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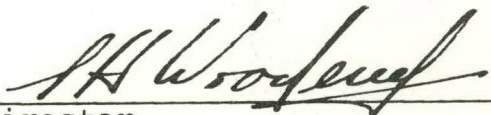
A SURVEY OF ATTITUDINAL STUDIES OF THE
CANADIAN POPULATION AS THEY RELATE TO DEFENCE

by

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Project Reports present the considered result of analysis on ORAE projects to sponsors and interested agencies in an expeditious manner. They do not necessarily represent the official views of the Canadian Department of National Defence.

Approved by


Director
Social and Economic Analysis

RESUME

Les études portant sur les opinions et les attitudes de la population canadienne envers le Ministère de la Défense Nationale et les politiques, préoccupations et activités canadiennes concernant la défense, ont été l'objet d'une révision. Des 25 sources d'information consultées, seulement deux ("The Canadian Peace Research Institute" et "The Canadian Gallup Poll Limited") se sont avérées capables de fournir des données jugées compatibles avec les objectifs de cette révision. Les résultats les plus intéressants en ont été présentés. Les conclusions majeures de cette révision furent de deux sortes: premièrement - que très peu de recherches furent conduites pour déterminer les attitudes de la population canadienne envers le MDN et les questions de défense, et, deuxièmement - que dans les dernières années le manque de telles informations est devenu encore plus évident. De plus, il a été observé que la majorité de ce qui est disponible peut être aisément criticable pour plusieurs manquements méthodologiques et insuffisances au point de vue de recherche.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
RESUME	ii
A. INTRODUCTION	1
B. PRESENTATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROBLEM	1
C. APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM	3
D. FINDINGS	4
I THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION (CIPO)	
- THE CANADIAN GALLUP POLL LIMITED	4
II THE CANADIAN PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE	8
A. LITERATURE REVIEW	9
B. AIMS	13
C. SUBJECTS	14
D. THE QUESTIONNAIRE	16
E. PROCEDURE AND DATA ANALYSIS	18
F. SOME OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS	21
G. PREDICTING OPINIONS	26
H. EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN, AND	
CONCLUSION	27
E. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF THE PRESENT STUDY	29
APPENDIX A - ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTED	31
APPENDIX B - KEYWORDS USED IN THE SEARCH OF THE GALLUP POLL	
CUMULATIVE INDEX	33
APPENDIX C - RESULTS OF THE GALLUP POLL CUMULATIVE INDEX	
REVIEW - IDENTIFICATION OF QUESTIONS OF	
RELEVANCE OR INTEREST	35
APPENDIX D - RESULTS OF THE GALLUP POLL PRESS RELEASE	
REVIEW - IDENTIFICATION OF OFFICIAL PRESS	
RELEASE OF RELEVANCE OR INTEREST	41
APPENDIX E - QUESTIONS OF RELEVANCE AND THEIR RESULTS -	
DRAWN FROM CANADIAN GALLUP POLL OFFICIAL PRESS	
RELEASES	46
APPENDIX F - SOME QUESTIONS AND RESULTS OF POSSIBLE	
INTEREST - DRAWN FROM CANADIAN GALLUP POLL	
OFFICIAL PRESS RELEASES	60

think they should continue there, or should the Canadian Government bring them back? Just from what you know or have heard, in your opinion should Canada's armed forces be armed with nuclear weapons or not? Are you satisfied with the present Canadian defence policies, or do you think there is need to take a new look at our defence policies?"¹

The prime criterion for inclusion in this first category was substantial reference to Canada's defence department, defence policy and involvement, or her armed forces.

5. Questions such as the following were considered to be of interest to DND, but not of direct relevance to the present work:

"In your opinion are the chances for an atomic war breaking out greater, or less great than they were ten years ago? In general, do you approve or disapprove of the government's action in bringing in the War Measures Act to handle the FLQ crisis, with the promise that it would be replaced shortly with special legislation to give the government the powers it needs? How long do you think it will be before there is another world war, or do you think it is unlikely we will have another world war? As things stand today would you say the chances of the United Nations for keeping the peace in the world are good or poor? Do you believe that it is possible or impossible to reach a peaceful settlement of difference with Russia?"²

To be included in this second category a question would have to be related in some manner to defence matters, yet not include a specific reference to Canada's defence department, defence policy or armed forces.

6. The distinction between "interesting" and "relevant" questions was one made at the outset of the research and maintained throughout.

1. The results of these and other relevant Gallup Poll questions appear in Appendix E of the present report.

2. The results of these particular questions are found in Appendix F.

7. Discussions were held to determine the historical time period appropriate for review in the study, and a decision was made to deal with material from 1960 to the present. Included in the reasoning behind this decision were the following observations:

1. Material prior to 1960 would probably be sufficiently dated as to be of questionable value.
2. Including material from the 1960's would allow for the possible assessment of the discussions surrounding such topics and events as - The BOMARC missile, The Avro Arrow, Canadian involvement in various United Nations' peacekeeping missions and the unification of the Canadian Armed Forces.
3. By including material from 1960 to the present, a span of over 15 years, the probability of detecting any existing trends was greatly enhanced, more so than if the temporal range of the review was shorter.

C. APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

8. A first step in approaching the problem lay in the identification of possible data sources. The compilation of an initial list of such sources was undertaken with the assistance of fellow DSEA researchers and the project sponsor's representative. The initial list rapidly grew, as many of those contacted were able to recommend other possible sources of information. An attempt was made to include not only DND sources, but in addition, sources within other government departments and agencies, and finally, sources within the private/civilian sector (i.e. academic sources, commercial sources, public sources and so on). In large measure this attempt to include a comprehensive variety of sources was deemed

to be a successful one.³

9. In sum, a total of 25 possible sources of opinion poll findings were contacted. Of these, only two - The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (The Canadian Gallup Poll Limited - CIPO) and the Canadian Peace Research Institute (CPRI) were found to have material of relevance to the present work. This material is discussed in greater depth below. All other individuals or organizations contacted, although very cooperative, were unable to provide any additional information of value.⁴ A complete listing of all such contacts appears in Appendix A.

D. FINDINGS

10. As indicated, The Canadian Gallup Poll and The Canadian Peace Research Institute were the two organizations able to provide material relating to the opinions and attitudes of the Canadian public vis-a-vis DND and matters of Canadian defence (broadly understood). The material forthcoming from each of these groups shall now be described.

I. THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION (CIPO) - THE CANADIAN GALLUP POLL LIMITED

11. The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd is wholly-owned and managed by Canadians and is staffed by professional research specialists with extensive experience in attitudinal, public opinion and marketing research in Canada. Polling is undertaken exclusively

3. Should the reader be aware of possible data sources not contacted or of studies not uncovered would he please bring them to the attention of Mr. S.H. Woodend, Director of Social and Economic Analysis, 2-6506.

4. Carleton University's Maxwell MacOdrum Library and Social Science Data Archives were, in a manner of speaking, valuable data sources, inasmuch as they were able to provide much of the Canadian Gallup Poll material. Beyond that, however, they were unable to furnish additional material.

by means of personal interviews, and respondents are members of a national probability sample maintained by the Canadian Gallup Poll. The design of the sample is further discussed below, in material quoted from literature of the Canadian Gallup Poll Limited.

The Canadian Gallup Poll maintains a national probability sample in all centres over 1,000 in population. A quota sample is used in rural farm and rural non-farm centres. An independent sample of individuals is selected for each survey.

The sampling procedure is designed to produce an approximation of the adult civilian population, 18 years and older, living in Canada except for those persons in institutions such as prisons or hospitals, or those residing in Labrador, the Yukon or the Northwest Territories. Survey data can be applied to this population for the purpose of projecting percentages into numbers of people.

The sample design included stratification by six community size groups, based on the 1971 Census data: Cities of 500,000 population and over, those between 100,000 and 500,000, 30,000 to 100,000, 10,000 to 30,000, 1,000 to 10,000 and rural farm and rural non-farm areas.

Within each of these classifications a further stratification was done by four geographic regions: Atlantic, Quebec, Ontario and the Western Provinces. Within each regional stratum, the population was arrayed in geographic order by community size and within those classifications, by census enumeration areas. Enumeration areas, on the average, contain about 500 to 600 people.

A total of 105 enumeration areas was selected randomly from this array. Within urban centres, a random block sampling procedure was used to select starting points for interviewers. The interviewer is provided with a map of the enumeration area, showing the location of the starting point. From each starting point, the interviewer is required to follow a specified route in the selection of households. The choice of respondents within urban households is automatically made through a listing of all adults, 18 years of age and over, and the application of a random preselection method.

The selection of rural farm and rural non-farm interviewing locations followed the sample design established for urban centres in terms of geographic dispersion and random selection of enumeration areas. Because of the low population density and wide dispersion of households, the random block sampling procedure was replaced by quota sampling based on sex and age.

The design of the Gallup Poll sample has been based on population statistics of the Census of Canada, 1971.

12. Additional material concerning The Canadian Gallup Poll Limited, its services and so on is readily available by contacting them directly.

13. First contact with The Canadian Gallup Poll Limited, led to two major findings. The first of these was this: The Canadian Gallup Poll has, historically, included few questions which might be of relevance to DND or defence matters, and further, DND has at no point (to the best of CIPO's knowledge) requested The Canadian Gallup Poll Limited to undertake research on its behalf. The second major finding was this: the identification of given Gallup Polls containing questions of relevance to this study would most readily be achieved through consultation with the Gallup Poll Cumulative Index (1945 - the present),⁵ a copy of which is retained in the Social Science Data Archives, Carleton University, Ottawa.

14. A review of the Canadian Gallup Poll Cumulative Index was undertaken. This was accomplished with the use of a 108 word search profile developed through discussion with fellow researchers in DSEA and actual use of the Index. Included in the profile were keywords which, it was judged, defined in a fairly comprehensive manner the scope of materials of relevance

5. This is a cumulative index of all questions included in the polls conducted since 1945. Questions are indexed alphabetically by keyword in context, and therefore appear several times throughout the index.

or interest to the study. Some of the more fruitful keywords used in the search were: air, armed, defence, force(s), military, peace, policies, United Nations (U.N.) and War. A complete list of keywords searched upon appears in Appendix B.

15. At the completion of the keyword search some 84 polls had been identified as containing questions of relevance or interest to Canadian defence personnel. Of these, 55 were polls conducted since 1960.

16. The next phase of the research comprised a review of these 55 polls, aimed at the identification of the specific questions of interest. This involved the actual reading of each poll and the recording of questions of value. Upon completion of this phase a total of 22 individual questions had been identified as relevant to the work at hand, with an additional 62 judged to be of possible interest to DND personnel. A listing of these appears in Appendix C.⁶

17. A concern of this study, beyond simply identifying these particular questions as being of interest, lay in securing, if possible, the actual poll results for each. One of the more direct approaches available was the computer run of each data deck.⁷ This however, would have proved to be a prohibitively time-consuming and expensive approach.

6. Unfortunately this listing is limited to a presentation of the poll number, poll date and question number for each. Actual questionnaire not presented.

7. The Social Science Data Archives are provided with a duplicate data card deck for each poll conducted by The Canadian Gallup Poll Limited.

18. The method finally chosen lay in consulting the Gallup Opinion Index, a collection of Gallup Poll official press releases, dating from December, 1960, and housed in the Social Science Division of Carleton University's Maxwell MacOdrum Library. These were filed and indexed independently of the previously described Gallup Poll Cumulative Index. For this reason a second selection process had to be undertaken whereby all press releases deemed to be of relevance (17) or interest (62) to the study were identified and recorded. A listing of these appears in full in Appendix D. Additionally, results of those most clearly related to DND and Canadian defence are presented in Appendix E.

II. THE CANADIAN PEACE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

19. The Canadian Peace Research Institute is funded largely by Canadian contributors and is staffed, as is the Canadian Gallup Poll, by professional research specialists, many of whom have extensive experience in attitudinal and public opinion research. An organization devoted to the study of the causes and conditions of peace, it maintains a position of standing within the World peace research community.

20. As already indicated, the research undertaken by The Canadian Peace Research Institute, culminating in the publication of In Your Opinion, Volumes 1 and 2,⁸ has been one of two sources of Canadian public opinion concerning defence matters uncovered. To the best of the present author's knowledge it is the only significantly comprehensive study undertaken and reported. For this reason a fairly extensive review of the study is warranted. Thus the next several pages look to the conduct and findings of the CPRI study, borrowing heavily in terms of format and presentation from the already published CPRI report.

8. Laulicht, J.P. and J. Laulicht. In Your Opinion: Leaders' and Voters' Attitudes on Defence and Disarmament. Clarkson, Ontario: Canadian Peace Research Institute, 1963.

A. LITERATURE REVIEW

21. In introducing their literature review, the authors of In Your Opinion observed that attempts to describe and relate the empirical studies done in this field quickly encounter a number of limitations. Among such limitations the following were cited:

1. There is no theoretical framework within which the many disparate findings may be incorporated.
2. There is little continuity between studies.
3. Problems looked at are often defined independently and questions are worded differently - therefore results are not always comparable.

22. Bearing this initial observation in mind, the authors then turned to a review of studies of Canadian public opinion.

23. A first finding was a work by Fred Alexander, Canadian and Foreign Policy (1960).⁹ Alexander, in preparing his book, interviewed people whom he thought to be particularly influential in shaping foreign policy (university professors, newspapermen, businessmen, political leaders), collected documents and reports and press and radio releases. While doing this, however, he made no attempt to obtain a representative sample. The main concentration of his work lay in a consideration of American-Canadian relations, however, one chapter was devoted to Canada's defence policy and its role in NATO.

9. Unfortunately, no further bibliographic information for this reference was included in the literature review.

24. Granting this, questions concerning Canadian attitudes towards disarmament were, nevertheless, not touched upon. Neither did Canadian attitudes towards different foreign policy issues constitute a major focus of the study. Alexander's major conclusion in this regard, based on his own estimation, was this:

... in their attitudes to foreign policy Canadians reveal much less than is popularly believed of that traditional conflict between East-West and North-South influences which was so much talked about in prewar years. This has given place to an internal contest, dimly felt, perhaps, but widely pervasive between increasing if sometimes secret acceptance of North American realities and a Canadian nationalism which too often is highly romanticised.

25. A second finding cited in the literature review was an article by Edgar McInnes, entitled "Canadian Opinion and Foreign Policy - Maturity or Apathy?"¹⁰ Therein McInnes speculated about the formative elements of Canadian public opinion, pointing out that it differs from American opinion because of differences in historical background and national context, factors which determine how issues are valued. He implied that the Canadian political system, the scarcity of Canadian organizations that have particular issues to raise, and the lack of periodicals or newspapers with national coverage all contribute to a "subdued" foreign policy.

26. The authors of In Your Opinion looked as well at single question polls, where they met with some limited success. "It appears that the polls of the Canadian Institute of Public

10. Edgar McInnes, "Canadian Opinion and Foreign Policy - Maturity or Apathy?" Queen's Quarterly, 62, (1955) pp. 505-514.

Opinion (C.I.P.O.) were the only available sources of empirical knowledge about Canadian opinion on foreign policy, disarmament, etc." While these were discussed in greater detail at a point elsewhere in the literature review, as they have been dealt with separately within the present report, the authors of In Your Opinion made the following point:

... We reject the notion that a single question can be a useful and good indicator of attitudes on complex issues, and can see no point in contributing to the confusing and misleading implications of many of the public opinion polls.

Further on they continue with the same theme.

There are important ways, however, in which the usual public opinion polls and studies for government agencies are inadequate. Typically, only a few questions relevant to issues of peace and war are asked in any single poll. This means that analysis of interrelationships among attitudes must be very limited. Studies commissioned by government agencies are generally restricted in scope to information particularly pertinent to the missions of those agencies. Public opinion polls on foreign policy, often purchased by newspapers, are usually limited to a few questions: Thus, lengthy interviews are seldom done. Single questions are rarely reliable measures of complex attitude dimensions, despite the ingenious ways in which some analysts have used them.

It is also quite likely that there are subtle constraints on the kinds of questions which can be asked in public opinion polls commissioned by news media. If newspaper reports of international relations are often biased, then

we must suspect that important biases also creep in when such polls are designed and executed. This is not to say that polling agencies are inept or uninterested or never able to carry out more extensive and accurate surveys. But to our knowledge none of the media have commissioned adequate surveys on war-peace issues.

27. Such observations and comment present a rather harsh yet, perhaps, somewhat realistic and sobering perspective from which to view the findings of polls such as those of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion.

28. In continuing their literature review the authors dealt also with studies analyzing polling data, multiple question surveys, studies of selected groups, studies of elite groups, studies of opinions and personality, and studies dealing with level of information. As before, they found little of relevance to the Canadian situation. "There have been articles and books suggesting what Canadian policy ought to be on such issues as disarmament, NATO and the UN, but no attempts to systematically measure public attitudes on such issues".

29. Finally, in their summary of the literature review chapter they write as follows:

As the survey of the literature has shown, a considerable amount of work has been carried out in studying various aspects of public opinion with regard to foreign and defence policy in the US, while little work has been done in this regard in Canada. In view of differences in methodology, sampling methods and timing, it is difficult to make meaningful comparisons between the results of various research projects. These studies do, however, indicate a growing concern among social scientists with this field and they also indicate the

very severe limitations of uncoordinated piecemeal attempts to deal with a huge and complex problem, which by its very nature requires a large scale coordinated effort.

B. AIMS

30. The survey of Canadian attitudes and opinions undertaken by the CPRI in November 1962 was a major research project designed to achieve the following six goals:

1. To provide a comprehensive survey of opinions and attitudes on foreign and defence policy of a representative sample of Canadian adults.
2. To discover the attitudes on such issues of some of the groups who are likely to have particular influence on national policy. For this reason separate samples of political, business and trade union leaders were interviewed at about the same time as the national survey was conducted. This procedure made it possible to discover whether or not their opinions differed from each other and from the national sample.
3. To determine the opinions of two other groups of special interest, teenagers and contributors to the CPRI.
4. To discover the extent to which actual level of knowledge of foreign and defence policy was related to expressed attitudes.
5. To cover a wide spectrum of policy issues so as to discover how attitudes on one question were related to opinions on other issues.

6. To determine how a number of biographical variables, such as age, sex, education, ethnic origin, prior military service, etc., were related to attitudes.

C. SUBJECTS

31. Six groups were included in the study, thus making it possible not only to describe opinions but also to make comparisons. Groups interviewed were:

1. A representative nation-wide sample of 1,000 adults of voting age (age 21 in November 1962).
2. A representative nation-wide sample of 150 young people aged 16-21.
3. A geographically stratified random sample of 190 people drawn from 25,000 financial contributors to the Canadian Peace Research Institute.
4. Forty-eight leading businessmen - a random sample of Canadian residents who were either presidents of companies with assets exceeding \$100 million or members of the Board of Directors of one of the Canadian chartered banks.
5. A random sample of forty-eight labour leaders who were either senior officers of trade union federations or heads of national unions with a membership exceeding 10,000.¹¹

11. The make-up of the business and trade union elites, that is, the list of companies and unions, was defined through discussions with Professor John Porter who has studied elite groups in Canada.

6. Forty-eight members of parliament chosen in proportion to party standing in the House of Commons at the time of the interviews. Eighteen were front-benchers and five were senior advisers to front-benchers. Of the remaining twenty-five, twenty were members of the Foreign Affairs Committee or delegates to NATO or the United Nations.

32. The population from which the national sample was drawn consisted of Canadian citizens and British subjects residing in Canada who were 21 years of age or over. Area sampling was used to cover towns and cities with a population of over 1,000. Seventy-two quota points were used to cover the rural population. The northern half of Newfoundland, the North West Territories, and similarly difficult to reach areas were excluded from the sample.

33. The national sample (N=1,000) was further subdivided into three non-overlapping groups on the basis of preliminary analyses. These groups are further described below:

1. English-Canadians (N=400) - persons from the National Sample whose first language was English, a standard basis for ethnic classification in Canada.
2. French-Canadians (N=254) - persons from the National Sample whose first language was French.
3. Informed Public (N=239) - people in the National Sample who had the most education and were the most knowledgeable about foreign affairs. The top 24 per cent were chosen on the basis of a combined index.

34. The other 107 respondents in the National Sample were people of a variety of other national origins who did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the Informed Public group.

D. THE QUESTIONNAIRE

35. The survey was conducted exclusively by means of structured personal interviews. To insure uniformity a questionnaire was constructed to provide a standard format for all interviewers. The 11th and final version of the document is reproduced in Appendix 2 of Volume 1 of In Your Opinion.

36. Construction of the questionnaire began with the creation of a large bank of items. These were gradually reduced by eliminating ambiguous, overlapping and overly difficult items. Five separate full scale pilot studies were undertaken using university students, unemployed workers and housewives as subjects. A number of major revisions resulted from this pilot study work.

37. In final form the basic interview schedule consisted of 4 parts. The first section contained questions about the respondent and about topics which were found to be good rapport builders. Questions 8 through 38 sought opinions about foreign and defence policy. Questions 39 to 46 were multiple choice information questions designed to test factual knowledge about foreign affairs and defence policy. The final section of questions dealt with biographical information.

38. The opinion queries were designed to cover a wide range of policy alternatives. Seven major topics were covered, namely, attitudes towards:

1. The U.N. and whether or not to strengthen some of its components: Should Canada increase its contributions

to the U.N. army? Should the International Court have compulsory jurisdiction? Should our foreign aid be given entirely through the U.N. rather than being given directly?

2. Communism and the cold war, including questions on both Russia and China and on such a specific proposal as disengagement in Europe.
3. Western military policy, deterrence, arms control and tension reduction: Should the West increase its military strength? Should the West take all steps to defeat Communism even at the risk of a nuclear war? Do people favour disarmament with adequate safeguards?
4. The economic consequences of disarmament. How many people believe that there would be a depression if there was disarmament? Would their opinions differ if they thought there was advance planning? How would people like to spend the money saved if there was general disarmament?
5. Another group of questions was designed to find out which conditions people would insist upon before they would agree to the government signing a disarmament treaty. Should one insist on inspection? Should it be rigorous? Would a U.N. army be necessary? Would it be necessary first for Russia to vacate satellite countries, or do people believe that we cannot sign a disarmament agreement until Communism disappears?
6. A number of items were designed to deal with the question - to what extent is the public apathetic?

Do people feel helpless? Do individuals think they have a personal responsibility to do something to prevent war? Do voters think that the government, business, mass media, etc., are doing a good job in this respect?

7. A final set of queries dealt with expectations. What do people think about the likelihood of war? How much damage is expected if a war did occur?

39. The majority of the attitude questions were structured for ease of data analysis. Where it seemed impossible or inappropriate to construct a limited number of suitable response alternatives for some questions, these were left open-ended.

40. The biographical section included such standard items as age, sex, occupation, education, etc., and, in addition, inquired about prior military service, a potentially important variable in this field.

41. The knowledge questions (Q39-46) were selected on the basis of the pilot studies and provided a scale ranging from very easy to very difficult. Further, in these multiple-choice items an attempt was made to provide reasonable alternatives.

42. Further details of the evolution of the questionnaire are included in the original research report.

E. PROCEDURE AND DATA ANALYSIS

43. All interviews with members of the three public samples (the national sample, the contributors and the teenagers) were undertaken by Canadian Facts Ltd. Neither the respondents nor the interviewers knew who was sponsoring the study.

44. For the three leadership groups (businessmen, union leaders, political leaders) interviewing was done primarily by social scientists (in most cases university affiliated) and both interviewer and respondent knew that CPRI was doing this study. Thus the comparability of these samples with the public samples was somewhat affected. This was unavoidable, however, for many members of these groups would not grant an interview without knowing the identity of the sponsor.

45. Interviews with the voters (i.e. the national sample) and the teenagers were completed during the first two weeks of November 1962, immediately after (as the authors point out) the resolution of the Cuban Crisis. Interviews with the other four samples started during the same period, but took longer to complete. Most were finished before Christmas, some stretched into the New Year. The last interview in the business group was completed on February 15th, 1963.

46. All results were punched on IBM Cards and the data were computer analyzed. Codes for qualitative questions were independently established by two coders and disagreements were resolved by a senior member of the research team. A sample of 100 answers was then categorized independently by each coder. Code categories were accepted as reliable if the agreement between the coders was not less than 80 per cent. (Usually it was closer to 90%). "In the case of the one item for which reliable categories could not be established (Q-38b), coding was not carried out."

47. In the analyses, as previously indicated, the nation-wide sample was divided into three groups - English Canadians, French Canadians and Informed Public. Analysis of the teenage sample was stopped when it became clear that, as a group, "they were identical to their elders". All statements referring to the adult sample, therefore, hold as well for the

young people. Table I presents a review of the groups which were analyzed.

TABLE I - THE GROUPS WHICH WERE ANALYZED

<u>GROUPS</u>	<u>SIZE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
Business	48	Heads of big firms
Labour	48	Heads of major unions
Political	48	Members of parliament
Elite Groups	144	Business, labour and political leaders
Contributors	190	Supports of Canadian Peace Research Institute
English-Canadians	580	Part of national sample
French-Canadians	283	Part of national sample
Informed public	299	Most informed and educated people in the national sample
General public	1,000	Total national sample including 107 respondents not included in any other category.

48. The data were analyzed by using a combination of scale analysis, factor analysis and regression analysis. One of the important steps in analysing the interviews was the creation of a number of attitude scales. Scales are held to be a more sensitive and accurate measure of opinions on an issue, and their meanings are usually clearer than a number of single questions, each treated separately. Success in scale construction made it possible to carry out the analyses on which the paper was based.

49. The researchers were able to determine the relationships among foreign policy attitudes, the links among a set of possible predictors of these attitudes, and finally, the extent to which these predictors explain each of the cold war opinions measured in this study. In addition, it was possible to estimate the effects on attitudes of such characteristics as age, sex, military experience, social status, etc.

50. A wealth of results was available upon completion of the data analysis. Those conclusions deemed more important and more interesting by the authors of In Your Opinion are briefly presented below.

F. SOME OF THE MAJOR FINDINGS

51. People's beliefs about whether the two major powers, Russia and the United States, want disarmament are a possible explanation of differences in attitudes about coexistence and armaments. Indeed, cynical leaders were found to be very distrustful of a policy of coexistence and much in favor of bigger conventional and nuclear deterrents. For the other groups cynicism was found to have no effect on attitudes on these issues. Also of importance is the following: that distrusting the United States about its desire for disarmament turns out to be on the same dimension as distrusting Russia - with respondents falling on a single continuum ranging from trust to distrust of the major powers' desire for disarmament.

52. Concern about the economics of disarmament is not related to attitudes about coexistence, or to opinions about military forces and nuclear weapons. One important exception to this statement rests with the English-Canadians. For them, a fear of negative economic consequences is significantly related to a desire for bigger military forces and for the acquisition of nuclear weapons. The authors point out that it is not that English-Canadians are much more concerned than other groups with economic ill effects. Rather, those who are fearful tend to be the ones who favor a stronger deterrence posture. (Emphasis added). They conclude:

There is considerable evidence that Canadians, at least, may be far readier to risk making economic sacrifices for disarmament than might be expected

given the great cultural emphasis on money and economic security.

53. Knowledge about foreign and defence policy is related to each of the foreign policy attitude issues for at least some of the groups. High knowledge was found to be linked with a favourable attitude towards foreign aid for all groups. The relationship between level of knowledge and attitudes towards the United Nations was, however, not nearly so consistent. Knowledge was also linked with attitudes towards coexistence and disarmament, but again, not always in the same or consistent manner.

54. Questions dealing with coexistence, the spread of nuclear weapons and size of conventional forces might in some ways be thought to reflect a single issue. Completion of scale and factor analyses, however, clearly indicated that such questions refused to coalesce into one scale, but instead, involved three distinct but related issues. A practical implication of these results, as cited by the authors, is the suggestion of caution in predicting that agreements in one area will necessarily lead to important shifts of attitudes on other issues:

For example, despite the hopes of many, the test ban treaty does not automatically make people more favourable to coexistence or to limits on conventional forces.

55. It was found that neither attitudes about coexistence nor opinions about the arms race were linked to opinions about strengthening the United Nations. One explanation offered was:

...That people are slow to understand and accept the possible need for major institutional changes. The United Nations is so recent an invention, and has

experienced so many problems that people have not been able to intergrate their notions about it with their belief systems about arms and foreign policy."

The authors continue:

Thus, the favourable image of the United Nations regularly shown by single question polls cannot be taken to mean that people, whether leaders or the man in-the-street, actually favour taking significant steps now to increase the United Nations' ability to keep the peace.¹²

56. Religious dogmatism was associated with acceptance of bigger conventional forces, favoring (or not being fearful of) the spread of nuclear weapons and being distrustful of (if not hostile to) a coexistence policy. These relationships were not high, but they were significant and held true for all groups - with the exception of the political leaders and the French-Canadians, for whom the relationship could not be checked.¹³ As was the case with other of their findings, these relationships were discussed at greater length by the authors in their report.

57. No evidence was found that people who considered themselves "good" Christians felt a greater sense of responsibility than those whom they would consider to be "poor" Christians.

12. It should be remembered that this position is one based upon data collected in late 1962 and early 1963. How accurately it describes the situation in early 1976 is open to question.

13. It was impossible to check this relationship for political leaders, because half of them would not answer questions about their religion, and for French-Canadians because almost all were placed in the same category on the religion variable.

Evidence suggested that it was the "poor" Christians who believed in the necessity for greater citizen involvement in efforts to prevent war. This too is discussed at greater length in the report.

58. Opposition to or approval of welfare measures, and a sense of responsibility were found to be important predictors of attitudes - especially towards the United Nations, foreign aid and nuclear weapons. Favourable attitudes to a welfare state were closely linked to desires for a strengthened United Nations and more foreign aid, while feelings of responsibility had a weaker but important link to these opinions. Of interest was a sharp contrast between business and labour leaders; the labour leaders being far more in favour of welfare measures and indicating a much greater sense of responsibility than business leaders. At the same time the union leaders were much more positive to the notions of increased foreign aid and a stronger United Nations, and more opposed to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

59. It has often been held that the opinions of knowledgeable people are more useful data than those of a random sample of the general public. Comparison of the opinions of the informed public with the relatively poorly-informed samples led to the following, somewhat surprising, finding: the beliefs of the informed public and the uninformed English-Canadians were almost identical, the only major difference being a more positive attitude towards foreign aid on the part of the informed public. There were also differences between the informed public and uninformed French-Canadians, the former more willing to increase foreign aid and see a strengthened United Nations. They were also more opposed to the spread of nuclear weapons and the increasing of conventional forces. Broadly speaking, the pattern of results found was not consistent with the notion that, as a group, relatively uninformed people have meaningless opinions.

60. The attitudes of politicians were found to be quite similar to those of labour leaders, yet quite different from those of businessmen. In addition, the decisions of politicians were affected not only by elite group opinions and by their own beliefs, but also by their perceptions of the realities of the world situation and by the opinions of their constituents. It is important, then, that on every attitude issue politicians were quite different from part or all of the general public. Politicians were much more favourable to foreign aid and coexistence, and more opposed to the spread of nuclear weapons. On the United Nations and on conventional forces they differed only from the French-Canadian public. Given the above the authors conclude that:

...it seems eminently reasonable to speculate that government leaders are constrained by the people they represent from implementing policies which they themselves believe to be correct.

61. The variables which had little or no effect on defence and foreign policy attitudes were: age, sex, income, social class status, military experience, personal suffering as a result of war, place of residence (urban or rural), economic concerns about disarmament, and ethnic cultural origin (French- or English-Canadians). This may in some ways be a surprising finding, for as the authors point out, this list includes variables commonly used in polling agency reports to show differences in opinions. They elaborate:

...We had expected, on the basis of very simple theory and mainly because of the data from these surveys, to find attitude differences related to most of these variables. Indeed, there were, for example, significant age and ethnic group differences in answers to single questions or in scores on attitude scales. However,

when the relationship of these variables to attitudes were submitted to more rigorous statistical check, they proved to be of little or no consequence as correlates or predictors of attitudes. In the study of foreign policy opinions, such variables may only be useful as simple classification criteria for the report of descriptive statistics.

G. PREDICTING OPINIONS

62. The degree to which it was possible to predict foreign policy attitudes from a small number of background characteristics was assessed. Multiple regression analysis was used with a combined sample drawn from the groups interviewed. The major interest was the prediction of the positions of various groups, the prediction of variations in attitudes among individuals being a secondary goal. Analyses undertaken showed that the variables which do help to predict or explain opinions on defence and foreign policy are: knowledge, education of the person interviewed, religious dogmatism or involvement, sense of responsibility, cynicism, and attitudes about government welfare programmes.

63. In varying combinations these variables predicted quite accurately in most cases the average scores of each group on all but one of the foreign policy attitude scales - conventional forces. On this issue the groups were so similar that any attempt to predict differences was meaningless. Better than chance success was achieved in predicting the opinions of individuals from the same information although the degree of success was less than that achieved when predicting group scores.

64. A final facet of the discussion dealing with the prediction of attitudes centered around the role of ethnic

group origin in the explanation or prediction of differences in attitudes. The authors write as follows:

It is of considerable interest that when formulas based on the responses of English-Canadians were used to predict the average opinions of French-Canadians and of Canadians of other national backgrounds, they worked remarkably well. This is strong evidence for the conclusion that ethnic or cultural group origins do not play an important role in explaining differences in attitudes.

They continue:

Certainly, there are differences between French and English Canada. All our evidence suggests, however, that these differences are not based to any important degree on the fact of ethnic origin itself, but on the effects of cultural traditions and practices on such variables as education, knowledge, etc. (Emphases added.)

H. EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN, AND CONCLUSION

65. The CPRI survey provided a far more accurate and reliable picture of the acceptability of different foreign policy alternatives to Canadians than was available prior to its completion. References had been made from time to time to public opinion on such issues, but such references were based primarily upon sheer speculation or, at best, on interviews with small unrepresentative samples. Reliable quantitative information was provided only by the occasional surveys conducted by the Gallup Poll, but these surveys have covered only a few topics. In addition, questions were asked one at a time and at different times, thus making it impossible to discover how attitudes on such questions were related to each other.

66. The value of the CPRI work lay, both in the researchers' view and in the present author's view, in the successful provision of more reliable and comprehensive information in this field than was previously available. Further, the information was collected in a way which rendered it capable of being confirmed or rejected by other investigators, thereby providing an element of objectivity in a field previously characterized by a high degree of subjective speculation.

67. In evaluation of their own research the authors point to what they feel are some of the inherent limitations in empirical investigations of this kind. These are now briefly presented. First: the popularity of a particular policy is not necessarily a measure of its wisdom. Government and political leaders provide leadership but their assessment of the acceptability of certain policies to the public is only one of the elements involved in their decisions. Second: the stability or changeability of the attitudes and opinions expressed can only be resolved by further research. And third: the study was carried out in only one country. As international tensions involve many nations a simultaneous measurement of attitudes in different countries would be desirable. That the research was undertaken only in Canada was cited by the authors as perhaps the major limitation of the study.

68. The authors conclude with the following:

Within these limitations the study does provide a reliable picture about Canadian attitudes on a broad spectrum of foreign and defence policy issues. It has made possible a comparison of a national sample with samples of groups whose opinions on such issues may have special importance. It made possible the discovery of the degree to which different attitudes are related to each other and the degree to which they are related

to biographical variables. Finally, it has shed some light on the relationship between accurate information on foreign and defence policy and the existence of particular attitudes.

E. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF THE PRESENT STUDY

69. The conclusion of this study is essentially the same as that reached by the authors of The Canadian Peace Research Institute study, In Your Opinion, upon completion of their literature review: much has been done in both the United States and other nations with regard to the study of public opinion and attitudes vis-a-vis defence and defence policy, while little has been done in Canada. Apart from the CPRI study the present reviewer has been unable to locate any major source of data dealing with the attitudes of the Canadian public towards DND and defence matters. Granted, The Canadian Gallup Poll has on occasion included a defence-relevant question in their polling. Such questions, however, are infrequently reported. Beyond that, they are subject to a number of valid criticisms which render their meaningfulness quite suspect. Additionally, it should be noted that there has been a trend in recent years, as is apparent in Appendices E and F, for the Gallup Poll to deal with and report less and less on defence-related issues.

70. As observed, the methodological criticisms and difficulties associated both with single question attitude polling and other facile methods of attitude or opinion assessment have been referred to at several points throughout the present study. It is hoped that such words of caution have not been taken lightly. Indeed, the whole research area of opinion or attitude formation, assessment and change has been one rather heavily criticized in recent years within much of the social science literature. The reader of this paper should be aware, at the very least, that such a critical

literature does in fact exist. At their very best, assessments or reviews of public opinion should probably be used by decision makers only in conjunction with other information materials and sources, and even so, with a degree of realistic reserve.

ORGANIZATIONS CONTACTEDDND SOURCES

Director General Information
Director Information Services
Director Information and Education
Director Scientific Information Resources
Director Scientific Information Services
NDHQ Library Services
Director Professional and Education Development
National Defence College - Kingston
Director Personnel Applied Research
Chief Evaluation

OTTAWA SOURCES

National Library
Carleton University
 - Maxwell MacOdrum Library
 - Psychology Department
 - Sociology Department
 - Social Science Data Archives
External Affairs Library
 - Emergency Planning Council
Statistics Canada
 - Survey Research Group

OUT OF TOWN SOURCES

Canadian Peace Congress
Canadian Facts Ltd
Canadian Press Clipping Service
Canadian Institute of Public Opinion
 (Canadian Gallup Poll)

Canadian Peace Research Institute
Centre de Recherche sur l'Opinion Publique
Centre de Sondage

KEYWORDS USED IN THE SEARCH OF
THE GALLUP POLL CUMULATIVE INDEX

air	disassociate
allied	disarm
armaments	discord
armed	FLQ
armed forces	force
arming	forces
arms	foreign
arms control	foreign policies
army	foreign policy
authoritarian	foreign problems
authoritarianism	French
authorities	French Canadian
authority	ideological
Avro Arrow	ideology
BOMARC	internal
bomb	internal security
bombers	international
bombs	militant
civil	militarism
civil defence	militarization
civil rights	military
civilians	militia
commitments	NATO
control	navy
controlled	NORAD
controlling	north
controls	nuclear
controversy	nuclear destruction
defence	nuclear explosion
defense	nuclear tests
disaster	nuclear war

nuclear weapons	single problem
officers	situation
peace	soldier
peacekeeping	soldiers
police force	sovereignty
policies	sympathetic
policy	sympathising
political	sympathize
political kidnapping	sympathizing
politics	surveillance
Quebec	UN
recruits	US
relief	unification
rescue	uniform
reserve	United Nations
reserves	United States
SALT	veterans
search	Vietnam
search and rescue	war
security	War Measures Act
service	warfare
serviceman	weapons
servicemen	
services	

RESULTS OF THE GALLUP POLL CUMULATIVE INDEX REVIEW -
IDENTIFICATION OF QUESTIONS OF RELEVANCE OR INTEREST¹⁴

Poll No. 280 - January 1960
Questions #11 ab*, 15 abc*

Poll No. 281 - March 1960
Questions # - nil¹⁵

Poll No. 282 - May 1960
Questions # 3ab, 4, 5, 15

Poll No. 283
not available in the Archives

Poll No. 284 - September 1960
Questions # 11, 12

Poll No. 287 - March 1961
Questions # 12

Poll No. 288 - May 1961
Questions # 1, 2, 15

14. As previously described, a distinction between questions of relevance and questions of interest was made throughout the study, including the review of the Cumulative Index. In the present appendix this distinction is maintained, with question of relevance marked by an accompanying asterisk and questions of interest left unmarked.

15. While the Keyword search of the Cumulative Index indicated that there might be a question of interest in Poll No. 281, actual consultation with the poll indicated that this was not the case - thus the nil response - such a discrepancy (i.e. between information found in the Index and questions actually found in the polls) was found more often to be the exception rather than the rule.

Poll No. 291 - September 1961

Questions # 1 abc, 2, 3, 4 ab, 5 abc*, 13 ab*

Poll No. 292 - November 1961

Questions # 6, 9 ab, 14 ab

Poll No. 293 - January 1962

Questions # 11*

Poll No. 294 - March 1962

Questions # - poll incomplete - no relevant questions
found among those available

Poll No. 295 - May 1962

Questions # 4 a

Poll No. 296 - 9 June 1962

Questions # 13 a

Poll No. 297 - 13 June 1962

Questions # 4*, 5

Poll No. 299 - November 1962

Questions # 6 ab, 7, 8, 9, 10*

Poll No. 300 - January 1963

Questions # 2

Poll No. 301 - March 1963

Questions # 4 a, 12*

Poll No. 302 - April 1963

Questions # 12*

Poll No. 304 - August 1963
Questions # 1, 7, 8

Poll No. 305 - November 1963
Questions # 6

Poll No. 306 - February 1964
Questions # 8*, 11

Poll No. 307 - April 1964
Questions # 4*

Poll No. 308 - August 1964
Questions # 7 a

Poll No. 309 - November 1964
Questions # 4 ab

Poll No. 310 - January 1965
Questions # 3 6 c*, 12 abc, 14

Poll No. 313 - September 1965
Questions # 8 ab

Poll No. 314 - October 1965
Questions # 4 a

Poll No. 315 - November 1965
Questions # 11

Poll No. 319 - June 1966
Questions # 5, 8*

Poll No. 321 - October 1966
Questions # 7, 11*

Poll No. 322 - January 1967

Questions # 7 ab*

Poll No. 325 - September 1967

Questions # nil

Poll No. 326 - November 1967

Questions # 1 b, 4 ab, 10

Poll No. 328 - May 1968

Questions # nil

Poll No. 332 - October 1968

Questions # 1 ab, 10 abc*

Poll No. 334 - March 1969

Questions # nil

Poll No. 335 - May 1969

Questions # nil

Poll No. 336 - July 1969

Questions # 5*

Poll No. 337 - September 1969

Questions # 8 c, 11, 14

Poll No. 338 - October 1969

Questions # 7, 8a, 9

Poll No. 344 - November 1970

Questions # 3*, 12, 13

Poll No. 345 - January 1971

Questions # 1 ab

Poll No. 346 - March 1971
Questions # 6 ab

Poll No. 347 - May 1971
Questions # 13 abc

Poll No. 348 - July 1971
Questions # 14 ab

Poll No. 350 - November 1971
Questions # nil

Poll No. 353 - May 1972
Questions # nil

Poll No. 358 - March 1973
Questions # 13*

Poll No. 360 - July 1973
Questions # 9*

Poll No. 362 - November 1973
Questions # 8 abc*, 11

Poll No. 363 - January 1974
Questions # 7

Poll No. 366 - mid June 1974
Questions # 11*, 14 ab

Poll No. 367 - July 1974
Questions # - poll incomplete

- no relevant questions found among those available

Poll No. 370 - November 1974
Questions # 12 fghi

Poll No. 379 - August 1975

Questions # 8 ab

RESULTS OF THE GALLUP POLL PRESS RELEASE REVIEW -
IDENTIFICATION OF OFFICIAL PRESS RELEASES
OF RELEVANCE OR INTEREST^{16,17}

<u>1961</u>	
Jan - 7, 11, 14	July - 29
Feb - 22	August - 5, 23
March - nil	September - nil
April - nil	October - nil
May - nil	November - 1, 4, 8, <u>18*</u>
June - nil	December - <u>6*</u> , <u>9*</u>

<u>1962</u>	
Jan - 10, 13	July - nil
Feb - 21, 24	August - <u>25*</u>
March - 10	September - 1
April - nil	October - nil
May - nil	November - nil
June - nil	December - 15, 19, <u>22*</u>

<u>1963</u>	
Jan - nil	July - 10
Feb - 6	August - nil
March - nil	September - nil
April - nil	October - nil
May - <u>15*</u>	November - nil
June - <u>5*</u> , <u>12*</u> , 26	December - 7, 11

16. Once again, questions relevant to the study have been marked by an accompanying asterisk, whereas questions of general interest have been left unmarked.

17. Releases have been identified by their date of official press release.

1964

Jan	- nil	July	- <u>8*</u>
Feb	- nil	August	- nil
March	- nil	September	- nil
April	- nil	October	- 28
May	- nil	November	- nil
June	- nil	December	- nil

1965

Jan	- 6, 9	July	- 24
Feb	- nil	August	- 25
March	- 6, 13, 17, 31	September	- nil
April	- nil	October	- nil
May	- nil	November	- nil
June	- nil	December	- nil

1966

Jan	- nil	July	- nil
Feb	- 12	August	- nil
March	- nil	September	- nil
April	- nil	October	- nil
May	- 4	November	- nil
June	- nil	December	- nil

1967

Jan	- nil	July	- nil
Feb	- <u>18*</u>	August	- 30
March	- nil	September	- 13, 16
April	- nil	October	- 7, 14
May	- nil	November	- nil
June	- nil	December	- nil

1968

Jan	- nil	July	- nil
Feb	- 10, 14	August	- nil
March	- nil	September	- nil
April	- nil	October	- nil
May	- nil	November	- 23, 27, <u>30*</u>
June	- nil	December	- <u>11*</u>

1969

Jan	- nil	July	- nil
Feb	- nil	August	- 20, 23, <u>30*</u>
March	- 15	September	- nil
April	- nil	October	- 29
May	- nil	November	- nil
June	- nil	December	- 24

1970

Jan	- 21	July	- nil
Feb	- nil	August	- nil
March	- nil	September	- nil
April	- nil	October	- nil
May	- nil	November	- nil
June	- nil	December	- 12

1971

Jan	- 30	July	- nil
Feb	- nil	August	- nil
March	- 10	September	- 25
April	- nil	October	- nil
May	- nil	November	- nil
June	- nil	December	- nil

1972

Jan	- nil	July	- nil
Feb	- nil	August	- 26
March	- 15	September	- nil
April	- 15	October	- nil
May	- nil	November	- nil
June	- nil	December	- nil

1973

Jan	- nil	July	- nil
Feb	- nil	August	- <u>15*</u>
March	- nil	September	- nil
April	- <u>7*</u>	October	- nil
May	- nil	November	- nil
June	- nil	December	- <u>19*</u>

1974

Jan	- 9	July	- nil
Feb	- nil	August	- nil
March	- 13	September	- 4, <u>7*</u>
April	- nil	October	- nil
May	- nil	November	- 23
June	- nil	December	- nil

1975

Jan	- nil	July	- nil
Feb	- nil	August	- nil
March	- nil	September	- 13
April	- nil	October	- nil
May	- nil	November	- nil
June	- nil	December	- nil

1976

Jan - 24

Feb - nil

QUESTIONS OF RELEVANCE AND THEIR RESULTS -

DRAWN FROM CANADIAN GALLUP POLL OFFICIAL PRESS RELEASES

DATE	QUESTION	RESULT	TABLE NO.
7 Sept. 1974	"Would you favour, or oppose requiring every able-bodied young man in this country, when he reaches the age of 18, to spend one year in military training and then join the reserve or militia, as it's called?"	44% favour, 46% oppose (as compared to 66% and 27% in 1946). Youth and better educated tend to oppose.	I
19 Dec. 1973	"If the United Nations decides on one, would you approve or disapprove of Canada becoming a member of a peacekeeping force in the Middle East?"	55% yes, 29% no	II
15 August 1973	"As of July 31st Canada will withdraw its 'Peace Observer Force' from Vietnam. On the whole do you approve or disapprove of this decision?"	84% approve, 9% disapprove, anglophones and Conservatives slightly more approving.	III
7 April 1973	"As you may know, Canada is one of the four nations who have been asked to send a group of about 290 troops and observers to Vietnam as part of the peace agreement, on a temporary basis. In general, do you approve of this or not?"	53% approve, 39% disapprove; higher educated and Liberals tend to greater approval.	IV

DATE	QUESTION	RESULT	TABLE NO.
30 August 1969	"As you may know, the government is planning to bring some of our NATO forces stationed in Europe, back to Canada, and so reduce our military strength there. Do you approve of this or not?"	51% approve, 26% disapprove (as compared to 23% and 64% in December, 1968); 20 year age group (21-29 years) more in favour of reduction than more over 50.	V
11 Dec. 1968	"As you may know, Canadian troops are stationed in Europe as part of NATO. Do you think they should continue there, or should the Canadian government bring them back?"	64% "continue there", 23% "called back"; Quebec being most in favour of calling troops back and the West being most in favour of their remaining in Europe.	VI
30 Nov. 1968	"Do you have happen to have heard or read anything about NATO - That is The North Atlantic Treaty Organization?"	52% yes, 48% no, (as compared to 56% and 43% in 1952 and 59% and 41% in 1960).	VII
30 Nov. 1968	"How, in your own words, would you describe what NATO is trying to do?"	28% did not know, 27% gave vague answers about keeping the peace.	VIII

DATE	QUESTION	RESULT	TABLE NO.
18 February 1967	"Do you happen to have heard or read anything about the unification of the armed forces - that is merging the army, navy, and air force under one command and with the same uniform for all forces?"	66% yes, 34% no, with age groups 40-49 and 50 & over being slightly more aware.	IX
18 February 1967	"Do you approve or disapprove?"	48% approve, 33% disapprove, and 19% can't say; only in the 30-39 age group do a majority (53%) approve	X
8 July 1964	"Do you approve, as part of the United Nations peace force, of Canadian Troops being sent to Cyprus or should we keep out of their affairs as much as possible?"	54% approve, 32% disapprove (as compared with 31% and 53% when question asked of British public about UK troops); with Liberals being most approving and NDP and Social Credit being least approving.	XI
12 June 1963	"What do you feel is the greatest single problem facing Canada today?"	18% cited nuclear arms/defence policies/fear of nuclear war; (as compared to 1959 when no mention was made of nuclear arms situation).	XII

DATE	QUESTION	RESULT	TABLE NO.
5 June 1963	"Just from what you know or have heard, in your opinion should Canada's armed forces be armed with nuclear weapons or not?"	49% yes, 32% no (as compared to 54% and 32% in 1962); all regions polled more "yes's" than "no's".	XIII, XIV
15 May 1963	"Are you satisfied with the present Canadian defence policies, or do you think there is need to take a new look at our defence policies?"	25% satisfied, 53% dissatisfied (as compared with 32% and 34% in 1958, 32% and 42% in 1959, 25% and 46% in 1960); Ontario, the West and Liberals expressing the greatest dissatisfaction.	XV, XVI
22 December 1962	"Just from what you know or have heard, in your opinion, should Canada's armed forces be armed with nuclear weapons or not?"	54% yes, 32% no; with womens' attitudes being quite similar to mens'.	XVII, XVIII
25 August 1962	"Are you satisfied with the present Canadian defence policies, or do you think there is need to take a new look at our defence policies?"	34% satisfied, 35% dissatisfied, 31% no opinion (as compared with 32%, 42% and 26% in 1959 and 25%, 46% and 29% in 1960);	XIX, XX

DATE	QUESTION	RESULT	TABLE NO.
9 December 1961	"If Canada's defence becomes merged more and more with that of the U.S. would you approve or disapprove?" (1)	68% yes, 22% no (as compared to 59%, and 22% in 1959); "approval for the idea of a merged air defence runs at much the same level for all age groups."	XXI, XXII
6 December 1961	"Some people say that Canada is becoming more and more dependent on the U.S. for our air defence. Do you, or do you not think this is happening?"	67% yes, 19% no (as compared to 50% and 24% in 1959); those in their thirties and forties are most convinced, those fifty and over are least convinced.	XXIII, XXIV
18 November 1961	"Have you heard or read anything about arming Canada's forces with nuclear weapons?"	61% yes, 39% no; with men being far more aware of the debate.	XXV
18 November 1961	"Just from what you know or have heard, in your opinion should Canada's armed forces be armed, with nuclear weapons or not?"	61% yes, 31% no; with men being more favourable than women, the frequently cited reason being our own protection.	XXVI
18 November 1961	"For what reason do you accept or reject the arming of Canada's forces with nuclear weapons?"	48% accept "for own protection to defend ourselves and North America", 16% reject because "Canada should stay neutral, we are in less danger of attack if we are neutral."	XXVII, XXVIII

(1) This questions makes no specific reference to Canada's air defence. However, the numerous references throughout the actual press release to "air defence", together with the table headings "Approve Merged Air Defence with U.S.?" indicate that the question asked was designed to deal only with attitudes or opinions concerning air defence and not with other aspects of Canadian defence organization or policy.

TABLE I - SEPTEMBER 7, 1974

	<u>FAVOUR</u>	<u>OPPOSE</u>	<u>NO OPINION</u>
NATIONAL: TODAY	44%	46%	10%
1956	60	32	8
1955	51	40	9
1946	66	27	7
TODAY: 18 to 29 years	24	68	8
30 to 49 years	45	46	9
50 years & over	58	31	11
Elementary education	55	29	16
High School	42	50	8
University	26	68	6

TABLE 2 - DECEMBER 19, 1973

	<u>REGION</u>					
	<u>NATIONAL</u>	<u>ATLANTIC</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>PRAIRIES</u>	<u>BR. COL.</u>
<u>JOIN PEACEKEEPING FORCE?</u>						
Yes	55	47	46	57	61	70
No	29	30	29	29	31	23
Don't know	16	23	25	14	8	7

TABLE III - AUGUST 15, 1973

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>
NATIONAL:	84%	9%	7%
Liberal voters	83	9	8
Conservative voters	92	6	2
N.D.P. voters	84	15	1
English	88	8	4
French	79	10	11
Other language	78	12	10

TABLE IV - APRIL 7, 1973

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>UNDECIDED OR QUALIFIED</u>
NATIONAL	53%	39%	8%
Public School	42	47	11
High School:Technical	55	38	7
University	71	25	4
English	52	42	6
French	56	35	9
Other Ethnic	51	37	12
Liberal voters	66	31	3
PC voters	43	49	8
NDP voters	52	42	6

TABLE V - AUGUST 30, 1969

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>QUALIFIED</u>	<u>CAN'T SAY</u>
NATIONAL	51%	26%	2%	21%
Sex				
Men	49	30	3	18
Women	52	22	1	25
Age groups				
21 - 29 years	58	25	1	16
30 - 39 years	54	22	*	24
40 - 49 years	54	23	3	20
50 years and over	41	31	3	25

* Less than 1%

TABLE VI - DECEMBER 11, 1968

	<u>NATIONAL</u>	<u>QUEBEC</u>	<u>ONTARIO</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Continue there	64%	55%	66%	71%
Called back	23	32	22	20
Qualified	3	-	1	5
Don't know	10	13	11	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE VII - NOVEMBER 30, 1968

	1952	1960	TODAY
Yes,	56%	59%	52%
No,	43	41	48
Not sure	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE VIII - NOVEMBER 30, 1968

... Its purpose is to keep the peace	27%
... United defence for the free world	23
... To counteract Communism, to keep balance of power, to offset the Warsaw pact	15
... Other	11
... Don't know its purpose	28
	<u>104*</u>

* More than one purpose mentioned.

TABLE IX - FEBRUARY 18, 1967

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Age Groups</u>			
		<u>21-29</u> <u>Years</u>	<u>30-39</u> <u>Years</u>	<u>40-49</u> <u>Years</u>	<u>50 &</u> <u>Over</u>
Yes	66%	60%	65%	68%	69%
No	<u>34</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>31</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE X - FEBRUARY 18, 1967

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>21-29</u> <u>Years</u>	<u>30-39</u> <u>Years</u>	<u>40-49</u> <u>Years</u>	<u>50 &</u> <u>Over</u>
Approve	48%	46%	53%	46%	48%
Disapprove	33	39	31	33	30
Can't say	<u>19</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>22</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE XI - JULY 8, 1964

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>CONSERVATIVES</u>	<u>LIBERAL</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
Yes, approve	54%	53%	62%	48%
Should keep out	32	33	27	45
No opinion	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE XII - JUNE 12, 1963

Unemployment and unemployment insurance..	35%
Nuclear arms; defence policies; fear of nuclear war.....	18
Economy of the country; rising cost of living.....	9
Political instability and unrest; lack of good political leadership.....	9
Other problems (Relations with U.S. trade; education; medical care; better farm prices, etc.).....	15
Can't name any.....	16
(Some named more than one)	<u>102%</u>

TABLE XIII - JUNE 5, 1963

	<u>Dec. 1962</u>	<u>TODAY</u>
Yes	54%	49%
No	32	32
Qualified	6	4
Undecided	<u>8</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%

TABLE XIV - JUNE 5, 1963

	<u>EAST</u>	<u>ONT.</u>	<u>WEST</u>
Yes	44%	55%	50%
No	36	26	35
Qualified	1	5	5
Undecided	19	14	10

TABLE XV - MAY 15, 1963

	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>Today</u>
Satisfied	32%	32%	25%	25%
Dissatisfied	34	42	46	53
No opinion	<u>34</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>22</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE XVI - MAY 15, 1963

	<u>LIBERALS</u>	<u>PC'S</u>	<u>NDP</u>	<u>SOCREDS</u>
Satisfied	18%	36%	25%	26%
Dissatisfied	62	43	58	54
No opinion	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>20</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE XVII - DECEMBER 22, 1962

Yes	54%
No	32
Qualified	6
No opinion	8
	<u>100%</u>

TABLE XVIII - DECEMBER 22, 1962

	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>
Yes	54%	55%
No	34	30
Qualified	5	6
No opinion	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%

TABLE XIX - AUGUST 25, 1962

	<u>MAY 1959</u>	<u>MARCH 1960</u>	<u>TODAY</u>
Satisfied	32%	25%	34%
Dissatisfied	42	46	35
No Opinion	<u>26</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>31</u>
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE XX - AUGUST 25, 1962

	<u>ENGLISH</u>	<u>FRENCH</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
Satisfied	37%	28%	35%
Dissatisfied	35	35	34
No Opinion	<u>28</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>31</u>
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE XXI - DECEMBER 9, 1961

<u>Approve Merged Air Defence with U.S.?</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>TODAY</u>
Yes	59%	68%
No	22	22
Undecided	<u>19</u>	<u>10</u>
	100%	100%

TABLE XXII - DECEMBER 9, 1961

	<u>Approve Merged Air Defence with U.S.?</u>		
	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>
21 - 29 years	68%	20%	12%
30 - 39 years	69	21	10
40 - 49 years	69	24	7
50 and over	67	21	12

Note: Columns add to 100% across.

TABLE XXIII - DECEMBER 6, 1961

<u>Is Our Air Defence Becoming More Dependent on U.S.?</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>TODAY</u>
Yes	50%	67%
No	24	19
Undecided	<u>26</u>	<u>14</u>
	100%	100%

TABLE XXXIV - DECEMBER 6, 1961

	<u>Is Our Air Defence Becoming More Dependent on the U.S.A.?</u>		
	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>
21 - 29 years	64%	17%	19%
30 - 39 years	73	15	12
40 - 49 years	72	20	8
50 and over	56	26	18

Columns add to 100% across.

TABLE XXV - NOVEMBER 18, 1961

	<u>NATIONAL</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>
Yes, have heard	61%	69%	52%
No, have not"	39	31	48
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

TABLE XXVI - NOVEMBER 18, 1961

	<u>NATIONAL</u>	<u>MEN</u>	<u>WOMEN</u>
Yes	61%	67%	54%
No	31	26	36
No opinion	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>
	100%	100%	100%

TABLE XXVII - NOVEMBER 18, 1961

We need them for our own protection, to defend ourselves and North America.....	48%
Other countries are doing this and we must be equal to them in our defence.....	30
Our armies are useless unless equipped with modern weapons.....	9
It may help to avert war.....	7
If war starts we will be in the front line.....	3
We should not rely on the U.S. to defend us.....	2
Other reasons.....	1
No opinion.....	*
* Less than 1%	100%

TABLE XXVIII - NOVEMBER 18, 1961

Canada should stay neutral; we are in less danger of attack if we are neutral.....	16%
We are not big enough, nor advanced enough for nuclear weapons; not a leading power.....	15
It might increase danger of war; we could get into real trouble.....	13
Nuclear weapons are too dangerous.....	12
It would not do any good as it wouldn't protect us.....	7
We can't afford them.....	5
The U.S. will defend us in case of war.....	4
There won't be a nuclear war; there's no need for them.....	4
The fewer countries which have them the better; nuclear power should be used for peaceful purposes only.....	12
Other.....	3
No opinion.....	10
(Some gave more than one reason)	101%

SOME QUESTIONS AND RESULTS OF POSSIBLE INTEREST -
DRAWN FROM CANADIAN GALLUP POLL OFFICIAL PRESS RELEASES

DATE	QUESTION	RESULT	TABLE NO.
13 Sept. 1975	"In your opinion are the chances for an atomic war breaking out greater, or less great than they were ten years ago?"	33% "greater", 42% "less great" (as compared to 17% and 54% in 1971); French-speaking are among the more pessimistic.	1
12 Dec. 1970	"In general, do you approve or disapprove the government's action in bringing in the War Measures Act to handle the FLQ crisis, with the promise that it would be replaced shortly with special legislation to give the government the temporary powers it needs?"	87% approve, 6% disapprove; secondary and post secondary school educated tend to be slightly more approving.	2
31 March 1965	"How long do you think it will be before there is another world war - or do you think it is unlikely we will have another world war?"	53% war unlikely, 21% don't know, 13% - over 10 years, 8% - 6 to 10 years.	3
6 March 1965	"As things stand today would you say the chances of the United Nations for keeping the peace in the world are good or poor?"	44% good, 29% fair, 21% poor (as compared with 41%, 31% & 13% in 1958).	4
15 Dec. 1962	"Do you believe that it is possible or impossible to reach a peaceful settlement of differences with Russia?"	66% believe possible, 24% impossible; young are more optimistic.	5,6

TABLE I - SEPTEMBER 13, 1975

	<u>GREATER</u>	<u>LESS GREAT</u>	<u>THE SAME</u>	<u>DON'T KNOW</u>
NATIONAL- TODAY	33%	42%	17%	8%
- 1971	17	54	19	10
<u>By Mother Tongue - Today:</u>				
English	29	48	15	8
French	40	32	22	6
Other	40	33	14	13

TABLE II - DECEMBER 12, 1970

	<u>APPROVE</u>	<u>DISAPPROVE</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>
CANADA	87%	6%	7%
English speaking	89	5	6
French speaking	86	9	5
Other races	79	5	16
Public School Education	81	5	14
High School: Technical	89	6	5
University	89	7	4

TABLE III - MARCH 31, 1975

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>21-29 Years</u>	<u>30-39 Years</u>	<u>40-49 Years</u>	<u>50 & Over</u>
Within year	1%	2%	*%	1%	1%
1 to 5 years	4	3	3	6	4
6 to 10 years	8	6	10	10	7
Over 10 years	13	13	13	12	14
War unlikely	53	55	58	49	50
Don't know	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>24</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Less than 1%

TABLE IV - MARCH 6, 1965

	<u>1958</u>	<u>TODAY</u>
Good	41%	44%
Fair	31	29
Poor	13	21
No opinion	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>
	100%	100%

TABLE V - DECEMBER 15, 1962

	<u>February 1962</u>	<u>TODAY</u>
Is possible	56%	66%
Impossible	28	24
Undecided	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>
	100%	100%

TABLE VI - DECEMBER 15, 1962

	<u>21-29 Years</u>	<u>30-39 Years</u>	<u>40-49 Years</u>	<u>50 and Over</u>
Is possible	72%	64%	64%	65%
Impossible	17	25	26	26
Undecided	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%