

## **The Public Opinion Environment for Canadian-American Relations:**

**2005-2009**

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### **Abstract**

This paper reports on the first five years of a collaborative bi-national survey project in which representative parallel samples of Americans and Canadians are asked a common and consistent set of questions pertaining to the Canadian-American relationship. The goal is to provide a longitudinal record of public orientations to the bilateral relationship, as part of the broader international environment involving the leading trading partners of each country. Our results, which span four years of the Republican administration of George W. Bush and the first year of the Democratic administration of Barak Obama show considerable continuity in most measures but several items – particularly tapping the willingness of Canadians to cooperate with the US on security measures - also register some early signs that the relationship may be entering a new phase.

Paper prepared for delivery at the Biennial Conference of ACSUS, Westin Gaslamp District, San Diego, California, November 18-21<sup>st</sup>, 2009. The views expressed in this paper are those of the authors and have not been endorsed by, and are not reflective of, the position of the Government of Canada.

## Introduction

In general, public opinion in the area of foreign policy is thought to follow rather than lead events. This seems to be true in the case of relations between Canada and her the US, where initial skepticism and resistance to the idea of free trade has been replaced by growing levels of acceptance in all countries (Graves, 2007: 106; Rankin, 2004; Hart, 2008: 220). While the cross-border relationship is generally harmonious, inevitably there are tensions that arise from time to time and it is reasonable to expect that changes in the public mood will at the least provide some constraints on the development of external policies of both states. Disagreements over the Iraq war, for example, were especially sharp, and concerns were expressed in Canada over a spike in anti-Americanism, and American talk radio shows in particular carried comparably negative opinions about Canada. Similarly, mad cows, seemingly intractable softwood lumber disputes, passport requirements for travelers, and political pressures to harden the border against threats to our security, are among the most recent sources of tension and concern. Such issues remind us that our tranquil Canadian-American relations cannot simply be taken for granted.

The strength of the constraint on policy makers posed by citizen orientations and attitudes is likely to be in some proportion to the salience of the relationship in question, and in this respect our consideration of Canadian-American attitudes confronts a fundamental asymmetry. The United States is simply much more salient to Canadians than the reverse. With only one tenth the population, Canada is very much the nervous mouse next to the US elephant. And the vast majority of Canadians live within a couple hundred miles of the border, whereas most Americans do not (according to 2004 census estimates, slightly less than 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of Americans live in states that border Canada; see [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov)), further enhancing the differential salience of the relationship on either side of the 49<sup>th</sup> parallel. All of this means that Canadians are more likely than Americans to be aware of the importance of the Canadian-American relationship, and therefore more likely to be an attentive public in terms of the country's foreign policy in this area (Holmes, 1974: 611). However, there is no reason to expect this constraint to be constant over time. Heightened Canadian economic nationalism in the 1970s, for example, may have exerted a particularly strong influence on Canadian policy makers at that time (Murray and Leduc, 1976-77). More generally, in Canada at least, there is a growing body of evidence that is suggestive of a divide between opinion-leaders and the general public on matters of cross-national relations. Increasingly, it appears that ordinary Canadians are quite acceptant of closer ties with Americans, whereas "...worrying about distance is almost exclusively limited to the chattering classes" (Hart, 2009: 220).

Most existing assessments of public orientations to Canadian-American relations are based on fragmentary evidence drawn from *ad hoc* surveys of opinions on both sides of the border. Given the intimacy of the relationship, surprisingly little effort has been made to systematically and regularly monitor the pulse of opinion on the Canadian-American relationship. In particular, our understanding of the cross-border relationship remains constrained by two further limitations. Most importantly, there is a shortage of evidence based on questions that have been used consistently over time to monitor

attitudes (Stigler and Guy, 1974: 638). Secondly, there is a dearth of studies of opinion that are fielded at the same time on both sides of the border. Perhaps the most ambitious attempt to report on consistent measures over time is Michael Adams' exploration for evidence of convergence in Canadian and American values (Adams, 2003). As such, we are less well equipped to understand how the Canadian and American publics view the relationship over time than we ought to be. In this respect, our situation contrasts sharply with the situation in the European Union, where semi-annual surveys of member states known as the *Eurobarometer* have since 1973 measured a broad range of attitudinal benchmarks and challenges to the integration process. The well-known differences between the European and the North American situations prohibits drawing inferences from the former experience in trying to understand the latter (Capling and Nossal, 2009).

To redress this situation, a partnership between the University at Buffalo and Nanos Research (Ottawa, Canada) has undertaken for the past five years (2005-2009) parallel annual on-line surveys of representative samples on both sides of the border.<sup>1</sup> This paper reports on the trends identified in the first five years of our collaborative effort (2005-2009). A distinctive feature of our project is that we seek to contextualize Canadian and American views of one another by including the opportunity for them to identify other countries, from among their major trading partners, with whom they feel close. Fortunately, the list of seven major trading partners is the same for both countries: China, Japan, France, Germany, United Kingdom, Mexico, and Canada/United States. Our analysis begins by examining trends in the relative sense of proximity felt by Canadians and Americans to one another and to other major trading partners on several questions of values – human rights, family values, and business values. Secondly, we look for evidence of changes in the perception of Canadian and American respondents of the greatest threat emanating from goods and people coming from their major trading partners. We then turn to explore shifts over the past five years in Canada and the US in public support for closer cooperation on a range of security issues – national security, border security, anti-terrorism measures, and energy policy. Finally, we examine support for unilateralism/multilateralism in the foreign policy of each country. Throughout, we are particularly interested in discerning whether the shift from the Republican administration of George W. Bush to the Democratic Presidency of Barak Obama is accompanied by any shift in public sentiment regarding the relationship. We anticipate that Canadians would be more attuned than Americans to the possibility of change along this dimension.

### **Perceptions of the Relative Proximity of Canadians and Americans on Values**

There has been a lively debate concerning the extent to which Canadian and American values are converging as a result of the increasing economic integration of the two countries. While Lipset (1997) and Adams (2003) contend that there are deep and abiding – in the case of the latter, growing - value differences separating the two countries, others are concerned that the process of integration will eventually entail the erosion of Canadian cultural and political distinctiveness (e.g., Grant, 1965, 2005: 40-41;

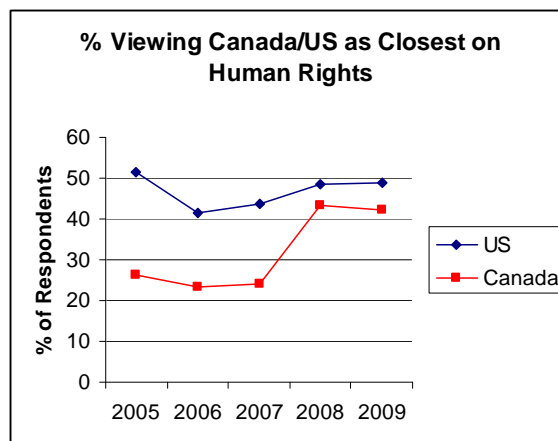
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<sup>1</sup> The study's rationale and design is described in more detail in Eagles et al., 2005. This paper and other studies based on the data collected by this project are available at <http://www.nanos-ub.buffalo.edu/index.shtml>.

Barlow, 2005: 15). While we are not in a position to directly assess the process of value convergence or divergence, our surveys do provide us with an opportunity to consider how similar or distinctive Canadians and Americans view themselves, relative to other countries. Specifically, our parallel surveys have asked respondents to choose from a list of their country’s seven largest trading partners those countries with whom they felt closest to in terms of human rights, family values, and business values. Increases in the proportions of residents of both countries perceiving the other as closest to themselves on these various measures could be taken as an indirect indication of the process of value integration.

One area where value differences may be expected to appear between Canadians and Americans during the five year period is in the area of “human rights, where several developments may have encouraged Canadians to distance themselves from their neighbors to the south. Such sentiments might reflect concerns for the potential infringement of human rights and civil liberties in the US following the passage of the “Patriot Act” in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 2001, the detention and maltreatment of suspected terrorists in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, or in the abuse of prisoners held in the Iraqi prison *Abu Grebe* as revealed in 2004. Figure One does reveal that Americans are more likely to think of Canada as closest to themselves on human rights than *vice versa*, but the differences have narrowed considerably in 2008 and 2009. This increase in the perception of closeness to the US is likely a function of the impending end of the highly unpopular Bush administration and – after 2008 – the installation of Barak Obama’s administration. Among President Obama’s campaign promises in 2008 was a higher respect for human rights, symbolized in his promise to close the military’s controversial detention center in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

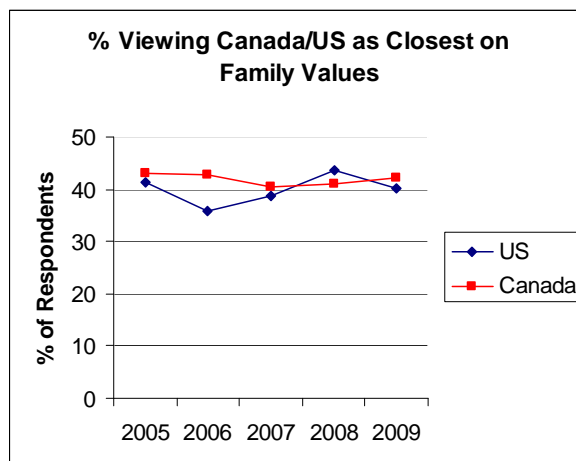
**Figure One**



Another aspect of the relative proximity felt by Canadians and Americans to one another can be taken from their responses to questions asking them to identify from a list of the seven largest trading partner countries the one in which they felt closest in terms of “family values”. Differences in this area loom large in the commentary during this period, highlighted by Canada’s decision to legalize ‘same sex marriage’ in 2005. Around

that same time Canada was contemplating decriminalizing the possession of small amounts of marijuana. These moves, together with a long secular in Canada trend away from church attendance and religiosity, were thought to be creating a rift with the US (Krauss, 2003). Of course, these differences may have been muted by the election of socially conservative Stephen Harper’s minority governments in 2006 and 2008. Notwithstanding these concerns, however, the results presented in Figure Two suggest that Canadians and Americans are virtually equally likely to report that the other country was closest to theirs in terms of family values. Interestingly, the propensity of Americans to select Canada as closest dipped slightly between 2005 and 2006, but recovered in subsequent years, suggesting that the strains resulting from cultural differences characteristic of the mid-decade and commented upon frequently by opinion leaders in both countries did in fact have some slight resonance in the general public in that country. Interestingly, 2006 was the only year in which Americans selected Britain more frequently than Canada on this measure (by a difference of 0.9%). In every other year, Canada was the modal choice of American respondents. More compelling than this slight decline, however, is the strong affinity felt towards residents across the border – much stronger than that registered for any other country available as a possible alternative.

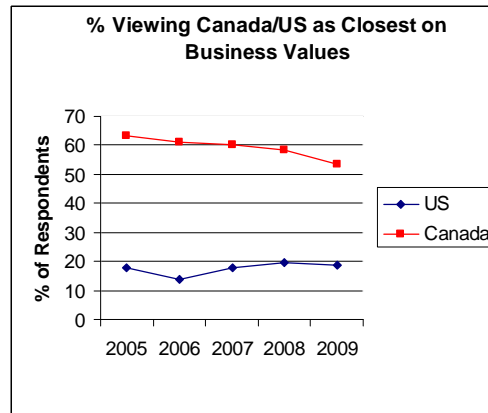
**Figure Two**



Canada and the US share an intimate economic relationship that is unrivalled in the world. Not only do the countries exchange raw and finished products but the integrated supply chains of multinational companies (most notably the auto manufacturers) suggest that we are making goods together. Accordingly, the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement (1988) and subsequently the NAFTA (1994) have formalized and enhanced many aspects of cross-border economic exchanges. We might expect, therefore, that public sentiments of cross-border closeness might be highest in the area of “business values”. However, Figure Three depicts a more complex picture of Canadian and American perceptions on this measure. For a majority of Canadians – albeit one that is diminishing in size over the five years of our surveying – there is simply no question but that the US is perceived to be the closest of the six largest trading countries in business values. Americans, however, are far less likely to reciprocate by naming Canada as closest on this important dimension. In every year of our survey, the modal choice of

American respondents for the closest country on business values was Japan, and the second choice in every year was Britain. Surprisingly, then, even in the presence of enormous and unprecedented economic interdependence, Americans in general are far less likely to perceive proximity to Canadians when doing business than the converse, and the only signs of convergence over the five years of our surveying on this dimension is the result of Canadians increasingly less likely to identify the US as closest to them on business values.

**Figure Three**



In terms of the relative sense of closeness in values perceived by Americans and Canadians, then, the relationships we may have expected based on the media and academic elites are not particularly well borne out. While differences in the perceived proximity on human rights are diminishing over time, similar convergences are not seen in the other two value areas. In terms of family values, about the same proportion of respondents in each country regard the other as closest, whereas on business values, Canadians remain far more likely to regard Americans as closest than vice versa.

### Perceptions of Potential Threat

A second way of assessing sentiments of closeness is to explore its opposite, namely, the sense that goods or people coming from a country might represent a potential threat, and therefore ought to be strictly monitored by government officials. The persistence of the myth that the 9/11 terrorists entered the US from Canada – even among politicians and government officials such as Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano<sup>2</sup> – suggests that Americans in general might feel vulnerable to goods or

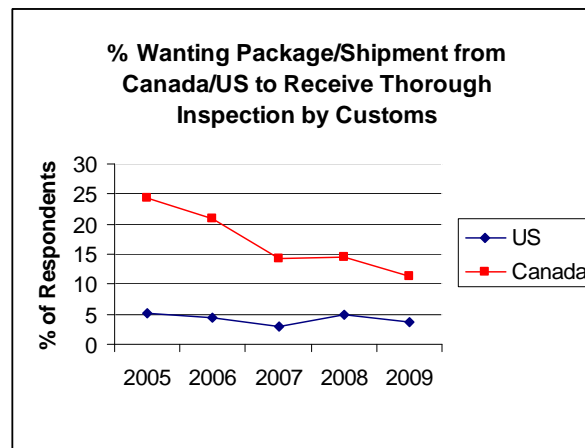
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<sup>2</sup> For example, when questioned regarding her statements calling for symmetrical border policies involving Mexico and Canada, for example, Secretary Napolitano was reported to have acknowledged that there were differences in the situations on each border, but added: "Nonetheless, to the extent that terrorists have come into our country or suspected or known terrorists have entered our country across a border, it's been across the Canadian border. There are real issues there." When asked if she was referring to the 9-11 terrorists, Napolitano added: "Not just those but others as well." In the furor that erupted, Napolitano

people entering their country from Canada. Former New York Senator and current Secretary of State Hillary Clinton joined with those arguing that the “northern border” with Canada needs to be “hardened” in the interests of American security. By the same token, the relative availability of handguns and other weapons in the US has fuelled some concerns among Canadians about the role of imported firearms contributing to urban violence in the country.

How widely does this sentiment appear to be held among ordinary Americans and Canadians? Figures Four and Five suggest that, for all the pontificating over northern border security coming from US media and political elites, relatively few Americans feel vulnerable to either goods or people entering from Canada. Well less than 10% of American respondents in each of the five years we surveyed said that goods or people coming from Canada should be singled out for thorough inspection. In this respect, there appears to be a significant disconnect between official Washington opinion concerning the nation’s vulnerability along the northern border and that of ordinary Americans. Rather, among the latter, goods and people arriving from Mexico and China were mentioned most frequently as calling for close inspection. This sentiment undoubtedly reflects not only the benign view of Canadians held by most Americans, but also the on-going border tensions surrounding drugs and illegal immigration coming from Mexico. By the same token, in 2007 and 2008 there were widespread concerns about excessive lead content in children’s toys, the drug melamine in imported infant formula, and poisonous chemicals in some toothpaste products, all coming into the US from China.

**Figure Four**



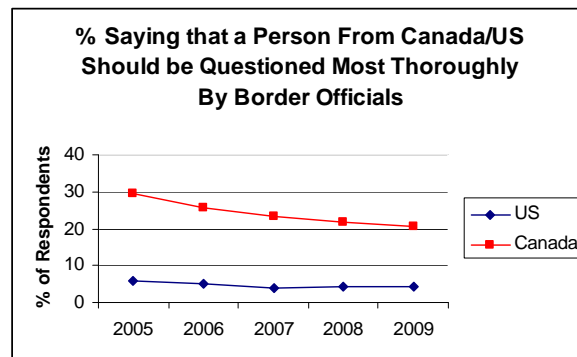
Canadians, on the other hand, are relatively more likely to feel vulnerable to products and people coming from the US, though in both cases the proportions were falling over the five years we surveyed. The apparent greater sensitivity of Canadians to

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insisted that her comments were misinterpreted and maintained that she was always aware that the terrorists did not enter from Canada.

goods and people coming into the country from the US is almost certainly related to the greater proximity of Canadians to the border itself. As noted earlier, whereas only a minority of Americans live close to the Canadian border, a large majority of Canadians do so. Notwithstanding this difference, however, the sense of vulnerability of Canadians to American goods seems to be diminishing over time. In 2009, for example, the proportion indicating that goods coming from the US should be the most closely examined fell to 11.2%, less than half the comparable proportion in 2005 (24.4%). Otherwise, Canadian respondents joined with their American counterparts in frequently expressing levels of distrust of both goods and people arriving from Mexico and China.

**Figure Five**



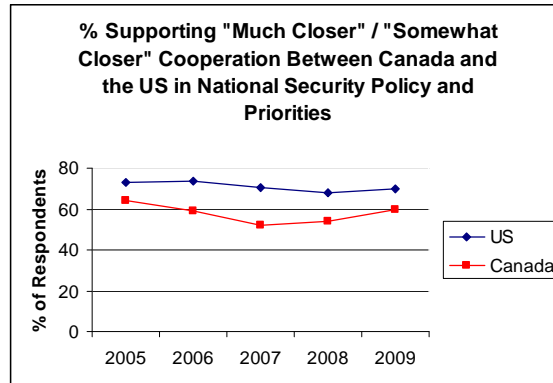
### Cooperation on the Security File

Clearly, there is relatively evidence in our surveys of public concern about the threat posed by goods or people crossing from Canada to the United States or (to a slightly lesser extent) from the US into Canada. From this, it would appear that residents of both countries might share a common concern with security issues. It is widely appreciated that progress in this area is critical to the achievement and maintenance of gains in other areas of the relationship. The joint US/Canada/Mexico Task Force on the continent’s future recognized the importance of this dimension in the post-9/11 context: “Failure to address security issues will ultimately undermine gains on other matters. In the North American context, failure to collaborate effectively to address security issues will have a direct impact on commercial relationships as well as on our freedoms and quality of life.” (Council on Foreign Relations, 2005: 4) Yet, in both countries there is concern about the erosion of sovereignty that might accompany efforts to strengthen cooperation and coordination. To see if and how this tension is reflected in opinions of the publics of both countries, we have monitored attitudes towards cooperation on three related aspects of security.

At the broadest level, a commitment to common security involves agreements to defend one another against aggressors, whether states or terrorists. Canada and the US have a long history of cooperation on the defense file. For example, the North Atlantic Air Defense (NORAD) command celebrated 50 years of successful cooperation in 2008 (and its mandate was recently expanded to include cooperation on maritime defense).

Similarly, both countries are founding members of NATO. However, American officials and politicians complain from time to time about Canada’s modest defense spending, and attempt to encourage Canadians to invest more heavily in their military (eg., see Cellucci, 2005: 75-76).

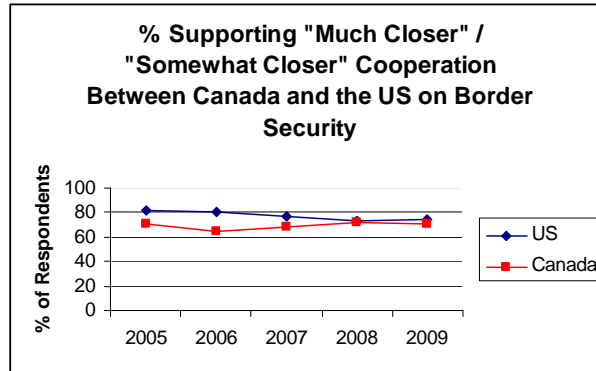
**Figure Six**



How do American and Canadian publics feel about cooperation on national security matters? The data presented in Figure Six suggest that there isn’t much separating Canadians and Americans on this question. Substantial majorities in both countries are in favor of closer cooperation on this file. However, it must be said that the level of support for closer cooperation is higher among Americans than Canadians. This difference might stem from a sense among Americans that Canadians, in under-investing in their military, have been free-riding on the American defense program. A more plausible interpretation of the difference, however, seems to be the lack of confidence that Canadians had in the foreign policy agenda of the Bush administration, in power for most of these years. In that respect, the uptick in support for closer cooperation in 2009 may signal a willingness on the part of Canadians to reconsider this issue in a more positive light as a sign of confidence in President Obama.

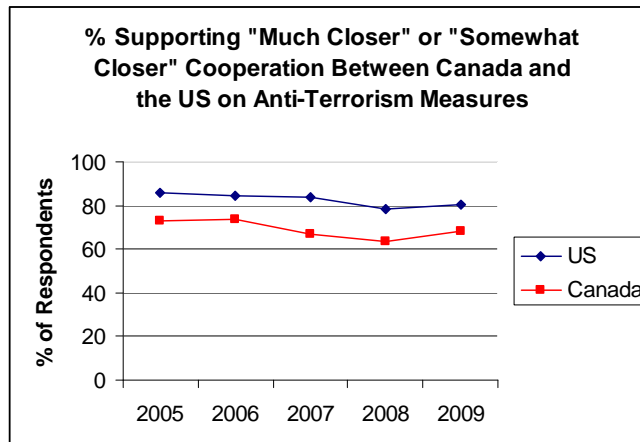
As noted above, border security has become a preoccupation of America’s Department of Homeland Security since the attacks of 9/11 (and arguably before – see Thompson and Randall, 2008: 297-299). Indeed, the securitization of the Canadian-American border has occasioned great consternation among Canadian politicians and officials, who fear that the costs that result when “security trumps trade” will fall disproportionately on Canadian citizens and exporters. At the level of the general public in both countries, there is overwhelming support for closer cooperation between the two countries on border security matters (see Figure Seven below). Indeed, there appears to be little difference between the two countries on the question of border security – and what differences there have been in past years seem to be disappearing in later ones as Canadians begin to regain the support they had in the first couple years of our surveying for closer cooperation.

**Figure Seven**



Much the same could be said of the pattern in support for closer cooperation on anti-terrorist measures in particular. More than 9 in 10 Americans support such measures in each of the five years of our survey. Slightly lower, but still large majorities, of Canadians feel the same way about this form of cross-border cooperation, and after a two year decline in 2007 and 2008, the proportion of Canadians supporting this rose in 2009. Whether this sentiment extends to support for a common security perimeter that would allow some relaxation of the security at the current Canadian-American border is a question that these data suggest should not be ruled out in advance as unacceptable to public opinion in either country.

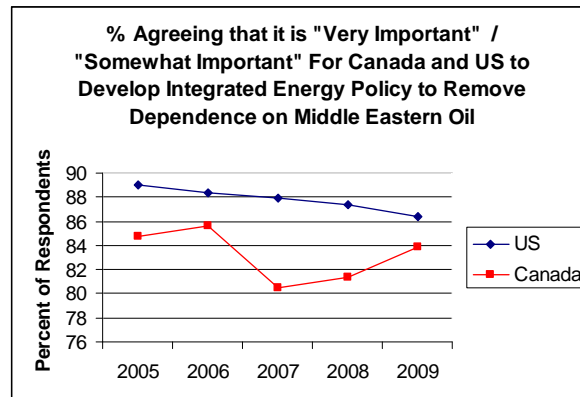
**Figure Eight**



Finally with respect to security, recognizing that a reliable supply of energy is essential to the security as well as the prosperity of publics, we have monitored attitudes on both sides of the border to the question of cooperation on energy. Specifically, we asked on each survey how important it was to respondents in both countries that their countries "...work together to develop an integrated energy policy to remove any dependence on Middle East Oil." Canada is the largest supplier of energy products to the US market, and in many respects there has evolved a tightly integrated but not centrally coordinated continental market in energy (Dukert, 2007). The results, shown in Figure

Nine, reveal substantial majorities in both countries supporting such a development. Interestingly, the proportion of American respondents acknowledging the importance of cooperation with Canada on this dimension has declined slightly over the five years (from 89 to 86 percent). While there is no linear trend in the level of Canadian support for energy cooperation, the percentage of supporters has been increasing since 2007 and in the most recent survey appears very close to the US level.

**Figure Nine**

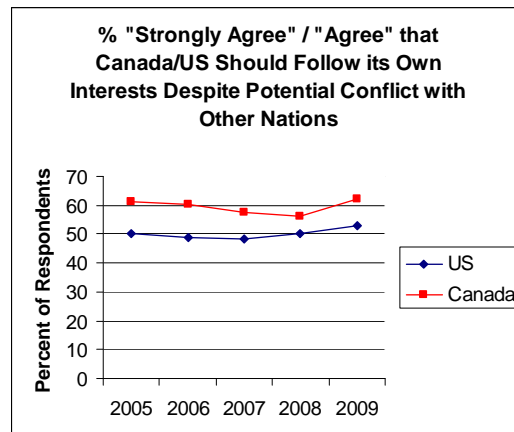


### **Support for Unilateralism**

One of the key distinctions that is commonly drawn between Canada and the United States is the different foreign policy orientations developed by each country. Whereas Canada has been a consistent supporter of multilateral action through international organizations such as the United Nations, the United States has – at least under George W. Bush - pursued a more unilateralist approach in international affairs and foreign policy. To determine whether the American public supports a more unilateralist foreign policy posture than Canadians, we asked respondents whether they agreed with the statement that their country “...should follow its own interests, even if this leads to conflict with other nations.” Our expectation is of course that Americans would line up behind their President during the Bush years at least and be more supportive of unilateralism.

From this perspective the results presented in Figure Ten appear perplexing. In every year we surveyed, a *higher* proportion of Canadian respondents than Americans supported a unilateralist position. The Canadian-American distinctiveness on this measure was not trivial. In four of the five years, the difference in proportions was in the neighborhood of 10%. While the political polarization of the American electorate during the Bush years may account for some of the lower levels of support for unilateralism, the relative strength of this position among the Canadian public is something that needs to be explained. One plausible hypothesis for this finding is that Canadian respondents are associating the “unilateralist” alternative with their country’s decision not to succumb to American pressure and join the “coalition of the willing” in the war in Iraq.

**Figure Ten**



## **Conclusion**

Our monitoring of opinions on both sides of the Canadian-American border has turned up some interesting and at times surprising findings. First, our results confirm the strong sentiments of affinity that Canadians and Americans feel toward one another on a wide range of issues and values. These sentiments are for the most part quite stable over the five years of our polling. What is particularly striking in this respect is that these sentiments were expressed during a period most of which was marked by considerable tension at the elite level in the bi-national relationship. Moreover, it is significant that there are indications in the data collected in 2008 and 2009 that these sentiments of closeness are intensifying, particularly among Canadian respondents who are apparently warming to the Obama administration. It seems likely that this trend will continue - President Obama's widespread popularity among Canadians has only increased since his election in November 2008 (Bouzane, 2009).

There are some areas where our work has turned up some unexpected results, two of which merit some brief comment here. First, the fact that Canadians tend not to be viewed by most Americans as being particularly close to them on business values may signal a problem for proponents of closer or deeper integration. Minimally, having more Americans feeling closer to the Japanese or the British than to Canadians is not helpful to the cultivation of our shared economic fate. Secondly, the surprising level of support that Canadian respondents repeatedly give to prioritizing "national interest" in their country's foreign policy suggests that support for multilateralism may not be as strong as is often assumed. Moreover, it suggests that any sign of capitulation in foreign policy to the interests of another country - whether or not it is the United States - will not find favor with the Canadian public. While Canadians appear on the whole to be comfortable with their intimate relationship with Americans, there appears to be strong support for retaining sovereignty, even if that entails some friction in the international arena.

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## NORTH AMERICAN MONITOR

*Tracking perceptions on US-Canada relations*

### OPINIONS OF CANADIANS



		Question - Canada should follow its own interests, even if this leads to conflict with other nations?						
		Total	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Can't choose
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	16.5	45.5	20.5	13.6	2.5	1.5
	2008	1073	15.9	39.2	21.7	15.8	4.7	2.7
	2007	1081	17.9	39.8	20.6	14.9	5.2	1.6
	2006	1055	24.3	37.1	19.0	13.4	3.4	2.9
	2005	1103	21.8	39.3	18.0	15.3	3.5	2.0

		Question (first ranked response) - Thinking about Canada in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with Canada in terms of human rights?							
		Total	The US	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	42.3	35.1	2.3	14.1	5.0	.7	.6
	2008	1073	43.5	34.3	2.2	14.1	4.8	.7	.5
	2007	1081	24.1	40.4	3.9	18.0	9.6	1.8	2.2
	2006	1055	23.5	39.5	4.0	18.2	9.1	2.6	3.1
	2005	1103	26.4	42.7	2.9	15.1	7.7	1.5	3.7

		Question (second ranked response) - Thinking about Canada in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with Canada in terms of human rights?							
		Total	The US	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	23.1	37.2	3.7	20.4	10.5	2.6	2.5
	2008	1073	23.7	39.6	4.3	18.5	8.8	2.6	2.5
	2007	1081	24.1	40.4	3.9	18.0	9.6	1.8	2.2
	2006	1055	23.5	39.5	4.0	18.2	9.1	2.6	3.1
	2005	1103	26.4	42.7	2.9	15.1	7.7	1.5	3.7

## NORTH AMERICAN MONITOR

*Tracking perceptions on US-Canada relations*

		Question (first ranked response) - Thinking about Canada in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with Canada in terms of family values?							
		Total	The US	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	42.3	27.1	7.8	9.2	6.8	4.4	2.5
	2008	1073	41.1	26.9	7.9	13.0	4.8	3.2	3.1
	2007	1081	40.5	27.9	8.4	14.4	4.6	2.5	1.6
	2006	1055	42.9	25.7	6.5	14.3	4.8	3.6	2.1
	2005	1103	43.1	30.4	7.5	12.0	3.2	2.2	1.7

		Question (second ranked response) - Thinking about Canada in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with Canada in terms of family values?							
		Total	The US	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	22.6	33.6	7.3	18.8	6.0	6.7	5.0
	2008	1073	22.1	36.7	7.2	15.1	8.7	5.6	4.7
	2007	1081	23.0	37.0	7.2	15.0	9.6	4.0	4.2
	2006	1055	24.6	36.9	5.2	15.7	8.1	6.2	3.3
	2005	1103	23.8	40.3	6.7	12.3	8.1	5.0	3.7

		Question (first ranked response) - Thinking about Canada in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with Canada in terms of business values?							
		Total	The US	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	53.4	15.7	12.6	4.3	6.5	6.4	1.1
	2008	1073	58.5	15.0	11.1	4.1	4.6	4.9	1.8
	2007	1081	60.4	14.0	11.1	3.6	5.9	3.9	1.1
	2006	1055	60.9	12.0	10.8	4.8	4.8	5.1	1.4
	2005	1103	63.1	16.8	8.8	4.3	3.5	3.0	0.5

## NORTH AMERICAN MONITOR

*Tracking perceptions on US-Canada relations*

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Question (second ranked response) - Thinking about Canada in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with Canada in terms of business values?

		Total	The US	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	17.0	30.7	13.4	10.6	14.6	8.9	4.8
	2008	1073	15.6	34.0	12.4	10.1	13.4	9.6	4.9
	2007	1081	16.6	33.1	13.7	8.3	12.8	10.3	5.3
	2006	1055	17.1	34.7	16.0	8.3	10.2	9.5	4.2
	2005	1103	16.1	37.6	18.1	8.5	9.6	6.6	3.4

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Question (first ranked response) - Thinking about when a package or a shipping container of goods enters Canada from one of the countries below, please rank the first and second country that Canadian customs officials should thoroughly inspect the shipment?

		Total	The US	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	11.2	.8	2.0	.9	1.6	36.6	47.0
	2008	1073	14.5	1.2	2.9	1.9	1.9	42.1	35.5
	2007	1081	14.2	1.2	2.4	1.5	2.1	47.3	31.3
	2006	1055	21.0	4.3	2.7	1.8	4.3	27.7	38.2
	2005	1103	24.4	1.3	2.6	1.6	3.0	28.1	39.0

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Question (second ranked response) - Thinking about when a package or a shipping container of goods enters Canada from one of the countries below, please rank the first and second country that Canadian customs officials should thoroughly inspect the shipment?

		Total	The US	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	12.2	1.8	8.3	1.8	5.4	36.2	34.2
	2008	1073	14.2	4.3	10.4	3.9	5.5	26.4	35.3
	2007	1081	11.5	3.8	8.3	3.2	4.5	26.3	42.4
	2006	1055	15.0	7.8	10.1	5.3	7.9	25.9	28.1
	2005	1103	12.7	7.3	7.0	3.2	7.4	29.4	33.1

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*Tracking perceptions on US-Canada relations*

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Question (first ranked response) - Thinking about when a visitor from one of the countries below arrives at the Canadian border, please rank the first and second country whose visitors Canadian customs officials should question most thoroughly?

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		Total	The US	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	20.6	1.2	2.1	1.5	4.2	24.1	46.3
	2008	1073	21.6	2.0	2.5	2.9	4.5	30.8	35.8
	2007	1081	23.3	2.1	3.1	3.6	4.3	29.2	34.2
	2006	1055	25.6	5.9	2.7	4.2	5.7	24.0	32.0
	2005	1103	29.6	2.9	2.5	3.8	4.5	25.5	31.2

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Question (second ranked response) - Thinking about when a visitor from one of the countries below arrives at the Canadian border, please rank the first and second country whose visitors Canadian customs officials should question most thoroughly?

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		Total	The US	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	12.6	4.5	7.6	4.8	6.6	34.9	29.0
	2008	1073	14.7	6.1	8.3	5.9	8.9	26.9	29.3
	2007	1081	10.2	6.3	9.0	7.0	9.3	28.2	30.1
	2006	1055	14.1	10.8	8.2	6.3	10.3	22.3	28.1
	2005	1103	12.7	9.1	7.4	5.7	11.2	24.2	29.7

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Question - In terms of national security (i.e. NATO, the United Nations), should Canada and the United States be moving towards greater and closer cooperation or should they be maintaining separate national security policies and priorities?

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		Total	Much closer cooperation	Somewhat closer cooperation	Stay the same/no change	Somewhat separate	Completely separate	Can't choose/don't know
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	23.5	36.1	15.5	14.9	6.9	3.1
	2008	1073	20.0	33.9	16.2	13.6	9.5	6.7
	2007	1081	19.5	32.4	15.9	18.6	9.4	4.2
	2006	1055	28.2	30.8	13.1	14.7	8.4	4.7
	2005	1103	29.8	34.5	11.3	12.1	9.8	2.5

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## NORTH AMERICAN MONITOR

*Tracking perceptions on US-Canada relations*

Question - In terms of border security, should Canada and the United States be moving towards greater and closer cooperation or should they be maintaining separate national security policies and priorities?

		Total	Much closer cooperation	Somewhat closer cooperation	Stay the same/no change	Somewhat separate	Completely separate	Can't choose/don't know
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	32.3	38.4	12.3	10.2	4.9	1.9
	2008	1073	31.2	33.7	14.8	8.8	6.7	4.8
	2007	1081	31.7	37.2	11.5	9.9	6.9	2.8
	2006	1055	39.6	32.6	11.1	7.9	6.1	2.7
	2005	1103	39.4	35.9	10.5	7.0	5.5	1.6

Question - In terms of anti-terrorism measures, should Canada and the United States be moving towards greater and closer cooperation or should they be maintaining separate national security policies and priorities?

		Total	Much closer cooperation	Somewhat closer cooperation	Stay the same/no change	Somewhat separate	Completely separate	Can't choose/don't know
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	36.0	32.1	11.6	10.2	8.1	2.0
	2008	1073	36.6	26.7	13.0	9.8	8.9	5.0
	2007	1081	37.0	30.1	9.3	12.1	9.3	2.2
	2006	1055	46.4	27.5	7.6	7.8	8.2	2.6
	2005	1103	43.7	29.6	7.0	9.4	8.9	1.4

Question - In your opinion, how important or unimportant is it for Canada and the United States to work together to develop an integrated energy policy to remove any dependence on Middle East Oil? Is it very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant or very unimportant?

		Total	Very important	Somewhat important	Neither important nor unimportant	Somewhat unimportant	Very unimportant	Unsure
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
Canada	2009	1006	52.0	31.9	6.7	4.0	2.4	3.1
	2008	1073	49.7	30.7	6.6	4.0	4.3	4.8
	2007	1081	48.0	32.5	5.9	4.2	4.7	4.7
	2006	1055	55.5	30.1	5.1	2.7	3.5	3.1
	2005	1103	57.1	27.6	5.6	3.8	3.4	2.5

## NORTH AMERICAN MONITOR

*Tracking perceptions on US-Canada relations*

### OPINIONS OF AMERICANS



		Question -The US should follow its own interests, even if this leads to conflict with other nations						
		Total	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Can't choose
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	21.2	31.6	21.7	15.8	6.3	3.5
	2008	1096	15.9	34.1	21.8	16.9	8.0	3.3
	2007	1087	15.7	32.7	23.5	17.2	8.0	2.9
	2006	1089	18.4	31.3	21.9	16.4	7.2	4.8
	2005	1057	18.5	31.5	20.2	20.3	7.4	2.1

		Question (first ranked response) - Thinking about the US in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with the United States in terms of human rights?							
		Total	Canada	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	49.0	35.9	3.5	4.3	2.8	2.8	1.7
	2008	1096	48.5	36.9	2.7	3.9	2.4	3.6	2.1
	2007	1087	43.6	40.4	2.7	5.5	2.4	3.4	2.0
	2006	1089	41.6	46.1	2.9	2.2	2.1	2.5	2.5
	2005	1057	51.4	40.5	1.9	1.9	1.7	1.0	1.6

		Question (second ranked response) - Thinking about the US in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with the United States in terms of human rights?							
		Total	Canada	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	28.9	38.0	5.6	11.5	7.8	4.2	4.0
	2008	1096	29.6	37.4	4.7	11.3	7.5	4.4	5.1
	2007	1087	32.6	33.0	4.9	9.4	9.2	4.0	6.9
	2006	1089	35.3	31.7	8.2	8.6	7.2	4.2	4.8
	2005	1057	31.5	41.7	5.1	6.4	6.4	3.0	5.8

## NORTH AMERICAN MONITOR

*Tracking perceptions on US-Canada relations*

Question (first ranked response) - Thinking about the US in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with the United States in terms of family values?

		Total	Canada	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	40.3	28.8	11.4	3.6	3.9	4.4	7.6
	2008	1096	43.5	28.0	8.6	3.5	3.3	5.5	7.5
	2007	1087	38.6	30.7	11.3	4.1	4.0	4.2	7.1
	2006	1089	35.8	36.7	11.4	2.4	2.8	5.3	5.6
	2005	1057	41.3	35.6	12.1	1.5	2.4	2.5	4.7

Question (second ranked response) - Thinking about the US in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with the United States in terms of family values?

		Total	Canada	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	27.6	34.3	9.8	7.3	8.7	5.6	6.6
	2008	1096	25.7	36.2	8.2	8.2	8.0	5.4	8.4
	2007	1087	27.4	31.5	10.6	6.8	9.6	6.5	7.6
	2006	1089	29.9	29.1	10.0	8.2	9.0	7.7	6.1
	2005	1057	29.7	34.3	9.7	4.9	7.0	7.6	6.8

Question (first ranked response) - Thinking about the US in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with the United States in terms of business values?

		Total	Canada	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	18.9	21.0	31.7	2.0	7.6	17.0	1.8
	2008	1096	19.7	22.1	31.2	2.5	5.2	18.0	1.2
	2007	1087	17.7	19.8	36.1	2.6	6.3	15.9	1.6
	2006	1089	13.7	24.9	37.2	2.3	6.5	14.1	1.4
	2005	1057	18.0	25.9	39.2	1.3	5.5	8.5	1.4

## NORTH AMERICAN MONITOR

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Question (second ranked response) - Thinking about the US in relation with the countries below, could you please identify the first and second ranked countries that are closest with the United States in terms of business values?

		Total	Canada	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	16.8	20.1	22.5	4.6	14.9	16.7	4.5
	2008	1096	17.3	21.6	21.4	4.5	16.0	14.4	4.7
	2007	1087	16.6	24.0	18.9	5.8	14.0	17.0	3.7
	2006	1089	18.3	20.7	21.0	4.9	15.8	14.9	4.5
	2005	1057	19.0	23.7	16.8	3.9	15.3	17.8	3.4

Question (first ranked response) - Thinking about when a package or a shipping container of goods enters the US from one of the countries below, please rank the first and second country that American customs officials should thoroughly inspect the shipment?

		Total	Canada	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	3.6	2.4	3.5	3.3	3.2	36.1	48.0
	2008	1096	4.8	2.7	3.8	3.6	2.5	41.5	41.2
	2007	1087	3.0	3.4	5.6	3.4	4.1	48.4	32.1
	2006	1089	4.4	5.9	5.8	6.8	5.6	27.5	44.0
	2005	1057	5.1	2.8	4.9	6.2	3.9	27.8	49.3

Question (second ranked response) - Thinking about when a package or a shipping container of goods enters the US from one of the countries below, please rank the first and second country that American customs officials should thoroughly inspect the shipment?

		Total	Canada	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	8.1	3.7	9.7	8.1	7.0	32.9	30.5
	2008	1096	6.6	4.1	10.5	7.4	8.2	29.3	33.8
	2007	1087	6.6	3.8	14.0	7.6	7.4	25.2	35.5
	2006	1089	8.8	4.7	10.3	13.4	11.1	28.9	22.7
	2005	1057	9.1	4.3	8.3	11.4	10.1	31.6	25.2

## NORTH AMERICAN MONITOR

*Tracking perceptions on US-Canada relations*

Question (first ranked response) - Thinking about when a visitor from one of the countries below arrives at the US border, please rank the first and second country whose visitors American customs officials should question most thoroughly?

		Total	Canada	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	4.1	2.9	4.2	4.6	5.6	21.4	57.2
	2008	1096	4.3	2.5	4.5	4.4	4.9	24.2	55.3
	2007	1087	4.0	4.7	4.0	7.0	7.2	22.0	51.0
	2006	1089	4.9	6.3	4.3	10.1	6.7	18.0	49.6
	2005	1057	5.7	3.8	3.5	9.3	6.3	21.0	50.3

Question (second ranked response) - Thinking about when a visitor from one of the countries below arrives at the US border, please rank the first and second country whose visitors American customs officials should question most thoroughly?

		Total	Canada	Britain	Japan	France	Germany	China	Mexico
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	12.5	4.9	8.7	13.1	9.4	31.5	19.8
	2008	1096	11.3	3.4	9.1	10.9	11.8	32.8	20.8
	2007	1087	11.6	4.8	10.3	10.9	14.5	28.0	19.9
	2006	1089	11.5	5.2	9.2	13.9	13.8	28.2	18.2
	2005	1057	11.0	6.0	9.0	13.6	12.8	27.5	20.1

Question - In terms of national security (i.e. NATO, the United Nations), should Canada and the United States be moving towards greater and closer cooperation or should they be maintaining separate national security policies and priorities?

		Total	Much closer cooperation	Somewhat closer cooperation	Stay the same/no change	Somewhat separate	Completely separate	Can't choose/don't know
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	30.2	39.5	13.3	6.1	5.8	5.1
	2008	1096	28.2	39.8	18.1	5.0	4.2	4.6
	2007	1087	30.0	40.3	15.5	4.8	6.0	3.3
	2006	1089	41.1	32.6	11.0	4.5	5.1	5.6
	2005	1057	37.2	35.5	11.3	6.7	5.8	3.5

## NORTH AMERICAN MONITOR

*Tracking perceptions on US-Canada relations*

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Question - In terms of border security, should Canada and the United States be moving towards greater and closer cooperation or should they be maintaining separate national security policies and priorities?

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		Total	Much closer cooperation	Somewhat closer cooperation	Stay the same/no change	Somewhat separate	Completely separate	Can't choose/don't know
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	38.8	36.1	11.6	5.1	3.8	4.7
	2008	1096	37.5	36.1	15.8	3.6	2.8	4.2
	2007	1087	40.1	36.5	14.4	2.8	3.7	2.6
	2006	1089	49.3	30.6	8.5	3.9	2.8	4.9
	2005	1057	46.9	34.3	9.3	3.2	3.6	2.7

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Question - In terms of anti-terrorism measures, should Canada and the United States be moving towards greater and closer cooperation or should they be maintaining separate national security policies and priorities?

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		Total	Much closer cooperation	Somewhat closer cooperation	Stay the same/no change	Somewhat separate	Completely separate	Can't choose/don't know
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	48.6	32.1	8.4	3.2	3.0	4.7
	2008	1096	46.9	31.6	12.3	2.7	2.8	3.7
	2007	1087	52.8	30.8	8.7	3.2	2.1	2.5
	2006	1089	60.7	23.7	6.2	2.3	2.6	4.4
	2005	1057	55.8	30.3	6.7	2.2	2.9	2.2

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Question - In your opinion, how important or unimportant is it for Canada and the United States to work together to develop an integrated energy policy to remove any dependence on Middle East Oil? Is it very important, somewhat important, somewhat unimportant or unimportant?

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		Total	Very important	Somewhat important	Neither important nor unimportant	Somewhat unimportant	Very unimportant	Unsure
		Responses	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
USA	2009	1001	58.0	28.4	6.3	1.3	1.5	4.4
	2008	1096	60.4	27.0	6.6	1.6	.9	3.5
	2007	1087	58.9	29.0	5.6	1.5	2.1	2.9
	2006	1089	65.6	22.8	5.3	1.1	1.1	4.0
	2005	1057	64.7	24.3	4.7	1.8	1.9	2.7

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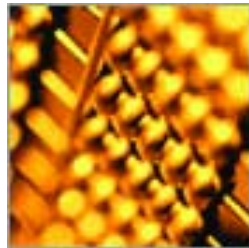
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# The Nanos Approach

At Nanos Research, we are experts at helping public-facing companies and organizations connect with the “hearts and minds” of customers or the general public. Our advantage comes from over 20 years experience in understanding the numbers and building upon them to provide strategic insight and intelligence in support of our clients’ business, marketing, public affairs and communications needs.



## Getting Started

At Nanos, we believe that small steps can lead to large insights. We are regularly in the field with a national omnibus surveys. We’ll sit down with you to learn about your challenges and work on your challenge together. The results can be used to conduct a strategic assessment of your current challenge or can be the basis of a broader mission plan for you to achieve your market or mind share objectives.

## The Right Solution for the Right Job

- Strategy Retainer
- Strategic Assessment
- Telephone Surveys
- Online Surveys
- eDeliberative Polling and Online Dialogue
- Focus Groups
- Elite in-depth interviews
- Mystery Shopping
- Management Consulting



# A Trusted Source

Our team is headed by Nik Nanos, a leader in the market and public opinion research industry recognized for the quality of his work, the insightfulness of his counsel and his professional integrity. Media organizations regularly call upon Nik Nanos and Nanos Research to capture the public pulse and analyze complex issues.



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