I believe that the federal government has a pretty clear sense of what it wants to gain and what it's prepared to give up in the trade talks.											0.57	
73. I'm now convinced that if we did not try to get a trade agreement with the Americans, they would do things to make it more and more difficult to sell our goods and services to them.											1.66	



74. I see the government's attempt to reach a free trade deal with the Americans as part of a general effort to improve Canada's trade situation with countries around the world. 1.52
75. I think the government has a good idea of how to deal with the changes a free trade agreement would bring in Canada. 0.36

END OF ROTATION

- 
76. If Canada does conclude a free trade deal with the United States this will cause some changes in Canada's economy and in the lives of individual Canadians. Do you think that for you personally a free trade deal will lead to a lot of change, only some change, very little change, or no change at all in these areas?

NO CHANGE AT ALL.....1	( 8%)
VERY LITTLE CHANGE.....2	(24%)
ONLY SOME CHANGE.....3	(45%)
A LOT OF CHANGE.....4	(24%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....5	( * )

- 
77. Some people say that a free trade deal is part of a broader plan to change Canada's whole economy and get it ready for the challenges of the future.

Other people say that a free trade deal is an isolated initiative which is not part of any overall economic development plan for Canada.

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

PART OF A BROADER PLAN.....1	(59%)
AN ISOLATED INITIATIVE.....2	(40%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....3	( 2%)

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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.

78. What is your age, please? (IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, OFFER TO READ CATEGORIES AND HAVE HIM/HER TELL YOU WHICH CATEGORY HE/SHE FALLS INTO)	18-19 YEARS.....01	( 4%)
	20-24 YEARS.....02	(10%)
	25-29 YEARS.....03	(14%)
	30-34 YEARS.....04	(14%)
	35-39 YEARS.....05	(13%)
	40-44 YEARS.....06	(11%)
	45-49 YEARS.....07	( 7%)
	50-54 YEARS.....08	( 7%)
	55-59 YEARS.....09	( 6%)
	60-64 YEARS.....10	( 4%)
	65 YEARS OR OLDER.....11	(10%)
<hr/>		
79. Which of the following income groups includes your annual <u>household</u> income? (READ CHOICES)	LESS THAN \$ 5,000.....01	( 2%)
	\$ 5,000 - \$ 9,999.....02	( 6%)
	\$10,000 - \$14,999.....03	(11%)
	\$15,000 - \$19,999.....04	(10%)
	\$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	(15%)



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

YES (SKIP TO Q81).....6\* ( 7%)  
NO (GO TO Q80B).....A

IF "NO" TO Q80A, ASK:

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

PUBLIC/ELEMENTARY SCHOOL (GRADE 1-8).....1	( 9%)
SOME HIGH SCHOOL.....2	(20%)
GRADUATED HIGH SCHOOL (GRADE 12 OR 13).....3	(29%)
VOCATIONAL/TECHNICAL/COLLEGE/CEGEP.....4	(13%)
SOME UNIVERSITY.....5	( 6%)
GRADUATED UNIVERSITY.....7	(17%)

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

RESPONDENT.....1	(16%)
OTHER MEMBER OF FAMILY.....2	(17%)
BOTH (VOLUNTEERED).....3	( 4%)
NONE (VOLUNTEERED).....4	(63%)

82. Are you currently employed outside the home?

NO (SKIP TO Q84).....1*	(33%)
YES (GO TO Q83).....2	(67%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....3	( * )

IF "YES" TO Q82, ASK:

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

AGRICULTURE.....01	( 4%)
FORESTRY.....02	( 3%)
FISHING.....03	( 1%)
MINING.....04	( 1%)
OIL AND GAS.....05	( 2%)
CONSTRUCTION.....06	( 6%)

## Question 83 - continued

TRANSPORTATION.....	07	( 4%)
COMMUNICATIONS.....	08	( 3%)
PUBLIC UTILITIES.....	09	( 5%)
PUBLIC SECTOR/GOVERNMENT.....	10	(13%)
ARMED FORCES.....	11	( 1%)
FINANCE/INSURANCE/REAL ESTATE.....	12	( 7%)
MANUFACTURING.....	13	(12%)
WHOLESALE.....	14	( 3%)
RETAIL.....	15	( 8%)
SERVICE.....	16	(16%)
EDUCATION.....	17	( 7%)
SELF EMPLOYED.....	18	( 6%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	19	( 1%)

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\* SKIP TO Q87

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IF "NO" TO Q82, ASK:

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84. Would you describe yourself as...(READ LIST)?

A FULL TIME STUDENT (SKIP TO Q86).....	1*	(10%)
LAI D OFF OR UNEMPLOYED (GO TO Q85).....	2	(12%)
RETIRED (SKIP TO Q86).....	3*	(36%)
HOMEMAKER (SKIP TO Q86).....	4*	(39%)
DISABLED/MATERNITY LEAVE.....	5	( 2%)
OTHER (VOLUNTEERED -- SPECIFY -- SKIP TO Q86).....	6*	( * )
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	7	( 1%)

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IF "UNEMPLOYED" TO Q84, ASK:

85. What type of company or business did you work in prior to being unemployed...(READ LIST AND ROTATE)? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE)

AGRICULTURE.....	01	( 4%)
FORESTRY.....	02	( 2%)
FISHING.....	03	( 1%)
MINING.....	04	( 0%)
OIL AND GAS.....	05	(11%)
CONSTRUCTION.....	06	( 8%)
TRANSPORTATION.....	07	( 7%)
COMMUNICATIONS.....	08	( 1%)
PUBLIC UTILITIES.....	09	( 7%)
PUBLIC SECTOR/GOVERNMENT.....	10	(10%)
ARMED FORCES.....	11	( 0%)
FINANCE/INSURANCE/REAL ESTATE.....	12	( 0%)
MANUFACTURING.....	13	( 9%)
WHOLESALE.....	14	( 0%)
RETAIL.....	15	( 5%)
SERVICE.....	16	(25%)
EDUCATION.....	17	( 2%)
SELF EMPLOYED.....	18	( 2%)
UNEMPLOYED.....	19	( 2%)
OTHER (VOLUNTEERED - SPECIFY.....	20	( 2%)
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	21	( 3%)

\* SKIP TO Q87



86. What type of company or business does the principal wage earner in your household work in...(READ ALL CHOICES ROTATING ORDER)? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE)

AGRICULTURE.....	01	( 6%)
FORESTRY.....	02	( 2%)
FISHING.....	03	( 1%)
MINING.....	04	( 1%)
OIL AND GAS.....	05	( 1%)
CONSTRUCTION.....	06	( 5%)
TRANSPORTATION.....	07	( 6%)
COMMUNICATIONS.....	08	( 1%)
PUBLIC UTILITIES.....	09	( 5%)
PUBLIC SECTOR/GOVERNMENT.....	10	( 8%)
ARMED FORCES.....	11	( * )
FINANCE/INSURANCE/REAL ESTATE.....	12	( 2%)
MANUFACTURING.....	13	( 7%)
WHOLESALE.....	14	( 1%)
RETAIL.....	15	( 2%)
SERVICE.....	16	( 4%)
EDUCATION.....	17	( 2%)
SELF EMPLOYED.....	18	( 3%)
RETIRED.....	19	(30%)
UNEMPLOYED.....	20	( * )
NO OPINION (VOLUNTEERED).....	21	(12%)

87. Sex. (BY OBSERVATION)	MALE.....1	(50%)
	FEMALE.....2	(50%)

88. Language of questionnaire.	ENGLISH.....1	(76%)
	FRENCH.....2	(24%)



## D. VERBATIM RESPONSES

## Question 1

In your opinion, what is the most important problem facing Canada today?

- Q1. Unemployment -- Unemployment -- a lot of people out of work. / Unemployment -- too many out of work. / Unemployment. / Unemployment -- we need more jobs for people not working. They are living off unemployment insurance. / Unemployment -- in some sectors of Canada, people don't have the employment they should have like in parts of Eastern and Western Canada. / Unemployment -- is still far too high, not enough jobs being created. / Unemployment -- people out of work. / Work shortage -- there are not enough jobs in the market. / Employment -- it is in such a bad condition because there are too many women in the work force. / Unemployment -- people out of work -- the number of people unemployed. / Not enough work. / I feel that a major issue is that unemployment is too large. / Unemployment -- too many people out of work. / Unemployment -- people don't have as much money as they need for their families. / Unemployment -- too many people are unemployed and the government doesn't seem to be helping. / Unemployment -- lowers self-esteem and decreases earnings. / Unemployment -- lack of employment -- too many people are out of work. / Unemployment -- it seems to be getting worse and worse. Too many people are in the job force. Not enough jobs to accomodate these people. / Unemployment -- we've got to develop our industries for more jobs and invest more money into our nation. / Unemployment -- too many people are out of work in Canada. / Unemployment -- the high rate, too many employable people are on UIC because their chosen field has no employment opportunities. / Unemployment -- there isn't enough of it. / Unemployment -- need more jobs for the people of the province. / Unemployment -- that induces drugs, alcoholism etc. / Unemployment -- need more jobs for people of the province. / Unemployment -- high on the list -- a lot of money and time wasted in government. / Unemployment -- not enough jobs. / Unemployment -- there are just too many people unemployed. / Unemployment -- not enough for anyone for two years or more in my area. / Unemployment -- two good businesses going -- pulp mill and tire plant in my area. / Unemployment -- personally more work required for Maritimes. / Unemployment -- there are not enough jobs for people to support themselves properly. / Work I would say, not enough work, too much unemployment. / Unemployment -- need more jobs for the people of the province. / Unemployment -- need more jobs for the people of the province. / Unemployment -- more work should be created for all, especially in Cape Breton Island. / Unemployment -- the rise of unemployment in Canada. / Unemployment -- need more jobs for the people of the provinces. / Unemployment -- a lot of people are unemployed and it is not very good for the economy. / Unemployment -- there are not enough jobs period. / Jobs -- there's not enough jobs to go around. / The unemployment issue is number one to me. / Not too much work -- not too many jobs. / Unemployment -- I feel that the unemployment rate is too high and there is not enough jobs for Canadians. / Unemployment -- a lot of people are physically fit and can't work find work. / Unemployment -- I'm unemployed and there's a lot of others like me who are unemployed too. / Unemployment -- the whole picture of unemployment is the country



is most important. / Unemployment situation -- the whole field of unemployment. / Employment -- getting people back to work. / Economy -- job related. There is so much unemployment in the country. / Unemployment -- too much in this country. / Unemployment -- lack of work in Canada for people. / Enough work to go around job creation. / Not enough jobs being created to keep everyone employed. / Unemployment -- most of the people don't have work in the province. / Unemployment -- more job opportunities and more meaningful job opportunities. / Unemployment -- pretty high in parts of Canada. Right here it's pretty bad. / Unemployment -- same wages across Canada. / Unemployment -- no jobs here -- situation is pretty bad. / Unemployment -- everyone has a right to a job. / Unemployment -- lots of people are unemployed and can't find any jobs. / Unemployment -- many of my friends are trying to find work in their field. / Unemployment -- people having jobs is more important than political ideologies. / Unemployment -- government is not doing enough to create employment. / Unemployment -- this is a very serious problem. / Unemployment -- just the apparent lack of jobs in Canada. / Unemployment -- not enough work for people. / Unemployment -- need more jobs for the people of the province. / Unemployment and the lack of good jobs. / Jobs -- just unemployment everywhere. / The rate of jobless people in this country is too high. / Unemployment -- need more jobs for the people of the future. / Not enough work to go around, hard to get a job. / Lack of jobs in Canada. / Unemployment -- there is just not enough jobs for people. / The high rate of unemployed people in the country. / Unemployment -- having jobs is more important than anything else. / Unemployment -- in many areas of Canada. / Unemployment -- there is too much of it in our economy. / Unemployment -- the markets, foreign, and domestic, are right, so to reduce cost, businesses are laying off people. / Work -- the number of people who are unemployed. / Unemployment -- I think we need free trade to increase jobs by more trade with United States. / Job situation -- more work in West for farmers. / Employment -- not enough jobs. / Jobs -- we need all kinds of different jobs to be created. / The economy -- there are a lot of people out of work. The country would be more prosperous if there was more work. / Economy -- lack of jobs. / Economy -- employment and jobs -- not enough government spending -- the unemployment makes our dollar lower. / Full employment creation -- a more competitive position in economic pictures. / Financial problems -- employment is very, very high and many have to leave Newfoundland. / We should have more people working so that we won't over-extend our social security system.

02. Youth Unemployment -- Unemployment -- young people and other people don't have enough jobs. / Unemployment -- these days young people seem to have a lot of trouble finding jobs. Maybe the government can find work for them. / Unemployment -- youth 18-25 years old are having difficulty finding work. / I think unemployment -- not enough jobs for young people. / Employment for young people. / Youth employment in the sense of marketable skills needed by our young people coming out of our schools and universities. Nature of jobs market shifting to services but institutions not responding. / Unemployment for people up to 25 years old. / The economy -- not enough job opportunities for young people. / No jobs -- unemployment. I am a university student and worry about getting a job when I graduate. / Unemployment -- no work for young people. / Unemployment -- I'm concerned about the shortage of jobs for the young



- people. / Unemployment -- there isn't work for young people or for people with families. / Unemployment -- especially for the young people getting out of school. / Unemployment -- three sons just finished university but prospects are about nil for them. / Unemployment -- we need to create jobs for our youth -- they're our future and if they don't have work. / Unemployment -- no jobs available for young people when they graduate. / Unemployment -- among the young is too high and something should be done. / Unemployment -- young people in school or just getting out cannot find a job. / Unemployment -- there's so many young people who can't find work.
03. Inflation/Cost of Living -- Inflation is much higher than our income. / Inflation. / Inflation -- the cost of everything -- food, homes, clothing. / Cost of living is the most important problem in Canada. / Economic crisis -- the rising rate of inflation. / The cost of living. / Cost of living -- prices go up and wages stay the same. / Not enough money for everyone to spend, what I mean is if people don't spend there is more economy.
04. Economy -- The economy -- it will probably have to depend a lot on free trade. / Economics -- with the shape of the country at this time no wonder it's in debt. / Economy -- unemployment and housing problems, agriculture and farming. The whole economy. / I think the Canadian economy is our worst problem. / Economics. / State of the economy -- we need to shape it up. / Economic development.
05. Government -- Spending -- Money -- the government is spending too much of it foolishly.
06. Government -- General -- Good, honest, fair, effective government. If we get this, well the rest of the problems will work out. / The government is no good. / Lousy government -- "Trudeauism" is better for the country -- dishonest politicians. / Politicians are not really doing their work. / Government -- federal, provincial government in general do not agree with. / Political instability -- politicians especially issues like free trade. / Weak government -- provincial -- federal problems in newspaper. / The problem of the political parties when it comes to decision-making. / Government -- not running efficiently. / The government, how it is run -- how they are. / Democracy system changed -- not working properly. / Too many politicians -- can't make up their minds. / Our government -- they're screwing everything up -- too much red tape and bureaucracy.
07. Deficit -- I would say the economy -- we have to keep the deficit down and government spending down also. / Debts in Canada. / The budget -- the deficit. / National debts. / The national deficit as it is related to other countries of the world. / Getting economy straightened out and the deficit paid off. / The deficit -- amount increasing all the time, there's no control of the rate of it. / The deficit -- Canada is in far too deep and keeps on spending. / Economics -- federal trade deficit and the international trade with the United States. / The deficit -- the United States -- it's too high, we have to bring it down. / The national deficit as it relates to the other countries of the world. / None of the political parties can get together and take care of the national debt. / The nation's deficit is very high and this leads to very high taxes.





08. Free Trade -- Free trade -- when it comes through the market will be flooded from the U.S. / Free trade -- I am worried about its effects on Canada. / Free trade is it. We will have to compete a lot harder and many will go under. The survivors will have to make great changes. / I don't seem to think it will do Canada any good. / If they do get the free trade the Americans will take over. / My job can be directly affected. / Economy, free trade issue important. / Everything about it. / The Americans want too much from us. They don't want to give anything up. / I don't think it's a good idea because the U.S. has taken too much of a protectionist attitude. / Free trade with the United States. / Foreign trade, establishing free trade, strengthening trading with Pacific Rim, Soviet Union. / I don't think it will work because of U.S.A. protectionism.
09. Canada-U.S. Relations -- Relations between Canada and the U.S. -- the U.S. is protecting their investments, don't want to let Canada in. / We're giving too much away to the States. / Too close to the U.S. We both should be more independent. / We should not let the Americans take over Canada.
10. Taxes -- The taxes are too high, the income taxes.
11. Constitution/National Unity -- National unity. / Constitution -- I think the proposed Meech Lake Accord is for the birds. / Recent talks of separation of the provinces, less power from the Federal Government. / Province of Quebec should not have any special treatment. / Meech Lake Accord -- I don't agree with the direction Mulroney is taking it. / Constitution -- may affect the whole country very seriously. / Constitution -- the P.M. is on the right track, but I don't think Quebec is a distinct society. / The dispute with the Meech Lake Accord. / The unity of provinces, I agree that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has taken from the central government and the provinces are becoming too powerful. / Meech Lake Accord -- agree with Trudeau, don't weaken the power of Ottawa. / Constitution -- central government should be the one government and not the ten provinces. / I believe the constitution accord in Quebec is a bad deal, government giving away too much. / Constitutional business -- the Meech Lake agreement, I'm concerned about what Trudeau said. / Constitution. / Unified Canada -- there should be a unified Canada. / Separating provinces -- west should be separated from east. / Unity -- I think there should be harmony. Freedom of expression among all citizens of Canada. / A unity problem -- everybody, the provinces look out for only themselves. / The Meech Lake Accord between Quebec and the rest of Canada -- rest of Canada not given enough say in it. / I think it is very hard to keep Canada's independence.
12. Agriculture/Farming Problem -- Agriculture -- farmers not getting enough federal and provincial help. / Farm crisis -- if we don't do something to help the farmer, there won't be any left. / Farming issue -- grain and commodity prices, world agricultural supply/demand. / Agriculture -- the fact that they are having financial troubles, if this is not dealt with, farmers may become extinct. / Squeezing out the little farmer, lack of land would be a factor. Big companies take over land. / There are too many financial problems in the agriculture industry and people losing

- their jobs. / Agriculture -- people make their living enough credit. / Farming -- we are farmers and the situation is very bad. Pretty soon we won't be able to farm anymore. / Farming is bad because the product price is too low.
13. Nuclear War/Disarmament -- Arms race between the U.S. and Russia -- Canada allowing testing, be involved with nuclear war. / Nuclear disarmament -- it could mean the end of civilization. / Nuclear war. / Nuclear disarmament -- we should be more involved. / War I'm all for nuclear disarmament.
  14. Pollution/Acid Rain -- Pollution. / Pollution as a cause from the different industries. / Water pollution -- water is not very clean, the drinking water. / Pollution -- I've done some research into acid rain and environmental issues. / Pollution -- rivers, lakes, streams due to acid rain. / Pollution -- I'm mainly concerned about the pollution put into the lakes and animals. / The degradation of the natural resources and environment in this country. / Acid rain -- it's killing plants and fish and polluting the lakes. / Acid rain -- its damaging all the trees and going into the lake and fish.
  15. Social/Moral -- I think the abortion issue is most serious because I think it breaks down family life. / Decline of the family unit -- we have become the "me now" generation -- selfish. / Lack of respect for human life -- abortions and things like that, other people's feelings. / Minorities -- they should be treated equally with no differences by their fellow citizens. / They don't know what to do or where to turn. / They don't know what to do or where to turn. / So many women working over age of 65 or 70. This is not right. / People asking too much from government and not doing enough themselves. Expecting the government to give them everything, especially the young. / Jim and Tammy getting kicked off the PTL club. / All those t.v. evangelists, too many scandals, Jim and Tammy Baker. / Crime -- I'm just concerned about the rising crime rate.
  16. AIDS/Health -- AIDS -- many youngsters are afraid of it and it's out of control. / AIDS -- it's an epidemic and we should try to stop it. / AIDS -- because it is becoming a very serious problem, everybody's getting it. / AIDS -- the wide spread of AIDS, we don't know enough about it, I'd like more important information. / Lack of funding in hospitals, not enough money, cutbacks in beds is coming.
  17. Drugs -- Drugs. / Kids and drugs -- private sector should try to help kids and addiction to illegal drugs. / Drugs -- creates death and destruction, we would put an end to it, do something. / Drugs -- too many children shown the use of bad drugs.
  18. Housing -- Housing shortage, obtain good houses at adequate prices. / Housing in low income families is most important around here.
  19. Economic Regional Disparity -- The inequity of the economy across the country, the Prairies and the Maritimes are depressed while Ontario is prospering. / Economy, regional disparity -- the fact that recovery is only going on in Ontario and Quebec. / Regional disparity -- poor long-term prospects for families.

20. Seniors/Pensioners -- Income for old age people -- prices are high compared to income.
21. No Problems -- Nothing -- I don't think there are any problems.
22. Mulroney/Conservative Party -- Mulroney -- the way he runs our country, not very good. / Mr Mulroney -- I don't trust him. An opportunist who is only interested in his own welfare. / Mulroney -- his attitude of the Conservative Party, they believe the rich should be richer, poor stay poor.
23. World Peace -- World peace -- not enough agreements between countries. / World peace -- all countries come together as one.
24. Economic Development of Natural Resources -- Economy -- there is little productivity in the development of natural resources.
25. Conservation of the Environment -- Conservation -- affects on wildlife. / Conservation -- should be a larger view on the consumption of oil and minerals which are not replenishable items.
26. Strikes/Bill 19 & 20 -- Labour relations in British Columbia are so bad the whole nation must be feeling the effects and hating us. / Vander Zalm Bill 19 & 20. Lesser government intervention would be better.
27. Education -- Get young people educated. / Lack of funding for education.
28. Other -- Too many people living in the street. / General upkeep of our country roads, jobs, factories. / Roads should all be redone, there are so many potholes and bumps in Prince Edward Island roads. / Immigration -- not so many refugees, people with skills. / The fact that there are too many problems. / The supermailboxes -- they are gaining popularity. / Too large an issue to answer.
29. Don't Know
30. No Response

## Question 5

Overall, would you say it would be a very good idea, a good idea, a bad idea, or a very bad idea for Canada to enter into a free trade agreement with the United States?

Why do you say that?

:

NEGATIVE

01. United States Overpowering -- I don't like the United States anyway. They may take over Canada. / Because we will be more closely linked to the United States -- a militaristic state -- do not agree with. / Giving too much to the Americans, sooner or later they will want all. / It just means that we would be exploited by the Americans. / Because they are so much larger and more powerful than we are. / The Americans will just end up telling us what to do. / The United States seem to have such dominance over us. Free trade would decrease this dominance and decrease our independence. / The United States is much too big a country and would swallow us up. / Size of corporations industry 10 times more powerful in United States. / The United States has too much to say in Canada as it is already. / The United States will be governing everything that we own and owe. / If free trade, would be like the United States owning Canada. States would take over. / The United States being so powerful they tend to take over a country and exploit that country's natural resources than leave. / The United States tend to take advantage of any country, they get involved with. / I am worried that the Americans may eventually end up owning Canada. / Canada's economy would be controlled by the United States. / The Americans will become dominant in the free trade -- the agreement will become lopsided to the Americans advantage. / They are rushing into it. Power of United States too strong for Canada. / The Yanks dominate and are trying to take us over. / Seems like the United States wants to move in and take whatever Canada has got. / We are up against a ruthless group of businessmen. I am afraid that Canada will be swallowed up. / United States will take over everything like they did in other countries. / It would make Canada become just another state of the United States. / We will be ruled by them if we have free trade. / The United States have too much control already over us.
02. United States Benefit -- Americans will end up with a better deal than Canadians. / Advantage United States. / United States going to benefit more with less bad effects. / They have it easier than we do. / There would be more trouble in free trade because the United States would want the better part of the deal. / The Americans have more to gain from free trade. / We would not benefit, the States would. / The United States is just using us for their own benefit. / The Americans will take advantage of us. / The United States will take advantage of us as shown in the lumber trade. / The United States will probably take advantage of the agreement. / The United States may have a stronger economy, this does not mean that ours will improve -- undoubtedly they will grow stronger.
03. Don't Trust United States -- Don't trust too much. / Because the United States are not bargaining fairly. Canada will lose too much. / Mistrust



-- United States are very protective of own people -- tend to use and abuse. / The United States will always find a way to unfairly manipulate is. As it is our best bargaining chip is our natural resources and United States already owns them. / I don't think the United States has really true intentions for the good to come out of this.

04. Can't Compete with United States -- I don't think we could compete -- all the industries would fall apart. / My region is not close enough to the market place to compete effectively with the United States. / Large American companies would flood the market so much that small Canadian companies would not be able to compete. / We could not be as competitive as the United States -- their industries are more efficient. / Pressure with American produce -- we cannot compete with their prices -- we won't benefit. / We can't compete with anyone in anything. / United States companies are stronger and it is harder for Canada to compete.
05. Canada Selling Out -- As far as I understand, the government is selling the country. / We are giving away our economic sovereignty. / We're making too many concessions. It is to the United States advantage than to ours. / We're selling out. Canada will be getting the worst part of the deal. / We would give too much of ourselves away, our medicare is better than American and our patriotism. / I'm more sceptical about Canada giving away too much. / I have not been following it that much, but I feel Canada will lose a lot. / Because I believe Canada is selling out. / We would be selling our privileges one by one. / It seems that it is not going to be a true government. We are going to come out on the short end.
06. Loss of Jobs -- Do away with jobs of Canadians. / From what I'm told there are a lot of companies in Canada with head offices in the United States -- there would be a loss of jobs. / It would put a lot of people out of work in this area. / Loss of jobs will not benefit Canada. / We will probably lose a lot of jobs. / Job losses -- if there is free trade, there will be a lot of unemployment. / Hurt Newfoundland jobs.
07. Canadian Economy -- Canada's economic situation is not on a level where we could successfully do it. / Must be careful -- economically, we must receive an equal value in terms of the products we are exporting. We cannot do this effectively. / Because of the money and what it would bring to Canada. / I feel that there would be no advantages for Canada economically.
08. Natural Resource Takeover -- Because if we open up our door to it, they will have control and access to our natural resources. / American industries have been known to "rape" another countries natural resources -- we don't need them.
09. Small Business -- It's a bad idea because it would hurt small businesses. / Free trade would shutdown the underdogs in the little industries. / Because it would sacrifice too much of Canada's industry identities.



10. Protection of Industry -- I think we need the protection. We need laws to protect our industries and if we have free trade, our protection laws may be let go. / I think we are sleeping with an elephant; many of our industries need protection.
11. Identity Loss -- I'm concerned about the cultural influence they will have on us. / With free trade we will lose too much -- we will lose our identity and culture. / They will take over our identity. / Canada will lose its ident#Trade with Other Countries -- We are a small trader, we should be approaching other countries as well, not only the United States. / We should be talking to Japan, a growing market. The United States market is already open enough to United States.
12. Price Changes -- In Brandon, when I go shopping, the price of something Canadian is higher than something American. If there's free trade, the price difference will be greater yet. / I really don't understand it too well, but I feel they would be buying more cheaply as opposed to giving more cheaply than we get it. / Bigger companies might close in Canada, then ship goods from United States cheaper. / It would hurt our country -- it would put our costs up higher. / We will have to pay more for everything we buy.
13. Independent Canada -- I think we should be an independent nation. / Canada is better off on its own. / Canada is an independent country and doesn't have to depend on anyone else. / I think Canadians can manage on their own, we don't need the Americans. / I am dead set against free trade, I think we're all right on our own. / Canada would be better off without a free trade agreement.
14. Trade with Other Countries -- We are a small trader, we should be approaching other countries as well, not only the United States. / We should be talking to Japan, a growing market. The United States market is already open enough to United States.
15. Imports/Exports -- Well, we've always sold more to the States than we bought. / Because of more imports than exports. / Both countries pay very high taxes on imports and exports. Things are readily made in Canada so we should make our own. Canada has everything it needs.
16. Farm Industry -- We farm, it will affect us, but I don't know how. / Don't know for sure how it will affect the farmers. The milk producers will suffer. / It will hurt the farming industry in Canada. / Dairy farming industry would be flooded by United States products. / The pork market -- would be affected. I don't think it will for the best interest of Canada.
17. Issues Unresolved -- The issues are clouded. / Too many unresolved issues to make a positive decision. / Canada and United States do not see eye to eye.
18. Read/Heard/Knowledge -- On the basis of past debates on free trade, those talks were not successful. Therefore, I gather there must be something wrong. / Because of the bad information that I've read in the newspapers.



19. Social Services/Medicare -- Negative -- Because I find that once we have free trade the United States will change our laws (health insurance).
20. Bad Idea -- General -- Because I don't think it would be a good idea. / Just the way I feel about it. / Can't say -- I just think it's not a good idea. / It just seems that way. / I think it is a bad idea, it will cause a lot of trouble. / Just kind of a gut reaction, I don't know why I feel this way, but I do. / It is a bad idea, hard to put into words.
21. Bad -- Other -- Don't understand, not watching news. / We don't have enough clout. / It seems too many of the people it should help are against it. / It seems too many of the people it should help are against it. / Interfere with products and other industries. / I think we should trade as we see fit and not be pushed into things. / The country will get into foreign ownership.

#### POSITIVE

22. Job Creation -- Might create more jobs. / Canadians lose more jobs -- Americans would be given more jobs than us. / Canada will open up more jobs. / Would bring in more employment for Canadians. / Should make new jobs -- I hope that free trade will mean we sell more goods to the United States and this will make more jobs. / The free trade deal might create more jobs. / I think it will in the long run make more jobs in the country. / United States is now going into a recession and looking for ways to make money and create jobs. / More people to work with. / More jobs to be gained through a larger market. / Will be good finally to get a job. / Makes sense -- if it is useful, then it should be used. It will create more jobs and more productivity of our companies. / I believe that there would be some increase in jobs because of free trade. / In the short run, the average worker will lose his job, but in the long run it will result in Canada getting those jobs back. / If we don't renegotiate the Auto Pact -- we'll gain more jobs and investment from the United States businesses. / Canada might benefit by the free trade and put more people to work and off the unemployment rates. / If they let the American businesses invest -- they'll make more businesses creating more jobs in Canada. / Help our economy -- increase jobs. It creates more demand for products, which increases jobs. / It can create more employment in Canada. / It might create more work. / It can create more jobs. / Give more jobs to people. / It might mean more jobs for Canada. / I think it would create some more jobs in Canada.
23. Help Economy -- Its important to have a good relationship with the United States to help our economy. / It will help our economy. / More prosperity in the country. / If you have free trade, the economy will be stronger in the long run because there would not be protection over weak businesses. / Because it would fair to both sides -- it would improve our economy a fair bit. / The economics of the world are integrated. / Help out the country economically. / To give us a chance to improve our economy. / Trading is essential for economic growth. / It would help the economy of Canada. / The whole economy of the country will open up and benefit. / It will depend upon our country and over the economy. / Our economy would prosper and there would be more jobs. / I think it would be good for the Canadian economy. / It can do good things for the economy. / We are

- closely related to the United States -- America more or less directs the economy. We're in the wind. / Better relations -- better economically on both sides, better prices, very helpful for my area. / It would be beneficial to our dollar value.
24. Easier to Move Goods/Services -- I think it would make it much easier to move goods and services for us. / Because then we (citizens of Canada and the United States) can send things over the border hassle free.
  25. Tariffs Lifted -- I don't believe in artificial tariffs of any kind, they don't let the marketplace come into play. / It would be good to eliminate taxes. / All the duties and taxes they keep placing on each other are getting us nowhere. / Then there would be so many tariffs. / Depends on deal they get, we'd be able to transfer materials. Without paying taxes like Ontario and Quebec. / Canada has more to lose if we keep the taxes on because Canada is not a rich country. / Too many restrictions on countries -- shouldn't be like that.
  26. Cost Lowered -- We would get goods a little cheaper than we do now. / Free trade helps get cars and other goods cheaper for Canada and visa versa. / Prices are cheaper in the States and hopefully they will be cheaper in Canada with free trade. / Things in Canada would be cheaper. / Closer prices after duty. / It would mean reduced costs and higher benefits for both countries. / It would create cheaper prices on products. / Because they export a lot of goods to us and therefore we'd save money.
  27. Close Neighbours -- Closeness of countries geographically and similarities. / We've had a good relationship with the United States and we should keep it that way. / It will bring the two countries closer together and we would have great economic growth. / We are such close neighbours, so we depend on each other for products. / I think that they are our closet neighbours and we might as well get cheap grain from them as opposed to the Russians. / Because they are our neighbours. / We are well -- connected with the Americans and it could be a good thing. / I think it's important to improve our relations with the United States in every way. / Make things better and easier between the countries. / Because there are so many things going back and forth and we are so close.
  28. Larger Market -- The United States has a bigger trade base to work in, so it would benefit us. / We need free trade -- Canada does not have the population or resources to go it alone, unlike the United States. / I think we'll have a bigger market for our agriculture products and we'll compete since the United States need big subsidier to compete. / We do a lot of business with them and that we should continue to do so. / I feel it would help Canadian manufacturers to supply a larger market. / Opening up additional markets, ten times as big as we are. / Spread out -- can't live by ourselves, extending our market beneficial to everyone. / Canada is the only country that doesn't have as much access to countries as other countries do and I think we deserve as much access as they do. / It will open more marketing as long as the United States is willing to reciprocate. / I am a capitalist and I don't believe in government protectionism. / Market conditions -- protectionism in certain fields for





both governments. / Canadian products would now have a bigger market and in general free trade would be beneficial to both us and the United States. / Trading with the United States would put us in a larger market. / It would be more beneficial for Canada-United States has a larger population so we have more people in United States to sell to than visa versa. / We would have more businesses.

29. Resource Based -- The strength of the Canadian resource base will attract American dollars resulting in higher job rates. / We have to be more careful to protect our natural resources. / Our major resources are natural resources -- we're tied to United States. / Because we're resource based and therefore we would be able to increase our market. / Natural resources more employment.
30. Controls/Commitment -- If we know the ground rules and they do and we get a long term commitment from them, then I am for it, but only under those conditions. / I said good idea, buy only if we have adequate controls and safeguards. Many Canadian companies will go out of business if we plunge in head-first without preparation. / I favour free trade only if we have an iron-clad bargain where they do not take over all our industries and resources they way Japan is doing to the United States. / I think it might work if we don't give away too much.
31. Competition -- Free trade with the United States will make Canadians more competitive and work harder to free trade. / It will make industries more competitive and will help us in the long run. / It's the only way to face international competition on its same level -- can't keep favouring and subsidizing or we'll always have weak industry. / It will force us to be competitive in all areas rather than the ones that we select.
32. Benefit Industries -- It's good for Quebec and Ontario because of the manufacturing industry. / Maybe if there was free trade, it would help out some of the industries like gas and farming. / My husband works in a business that might be affected. / We in Ontario would benefit, but the West might not and there would be other concerns. High industry area -- from Niagara Falls to Montreal would do well, but producers of grain and oil might not.
33. Benefit the Country/Countries -- General -- I believe in free trade and that our country will benefit from such a trade. / Better for our country. / Canada can benefit from this deal. / Canada would benefit from a trade agreement with the United States. / It would benefit Canada in certain areas. / It would benefit both countries because it will eliminate a lot of taxes for both countries. / I believe we are too small to sit off by ourselves and it would benefit as to have free trade with the richest country in the world. / We will benefit in the future. / We both would benefit from a free trade agreement. / Just because it would be good for us to have a trade relationship. / If they get an agreement and it's going to help Canada, then I'm in favour of it.
34. Equality/Mutual Benefit -- If we help our neighbours they'll help us in return. / It would provide equality between the United States and Canada. / It would be good if equal investment were possible between Canada and the United States. / Canada has to have this agreement to gain what the



## E. DERIVATION OF NEW VARIABLES

89-91. Were derived from the sample frame and the corresponding questionnaire numbers to form the sample strata, region, and community size variables listed in the aggregate.

## 92. UNION MEMBER

was derived from

Q.81: UNION STATUS

by collapsing responding categories in the following manner:

Q.81

1,3

2,4

Q.92

1. UNION MEMBER; and

2. NON-MEMBER.

## 93. UNION FAMILY

was derived from

Q.81: UNION STATUS

by collapsing response categorise in the following manner:

Q.81

1-3

4

Q.93

1. UNION FAMILY; and

2. NON-UNION FAMILY.



United States loses. / It would allow stabilization of trade between the two countries.

35. Eliminate Trade Deficit/Surplus -- We have a trade surplus and need to sell it. / Since the trade deficit between Canada and the United States is so large, a free trade would reduce it.
36. Good Idea -- General -- Just think it's a good idea. / I can't see why not, I really don't follow it that close but I think most people want it that way. / Believe in free trade. / It sounds good to me. / The countries are so close and their interests are the same, it would benefit both countries. / I just think it is better than the trade situation between Canada and the United States now. / Things should be better because we are not really a bad country. / Canada may get some advantages. Exporting for each other will be good.
37. Good -- Other -- Canada would be giving up some of its identity. / I have insufficient information to decide at this time. / There was no choice between good and bad. / Canada is copying the Americans. / The loosening of immigration laws between the two countries. / We follow United States trends two-three years behind anyway and hurt us at first, then catch up eventually. / United States is a political country that is bound to hold Canada back. / It might give the smaller businessman a chance. / One farmer has apples, the other farmer has oranges -- trade with one another.
38. Don't Know
39. No Response

## 94. EMPLOYMENT BY SEX

was derived from

Q.82: EMPLOYED OUTSIDE HOME

Q.87: SEX

according to the following reference matrix:

	Q.82 EMPLOYED		
	0	1 NO	2 YES
0	0	0	0
1 MALE	0	2	1
2 FEMALE	0	4	3

The resulting response categories are labelled as follows:

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

## 95. Q1C:TOP ISSUE CANADA

was derived from

Q.1:

by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

<u>Q.1</u>	<u>Q.95</u>
1,2	1. UNEMPLOY/YTH UNEMPLY;
3,4,7,10	2. ECONOMIC ISSUES;
5,6	3. GOVERNMT GEN/SPEND;
8,9	4. FREE TRADE/CAN-US RL;
11	5. CONSTIT/NAT UNITY;
13,22	6. NUCL WAR/WORLD PEACE;
15-18,20,26	7. SOCIAL/MORAL;
14,24	8. POLLUTION/CONSERVATN;
12,19,21,23,25,27	9. OTHER; and
28-30	10. NO PROB/DK/NO RESP

## 96. Q5C:REASON FREE TR GD/BD

was derived from

Q.5:

by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.5

1-5  
6-10,12,16  
11,13  
14,15,17-21  
22,23,26,29,31,32  
24,25,28  
27,33,34  
30,35-37  
38,39

Q.96

1. BD:ONLY GOOD FOR U.S.;  
2. BD:ECONOMIC IMPACT;  
3. BD:LOSE ID/INDEPEND;  
4. BAD IDEA GENERALLY;  
5. GD:ECONOMIC IMPACT;  
6. GD:FEWER BARRIERS;  
7. GD:BENEFIT BOTH CTRS;  
8. GOOD IDEA GENERALLY; and  
9. DK/NR.

97-102. Were derived by collapsing response categories to Q.70-75 such that  
-5 to -1 is DISAGREE, 0 is DEPENDS, 1-5 is AGREE.

## 103. Q67C:SECTOR RESTRICTED

was derived from

Q.67:

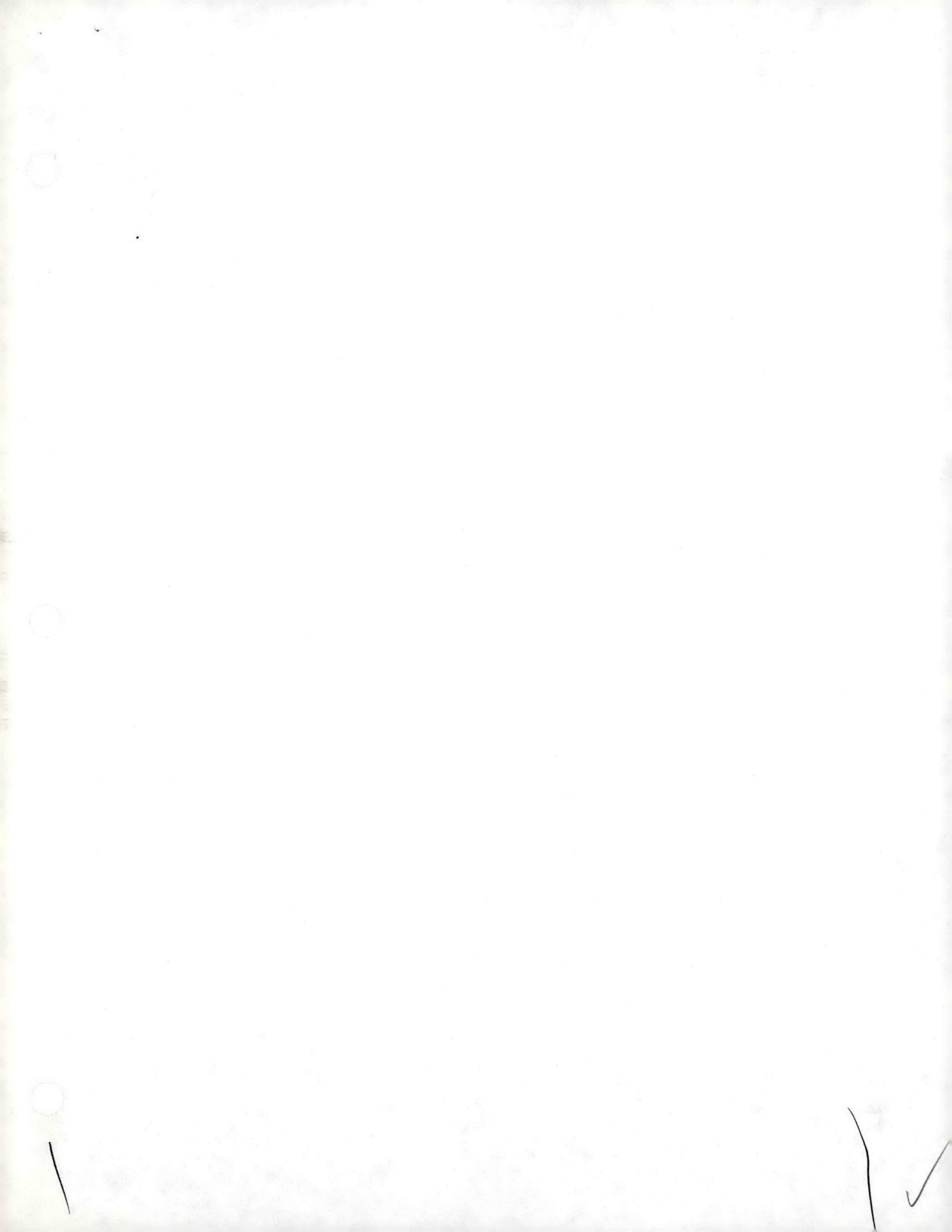
by collapsing response categories in the following manner:

Q.67 Q.103


1-6,15,16,23-29  
7,8  
9,30  
10,11,12,50  
13,14  
17,18,33  
21,22,32,53  
43  
55,42,49,  
19,20,31,35-41,  
44-48, 51,52,54,56-58  
34,59,60

1. PRIMARY RENEWABLE;  
2. LUMBER;  
3. ENERGY;  
4. HEAVY MANUFACTURING;  
5. PRIMARY EXTRACTIVE;  
6. TRADITIONAL MANUFACT;  
7. FUTURE MANUFACTURING;  
8. ARTS/CULTURAL/MEDIA;  
9. FINANCIAL;  
10. OTHER; and  
11. NONE/DK/NR.





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