

Mutual Perceptions of the Canadian and American Publics

by

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ABSTRACT

The study of attitudes toward the United States has a long lineage in research on Canadian public opinion, though comparatively less research exists on American public opinion toward Canada. Further, most analyses in this area either neglect or measure only crudely proximity to (or conversely distance from) the other country, and thus do not adequately capture the effect of spatial proximity on attitudes toward the other country. This paper draws on data from the Canadian Election Study (1997–2008) and the Gallup Poll (2001–2011) in investigating Canadian public opinion toward the United States and American public opinion toward Canada. Substantively, the focus of the paper is on the roles of political party identification and political ideology (on one hand) and spatial proximity to the Canada–U.S. border (on the other) in shaping attitudes toward the other country. Methodologically, the innovation of this paper is the application of geocoding tools to existing public opinion datasets, thereby allowing for the calculation of proximity to the Canada–U.S. border to be performed.

RÉSUMÉ

L'étude des attitudes envers les États-Unis a une longue histoire dans la recherche sur l'opinion publique canadienne, mais par comparaison il existe moins de recherche quant à l'opinion publique américaine envers le Canada. De plus, la plupart des analyses dans ce domaine négligent ou mesurent de façon inexacte la proximité (ou réciproquement la distance) de l'autre pays, et ainsi négligent l'effet de la proximité spatiale sur des attitudes envers l'autre pays. Ce papier utilise les données de l'Étude Électorale Canadienne (1997–2008) et du Gallup Poll (2001–2011) en étudiant l'opinion publique canadienne envers les États-Unis et l'opinion publique américaine envers le Canada. En substance, ce papier décrit les rôles de l'allégeance partisane et de l'idéologie politique (d'une part) et la proximité spatiale à la frontière Canada–États-Unis (de l'autre) dans la formation des attitudes envers l'autre pays. D'un point de vue méthodologique, l'innovation de ce papier consiste en l'application des outils d'attribution de coordonnées de géographiques (« geocoding ») aux données d'opinion publique existantes, ce qui par conséquent permet de calculer la proximité à la frontière Canada–États-Unis.

One of the best-known (and most often recited) quotes in the study of Canada–United States relations, due to historian John Bartlett Brebner, is that “Americans are benevolently ignorant about Canada” while “Canadians are malevolently well informed about the United States” (1945: 3). Though this statement now verges on cliché, it nevertheless serves as a useful starting point for a consideration of the mutual perceptions of the Canadian and American publics, since it delineates between two different dimensions relevant to the study of public opinion and political behaviour: knowledge and ignorance (on the one hand) and positive and negative dispositions (on the other). Reflecting on the latter positive–negative dimension, it is clear that Canadian attitudes toward the United States as depicted in the news media run the full range from extremely positive to extremely negative. Consider, for example, the contrasting examples of the March 2003 *Wall Street Journal* letter by then-Canadian Alliance opposition leader Stephen Harper and foreign affairs critic Stockwell Day deploring (in essence, apologizing to an American audience for) Canada’s refusal to stand beside its American ally in invading Iraq and former Liberal Member of Parliament Carolyn Parrish’s infamous “Damn Americans – I hate those bastards” comment in February 2003. The same range is observed in media depictions of American views toward Canada. Again, consider the contrasting examples of President Barack Obama’s unequivocal statement “I love this country” in Ottawa in February 2009 during his first official state visit and cable news pundit Patrick Buchanan’s pejorative “Soviet Canuckistan” remark in 2002.

Though each of the above statements might find support among different segments of the Canadian and American publics, the statements of political figures and television personalities ought not to be taken at face value, nor should they be taken to be indicative of either the centre of gravity or the range public opinion in either country.¹ The question therefore remains – *what do Canadians think of the United States, and what do Americans think of Canada?* The question is not an idle one: Canada–U.S. trade represents the largest bilateral trading relationship in the world. The two countries’ shared geography also implies shared threats to their security and common challenges to the preservation of their natural environment. Further, the management of these different facets of Canada–U.S. relations does not take place in a political vacuum; rather, it takes place within parameters (in part) imposed by public opinion in both countries. Simply put, public opinion *can* and *does* have implications for the conduct of foreign policy (Aldrich et al. 2004; Baum and Potter 2010, 2008; Sobel 2001; Soroka 2003; Risse-Kappen 1991). At the same time, both views of and

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I would like to thank my Gallup colleagues Jeff Jones, for providing access to (and for helping me navigate) the Gallup Poll data analyzed in this paper, and Richard Burkholder, whose passionate interest in Canadian and Québécois politics and society (coupled with his provenance from New Hampshire) caused me to reflect on the possible link between American attitudes toward Canada and border proximity. All errors, omissions and shortcomings herein, of course, remain my own.

1. Indeed, one of the conclusions that emerges from this paper is that such statements likely provoke as much rejection as support among the Canadian and American publics, with individual reactions being shaped by one’s political leanings and one’s proximity to the other country.

relations with the U.S. matter greatly in Canadian politics (Munton and Poel 1977–78; Nossal 2008).

Consequently, it is unsurprising that attitudes toward the United States have long been a topic of research on Canadian public opinion. By comparison, less research exists on American attitudes toward Canada. In this paper, I aim to contribute to both literatures in exploring the mutual perceptions of the Canadian and American publics, paying particular attention to the effects of political party identification and political ideology (on one hand) and proximity to the Canada–U.S. border (on the other) on attitudes toward the other country. My focus is on the *general* impressions of the two publics toward the other country as opposed to attitudes toward Canada–U.S. relations per se, or even more specific attitudes toward particular policy areas, such as trade or cooperation in security affairs. The remainder of the paper is structured as follows. I first review the existing research on Canadian public opinion toward the U.S. and American public opinion toward Canada while pointing out some of its limitations. I then present the data employed in this study, namely the Canadian Election Study (1997–2008) datasets and data drawn from the Gallup Poll (2001–2011), and advance my hypotheses relating to, first, political party identification and political ideology, second, proximity to the Canada–U.S. border, and third, the *interaction* between political party identification (and ideology) and border proximity. Next, I discuss relevant aspects of the methodology, including the operationalization of border proximity using geocoding and spatial data analytic tools. I then present the results from a series of regression models before offering some concluding remarks on potential avenues of inquiry for the further study of Canadian and American public opinion.

CANADIAN PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD THE UNITED STATES AND AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD CANADA: PAST AND PRESENT

Views of U.S. – both positive and negative, and the competition between the two – have held a central place in Canadian politics dating back to the pre-Confederation era.² Indeed, as a function of geography and the circumstances of its historical development, anti-American and pro-American sentiments have both a lengthier chronology and different character in Canada than anywhere else in the world (Granatstein 1996; Nossal 2008, 2007).³ Even before the introduction of scientific public opinion research methods to Canada,

2. This review of Canadian views of the U.S. and American views of Canada focuses on research pertaining to mass public opinion. For studies dealing centrally or touching on elite opinion, see Alper (1980); Doran and Sewell (1988); Kirton and Bothwell (1986, 1985, 1983); Stewart (1992). For studies of views represented in literature, film and television, see Brooks (2008); Harrison (2007).

3. Different definitions of “anti-Americanism” have been proposed (see Granatstein 1996: 4; Doran and Sewell 1988: 106–108; Nossal 2008: 130, 2007: 61–62). Here, I follow the minimal definition offered by Katzenstein and Keohane who define anti-Americanism as “a psychological tendency to hold negative views of the United States and of American society in general” (2007b: 12), or even more simply as “the expression of negative attitudes toward the United States” (Keohane and Katzenstein 2007a: 12). Given the nature of public opinion data, such a minimal definition ensures a close concordance between concept and empirical measurement.

studies of Canadian attitudes toward the U.S. and Canada–U.S. relations drew insights from newspapers, parliamentary debates and in-person interviews with small purposive samples (Angus 1938). Following the founding in 1941 of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO) with ties to the Gallup Organization in the U.S., periodic polls touching on Canadian attitudes toward the U.S. and Canada–U.S. relations were undertaken. During World War II, CIPO asked the Canadian public: “After the war, do you think we should have free trade with the United States – that is, that all products and merchandise crossing the border either way should be free of all tariff and customs duties?” In June 1943, 67 percent favoured free trade, 17 percent opposed it, and 16 percent were undecided. In February 1944, CIPO found a similar result: 70 percent favoured free trade, 20 percent opposed it, and 10 percent were undecided. In the aftermath of the Suez Crisis in January 1957, CIPO asked the following: “Some people feel that the United States is antagonizing some of her most important allies by her foreign policy. Others don’t agree. Do you think the U.S. foreign policy is losing her friendship among western countries or not?” A plurality of the Canadian public (43 percent) felt that the U.S. was not losing friends, 32 percent felt that the U.S. was losing friends, and 25 percent had no opinion.⁴

Research on Canadian public opinion toward the United States greatly accelerated in the late 1960s and early 1970s – a development that coincided with growth in the number of organizations undertaking public opinion polling in Canada as well as rising public concern about American investment in Canada (interpreted by some as heralding the “Americanisation of Canada”) and initiatives by the Trudeau government to diversify Canada’s economic relations away from the U.S. and toward closer cooperation with Europe and Asia (this being Mitchell Sharp’s famous “Third Option”). Public opinion research conducted during this period generally found that the Canadian public was divided on the question of whether American investment in Canada was a “good thing” or a “bad thing.” Depending on how the question was phrased, polls found that either a thin majority or a plurality of Canadians believed that American investment in Canada was a “good thing” (Munton and Poel 1977–78; Murray and Gerace 1972; Sigler and Goresky 1974). Not surprisingly, the Canadian public was similarly split three ways when presented with Sharp’s three options for Canada’s foreign policy. In separate polls conducted in 1973, 1974 and 1975, Murray and Leduc (1976–77) found that a plurality of Canadians preferred to maintain Canada’s existing arrangements with the United States without any policy adjustments (the “First Option”). Fewer preferred closer cooperation with Europe and Asia (the “Third Option”), and even fewer still (between 18 and 22 per cent) preferred to move closer to the U.S. (the “Second Option”). Sigler and Goresky (1974) found that political party identification was predictive of attitudes toward U.S. foreign investment, with Liberal and Progressive Conservative supporters more likely to favour it than New Democratic Party supporters. Munton and Poel (1977–78) found a similar dynamic at work when the Canadian public was asked about the American influence on Canada: PC supporters were the least likely to think that the U.S. had too much influence, NDP supporters were the most likely, and Liberal supporters held an intermediate position.

4. CIPO poll results are taken from <http://brain.gallup.com>.

With the shift in the policy agenda in the 1980s and 1990s from foreign investment to free trade, public opinion research followed suit, and polls reporting Canadians' support for, first, the Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement, and later, the North American Free Trade Agreement proliferated. These polls, when examined over time, demonstrated that Canadian public opinion on the trade agreements was volatile, with support decreasing as an agreement drew nearer (Dasko 1986). Similar patterns in support for NAFTA were also observed in the early 1990s, though support for NAFTA has since rebounded, with support between 64 and 70 per cent in 2001–2002 – levels not seen since before the FTA (Mendelsohn and Wolfe 2000; Potter 2002). Research found that support for free trade was highest in the west and lowest in Ontario (Dasko 1986) and higher among men than women (Gidengil 1995). More recent research by Bennett (2004) and Nevitte et al. (2002) finds that political ideology (or political party identification) are predictive of positive attitudes toward NAFTA; they also find that a strong attachment to Canadian national identity are predictive of more negative attitudes toward NAFTA. Moving the focus away from trade, Nevitte et al. (2002) also find similar effects for political ideology and attachment to Canadian national identity on both trust in Americans and favouring the elimination of the Canada–U.S. border.

While the the study of Canadian attitudes toward the U.S. during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s had a mainly “by Canadians, for Canadians” character similar to the related literature on Canadian foreign policy, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 created a renewed and geographically broader interest among scholars in the attitudes of foreign publics toward the U.S. The years since the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq have seen a number of important studies – many by American scholars – of attitudes toward the U.S., and with many of them presenting Canadian data (Brooks 2006; Chiozza 2009; Holsti 2008; Katzenstein and Keohane 2007a; Kohut and Stokes 2006). These studies generally paint the picture of a Canadian public with favourable views of the U.S. (on balance) and a strong affinity for American democratic ideas and popular culture, but with less attraction to American business practices or the spread of American customs and ideas to Canada. Considered in cross-national perspective, the Canadian public is often shown to be among the most positive in its attitudes toward the U.S. These studies do repeatedly note, however, that Canadian attitudes have become more negative in recent years. Survey items measuring attitudes toward American foreign policy and the role of the U.S. in the world have seen the sharpest decline, though all survey questions – including those measuring general attitudes toward the U.S. and the American public – have observed a downward trend.⁵

5. These survey results would suggest that the sharp distinction between “what America *is*” and “what America *does*” made by Holsti (2008: 64–65) and Keohane and Katzenstein (2007: 2) is overdrawn. It implies that character (or personality) and behaviour are at a best only weakly related to one another – a difficult argument to sustain light of the current state of psychological science. It further implies that the American people are not liable for the policies and actions of its leaders when arguably “*is*” and “*does*” in an electoral democracy such as the U.S. are more tightly bound than Holsti and Keohane and Katzenstein suggest. The fact that evaluations of the American people and American foreign policy actions by foreign publics track together over time indicates that they are indeed bound at the level of mass public opinion.

Given the volume and long lineage of research on Canadian attitudes toward the U.S., the literature on American attitudes toward Canada appears scant by comparison. Indeed, Sigler and Goresky observed more than thirty years ago that there existed an “asymmetry in attention levels between the two countries about each other’s affairs and their relations” among both policy elites and mass publics. This is reflected in the topics that find their way into public opinion polls: “While questions about the United States per se or relations of the United States with Canada are extremely common in [Canadian] polls, there are few questions about Canada in [American] polls” (Sigler and Goresky 1974: 637). Arguably, little has changed since then that would warrant reversing this judgment. This state of affairs is due to what Brooks has called the “cognitive isolationism” of the American public and news media (2006: 15). A few exceptions to this general pattern exist, and indeed, one of the first instances of research on this topic goes back to the very early days of scientific public opinion polling: in September 1939, a Gallup Poll of the American public used a split sample to ask, alternatively: “If Canada is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the United States should go to war to defend Canada?” (57 percent of respondents said yes; 29 percent said no) or “If Canada is actually invaded by any European power, do you think the United States should use its army and navy to aid Canada?” (63 percent of respondents said yes; 22 percent said no). These results are all the more noteworthy given low support for declaring war on Germany and sending American soldiers and sailors abroad to fight (a proposition that garnered only 5 percent “yes” and 92 percent “no”). One may also cite a series of Gallup studies conducted in 1986, 1990 and 1994 for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, which found that 90 to 96 percent of American policy elites thought that the U.S. had a vital interest in Canada, a view shared by 70 to 78 percent of the American public.⁶

Scholarly literature devoted to American public opinion toward Canada and Canada–U.S. relations is, however, more difficult to come by. It is worth noting that the Canada–U.S. Free Trade Agreement did not generate the level of political debate in the U.S. that it did in Canada, and so did not generate the same kind of public opinion polling. Polls did, however, proliferate in the 1990–1992 period with the contemplated extension of the free trade zone to Mexico under NAFTA, especially in the lead-up to the 1992 Presidential election. Both polling and analysis, much like the 1992 election itself, was oriented toward Mexico and not Canada. In examining American attitudes toward NAFTA, Bennett (2004) finds an effect of political ideology, and Rankin (2004) finds effects of both political ideology and political party identification. Still, these analyses, as well as those of Uslaner (1998) and Warf and Kull (2002) largely set aside discussion of American attitudes toward Canada due to the limitations of their survey data.

Direct references in the scholarly literature to American public opinion toward Canada in the post-9/11 time frame are equally scarce. One notable reference is Katzenstein and Keohane’s discussion of American attitudes toward allied countries in the years immediately before and after 9/11. Drawing on survey data from Harris Interactive, they note that a majority of the American public consistently viewed Canada as “a close ally” or

6. Archived Gallup Poll results are taken from <http://brain.gallup.com>.

“a friend” between 1999 and 2004. The proportion of the American public who held this view, though, declined in the 2002–2004 period, which Katzenstein and Keohane plausibly attribute to the decision of the Canadian government not to send troops to Iraq (2007b: 17–18). More recent data from 2005–2007 indicate that this decline was temporary, as American attitudes toward Canada have returned to the levels observed in the 1999–2001 period (Harris Interactive 2007). Another notable research initiative examining Canadian and American public opinion that has produced a series of white papers is the North American Monitor project co-sponsored by Nanos Research and the State University of New York–Buffalo.⁷

To summarize, the literature on Canadian and American public opinion toward the other country is indeed an asymmetrical one, not unlike the reality of Canada–U.S. relations: much more attention is paid to the topic on the Canadian side of the border (cf. Von Riekhoff and Neuhold 1993). Even from the Canadian side, though, gaps in the literature remain. The first is that much of the literature dealing with Canadians’ general impressions of the U.S. is presented as simple, aggregate percentage distributions or basic crosstabulations. The same can be said of the literature dealing with Americans’ impressions of Canada. While Bennett (2004), Rankin (2004) and Wolfe and Mendelsohn (2005) all employ regression techniques now common in quantitative social research in their analyses of specific attitudes toward NAFTA and trade, only one contribution to the literature, Nevitte et al. (2002), applies such multivariate tools to an analysis of more general attitudes (in this case, Canadians’ trust in Americans). This is to say that the existing literature’s focus on country-level findings and cross-national comparisons has meant that there is still space for multivariate analyses that offer greater depth of explanation.

Another gap in the literature is the neglect of the role of proximity to (or distance from) the other country in shaping attitudes toward that country. The existing literature proceeds as though Canadian and American public opinion comes from “nowhere” even though it is widely acknowledged that the day-to-day reality of Canada–U.S. relations in terms of trade, personal and business travel and the social ties of family and friendship are spatially concentrated near the Canada–U.S. border. What is more, a number of different strands of social scientific inquiry provide motivation for the hypothesis that proximity plays a role in shaping attitudes and opinions. What is needed is a spatial approach to the analysis of social and political phenomena (Eagles 1995a, 1995b; Goodchild et al. 2000).

DATA AND HYPOTHESES

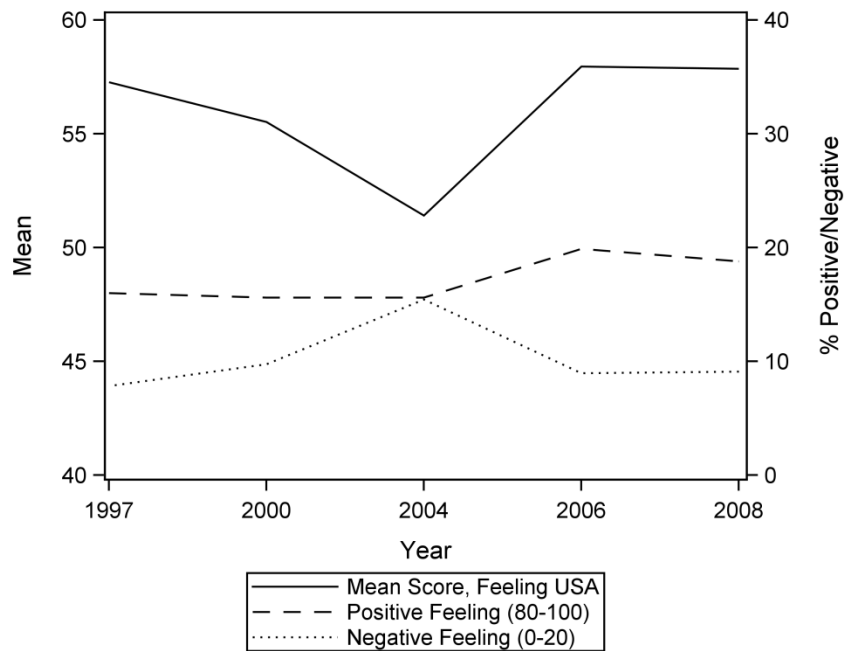
The data for this study are drawn from the CES from 1997 to 2008 and the Gallup Poll from 2001 to 2011. While a number of survey research initiatives include items measuring attitudes toward the U.S. and Canada – including the World Values Survey, the International Social Survey Programme and the Pew Global Attitudes Project data relied upon by a number of the authors cited above – data from the CES and the Gallup Poll are nearly unique in that they not only provide data on Canadian attitudes toward the U.S. (in

7. See <http://www.niagarareport.buffalo.edu>.

the case of the CES) and American attitudes toward Canada (in the case of the Gallup Poll), but they also contain sufficiently precise geographic indicators to permit geocoding (the appending of latitude and longitude coordinates) of the survey data.⁸

The key survey item measuring Canadian attitudes toward the U.S. from the Canadian Election Studies, taken from the post-election surveys, is a “thermometer”-style scale which reads as follows: “How do you feel about the United States? Zero means you really dislike the United States and one hundred means you really like the United States.”⁹ Viewed over time, these data indicate that Canadian feelings toward the U.S. are, in the aggregate, more positive than negative. They are also generally consistent across time: the mean score and the percentages of respondents expressing “negative” feelings (defined as a score of 0 to 20) or “positive” feelings (defined as a score of 80 to 100) are generally stable (see Fig. 1). The one exception is the results for 2004, where the mean rating decreased and the percentage of respondents expressing “negative” feelings rose. These results are consistent with other polls for the same time period, which found a short-term drop in positive views of the U.S. around the time of the U.S. invasion of Iraq (Holsti 2008: 19, 67).

Fig. 1: Canadian Feelings toward the United States, 1997–2008

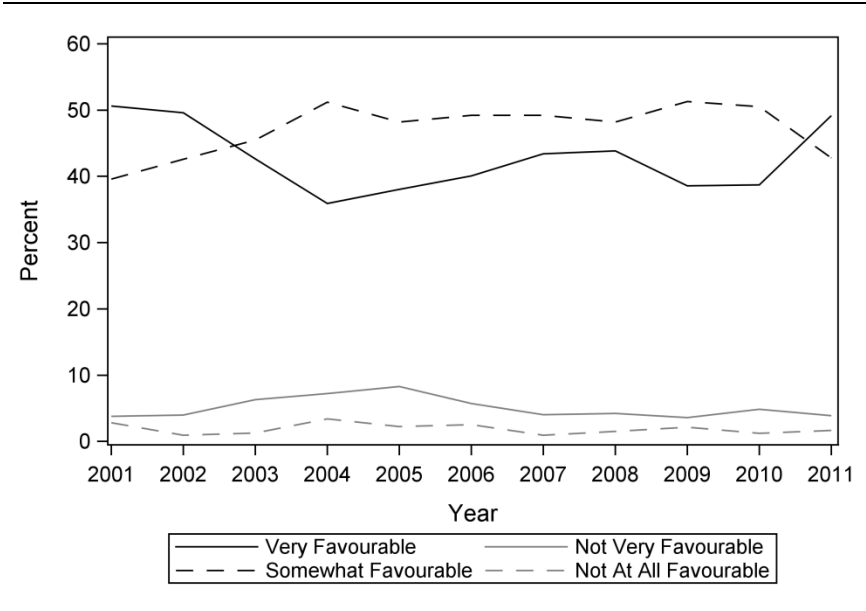


8. While earlier CES and Gallup Poll datasets exist, one encounters problems with changing survey scales and a lack of sufficiently precise geographic indicators for geocoding prior to 1997 in the case of the CES and 2001 in the case of the Gallup Poll. The geographic locations of survey respondents prior to these years are, for all purposes, lost to time.

9. Though the 2004, 2006 and 2008 CES datasets contain a panel component, these panel respondents are removed from the 2006 and 2008 data in the analyses presented here and the appropriate weight variables are used. These analyses of the 1997–2008 data therefore represent repeated cross-sections.

The key survey item measuring American attitudes toward Canada from the Gallup Poll, taken from a series of questions probing attitudes toward a number of countries included in its annual world affairs polls, is a four-point survey scale and reads as follows: “I’d like your overall opinion of some foreign countries. First, is your overall opinion of very favourable, mostly favourable, mostly unfavourable, or very unfavourable? How about Canada?” Examining these results over time reveals an American public positively disposed toward Canada, though the intensity of that positive view has varied (see Fig. 2). While the percentage of “very favourable” responses exceeded “somewhat favourable” responses in 2001 and 2002, the percentage of “very favourable” responses subsequently dropped and remained below the percentage of “somewhat favourable” until 2011. Although a minority view, the percentage of “not very favourable” and “not at all favourable” responses did increase in the 2003–2006 time period. These results suggest that at least part of the American public took note of actions (or non-actions) of the Canadian government with respect to the invasion of Iraq in 2003 and the ballistic missile defence (BMD) program in 2005. They are also consistent with results from other polls cited by Katzenstein and Keohane (2007b: 18).

Fig. 2: American Favourability toward Canada, 2001–2011



The data from the CES and the Gallup Poll thus paint the picture of two publics that are, on balance, positively inclined toward one another. Still, the intensity of that positive sentiment, and the proportion of the two publics who hold a minority negative view, has varied over time. In order to explain both Canadian attitudes toward the U.S. and American attitudes toward Canada, two hypotheses suggest themselves: political party identification and political ideology and spatial proximity to the other country.

Concerning the role of political party identification and political ideology in shaping Canadians’ attitudes toward the U.S., Brooks notes that a key factor in Canadians’ views is the “filtered image of the United States provided by interpreters of that country.” Political

leaders are among the primary interpreters in this respect (Brooks 2008: 31–32). Indeed, recent Canadian history demonstrates that anti-Americanism (and conversely pro-Americanism) has often been prominent in Canadian electoral politics and political discussion, with views frequently being split along partisan and ideological lines. While not an iron rule, parties of the centre and left have often staked out policy positions less favourable toward the U.S. and invoked anti-American sentiment for political gain, while parties of the right have been more pro-American and have sought to strengthen Canada–U.S. ties (Granatstein 1996; Nossal 2008, 2007). The theoretical expectation that follows from this is that members of the general public will interpret such “elite cues” (Sniderman et al. 1991; Zaller 1992) through their pre-existing, latent political orientations and will structure their attitudes toward the U.S. accordingly. Existing research on Canadian public opinion toward the U.S. (discussed above) has found precisely this type of partisan effect (albeit without statistical controls).

There is reason to expect the same dynamic at work in American public opinion toward Canada. Brooks writes that there are both positive and negative images of Canada current in American public opinion, and that they divide along partisan lines. The positive view of Canada held by American liberals began to form in the 1970s: “Disillusioned by the Vietnam War, violent race relations, and what many saw as the failure of the Great Society initiatives of the 1960s, they discovered on their northern border what appeared to be a social democratic refuge, a model of what the United States could and should be. Canada acquired the role of a sort of nirvana of the north.” This positive image of Canada has been joined more recently by a competing negative image that “is held mainly, but not exclusively, by conservatives in the United States, including opinion leaders on talk radio, Fox News, and in Congress.” It stems from an aversion to developments in Canadian society such as same-sex marriage, as well as a perception that Canada is a security free-rider and a security risk in terms of its border with the U.S. (Brooks 2008: 38).

The hypothesized effect of spatial proximity on Canadian attitudes toward the U.S. and American attitudes toward Canada is motivated from a number of different strands of social scientific inquiry. From classical social theory, one can point to work by Durkheim (1899) on social morphology and Simmel (1908) on social distance, each of which draws attention to the spatial dimension of social phenomena (albeit in different ways). From social psychology, one can point to intergroup contact theory, which posits that increased intergroup contact creates greater understanding and more positive other-group impressions (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1998) as well as intergroup conflict theory, which alternatively posits that increased contact between groups leads to heightened perceptions of competition for resources and perceptions of threat, and this more negative other-group impressions (Blalock 1966; Glaser 1994). From political science, one can point to Karl Deutsch’s work on transactionalism, which posits that transactions and communication between groups result in a denser social fabric connecting them (1957).¹⁰

10. A detailed review and exposition of these different strands of social scientific inquiry, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

In addition to this theoretical motivation, recent empirical research examining the role of proximity to the U.S.–Mexico border is also germane. Branton and Dunaway (2009) have found that spatial proximity to the U.S.–Mexico border shapes news media coverage of immigration issues. Other research by Branton et al. (2007) has found that proximity to the U.S.–Mexico border also affects voting behaviour on nativist (or anti-immigrant) state ballot initiatives in California. This last contribution to the literature is important in that it identifies an interaction effect between political party identification and border proximity: the effect of proximity to U.S.–Mexico border on voting for nativist ballot initiatives depends on – or is moderated by – party identification (Democrat or Republican). In essence, the effect of partisanship is only observed in places distant from the U.S.–Mexico border, where Democrats are less likely to vote for nativist ballot initiatives than Republicans; Democrats and Republicans in close proximity to the U.S.–Mexico border are equally likely to vote for nativist ballot initiatives. Following this research, I hypothesize that the same interactive dynamic between political party identification (and ideology) and border proximity exists in the context of the Canada–U.S. border, Canadian attitudes toward the U.S. and American attitudes toward Canada.

METHOD

To evaluate these hypotheses, I analyze a series of regression models. Given the 0–100 scale and roughly normal distribution of the U.S. feelings item from the Canadian Election Studies, conventional linear models are appropriate. In the case of the Gallup Poll data, with only four categories in the Canada favourability scale and few “very unfavourable” and “somewhat unfavourable” responses, another approach is needed. The “very unfavourable” and “somewhat unfavourable” responses are combined to create a synthetic “unfavourable” category and ordinal logit models are used.¹¹ This approach models the probabilities of a higher-ordered response as cumulative over the probabilities of lower-ordered responses. Somewhat counterintuitively, then, positive coefficients indicate a higher probability of providing a lower-ordered response, while negative coefficients indicate a lower probability of providing a lower-ordered response. Ordering the categories of dependent variable from lowest to highest “very favourable,” “somewhat favourable” and “unfavourable” simplifies the interpretation of the resulting coefficients: as with the linear models, positive coefficients entail positive relationships and negative coefficient entail negative relationships.

While the survey data themselves contain most of the variables of interest, one still needs to make the concept of border proximity operational in some manner. Arguably the simplest and most expedient way to measure of border proximity might be to use state as a proxy for border proximity in the case of the Gallup Poll data and to estimate an effect of residing in a Canadian border state. This is arguably a crude and imprecise method: such

11. The decision to use ordinal logit models as opposed to multinomial logit models is based, first, on the ordered nature of the data, and second, on a graphical examination of the empirical logits which determined that the departures from the proportional odds assumption are minimal.

an approach would classify all respondents in border states in the same way regardless of their actual distance to the respective border. For example, respondents in Buffalo, New York, which sits directly across the Niagara River from Fort Erie, Ontario, would be classified in the same way as respondents in New York City, more than 500 kilometers from the nearest Canada–U.S. border crossing. Applying the same logic to the CES data would mean classifying respondents in Stanstead, Quebec, directly across the border from Derby Line, Vermont in the same way as respondents in Chibougamau, more than 700 kilometers to the north. Indeed, the fact of Canadian political geography is that nine out of ten provinces are “border provinces” – only Newfoundland and Labrador lacks a land border or sea crossing to the U.S. – making such an approach to operationalizing border proximity analytically useless. More precise measures of proximity to the Canada–U.S. border are therefore needed.

A better approach is to determine survey respondents’ actual geodetic distance to the Canada–U.S. border (or more precisely, the nearest border crossing). This is a conceptually straightforward process: given two latitude–longitude coordinates, one can calculate the distance between the two points. Arriving at such a distance calculation, however, proves to be operationally complex, but is nevertheless feasible. The steps are as follows. First, latitude and longitude coordinates must be appended to the survey data using the available geographic information retained in the survey datasets such as postal codes and ZIP codes or telephone area code/exchange information. This process is known as *geocoding*. Second, all land and sea border crossings on the Canada–U.S. border must be similarly geocoded. Third, a set of distances (in kilometers or miles) must be calculated for the distance between each survey respondent’s latitude–longitude coordinate and the latitude–longitude coordinate for each border crossing. Fourth, and finally, the minimum value from this set of distance calculations must be determined. This value is this the *distance to the nearest Canada–U.S. border crossing* – and the operational measure of border proximity (or distance).

Geocoding of the CES survey data was conducted by matching the forward sortation area (FSA, the first three characters of the Canadian postal code) from the survey data to latitude–longitude coordinates created from the Postal Code Conversion File (PCCF) for March 2009, available from Statistics Canada. For cases missing postal code information or where no match was made, a second match was attempted using latitude–longitude coordinates created from the PCCF to the respondent’s Federal Electoral District (2003 or 1996 Representation Order, as appropriate). Using this procedure, latitude–longitude coordinates were assigned to 98.4 percent of the CES data (see Table 1). Geocoding of the Gallup Poll survey data was first attempted using PROC GEOCODE in SAS 9.2 for Windows (Massengill and Odom 2009). Since ZIP codes were retained in most of the datasets, ZIP code-based geocoding was used. For cases missing ZIP code information or where no match was made, a second match was attempted using telephone area/code exchange (the first seven digits of a ten-digit North American telephone number) information and latitude–longitude coordinates created from the Area Code World Gold database. Using this procedure, latitude–longitude coordinates were assigned to 100

percent of the Gallup Poll data (see Table 1). Geocoding of Canada–U.S. border crossings was conducted manually using Google Earth while cross-referencing the locations of border crossings to be geocoded to the list of ports of entry to the U.S. published by U.S. Customs and Border Protection.¹² In total, 125 land and sea crossings on the Canada–U.S. border were geocoded (see Fig. 3).

Table 1: Geocoding Match Results

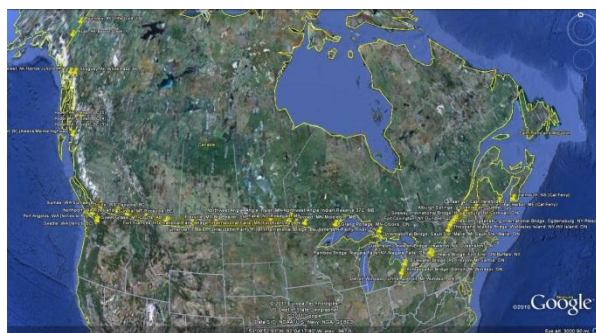
<i>Canada (CES 1997–2008)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Forward Sortation Area (FSA)	12,008	80.8%
Federal Electoral District (FED), 2003	2,446	16.5%
Federal Electoral District (FED), 1996	164	1.1%
No match	245	1.6%
Total	14,863	100%
<i>United States (Gallup Poll 2001–2011)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
ZIP code	8,072	76.2%
Area code/exchange (ACEX)	2,522	23.8%
Total	10,594	100%

With two sets of latitude–longitude coordinates in hand – one for the survey data, and one for the border crossings, or destination coordinates – geodetic distances can be calculated. The task of calculating these series of geodetic distances was accomplished using the GEODIST function in SAS 9.2 for Windows, which implements the Vincenty (1975) formula for calculating distances between two latitude–longitude coordinates, and provides more accurate results over long distances than the alternative Euclidean (or “flat-earth”) and haversine (Sinnott 1984) formulae. By selecting the minimum value from this series of distance variables, one has a reasonably precise measure of the distance from the Canada–U.S. border in kilometers.

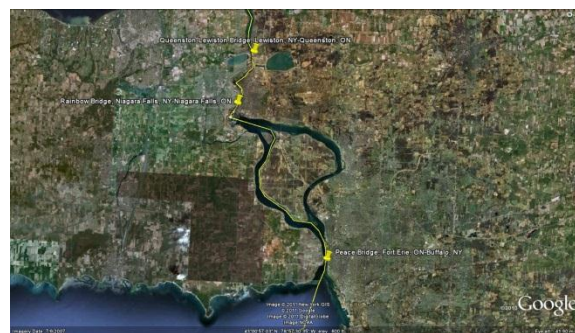
The regression analyses are conducted using pooled datasets. The individual CES surveys represent independent samples (once the 2006 and 2008 panel respondents from the 2004–2006–2008 panel are removed). The same is true of the Gallup Poll data. They therefore represent “independently pooled cross-sections” and controls for time are implemented by using a series of dummy variables where the earliest time period (1997 for the CES data and 2001 for the Gallup Poll data) serves as the reference category (Wooldridge 2009: 444–445). In addition to the key independent variables – political party identification, political ideology and distance from the Canada–U.S. border – the regression models include controls for demographic variables – sex, age, education, income and province (or Census Division) – and attitudinal variables measuring interest in politics, perceptions of the economy and attitudes toward international trade. The American models also include controls for following international news and the desire role of the U.S. in solving international problems (details of the coding of the variables appears in the

12. <http://earth.google.com>; <http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/toolbox/contacts/ports>

Fig. 3: Geocoding Canada–U.S Border Crossings Using Google Earth



This panel provides a high-altitude view of all 125 Canada–U.S. border crossings (each one represented by a pushpin) in Google Earth.



This panel provides a closer view of a specific area. In this example, the three Canada–U.S. border crossings in the Niagara region between Ontario and New York are shown.

appendix). A sequential approach to the regression analysis is adopted. In each set of models – one for the Canadian (CES) data and one for the American (Gallup Poll) data – the first model comprises time and basic demographic variables. The second model adds attitudinal variables. The third model adds the variables measuring political party identification, political ideology and distance to the Canada–U.S. border; as it pertains to the research hypotheses, this is the *main effects* model. The fourth model adds interaction terms between political party identification (and ideology) and distance to the Canada–U.S. border; this is the *interaction effects* model.¹³ Also, regression diagnostics were performed to identify outlying, high-leverage and high-influence cases (using studentized residuals, Cook’s D values and hat values). Outlying cases were removed from the data and the models refit to produce the parameter estimates reported here (cf. Fox 2008: 241–261).

Because regression analyses are “complete-case” techniques, otherwise acceptable amounts of missing data on any one independent variable present a challenge in the analysis – in that the problem of missing data becomes compounded by the size of the models being estimated. Given the number of independent variables in the regression models, excluding those cases with any missing data would substantially reduce the effective sample sizes (and therefore statistical power) and potentially introduce bias into the parameter estimates. To militate against these possibilities, multiple imputation is used in order to retain all cases in our analysis (Allison 2001; Little and Rubin 2002; Rubin 1987). Ten multiply imputed datasets were created using the IVEware version 0.1 add-in program for SAS (Raghunathan et al. 2002; Raghunathan et al. 2001). Regression analysis was then conducted using SAS PROC SURVEYREG (for the linear models using the CES data) and SAS PROC SURVEYLOGISTIC (for the ordinal logit models using the Gallup Poll data), and the results from these analyses were then submitted to SAS PROC MIANALYZE to

13. The Conservative Party of Canada, formed in 2003, obviously did not contest the 1997 and 2000 elections. The Conservative dummy variables for these years were created by coding Progressive Conservative, Reform (1997) and Canadian Alliance (2000) support as Conservative.

produce the final reported results. This process produces parameter estimates and standard errors that account for both the complex sample design and the uncertainty associated with imputing missing values.

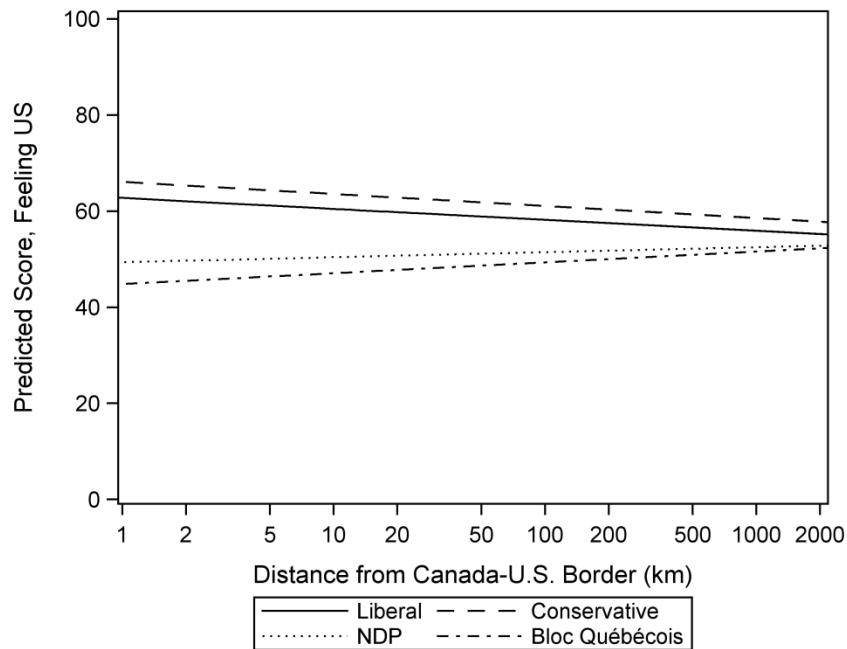
RESULTS

The results of the regression analysis of the CES data yield a number of interesting findings (see Table 2). There are significant (and negative) coefficients for the 2000 and 2004 year dummy variables, indicating that after controlling for demographic, attitudinal, behavioural and geographic variables, feelings toward the U.S. were significantly lower in these years (particularly in 2004). The year dummy variables for 2006 and 2008, however are not significant, indicating that the view of the Canadian public in those years did not differ from those in the reference year (1997). This result, which accords with the time series presented above, suggests that the more negative attitudes toward the U.S. observed in the mid-2000s represented something of a temporary detour, and that attitudes have returned to a pre-9/11 state. The CES regression models also reveal an important regional dynamic in Canadian attitudes toward the U.S.: there are significant (and comparatively large) negative coefficients for the Quebec, Saskatchewan and British Columbia dummy variables, indicating that residents of these provinces have more negative attitudes toward the U.S. – even after controlling for political party identification and ideology – than residents of Ontario (the reference group).

Turning to the effects of the political party identification, political ideology and border distance variables, one finds significant effects for all three, and hence the first two (main effects) research hypotheses are confirmed. The results from model 1.3 indicate that Conservative supporters have significantly higher scores on the U.S. feelings scale, while NDP and Bloc Québécois supporters have significant lower scores (Liberal supporters form the reference group). Further, moving to the right on a left–right ideology scale is associated with higher scores. Also, there is a significant negative effect of the distance to the Canada–U.S. border (in logged scale). This has the interpretation that as distance to the Canada–U.S. border increases, the predicted U.S. feelings score decreases. Thus, Canadians who are proximate to the Canada–U.S. border are predicted to have more positive attitudes toward the U.S.; Canadians who are distant from the Canada–U.S. border are predicted to have more negative attitudes toward the U.S.

These findings relate only to the unconditional (or unmoderated) effects of party identification, ideology and Canada–U.S. border proximity – that is, they embody the assumption that these variables do not interact. The results from model 1.4, however, reveal significant interactions between political party identification and border proximity. Specifically, the interaction terms for the NDP and Bloc Québécois dummy variables and the logged distance to the Canada–U.S. border are positive and significant. These results suggest that the relationship between political party identification and attitude toward the U.S. is a conditional one: it depends on proximity to the Canada–U.S. border. Border proximity thus *moderates* the effect of political party identification on feelings toward the

Fig. 4: Effect Plot – Canadian Feelings toward the U.S.



U.S. (Braumoeller 2004; Jaccard and Turrisi 2003). Making sense of the different patterns of such conditional effects presented in a table of regression coefficients, however, is often difficult. In this case, it is unclear how to interpret the negative coefficients for the lower-order interaction terms for the NDP and Bloc Québécois dummy variables and the border distance variable in conjunction with positive coefficients for the higher-order interaction terms. Effect plots serve to clarify the patterns of relationships at work (Fox 1987). From Fig. 4, it is clear that proximity to the Canada–U.S. border serves to amplify positive attitudes toward the U.S. – but only for Conservative and Liberal supporters. For NDP and Bloc Québécois supporters, border proximity serves to amplify negative attitudes.

Does one see the same relationships in American public opinion toward Canada? In many respects – but not in all – the answer is yes (see Table 3). Like the CES data, the Gallup Poll data indicate that after controlling for all other independent variables, there are significant (and negative) coefficients for the dummy variables for the years 2003 to 2010, with the largest effects being for years 2004 and 2005. The dummy variables for 2002 and 2011 are not significant. These results, which fit with the time series for the Gallup Poll data above and the pattern observed in Canada, suggest that American attitudes toward Canada suffered a setback in the lead-up to the invasion of Iraq and the ensuing years, but returned pre-9/11 (and pre-George W. Bush) levels following the inauguration of Barack Obama as President. In contrast to the CES data, however, the Gallup Poll data do not reveal any substantive regional effects. While models 2.1 and 2.2 contain a significant positive effect for the East North Central Census division (comprising the states of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin), this effect disappears once distance to the Canada–U.S. border is entered into the model in model 2.3. This indicates that it is indeed proximity to the

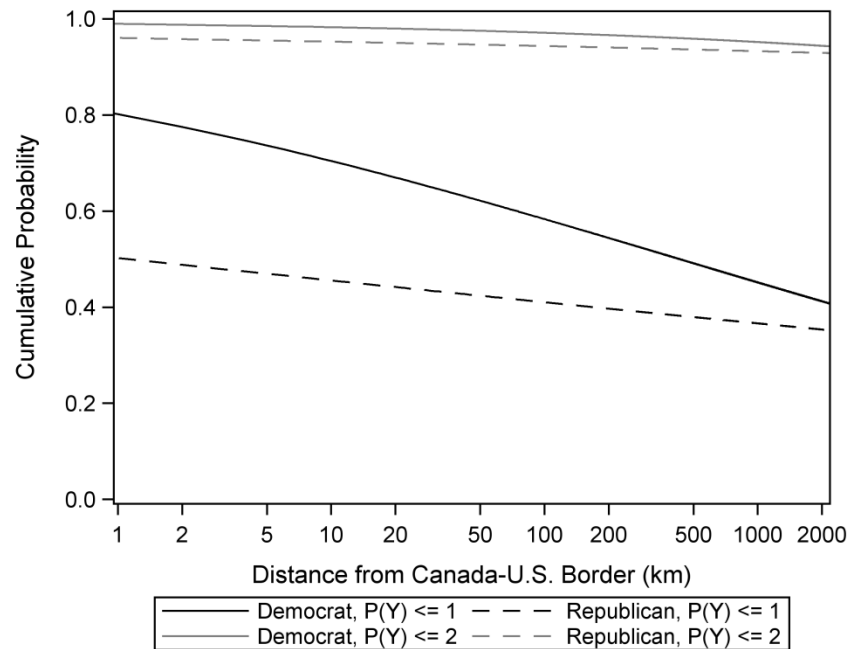
Canada–U.S. border, and not an effect of region or state, that matters with respect to American attitudes toward Canada.

As with the CES data, the Gallup Poll data reveal significant effects for political party identification, political ideology and distance to the Canada–U.S. border, thus confirming the two main effects research hypotheses. The results from model 2.3 indicate that Republicans (and those who lean Republican) as well Independents are less likely to hold a favourable view of Canada. Similarly, and as expected, respondents describing themselves as liberal (as opposed to conservative) are more likely to express a favourable view of Canada. There is also a significant negative effect of the distance to the Canada–U.S. border (in logged scale). This has the interpretation that as distance to the Canada–U.S. border increases, the predicted probability of expressing a favourable view of Canada decreases. Thus, Americans who are proximate to the Canada–U.S. border are predicted to have more favourable views of Canada; Americans who are distant from the Canada–U.S. border are predicted to have less favourable views of Canada.

Again, these findings relate only to the unconditional effects of party identification, ideology and Canada–U.S. border proximity and not their interactive effects. The results from model 2.4 reveal significant positive interactions between political party identification and distance to the Canada–U.S. border. As in the case of Canadian attitudes toward the U.S., with American attitudes toward Canada, the effect of political party identification is a conditional one: it depends on proximity to the Canada–U.S. border. Border proximity is once again shown to *moderate* the effect of political party identification on view of the other country (Braumoeller 2004; Jaccard 2001). An effect plot is once more useful to bring greater clarity to the patterns of conditional effects (Fox and Andersen 2006). Fig. 5 illustrates the differential effect of political party identification on favourability toward Canada (regression slopes for Independents are not plotted): Democrats are more likely than Republicans to hold a “very favourable” or “somewhat favourable” view of Canada, but this effect of partisanship is amplified for Democrats in close proximity to the Canada–U.S. border.

To conclude, I have set out to contribute to the literatures on Canadian public opinion toward the U.S. and American public opinion toward Canada in investigating the roles played by two factors in shaping the mutual perceptions of the Canadian and American publics: first, political party identification and political ideology; and second, proximity to the Canada–U.S. border. The analyses of data from the Canadian Election Studies and the Gallup Poll presented here confirmed that both have significant effects on Canadian and American views of the other country, and further that the strength (and direction) of the effect of the former is conditioned by the latter – that is to say that they interact. In the Canadian context, proximity to the Canada–U.S. border tends to produce more positive attitudes of the U.S., but only among Conservative and Liberal supporters; among NDP and Bloc supporters, the effect of border proximity is negative. In the American context, border proximity produces more positive attitudes toward Canada among Democrats and Republicans, but the effect is amplified among Democrats.

Fig. 5: Effect Plot – American Favourability toward Canada



Though I have advanced an argument in favour of taking a spatially-informed approach to survey data analysis, my conclusions must be considered tentative, in part because of the limitations of the CES and Gallup Poll datasets. Bennett (2004), Nevitte et al. (2002) and Rankin (2004) have all found that national and continental (that is, pan-North American) identity constructs shape Canadian and American attitudes toward one another. Further, good measures of these identity concepts are not available in the CES and Gallup Poll data. This represents the potential for omitted variable bias. Further, the modest R^2 and pseudo- R^2 values for the full CES and Gallup Poll regression models indicate that there is still substantial variance in Canadian and American attitudes vis-à-vis the other country that remains unexplained. It may be the case that each of identity-centred variables, political party identification (and ideology) and border proximity contribute to a more complete explanation of Canadian and American attitudes vis-à-vis one another. It may also be the case that border proximity serves to moderate the effects of national and continental identity constructs. A test of such hypotheses, however, will require data from a survey instrument containing items capturing all of these relevant concepts, and that is also amenable to geocoding and the calculation of a measure of border distance.

I have also consciously focused my analyses on general attitudes toward the U.S. (on the part of the Canadian public) and Canada (on the part of the American public). Whether the same dynamics with respect to border proximity are observed in Canadian and American public opinion toward Canada-U.S. relations writ large and more specific policy areas such as trade and border security are avenues of inquiry that ought to be pursued in future research.

Table 2: Explaining Feelings toward the United States (Canada) : OLS regression

	Model 1.1			Model 1.2		
	b	S.E.	Sig.	b	S.E.	Sig.
Intercept	61.40	0.71	***	62.53	0.74	***
Year: 2008	-0.01	0.62		0.67	0.64	
Year: 2006	-0.01	0.72		0.06	0.72	
Year: 2004	-6.25	0.61	***	-5.96	0.61	***
Year: 2000	-2.05	0.59	***	-2.22	0.58	***
Male	1.65	0.42	***	0.86	0.42	*
ln Age (Years)	3.04	0.57	***	1.84	0.59	**
Education: University	1.21	0.50	*	0.10	0.50	
Education: College	-1.63	0.58	**	-1.93	0.57	***
HH Income: < 20,000	-1.63	0.90		-1.24	0.88	
HH Income: 20,00-39,999	-1.23	0.67		-0.98	0.67	
HH Income: 60,000-79,999	-0.08	0.73		-0.14	0.73	
HH Income: 80,000-99,999	0.72	0.80		0.35	0.79	
HH Income: 100,000+	1.76	0.73	*	1.38	0.74	
Province: Newfoundland and Labrador	-0.97	1.26		-0.63	1.27	
Province: Nova Scotia	-3.72	1.56	*	-3.89	1.56	**
Province: Prince Edward Island	-3.38	1.18	**	-3.45	1.19	**
Province: New Brunswick	-2.20	1.28		-1.68	1.28	
Province: Quebec	-8.22	0.55	***	-8.19	0.54	***
Province: Manitoba	-0.92	1.06		-1.00	1.05	
Province: Saskatchewan	-6.21	1.04	***	-5.96	1.03	***
Province: Alberta	-2.23	0.75	**	-2.43	0.74	***
Province: British Columbia	-4.46	0.67	***	-4.49	0.66	***
Interest in Politics				0.68	0.08	***
Economy: Getting Better				0.34	0.49	
Economy: Getting Worse				-2.63	0.56	***
Int'l Trade Creates Jobs				1.66	0.28	***
Party: Conservative						
Party: NDP						
Party: Bloc Québécois						
Party: Other						
Party: No Party						
Left vs. Right						
ln Distance Canada-U.S. Border (km)						
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Conservative						
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × NDP						
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × BQ						
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Other						
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × No Party						
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Left vs. Right						
n	12233			12233		
d.f.	22			26		
R ²	0.05			0.06		
Adjusted R ²	0.05			0.06		
F Test for Nested Models	–			53.19		***

* p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001

Table 2: Explaining Feelings toward the United States (Canada): OLS regression, cont'd

	Model 1.3			Model 1.4		
	b	S.E.	Sig.	b	S.E.	Sig.
Intercept	62.73	0.79	***	62.63	0.79	***
Year: 2008	0.87	0.64		0.89	0.64	
Year: 2006	0.31	0.72		0.40	0.72	
Year: 2004	-5.64	0.61	***	-5.60	0.61	***
Year: 2000	-2.29	0.59	***	-2.27	0.59	***
Male	0.60	0.41		0.59	0.41	
ln Age (Years)	1.08	0.58		1.06	0.58	
Education: University	0.39	0.50		0.37	0.50	
Education: College	-1.89	0.56	***	-1.93	0.56	***
HH Income: < 20,000	-1.38	0.89		-1.37	0.89	
HH Income: 20,00-39,999	-1.10	0.66		-1.10	0.66	
HH Income: 60,000-79,999	-0.21	0.71		-0.19	0.71	
HH Income: 80,000-99,999	0.36	0.77		0.36	0.77	
HH Income: 100,000+	0.69	0.71		0.70	0.71	
Province: Newfoundland and Labrador	0.81	1.45		1.37	1.46	
Province: Nova Scotia	-3.10	1.63		-2.69	1.64	
Province: Prince Edward Island	-2.02	1.25		-1.85	1.26	
Province: New Brunswick	-0.99	1.33		-0.76	1.33	
Province: Quebec	-5.07	0.61	***	-5.02	0.61	***
Province: Manitoba	-0.75	1.05		-0.71	1.05	
Province: Saskatchewan	-4.39	1.07	***	-4.39	1.07	***
Province: Alberta	-2.02	0.85	*	-1.83	0.86	*
Province: British Columbia	-4.33	0.66	***	-4.30	0.67	***
Interest in Politics	0.66	0.08	***	0.67	0.08	***
Economy: Getting Better	0.14	0.48		0.15	0.48	
Economy: Getting Worse	-2.52	0.55	***	-2.51	0.55	***
Int'l Trade Creates Jobs	1.46	0.27	***	1.46	0.27	***
Party: Conservative	2.80	0.54	***	2.86	0.54	***
Party: NDP	-6.57	0.74	***	-6.53	0.74	***
Party: Bloc Québécois	-8.68	0.91	***	-8.57	0.90	***
Party: Other	-2.81	1.62		-2.58	1.61	
Party: No Party	-1.21	0.64		-1.16	0.64	
Left vs. Right	0.68	0.18	***	0.68	0.18	***
ln Distance Canada-U.S. Border (km)	-0.68	0.25	**	-0.99	0.36	**
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Conservative				-0.11	0.46	
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × NDP				1.44	0.61	*
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × BQ				1.96	0.99	*
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Other				2.64	1.69	
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × No Party				-0.07	0.55	
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Left vs. Right				0.04	0.14	
n	12233			12233		
d.f.	33			39		
R ²	0.09			0.09		
Adjusted R ²	0.09			0.09		
F Test for Nested Models	53.02		***	2.53		*

* p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001

**Table 3: Explaining Favourability toward the Canada (United States):
Ordinal logistic regression**

	Model 2.1			Model 2.2		
	b	S.E.	Sig.	b	S.E.	Sig.
Intercept 1	-0.25	0.13	*	-0.33	0.14	*
Intercept 2	2.85	0.14	***	2.80	0.15	***
Year: 2011	-0.11	0.13		-0.21	0.13	
Year: 2010	-0.53	0.13	***	-0.64	0.13	***
Year: 2009	-0.53	0.13	***	-0.68	0.13	***
Year: 2008	-0.29	0.13	*	-0.39	0.13	**
Year: 2007	-0.35	0.13	**	-0.33	0.13	**
Year: 2006	-0.59	0.13	***	-0.61	0.13	***
Year: 2005	-0.72	0.13	***	-0.73	0.13	***
Year: 2004	-0.79	0.13	***	-0.86	0.13	***
Year: 2003	-0.33	0.13	**	-0.46	0.13	***
Year: 2002	-0.01	0.13		-0.10	0.13	
Male	0.19	0.05	***	0.18	0.05	***
ln Age (Years)	0.05	0.06		0.00	0.06	
Education: College	0.55	0.06	***	0.49	0.06	***
Education: Some College	0.28	0.06	***	0.25	0.06	***
Race: Black	-0.39	0.09	***	-0.41	0.09	***
Race: Other	0.10	0.12		0.08	0.12	
Hispanic	-0.27	0.11	**	-0.26	0.11	*
HH Income: < 20,000	-0.08	0.08		-0.08	0.08	
HH Income: 20,00-29,999	-0.03	0.08		-0.03	0.08	
HH Income: 50,000-74,999	0.03	0.07		0.02	0.07	
HH Income: 75,000+	0.08	0.06		0.07	0.06	
Census Div.: New England	0.13	0.11		0.12	0.11	
Census Div.: Mid-Atlantic	0.12	0.08		0.12	0.08	
Census Div.: E. N. Central	0.18	0.08	*	0.18	0.08	*
Census Div.: W. N. Central	0.10	0.10		0.10	0.10	
Census Div.: E. S. Central	-0.11	0.11		-0.10	0.11	
Census Div.: W. S. Central	-0.01	0.09		0.01	0.09	
Census Div.: Mountain	0.00	0.10		0.00	0.10	
Census Div.: Pacific	0.07	0.08		0.07	0.08	
Follow News about Foreign Countries				0.09	0.04	**
Role of U.S. in Solving Int'l Problems				0.18	0.03	***
Foreign Trade is Opportunity				0.07	0.07	
Sat. with Economic Conditions				-0.13	0.04	**
Bad Time to Find Job				0.20	0.06	**
Party: Republican						
Party: Independent						
Ideology (Liberal)						
ln Distance Canada-U.S. Border (km)						
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Republican						
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Independent						
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Ideology						
n	10159			10159		
Model Chi Square	420.55		***	520.35		***
d.f.	29			34		
-2LL	17784.13			17784.13		
Likelihood Ratio Chi Square Test	-			99.80		***
Cox and Snell R ²	0.04			0.05		
Nagelkerke R ²	0.05			0.06		

* p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001

Table 3: Explaining Favourability toward the Canada (United States): Ordinal logistic regression, cont'd.

	Model 2.3			Model 2.4		
	b	S.E.	Sig.	b	S.E.	Sig.
Intercept 1	0.10	0.15		0.09	0.15	
Intercept 2	3.28	0.16	***	3.27	0.16	***
Year: 2011	-0.21	0.14		-0.21	0.14	
Year: 2010	-0.64	0.14	***	-0.65	0.14	***
Year: 2009	-0.69	0.14	***	-0.69	0.14	***
Year: 2008	-0.45	0.14	***	-0.45	0.14	***
Year: 2007	-0.45	0.14	***	-0.46	0.14	***
Year: 2006	-0.70	0.14	***	-0.70	0.14	***
Year: 2005	-0.84	0.14	***	-0.84	0.14	***
Year: 2004	-0.92	0.14	***	-0.92	0.14	***
Year: 2003	-0.49	0.14	***	-0.49	0.14	***
Year: 2002	-0.13	0.14		-0.13	0.14	
Male	0.23	0.05	***	0.23	0.05	***
ln Age (Years)	0.07	0.06		0.07	0.06	
Education: College	0.43	0.06	***	0.44	0.06	***
Education: Some College	0.26	0.06	***	0.27	0.06	***
Race: Black	-0.59	0.09	***	-0.58	0.09	***
Race: Other	0.02	0.12		0.02	0.12	
Hispanic	-0.24	0.11	*	-0.24	0.11	*
HH Income: < 20,000	-0.11	0.08		-0.11	0.09	
HH Income: 20,00-29,999	-0.05	0.08		-0.05	0.08	
HH Income: 50,000-74,999	0.04	0.07		0.04	0.07	
HH Income: 75,000+	0.10	0.06		0.10	0.07	
Census Div.: New England	-0.14	0.12		-0.13	0.12	
Census Div.: Mid-Atlantic	-0.09	0.09		-0.09	0.09	
Census Div.: E. N. Central	-0.04	0.09		-0.03	0.09	
Census Div.: W. N. Central	0.01	0.10		0.01	0.10	
Census Div.: E. S. Central	-0.09	0.11		-0.09	0.11	
Census Div.: W. S. Central	0.10	0.09		0.10	0.09	
Census Div.: Mountain	0.03	0.10		0.02	0.10	
Census Div.: Pacific	0.00	0.08		0.00	0.08	
Follow News about Foreign Countries	0.09	0.04	*	0.09	0.04	*
Role of U.S. in Solving Int'l Problems	0.21	0.03	***	0.21	0.03	***
Foreign Trade is Opportunity	0.07	0.07		0.07	0.07	
Sat. with Economic Conditions	-0.05	0.04		-0.05	0.04	
Bad Time to Find Job	0.09	0.06		0.09	0.06	
Party: Republican	-0.44	0.06	***	-0.44	0.06	***
Party: Independent	-0.42	0.09	***	-0.40	0.09	***
Ideology (Liberal)	0.18	0.03	***	0.18	0.03	***
ln Distance Canada-U.S. Border (km)	-0.15	0.03	***	-0.23	0.04	***
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Republican				0.15	0.06	**
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Independent				0.27	0.09	**
ln Distance Can.-U.S. Border × Ideology				0.03	0.03	
n	10159			10159		
Model Chi Square	792.24		***	807.71		
d.f.	38			41		
-2LL	17784.13			17784.13		
Likelihood Ratio Chi Square Test	271.89		***	15.47		**
Cox and Snell R ²	0.08			0.08		
Nagelkerke R ²	0.09			0.09		

* p ≤ .05, ** p ≤ .01, *** p ≤ .001

APPENDIX – DATA CODING

Canadian Election Studies data

Year: Dummy variables using indicator coding for election years 2000, 2004, 2006 and 2009 (1997 is the reference category)

Male: Male (1); Female (0)

In Age (Years): Age in years; logged (\log_e)

Education: Dummy variables using indicator coding for University and College (High school or less is the reference category)

HH Income: Dummy variables using indicator coding for household income less than 20,000, 20,000–39,999, 40,000–59,999, 60,000–79,999, 80,000–99,999 and 100,000+ (40,000–59,999 is the reference category)

Province: Dummy variables using indicator coding for province of residence (Ontario is the reference category)

Economy Getting Better/Worse: “Over the past year, has Canada’s economy gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?” Dummy variables using indicator coding for Getting Better and Getting Worse (Stay about the same is the reference category)

Int’l Trade Creates Jobs: “International trade creates more jobs in Canada than it destroys.” Strongly agree (4), Agree, (3), Disagree (2), Strongly disagree (1); mean centred

Party: “In federal politics, do you usually think of yourself as a Liberal, Conservative, NDP, [in Quebec: Bloc Québécois], Green Party, or none of these?” [If “none of these”:] “Do you generally think of yourself as being a little closer to one of the federal parties than to the others?” [If yes:] “Which party is that?” Dummy variables using indicator coding for Conservative, NDP, Bloc Québécois, Other Party and No Party (Liberal is the reference category)

Left vs. Right: “In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself?” Left (0), Right (10); mean centred

In Distance Canada-U.S. Border (km): Distance to the Canada-U.S. Border in kilometres; logged (\log_e)

Gallup Poll data

Year: Dummy variables using indicator coding for years 2002-2011 (2001 is the reference category)

Male: Male (1); Female (0)

In Age (Years): Age in years; logged (\log_e)

Education: Dummy variables using indicator coding for College and Some College (High school or less is the reference category)

Race: Dummy variables using indicator coding for Black and Other Race (White is the reference category)

Hispanic: Hispanic (1), not Hispanic (0)

HH Income: Dummy variables using indicator coding for household income less than 20,000, 20,00–29,999, 30,000–49,999, 50,000–74,999, 75,000+ (30,000–49,999 is the reference category)

Census Div.: Dummy variables using indicator coding for Census Division of residence (the South Atlantic Census Division comprising the states of Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia is the reference category)

Follow News about Foreign Countries: “In general, how closely do you follow news about foreign countries around the world, including relations between the United States and other countries?” very closely (4), somewhat closely (3), not too closely (2), or not at all (1); mean centred

Role of U.S. in Solving Int’l Problems: “Next, we would like you to think about the role the U.S. should play in trying to solve international problems. Do you think the United States should...?” Take the leading role in world affairs (4), Take a major role but not the leading role (3), Take a minor role (2), Take no role at all in world affairs (1); mean centred

Foreign Trade is Opportunity: “What do you think foreign trade means for America? Do you see foreign trade more as...?” An opportunity for economic growth through increased U.S. exports (1), A threat to the economy from foreign imports (0), Both – volunteered (0), Neither – volunteered (0)

Sat. with Economic Conditions: “How would you rate economic conditions today – as...?” Excellent (4), Good (3), Fair (2), Poor (1); mean centred.

Bad Time to Find Job: “Thinking about the job situation in America today, would you say that it is now a good time or a bad time to find a quality job?” Good time (0), Bad time (1)

Party: “In politics, as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?” [If Independent, don’t know or refused:] “As of today, do you lean more to the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?” Dummy variables using indicator coding for Republican and Independent (Democrat is the reference category)

Ideology: “How would you describe your political views?” Very conservative (1), Conservative (2), Moderate (3), Liberal (4), Very liberal (5); mean centred

In Distance Canada-U.S. Border (km): Distance to the Canada-U.S. Border in kilometres; logged (\log_e)

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