

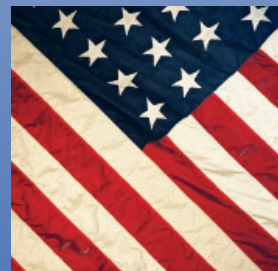
Studies in Canada-US Relations



May 2011

What Congress Thinks of Canada

by Alexander Moens and Nachum Gabler



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Summary

What do US senators and representatives think about Canada? Do they hold favourable or negative views? We sought to answer this question by performing an analytical content analysis, to quantify and contextualize the views about Canada held by American lawmakers in the period from 2001 to 2010. Our findings show five important trends in congressional attitudes towards Canada.

- American lawmakers are critical about most trade issues dealing with Canada.
- Republicans have a negative view of Canadian health care, seeing it as a bad example to avoid. Democrats support only Canadian price controls on prescription drugs.
- Canada enjoys goodwill in the Congress regarding energy and the environment, including further oil exploration in the oil sands, and most members of Congress are open to an even greater energy-trading relationship with Canada.
- American legislators are critical about the shared border. They worry about the threat of terrorists staging attacks from Canada and generally favour more security on the border.
- Disagreement over the war in Iraq in 2003 and Canada's refusal to join missile defence have not damaged Canadian-American relations and both Republicans and Democrats continue to view Canada as a loyal ally and a reliable defence partner. Congress is upbeat and confident about our bilateral ties in defence and foreign policy, mainly because of Canadian efforts in Afghanistan.

The traditional benevolent attitude towards Canada, then, has survived the rocky years after 9/11 and Canadian policy makers would do well to explore this resource in political goodwill.

Overview of major findings

The United States and Canada are partners in trade, national security, and environmental management. The political state of affairs between Canada and the United States is a constant source of concern for Canadians whose prosperity and security to a large extent depend on this relationship. From the American point of view, Canada is a neighbour, a partner in NAFTA, and a diplomatic ally in several key security arrangements, including NORAD and NATO. Much of American policy and many laws enacted in the United States Congress have a direct or indirect impact on Canadians. Despite the importance of this relationship, there are few studies using objectively measured indicators to shed light on how legislators perceive these shared interests. In order to fill this void, we previously undertook a quantification of the sentiment held by Canadian Parliamentarians towards the United States as expressed in debates that took place in the House of Commons from 2001 to 2009 (Moens and Gabler, 2009).

In *What Congress Thinks of Canada*, we turn our attention to the American national legislative body in an attempt to analyze how members of the US Congress perceived Canada in the period from 2001 to 2010. The goal is to provide an objective interpretation of the views espoused by US lawmakers in the Senate and the House of Representatives about Canada and Canadian policy and law. We measure if the views of US lawmakers towards Canada can be regarded as favourable, negative, or ambivalent.

We examined 1,830 instances of transcribed debate where either Canada or Canadian policy was the focal point of discussion. We employed a content analysis study for quantifying data that would otherwise remain qualitative, to ensure an objective, reliable, and replicable interpretation of the views espoused by members of the US Congress. We augmented our own evaluation with that of two external judges who scored a representative sample of observations in order to safeguard against the encroachment of potential biases or undue external influences.

Our objective is to provide Canadians with a reliable assessment of how American politicians perceive Canada and how they approach policy issues that affect Canada. It greatly matters what American legislators think about Canada. Most information we have about their views is anecdotal or limited to case studies of specific policies. We offer the first broad quantitative assessment of what members of Congress have said about Canada.

Our findings stand in contrast to some of the prevailing thought about Canada-US affairs. We first noticed that, contrary to popular belief, many American politicians are informed about Canadian domestic matters and

aware of what is happening in the Canada. Many US lawmakers show a keen knowledge of Canadian-American trade relations, opportunities to be found in developing Canadian energy resources, the Canadian health care system, and concerns about the shared border. And this by no means exhausts the list of policy issues involving Canada with which US lawmakers regularly deal. At the same time, we were also struck by the blatantly erroneous assertions and sheer ignorance of other American lawmakers.

We have classified the observations by policy issue (Trade and Commerce; Borders and Security; Defence and Foreign Affairs; Health Care; Energy and Environment); by party affiliation (Democrat; Republican); by type of comment (Canadian-American Relations; Canadian Policy as an Example); and by Congress (107th–111th). The two types of comment, Canadian-American Relations and Canada as an Example are differentiated by the purpose for which American lawmakers refer to Canada. Canadian-American Relations denotes observations that discuss bilateral affairs explicitly; Example designates those observations where Canada or a Canadian policy is cited as an example to be emulated or rejected.

Five important trends

- 1 American lawmakers are critical and negative about trade issues dealing with Canada.
- 2 American legislators are most critical about the shared border and Canada's perceived management of this border. Their worry about the threat of terrorists staging attacks from Canada remains high. Perceptions of the Mexican and Canadian border are roughly similar. The only sub-group with a narrowly positive sentiment towards Canada on the border were Republican senators.
- 3 Canadian-American divergence about the war in Iraq in 2003 and Canada's refusal to join missile defence have not damaged Canadian-American relations. Congress is strongly upbeat and confident about our bilateral ties in defence and foreign policy, in no small part due to Canadian efforts in Afghanistan.
- 4 Republicans have a consistently negative view of Canadian health care and Democrats refuse to defend it. Only one third of Republicans support market-based prescription-drug policies.
- 5 Canada enjoys widespread support and goodwill on matters related to energy and the environment, including further oil exploration in the oil sands.

Trade and pharmaceuticals

The overall data on trade matters requires careful interpretation. Lawmakers from both parties and in both chambers were positive about trade matters. We found that Democrats and Republicans in the House of Representatives expressed positive views regarding trade 61% and 65% of the time, respectively. In the Senate numbers were slightly weaker on trade, with positive views expressed towards Canada 54% of the time by Democrats and 55% of the time by Republicans.

Much of this positive sentiment, however, is driven by advocacy for re-importing pharmaceuticals. There is strong bipartisan support for securing access to prescription drugs sold in Canada. When we controlled for the pharmaceutical issue as well as trade issues that also involve Mexico, our findings changed drastically. Positive sentiment towards Canada-US trade among Democrats plunged and was overtaken by negative views in both the Senate and House. Positive views expressed by Republicans also declined significantly, though to a lesser extent than among Democrats.

Borders and Security

The issue about which members of Congress are most antagonistic towards Canada is border security. Many in the US Senate and House of Representatives are highly critical of Canada's efforts to ensure a secure and safe border. We discovered that there were persistent and repeated allegations that Canada is lax about terrorism and was the source of some of the 9/11 hijackers and of illicit narcotics. We also found that American lawmakers most often speak of the Canadian and Mexican borders in roughly the same manner when discussing border security. Though neither chamber could be described as having a favourable disposition towards Canada on the border, it was evident that the rhetoric in the House was considerably more inflamed. Only 38% of the comments made by House Democrats and 24% by Republicans about the border were evaluated as positive. Opinions in the Senate were more favourable: Democrats expressed positive views about the border with Canada 43% of the time while their Republican counterparts expressed positive views 58% of the time.

Defence and Foreign Affairs

Both parties are nearly unanimous in their favourable opinion of Canada when they discuss Defence and Foreign Affairs. Most members of both parties describe Canada as a geopolitical ally and friend. Apart from a few negative references to Canada's not participating in the military intervention in Iraq, the remainder of the comments praise Canada for its contributions to NATO, continental defence, and its commitment to the security of Afghanistan. We found that Democrats and Republicans in both chambers expressed overwhelmingly favourable views towards Canada: House Democrats and

Republicans were favourable towards Canada regarding Defence and Foreign Affairs 100% and 82% of the time, respectively; Senate Democrats expressed positive views on this subject 90% of the time while Republican sentiment was positive 86% of the time.

Health Care

Another policy area in which Canada's image fared poorly was provision of health care. Recent debate over the health care reforms proposed by President Obama engendered considerable reference by Republicans to Canada's health care system as an example to reject. Democrats never countered this overwhelmingly negative perception. Democrats and some Republicans felt that Canada's use of government bargaining power when purchasing pharmaceuticals was a good policy that should be adopted in the United States. Thus, we found American views of the Canadian health care system to be mixed. On Canadian-style single-payer, universal-coverage health care provision, Republicans are negative and Democrats never really stand up in its defence. Only 20% of comments by House Republicans about health care were evaluated as positive. House Democrats were found to express positive views about Canadian-style health care 83% of the time, though this is primarily a reflection of support for pharmaceutical re-imports rather than a defence of the Canadian system or its suitability as a model for the United States. Opinions in the Senate were less favourable, with Democrats expressing positive views about Canadian health care 77% of the time while their Republican counterparts expressed positive views about Canadian-style health care provision a mere 9% of the time.

Energy and Environment

The final policy area frequently addressed by US lawmakers was environmental conservation, continental energy resources, and energy trade. Most American politicians are eager to secure access to Canada's energy resources and favourably inclined to their development. Oil sands products and natural gas dominated the conversation concerning energy trade. Most Republicans and Democrats, with a few notable exceptions, see Canada as a stable source of energy imports and a key component in their strategy for energy security. Views of environmental matters were more eclectic and mixed. Overall, though, Canada fares well regarding energy and environmental issues from the point of view of most senators and representatives. We found that House Democrats and Republicans expressed positive views regarding energy and the environment 89% and 59% of the time, respectively. In the Senate, on the other hand, positive views were expressed towards Canada's policies on energy and the environment 62% of the time by Democrats and 67% of the time by Republicans.

Introduction—a glimpse into the congressional view of Canada

What do members of the American Congress say about Canada?¹ Reading their comments and speeches is an eye opener for Canadians interested in our most important bilateral relationship. These lawmakers say a good deal about their northern neighbour: we collected 1,830 substantial comments referring to Canada over a ten-year period (2001–2010). What they say is often colourful and partisan, at times quite ill-informed but, at other times, showing a keen knowledge of what goes on inside Canada. Before we begin exploring the data, we offer a glimpse of the nature and variety of the excerpts. Predictably, most comments relate to the big policy issues in American politics such as health-care reform, trade relations, and disputes on how to keep the border safe.

How many Canadians know, as Republican Senator John Barroso from Wyoming pointed out, that in 2009 some 33,000 Canadians came to the United States for surgery (Thomas Archive, Barroso, 2010)? Notes his colleague Senator Chuck Grassley, a Republican from Iowa: “Canada brags about having a single [health] plan. But Canada does not have just a single plan. There is a second plan, and it is called the United States of America” (Thomas Archive, Grassley, 2009). American legislators know a lot about the notoriously long waits Canadians endure to get certain medical treatments. One senator called it a “weekly lottery” to see which citizens get to see a doctor (Thomas Archive, Vitter, 2008). When Newfoundland Premier Danny Williams went to the United States for heart surgery, Republican Representative Ted Poe from Texas was quick to exploit the symbolism of the Premier’s visit. “A dignitary is visiting,” he said, “but there were no red carpets and no dinners in his honour because this was not a state visit but a sneak visit” (Thomas Archive, Poe, 2010). Expounding on the same incident, Republican Representative Ileana Ros-Lehtinen of Florida added: “I’d like to take a moment to highlight the fact that shortly before our friends in Canada were kind enough to host the Olympics in Vancouver, my home district of Miami, Florida, was hosting Canadian Premier Danny Williams as he underwent cardiac surgery at Mount Sinai Medical Center, located in my

¹ The US legislative branch, commonly referred to as “Congress,” is made up of two bodies: the House of Representatives, which includes 435 members (each representing a district in the 50 states), and the Senate, which includes 100 members (two from each state). Each Congress generally has two sessions, each session lasting a year. Hence, each Congress lasts two years.

congressional district of Miami Beach” (Thomas Archive, Ros-Lehtinen, 2010). There was little effort made by Democrats to defend the Canadian health care system. Democratic Representative John Yarmuth of Kentucky noted dryly: “Other than hockey, what have we ever copied from Canada?” (Thomas Archive, Yarmuth, 2009).

The border was another lightning-rod issue. Four representatives and three senators claimed that at least one of the 9/11 terrorists had come from Canada. The fact is that no 9/11 terrorists came from Canada but suppressing this erroneous claim became a whack-a-mole game for Canada. The perception that Canada lacked sufficient “homeland” security put various lawmakers on edge, none more so than former Republican Representative Tom Tancredo of Colorado, a one-time presidential hopeful. The flaws in Canada’s refugee system that he pointed out were serious but he was sure to describe them in an exaggerated manner: “Osama bin Laden,” said Tancredo, “could land in Ontario, claim he is Osama the tent maker ... and walk unfettered probably into the United States” (Thomas Archive, Tancredo, 2001) The longest undefended border suddenly seemed oddly out of place and a source of heightened concern. Democratic Senator Byron Dorgan of North Dakota noted:

We have a 4,000-mile border between the United States and Canada, with 128 ports of entry, and 100 of them are not staffed at night. At 10 o’clock at night, the security between the United States and Canada is an orange rubber cone, just a big old orange rubber cone. It cannot talk. It cannot walk. It cannot shoot. It cannot tell a terrorist from a tow truck. It is just a big fat dumb rubber cone sitting in the middle of the road.” (Thomas Archive, Dorgan, 2001)

Terrorism was not the only border problem: US lawmakers complained about the “swap border” where BC Bud or Quebec Gold heads south and cocaine and firearms travel north.

Contrary to the idea that Americans are lurking about looking for ways to take control of Canada’s water resources, we learn that Canadians were the first to try selling (Great Lakes) water to Asia and that it was American protests that ultimately scuttled the deal (Thomas Archive, Ehlers, 2008). Americans point to Canadians drilling for oil offshore as a practice to emulate. Representatives from the state of Michigan expressed firm opposition to the city of Toronto dumping its garbage in Michigan’s landfills.

One legislator called the NAFTA panels ruling in favour of Canada regarding soft-wood lumber “rogue panels” (Thomas Archive, Smith, 2004) and another member of Congress named the second BSE cow discovered in December 2003 that was traced back to Canada, the “cow that stole Christmas” (Thomas Archive, Burns, 2005). There were various allegations of export dumping of such products as durum wheat. Senator Byron Dorgan

illustrated this by loading a small orange pickup truck with Dakota durum wheat and heading north only to be turned back at the border. He remarked:

Remember, all the way to the border, we had 18-wheel trucks full of durum wheat from Canada going into our marketplace at secret prices. We found later, incidentally, they were at prices that were dumped, prices that were designed to undermine our farmers. But we were told at the border station entering Canada we could not get just a small amount of wheat from the United States into Canada. Why? Because you just cannot. It is the way this works. It is a trade agreement. One side gets to dump all their products into our marketplace, and a little orange truck gets stopped going into theirs. (Thomas Archive, Dorgan, 2004)

Canadians will be happy to learn that amidst the sniping and complaining, both the House and Senate are full of good sentiment towards Canada. Benevolence runs deep and wide in the Congress although it does not necessarily attach itself to specific issues. Apart from our five main categories of policy issues used to classify the observations, which will be discussed below, we counted observations that we dubbed Commemorative, celebrating some aspect of bilateral good will or a positive symbolic gesture (14 comments by Democrats and 6 by Republicans in the House; 10 comments by Democrats and 4 by Republicans in the Senate).

On many individual issues, members of Congress expressed strong positive sentiment about things Canadian. Arguing that Canadian drugs are safe for American use, Representative Bernie Sanders, an Independent from Vermont who voted with the Democratic caucus, noted: “We are not dealing with some Third World in Canada” (Thomas Archive, Sanders, 2003). Even on the border issue, some comments were balanced. Republican Representative Don Manzullo of Illinois commented, “Yes, it’s true that the Canadians are more liberal with their immigration and asylum policies than we are. But I am satisfied that the Canadians are addressing border security in a responsible fashion” (Thomas Archive, Manzullo, 2006). On energy, many speakers recognized, understood, and appreciated the deep ties. Republican Representative John Peterson had the following to say about energy trade: “Thank God for Canada. We import more energy from Canada than anybody else, our friend to the north...” (Thomas Archive, Peterson, 2008).

Results and analysis

House of Representatives

Trade and commerce (TRD)

Given that in 2010 some 65% of Canadian trade was with the United States, the equivalent of 40% of Canadian GDP, there is no more important file in all our bilateral relationships (Canada, Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2010). The results of our study show that American lawmakers in the House are positively inclined towards Canada on trade in general. When Canadians think about recent trade issues, they remember the BSE or Mad Cow crisis (2003–2007) and softwood lumber dispute that ran from 2001 till 2006. But we did not find that these disputes received much attention in the House. In fact, the single biggest issue for American lawmakers was the problem that American consumers could not gain easy access to lower-priced prescription drugs (made by American manufacturers and FDA approved) from Canada. When we set the pharmaceutical trade issue aside and exclude discussions where lawmakers discuss Canada, Mexico, and NAFTA together, we find an important distinction between the two political parties over the last decade. Republicans remain positive but Democrats turn fairly negative.

Legend

Type of comment

- EG Canada used as an example for American public policy;
- CAR Canada spoken of in the course of explicit discussions of bilateral relations;
- COMM relationship between Canada and the United States commemorated.

Area of public policy

- TRD Trade and commerce;
- HC Health care;
- ENEG Energy and environment.
- BS Borders and security;
- DFA Defence and foreign affairs;

Speaker's affiliation

- DEM Democrat;
- REP Republican.

Overall, both Democrats (61%) and Republicans (65%) are positive on trade and commercial relations with Canada. This is true for observations classified as American-Canadian Relations (CAR—Democrat 60% positive; Republican 61% positive) and those in the class of Canada used as an example (EG—Democrat 73% positive; Republican 89% positive). Our data do not measure whether the House is protectionist or not. However, to the extent that representatives express their sentiment about trade, they tend to hold positive opinions of Canada as a trading and commercial partner. US lawmakers advocate for improving trade relations in nearly two thirds of their comments, while criticizing or condemning Canada's trade practices in slightly more than one third of their comments.

Given that most Canadian observers of American political affairs believe that Congress is mainly protectionist in sentiment (Boyd, 2009, September 2; Ivison, 2009, April 29; *Macleans*, 2009), the data stands in contrast to the conventional wisdom. Perhaps most pundits and analysts only notice when negative comments are made: negative news tends to lead the news and it is understandable that the Canadian media find it more noteworthy to report on protectionist rather than on pro-trade sentiment south of the border.

We observed strong advocacy on the part of Democrats to allow lower-priced Canadian prescription drugs into the United States. Strong support for easy access to re-imported pharmaceuticals from Canada was consistently expressed by most members of the House, with only minor opposition from a handful of Republicans.

Despite the good news on the overall score, we found that the perception of the House when comments on pharmaceutical trade were excluded is very different and does, in fact, support the traditional Canadian concern that Congress is opposed to free trade. When we broke down Trade and Commerce into three sub-classes and controlled for pharmaceutical trade, we found that the level of positive sentiment declines for both parties and in the case of the Democrats plunges into negative territory (Democrats 76% negative; Republicans 61% positive). We also assumed that, for many trade issues related to NAFTA, the focus of lawmakers' concern was Mexico rather than Canada. When we exclude mention of Mexico, we find that the positive results for comments from Republicans continue to decline marginally. The Democratic score goes up somewhat but stays overwhelmingly negative nonetheless (Democrat 67% negative; Republican 51% positive).

Even when controlling for the impact of Mexico on the discourse and excluding the specific issue of trade in prescription drugs, the Republican side stays positive, but the Democrats are persistently negative on every issue apart from trade in pharmaceuticals. It is evident that the negative score best depicts the predominant sentiment of most House Democrats with respect to the majority of trade issues, the only major exception being pharmaceuticals trade. Our data thus reveal a real difference in between the

perceptions of the two political parties towards trade with Canada. Quite likely the difference in perception will have policy ramifications. When NAFTA is under discussion, the Republicans see a balanced and fairly positive picture of Canada. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to see a relatively favourable trading partner with similar economic characteristics and regulations, especially with regards to certain regulatory practices such as pesticide use in agriculture and safety standards for commercial trucking. Democrats, on the other hand, tend to focus on ballooning trade imbalances within NAFTA. However, both parties tend to be critical of Canada over a host of trade disputes, including the Canadian Wheat Board, molasses trade, softwood lumber, waste management arrangements with the state of Michigan, and BSE.

Figure 1: Observations on Trade and Commerce, House of Representatives (107th–111th Congresses)

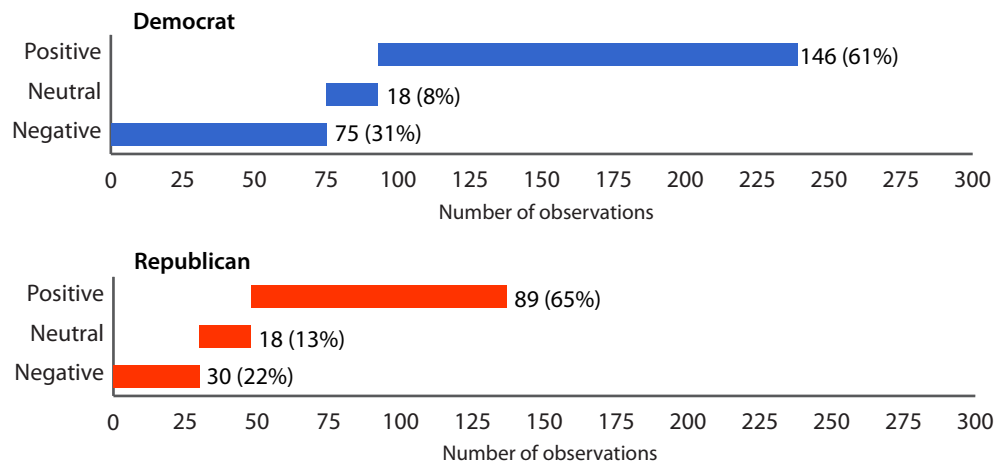
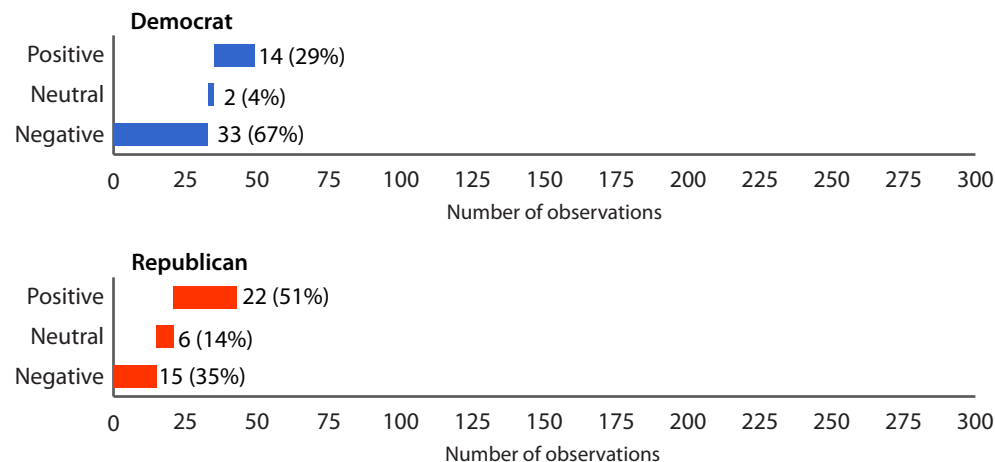


Figure 2: Observations on Trade and Commerce without pharmaceuticals and Mexico, House of Representatives (107th–111th Congresses)



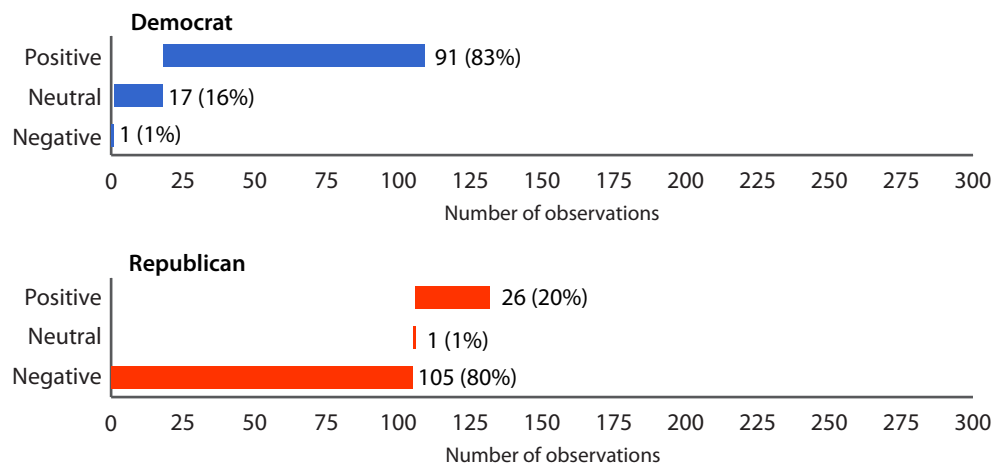
Health care (HC)

Given all the attention “Obama Care” (Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act 2010) has attracted during the last few years, Canadians should be aware that Republicans tend to be very assertive in their dismissal of the single-payer universal-coverage health care provided in Canada while Democrats do not really defend it as a model for Americans.

Overall, the Republican Party holds strong negative views about Canada’s health care system and frequently puts it forward as a bad example to be avoided (Republicans 80% negative, 20% positive). The Democrats are almost the polar opposites in their perception of Canadian health-care provision (83% positive, 1% negative). The bulk of Republican criticism was expressed in the 111th Congress during debates over reforms in health care insurance and provision (Republican 111th Congress, 100% negative). The notable exception to this Republican scorn was the collection of positive comments about Canadian health care, made predominantly in the 108th Congress, about how the Canadian health care system had secured low-cost pharmaceuticals for Canadians (Republican 108th Congress, 67% positive). The Democrats never really counter this negative portrayal or rarely defend Canada’s universal health care coverage and single-payer health provision, and are mainly ambivalent in their comments about Canada’s health care system (Democrat 111th Congress, 67% neutral).

The only area of Canada’s health care provision that some Republicans and all Democrats agree on is our system of price controls for prescription drugs. The strong positive score for Democrats (83%) is largely a product of this issue. We see, for example, that in the 108th Congress 66 comments were made by both sides of the aisle in support of removing trade restrictions and regulatory controls on prescription drugs imported from Canada. Of the 30 Republican comments, only one third are critical about Canadian price controls,

Figure 3: Observations on Health Care, House of Representatives (107th–111th Congresses)



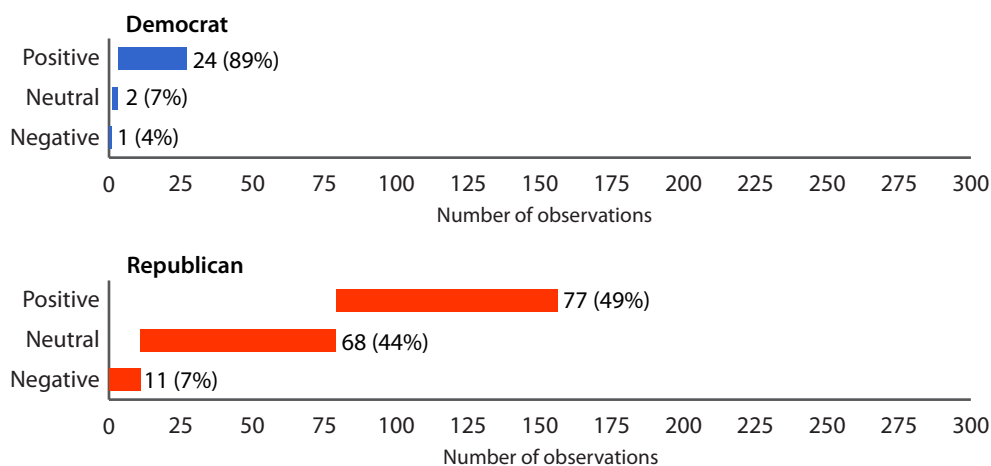
pointing out the market failure that price controls create. They also note how Canadian price controls, alongside price controls in many other developed countries, put the entire burden of highly costly research and development on American pharmaceutical companies and, as a result, on American consumers.

Energy and the environment (ENEG)

In the last five years, the value of Canadian oil and gas exports has nearly doubled due to increased demand and higher prices (McLaughlin and Page, 2010). Energy trade is led by the export of crude-oil products from the oil sands. At the same time, criticism related to land and water usage as well as greenhouse-gas emissions from oil-sands production has increased among Americans. Despite these negative reservations, our data indicate that Canadian energy sources have a positive image among both Republicans and Democrats in the House. This strong foundation bodes well for continued cooperation between our two governments on a coordinated energy policy.

Overall, both Democrats and Republicans are consistently positive on energy and environmental issues when it comes to bilateral relations. It is noteworthy that the Democrats' (89%) positive image score is much higher than the Republicans' (49%). The relatively high neutral Republican score for energy and environmental policies (EG) does not represent widespread hesitation. Instead, most comments were made by one rather verbose House member, Republican Representative Roscoe Bartlett from Maryland, a former professor who lectured the chamber frequently about the Canadian oil sands, noting their importance yet qualifying that view by raising doubts about long-term sustainability. The few negative comments on energy and environment do not deal with the oil sands but with an assortment of issues such as natural-gas drilling techniques used by Canadians in the Great Lakes and the annual seal cull in the Maritimes. Our data suggests that the House has a deep

Figure 4: Observations on Energy and Environment, House of Representatives (107th–111th Congresses)



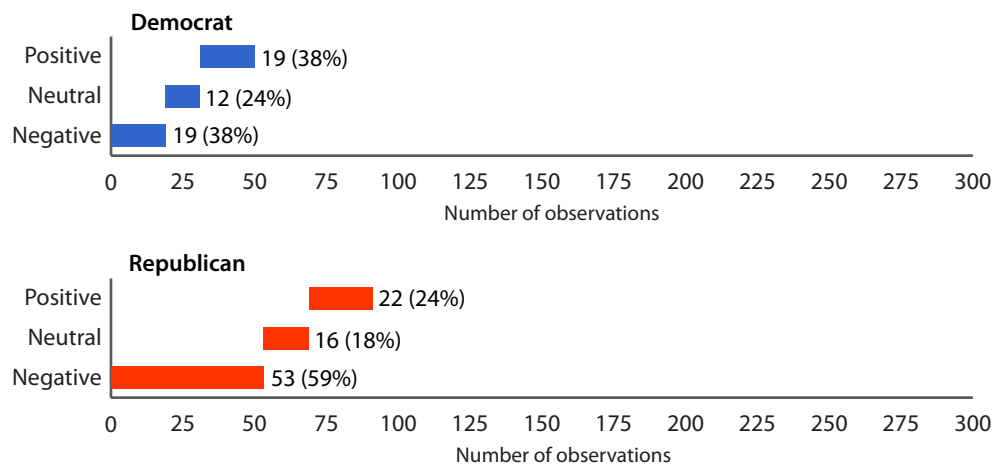
understanding of the importance of bilateral energy trade between Canada and the United States and may well be able to withstand environmentalists' attempts to pursue restrictive policies on crude oil imports.

Borders and security (BS)

Our data confirm what most Canadians have surmised for some time: both Republicans and Democrats view Canada in a negative light on issues concerning the border and border security. In the critical era after 9/11, Republicans thought substantially more negatively than the Democrats about Canada as a security risk to the United States or about the lack of progress on new security measures at the border (Republican 59% negative; Democrat 38% negative).

Canada and Mexico are often mentioned alongside each other in negative observations about border issues. Even if Mexico is not mentioned, the negatives still outweigh the positives. The Republican score without Mexico is 58% negative and 33% positive. The Democratic score without Mexico is 41% negative and 38% positive. The good news is that, in the period from 2007 to 2010, the actual number of observations that constitute negative scores are down (110th Congress: Democrat 5 observations; Republican 11 observations; 111th Congress: Democrat 4 observations; Republican 1 observation).

Figure 5: Observations on Borders and Security, House of Representatives (107th–111th Congresses)

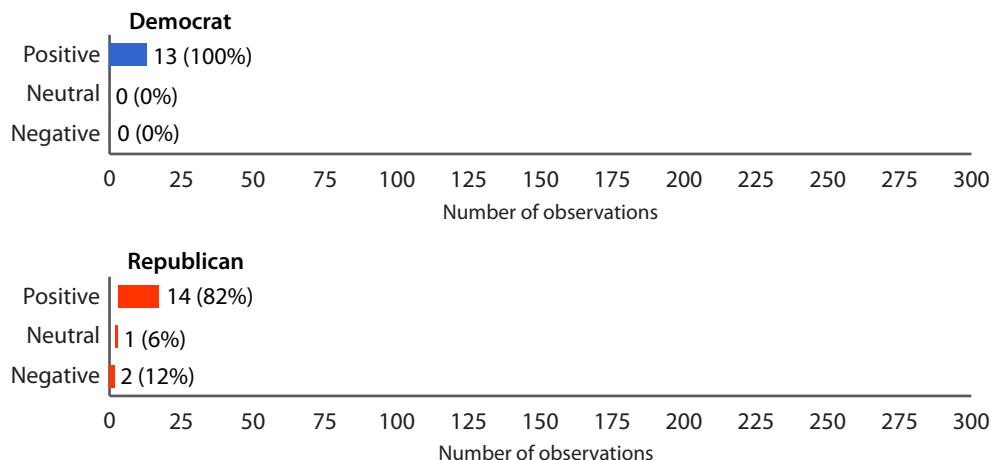


Defence and foreign affairs (DFA)

Our data shows that both the Republicans (82%) and Democrats (100%) continue to view Canada as a loyal foreign ally and a reliable defence partner. However, the overall number of observations concerning Defence and Foreign affairs (DFA) was fairly small, with just 30 observations between the 107th and 111th Congresses. Even during the contentious years marked by a sharp disagreement between Ottawa and Washington over Canada's lack of involvement in the 2003 Iraq War, we find only negligible negative views

expressed about Canada. We believe that this finding is quite novel considering that many Canadian observers feared that Canada's decision not to involve itself in the Iraq War would lead to lasting "damage" to the political relationship (Barry, 2005). However, the "damage" to the relationship between the two administrations in Ottawa and Washington appears not to have extended to the US House of Representatives.

Figure 6: Observations on Defence and Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives (107th–111th Congresses)

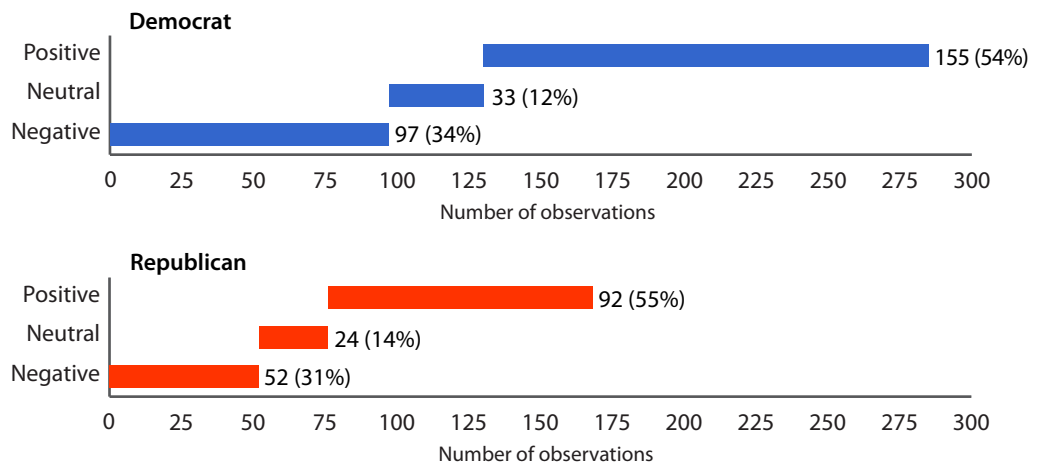
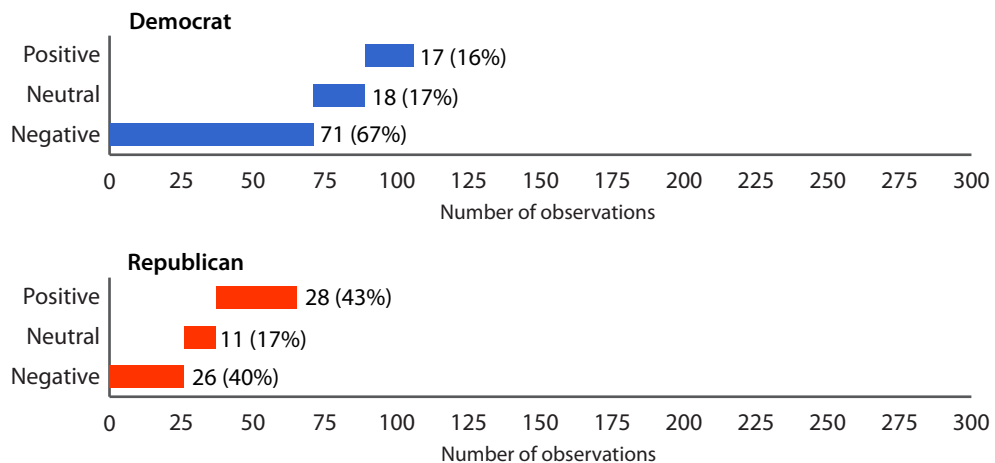


Senate

Trade and commerce (TRD)

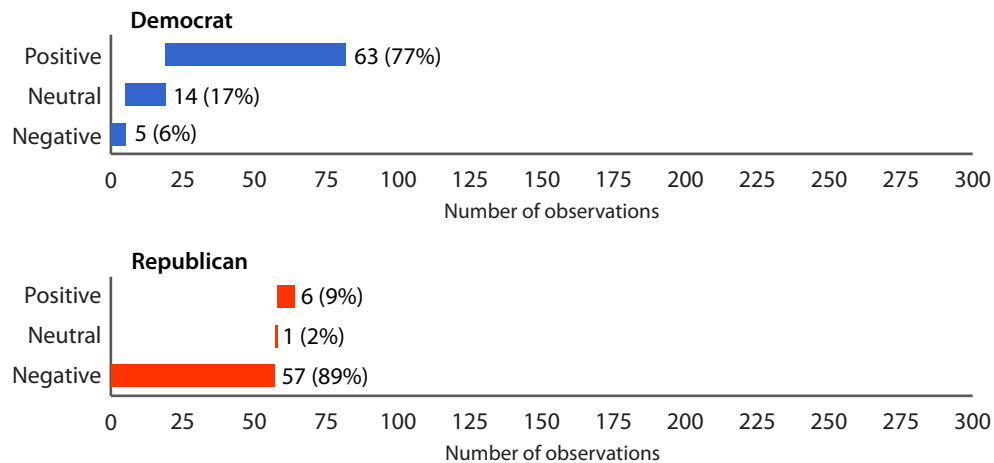
Overall, both Democratic and Republican senators are fairly positive about Trade and Commerce (54% and 55%, respectively) as it pertains to bilateral relations.

The Senate's overall positive numbers on trade are some 10 percentage points lower than those of the House. Democrats and Republicans have only one in five Congresses each where the negative perception is greater than the positive (108th and 109th Congresses, respectively). However, when we exclude advocacy for less restrictive pharmaceutical trade and focus on the remainder of trade issues, the level of positive sentiment decreases for the Democrats (21%), just as we observed in the House of Representatives. The Republican score actually increases marginally to 59%. When we look at trade issues that pertain exclusively to Canada and the United States, excluding mentions of Mexico, the positive scores decrease for both parties: the positive score for the Democrats drops to 16% and for the Republicans to 43%. These results resemble those we observed for the House of Representatives. The main difference, as noted above, is that most positive scores in the Senate are roughly 10 percentage points lower than what we saw found for the House. Thus we can postulate that the motivations driving the views of senators on overall Canada-US trade relations are similar to those we suggested for the House.

Figure 7: Observations on Trade and Commerce, Senate (107th–111th Congresses)**Figure 8: Observations on Trade and Commerce without Mexico, Senate (107th–111th Congresses)**

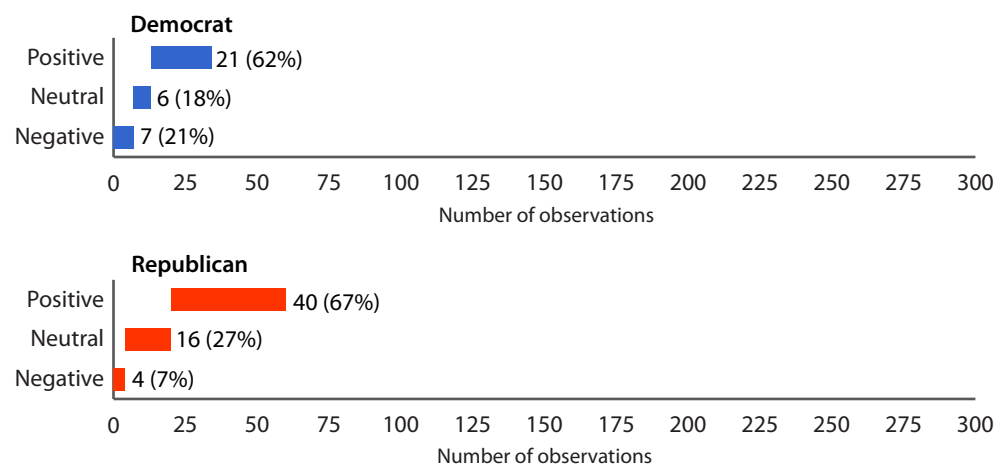
Health Care (HC)

Neither Democratic nor the Republican senators made comments on health care issues as it pertains to bilateral relations, although they are resolute in describing Canadian health care provision as an example that Americans should not emulate. The Republicans were very critical (95% negative) of Canada's one-tier health care system in the midst of debates over American health care reforms during the 111th Congress. The Senate Democrats never held up Canada's health care system as a praiseworthy example, though they strongly defended the idea of price ceilings for prescription drugs throughout the period investigated. The Democrats advocated for similar price control policies in the United States. Thus the Democrats remain positive (77%) overall with respect to health care issues whereas the Republicans remain overwhelmingly negative in terms of their views about Canadian health care provision and only have a 9% positive score.

Figure 9: Observations on Health Care, Senate (107th–111th Congresses)

Energy and environment (ENEG)

On energy and the environment both Democratic and Republican senators are clearly and consistently positive in their perception of Canada. Unlike the House, where Democrats had a much more positive impression of Canada than Republicans, the Senate Republicans expressed slightly more favourable views towards Canada (67%) than their Democrat counterparts (62%). For both parties, the bilateral relationship on energy trade and environmental protection, as well as the general impression of Canada and its natural resources management, is on solid ground.

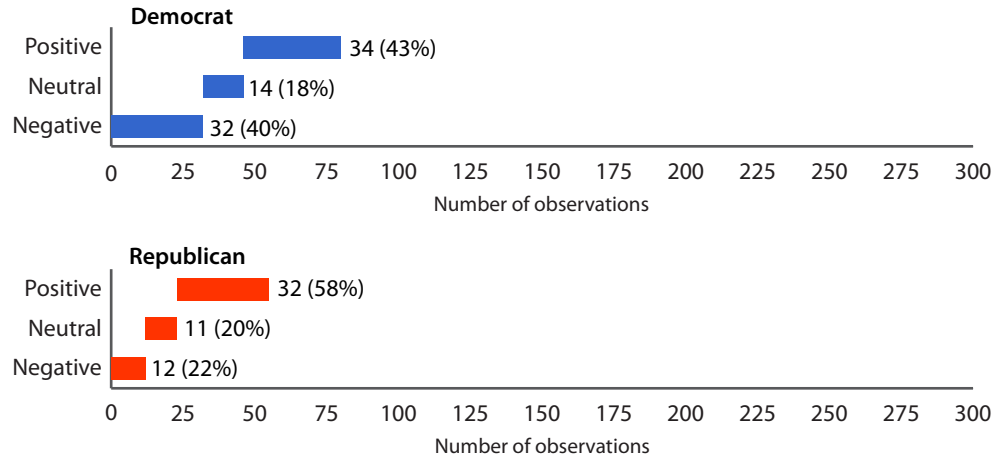
Figure 10: Observations on Energy and Environment, Senate (107th–111th Congresses)

Borders and security (BS)

The border management and security relationship is generally viewed from a slightly negative perspective by Senate Republicans (40% positive) and their Democratic counterparts (42% positive). When focused on discussions about

the strength of Canada's immigration policy (EG category), the Republicans become fairly favourable in the views they express about Canada (58% positive). Democrats remain negative at (43% positive). Republicans were particularly impressed with Canada's immigration merit-point system and cite it as an example to follow on several occasions.

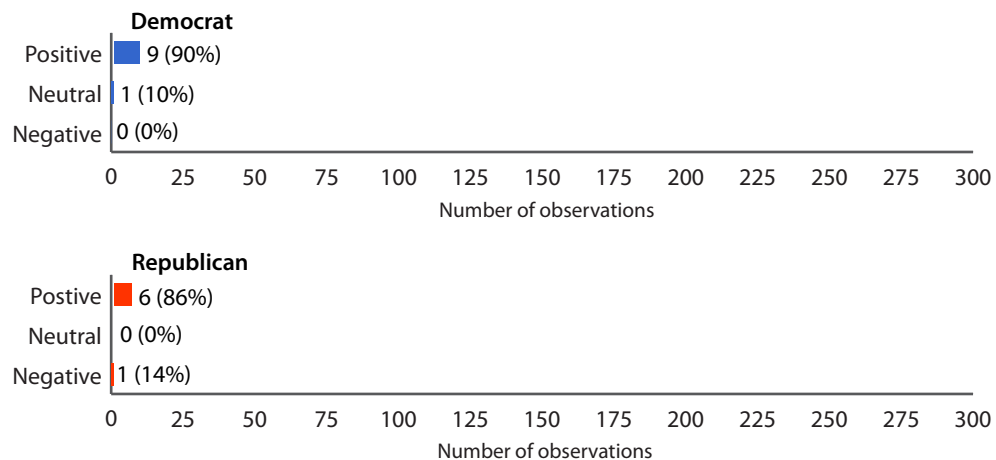
Figure 11: Observations on Borders and Security, Senate (107th–111th Congresses)



Defence and foreign affairs (DFA)

Like the House, Senate Democrats (90%) and Republicans (86%) are strongly and consistently positive about America's rapport with Canada on defence and foreign policy. As in the House of Representatives, we found that the actual number of observations in the Senate pertaining to Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) was quite small, with just 17 observations recorded during the entire span from the 107th to the 111th Congresses.

Figure 12: Observations on Defence and Foreign Affairs, Senate (107th–111th Congresses)



Trends and conclusions from both House and Senate

It is noteworthy that both the House and the Senate discuss Canada as often as they do. Canada is not a forgotten entity on Capitol Hill. We found that the two chambers mention Canada more often in a positive light concerning trade issues than in a negative, though this may be deceptive since the numbers are slightly skewed by the positive opinion of re-importing pharmaceuticals. It is also surprising that there is virtually no difference between Democrats and Republicans. Our data do not support the traditional view that Democrats are more protectionist in their outlook (including towards Canada) than Republicans.

However, the positive numbers are skewed by one trade issue and, when we control for this, the outcome is not so optimistic for Canada as the initial numbers suggest. When we eliminate all the references made to trade in pharmaceutical products—which garnered more attention than the softwood lumber and the BSE issues combined, or any other single trade issue or dispute for that matter—we see the positive score decline. In other words, a lot of positive comments about free trade and Canada hinged on arguments by politicians who wanted their constituents to have better access to cheaper prescription drugs re-imported from Canada. Take the cheaper drugs from Canada out of the picture and the sentiment in Congress about trade with Canada turns negative. It is this trend that is the most important finding for Canada. It should cause considerable concern about how to improve our trade relations given sentiment in Congress.

It is also an interesting finding in regards to the debate on the influence of lobbies. While major industry lobbies are known to have pressed members of Congress during the BSE crisis and the drawn-out disputes over softwood lumber, waste management arrangements, and the Canadian wheat board (Coalition for Fair Lumber Imports, 2006, February 14; Ranchers-Cattlemen Action Legal Fund–United Stock-Growers of America, 2005, 2006), nevertheless, it was the pressure of (often older) constituents for access to cheaper prescription drugs that fuelled a congressional outcry. Note that the pharmaceutical issue occupied 46% of all trade comments by Senate Democrats and 25% of Senate Republican comments. In the House, comments by Democrats about drug prices constituted 56% of all trade comments, while the same portion for Republican comments was 49%.

We found that the Canadian health care system was perceived negatively, and discussed in highly critical language in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Republicans are clearly aware of the limits of Canada's single-payer public health-care provider and the many problems with Canadian health care provision that have been exposed in recent years (Skinner, 2009; Barua, Rovere and Skinner, 2010). Long wait times for a host

of medical procedures and limited choices for patients are pointed out by Republicans as some of the reasons for America not to copy the Canadian model. Canada's health care system is viewed with extreme pessimism by Republicans while Democrats never really defend it. The positive mentions of Canada on this file are limited to when Democrats and some Republicans point to the Canadian policy of negotiating for low prices on generic drugs produced by American manufacturers. They demand the same powers for Washington. A minority of Republicans are critical of the market-distorting practices of using price controls.

Canadians can take comfort in our finding that Congress has not condemned Canada on its oil sands development or on any aspect of our intense trading relationship in crude-oil products and natural gas. Both Democrats and Republicans in both chambers view Canada in a positive light when it comes to trade in energy and environmental management; the Republicans (67%) are slightly more positive than Democrats in the Senate (62%). Interestingly, in the House, the Democrats are more positive than the Republicans (89% to 59%). Members of Congress frequently pointed to Canadian drilling for natural gas in the Great Lakes or in the arctic region as an example for the United States.

The border has been one of Canada's biggest concerns since 9/11. There are numerous reports and studies that indicate that the border has become more constricted and an increasingly costly transfer point for commerce, travel and tourism (Globerman and Storer 2006, 2008, 2009a, 2009b; Goldfarb, 2007; Sands, 2009; Ontario Chamber of Commerce, 2005; Canadian Chamber of Commerce, 2008). Canada and the United States launched a new set of talks in early 2011 to create fewer border restrictions and to move towards more joint perimeter security measures (Alberts, 2011, Feb. 5; Canada, Prime Ministers Office, 2011a, 2011b; CBC 2011, Feb. 4). Given congressional concern regarding the border, this new initiative is welcome news. The fact that both Democrats and Republicans express an overwhelmingly negative perception of Canada's border security and the potential for Canada to become a source for future terrorist attacks on Americans suggests that Canadians and the Canadian government should take this finding very seriously. In the House we saw that the Republicans are twice as likely as the Democrats to view Canada as a potential security threat to America. The fact that 63 new Republicans joined the House in January 2011 may likely exacerbate this tendency (*Rasmussen Reports*, 2011, May 6).

However, there is a silver lining in this cloud. In one of the few instances where the Senate differed decisively from the House, we found that Republican and Democratic senators have a more benevolent view of the Canadian border and Canadian-American border security issues (Senate Republicans 58% positive, House Republicans 24% positive; Senate Democrats 43% positive, House Democrats 38% positive). Senators do not share the negative outlook

of their counterparts in the House concerning their northern border. Our data suggest that the Senate is the friendlier chamber for Canadian interests and the go-to place for Canadians lobbying American politicians to prevent the border from becoming an even tighter bottleneck for trade and travel.

The popularly held belief that Americans see Canada in a positive light when it comes to defence and foreign policy remains true on Capitol Hill. Despite the skirmishes between the previous Canadian Prime Ministers and the US President on Iraq, American politicians from both parties overwhelmingly see Canada as a friend and ally and have a strong favourable image of our bilateral relationship. Disagreement about Iraq has not altered that basic good will. US lawmakers generally regard Canada as an essential partner in the NATO alliance and want Canada to be unwavering in its commitment to defend North America. Congress would welcome Canada's participation in missile defence. The recognition of Canada's effort in Afghanistan (11 comments) easily outnumbers the few negative comments made about Iraq.

The strong positive sentiment expressed by US lawmakers towards Canada with respect to this key diplomatic file continues to offer Canada a certain amount of "political capital" in our relationship with the United States. Given the strong majority mandate received by the Canadian government on May 2, 2011, Ottawa would do well to expend this "political capital" on bilateral issues of concern, including plans to negotiate a new agreement on perimeter security, the border, and trade.

Methodology

We set out to evaluate the perception held of Canada and its national institutions as expressed by American lawmakers in the United States Senate and House of Representatives. Our aim was to determine the extent to which US senators and representatives held favourable or hostile views of Canada. In order to perform our analysis, we set out to design a study that would measure, quantify, and contextualize these views. In order to accomplish this task, we employed a “hypothesis-generating” approach to content analysis to make a thematic inquiry into transcribed dialogues about Canada recorded on the floors of the US House and Senate (Holsti, 1969). No such content analysis of American politicians and their views towards Canada, while debating within their respective legislative bodies, had yet been undertaken.

The purpose of the study is to measure and quantify the sentiment of American lawmakers about both practical economic and political cooperation. Our study analyzes whether American politicians are in favour of, or opposed to, increased bilateral cooperation. The study also gauges if these lawmakers view Canada in a positive light, finding in Canadian policies examples to be followed when they design American policy, or if they hold negative views of Canada, holding Canadian policies as examples of what should be shunned.

Content Analysis uses a collection of analytical tools to measure and evaluate qualitative forms of communication, both oral and written. These tools can be mixed in various combinations to design methodologies specific to both the research inquiry at hand and the type of data being scrutinized. One early definition proposed by Berelson (1952) describes Content Analysis as a collection of methodologies used to objectify, systematize, and quantify the content matter of any communication in its relevant context. Content Analysis has been extensively used in the study of mass media, marketing and consumer behaviour, communications research, and psychology (Neuendorf, 2002). Content Analysis has also been used to analyze political dialogue, including blogs written by politicians and politically oriented open-content internet forums. Similarly, Content Analysis has also been used to analyze dialogue and debates that have taken place within national legislative assemblies. Studies by Omar (2008) and Hix, Noury, and Rolland (2006) used content analysis to evaluate dialogue in national legislative assemblies, with the former focusing on the power dynamics of the Malaysian parliament while the latter focused on political parties within the European Parliament and their respective positioning on the conventional left-right political spectrum.

Several studies have been undertaken related to the US Congress using Content Analysis. Most evaluate how members of Congress are covered in the media. R. Douglas Arnold (2006) investigated whether local newspapers disclose the information that voters require to assure the accountability of their representatives. After analyzing a selection of newspapers and politicians, Arnold found that variability of coverage was contingent upon several factors including how close the candidates are in the race and each candidate's campaign budget. Another analysis was undertaken by Vinson and Rimmel (2007) that looked into the relationship between Congress and the media and its bearing on how members of Congress interact with the American president.

Yet another application of Content Analysis to congressional debate focused on how certain public policies are developed in the US House of Representatives. Herman and Candy (2006) studied how the influence of stakeholders and interest groups on Congress have played a role in the development of international copyright law. A recent study by Cutrone and Fordham (2010) used Content Analysis to analyze the main causes driving the debate in Congress over international human rights.

American lawmakers are driven by any number of motivations when addressing their respective legislative bodies. Our study does not try to determine what this motivation is but instead attempts to measure objectively the views expressed. Despite this focus, care must be taken to ensure that, while the methodological design remains sensitive to subtleties within the data, the study can still decipher the overall sentiment being expressed. Effective design of a thematic hypothesis-generating content analysis requires that the researchers simultaneously unitize, record, sample, assess, and make inferences about the data (Carney, 1972). It is paramount that objectivity be safe-guarded while subjectivity and personal bias are controlled for and suppressed to the greatest extent possible.

We set out to analyze transcribed debates and dialogues stored in the Thomas Archives of the United States Library of Congress.¹ The units of analysis under scrutiny are recorded words, passages, monologues, debates, dialogues, and verbal discourse that contain material references to Canada or a Canadian institution made on the floor of either the United States Senate or House of Representatives. Data is from the Thomas Archives of the Library of Congress.² In order to include periods of both Democrat and Republican

1 The Thomas Archive at United States Library of Congress can be found on the internet at <http://thomas.loc.gov/>.

2 The Thomas Archive at the Library of Congress can be traversed with an internal search engine that enables the researcher to sift through the congressional transcripts and isolate key words or phrases of significance. After entering the Thomas Archives, accessing the search engine, and specifying the desired congressional session, the legislative body (House or Senate) and

majorities in the House and Senate, we decided to analyze a ten-year period spanning the 107th to 111th Congresses (January 3, 2001 to January 3, 2011). This span of time also parallels our earlier study of Canadian perceptions of America.

All comments containing a material reference to Canada or a Canadian institution were entered into our database along with the respective session number, date, speaker's name and party affiliation, and the hyperlink leading back to the source at the Thomas Archives.

Conversely, immaterial, tangential, and peripheral references to Canada or Canadian institutions were not included in our data set. Similarly, many parts of the *Congressional Record* are inadmissible as a result of our requirement that excerpts be from spoken communication. For example, Expenditure Reports, Public Bills and Resolutions, Communications from the Clerk of the House, and Executive Communications and other portions of the *Congressional Record* that were not actually spoken by any politician were excluded.

The construction of a database containing spoken words, passages, and monologues for use in a thematic content analysis requires classifying the observations according to appropriately defined classes. The database is then organized to facilitate analysis of the content to determine the underlying sentiment within its relevant context.

We proceeded to isolate and record a total of $N = 1830$ observations, excerpts from the congressional transcripts that contained a material reference to Canada or a Canadian institution. These references to Canada can be framed by a contextual narrative in which Canada is used as an example for American public policy (EG), or spoken about in the course of discussions explicitly concerning bilateral relations (CAR), or when the relationship between Canada and the United States is being commemorated (COMM). All immaterial or passing mentions of Canada were excluded.

The second dimension of classification involved separating the observations into broad areas of public policy. Thus all observations were placed in one of the following five classes: [1] Trade and Commerce (TRD), [2] Health

checking the "search with variants" option, we searched for the word "Canada". The "search with variants" option will return all variations of the desired word found in the *Congressional Record*. Thus, searches on "Canada" will yield results that contain variants like "Canadian," "Canadians" and "Canada's". We include all such variations in our sample of $N = 1830$ isolated observations. The search returns hundreds of individual hyperlinks for each session in each legislative body. Following these links leads to instances where Canada, or variants referring to Canada, were mentioned on one of the legislative floors and thus entered into the *Congressional Record*. Each mention of "Canada" or one of its variants is automatically highlighted yellow for ease of reference. Because each observation discovered consisted of a collection of words, a passage, or a monologue, it was often the case that any one observation would contain several mentions of "Canada" or references to Canadian institutions.

Care (HC), [3] Energy and Environment (ENEG), [4] Borders and Security (BS), [5] Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA). Lastly, we classified observations according to the speaker's party affiliation, thus marking each observation as attributable to either a Democrat (DEM) or a Republican (REP).

Owing to the centrality and complexity of the economic relationship between Canada and the United States and its dependency on smooth border logistics, we found that breaking down the classes of Trade and Commerce (TRD) and Borders and Security (BS) into subclasses was helpful in acquiring a more nuanced understanding of the data. Informing the choice of appropriate subclasses was the recurring observation that, from the perspective of the United States, many of its economic and border issues and disputes do not concern only its bilateral relation with Canada but are usually addressed from a trilateral point of view that also includes Mexico. Thus, we divided Trade and Commerce (TRD) into three subclasses: [1] Pharmaceutical Trade (Exports), [2] Trade with (alongside) mention of Mexico, [3] Trade without mention of Mexico.

The selection of classes was pre-informed by the historical development and present context of relations between Canada and the United States. Conversely, we observed during our preliminary review of the data that, when American lawmakers discuss Border-related issues, they often do so within a trilateral framework that includes Mexico. This observation led us to further refine our classifications of observations about Trade and Commerce (TRD) and Border Security (BS) in such a way as to isolate the effects of including Mexico in the discussion. American politicians tend to see their trade and security interests in a North American context, primarily as a result of giving simultaneous consideration to problems common to their two international frontiers. As such, many debates over trade and security are framed from a North American perspective and therefore relate to the United States' relationship with both Canada and Mexico. As we later found, isolating for the effects of Mexico by including or excluding its mention, has significant ramifications for our analysis of how Canada and Canadian institutions are perceived by US lawmakers.

After collecting, recording, and formatting the data, we proceeded to formulate coding criteria to evaluate the underlying themes being addressed and discussed. The development of coding rules was necessary to ensure a consistent interpretation of the sentiments expressed. Our methodology for evaluating sentiment used a three-point scale that required the judge to score an observation as positive, neutral, or negative. The three-point scale is a common tool for the evaluation of attitudes and sentiment in a thematic analysis of political communication (Holsti, 1967). Every observation was scored based on which criteria best described the expressed sentiment evident within the observation: positive scores were awarded to comments that conveyed support for advancing the bilateral relationship between Canada

and the United States³ or pointed to Canada as an example to be followed in framing a particular American public policy. A positive score would speak favourably of Canada, advocate improved relations between Canada and the United States, express a desire to overcome bilateral disputes, hold up Canada as an example to emulate, or simply reflect positively on Canada or Canadian institutions. An example of a positive Canada-US relations (CAR) observation are the remarks made by the Republican Representative Chris Smith of New Jersey who stated in 2006:

“Madam Speaker, I have no further requests for time, but I do want to thank Chairman Burton for sponsoring this very important resolution. We often forget just how important our friend is to the north. Canada is a reliable ally, a good friend in thick and thin; so, again, I want to thank Chairman Burton for sponsoring this resolution” (Smith, 2006, Thomas Archive).

A positive example of an observation in which Canada is used as an example for American public policy (EG) is the comment made by Democratic Senator Richard Durbin of Illinois during the 108th Congress:

I have believed all along that we are not importing drugs from Canada, we are importing leadership from Canada. The Canadian Government has stood up for its citizens and said: We are not going to allow the drug companies to raise their prices every single year. This Government, this Congress, refuses to show the same leadership, and now is effectively blocking the reimportation of drugs that seniors need to survive. (Durbin, 2003, Thomas Archive).

Conversely, negative scores were awarded to any observations that spoke disparagingly of Canada, discouraged betterment of the relationship between Canada and the United States, entrenched bilateral disputes, argued that Canada is not an example to follow, or simply reflected negatively on Canada. Examples of a negative Canada-US relations (CAR) observation can

3 We deemed support for NAFTA to be reflective of positive views towards the Canada-US relationship. The logic in this interpretation is that Canada benefits from the existence of NAFTA and thus any support for NAFTA is to the benefit of Canada. Several studies and reports have confirmed that NAFTA has increased the volume of Canadian exports to the United States and Mexico, boosted North America’s global competitiveness, attracted foreign direct investment, provided North America with consumption goods at lower cost, and spurred general economic growth and employment (Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, 2003; Clausing, 2001; Trefler, 2004). Therefore we regard support for NAFTA as equivalent to support for a strong Canadian-American commercial and trade relationship.

be seen in the remarks made by Democratic Representative James Traficant of Ohio about 9/11 and Canada, declaring in 2001 that:

We are not talking about the border between D.C. and Virginia, we are not talking about the border between Pennsylvania and Ohio, and we are not talking about only the Southwest borders of the United States. The two planes that struck the World Trade Center, those individuals came through Canada. (Traficant, 2001, Thomas Archive)

Republican Senator Judd Gregg of New Hampshire, who stated the following about pharmaceutical price controls during the 107th Congress, offers an example of a negative example (EG) observation:

What we don't want to do, as we are making those lower cost drugs available, is wipe out the incentive of people to go out and produce new drugs for the marketplace. So it is a very delicate balance, and it cannot be effectively handled by suddenly going to the Canadian system. The reason the Canadians are able to offer low-cost drug prices is that they take our research and they basically don't pay us back for it. They sell the drugs in Canada without the research factor as part of the cost. (Gregg, 2002, Thomas Archive).

Lastly, neutral scores were awarded to those comments that were not clearly positive or negative or contained both positive and negative aspects. An example of a neutral (EG) observation is this comment by Democratic Representative Dave Obey of Wisconsin from the 108th Congress:

The situation of the two nations with respect to potential terrorist attacks is quite different. Canada's smaller role in world affairs and the image of Canada in the eyes of the international community make it a much less likely target of attack than the US. At the same time, Canada's vast geography and relatively small population have led to far more lenient immigration policies than those in place in the United States (Obey, 2004, Thomas Archive).

A neutral Canada-US relations (CAR) score was given to the statement made by Republican Senator Kay Hutchison of Texas, who remarked in 2004:

Although strong trade partnerships with our neighbors—Mexico and Canada—have provided substantial national benefits, the resultant traffic is devastating to our Nation's infrastructure (Hutchison, 2004, Thomas Archive).

Criteria for analyzing CAR and EG observations within dataset

Positive scores Any statement that argues for or declares:

- ◆ cooperation
- ◆ coordination
- ◆ collaboration
- ◆ good will and improved relations in trade, security, foreign affairs, or diplomatic relations
- ◆ that Canada is an example to emulate, follow, and learn from.

Negative scores Any statement that argues for or declares:

- ◆ unilateral action
- ◆ less cooperation
- ◆ condemnation
- ◆ independent work and regulation
- ◆ negative sentiment towards trade, security, foreign affairs, and diplomatic relationship
- ◆ that Canada is an example to condemn, distinguish from, reject, and act differently from.

Neutral scores Any statement that embodies:

- ◆ ambiguity about sentiment towards Canada
- ◆ overall balance of negative and positive sentiment towards Canada
- ◆ lack of any expression or sentiment towards Canada
- ◆ some reference to Canada but with predominant concern for domestic affairs.

We also prepared a more detailed set of identifying points for our criteria that were used to guide our judgment on specific policy issues. These identification points can be found in Appendix C.

Ensuring reliability, maintaining objectivity, and preserving validity

To assure a bias-free analysis, we augmented our own master scoring of the data by preparing a randomly drawn sample of observations for outside scoring.⁴ The sample was distributed to two independent external judges who then evaluated the data using the same three-point scale and evaluation

⁴ Outside scoring was carried out by external judges who were not involved in any of the research efforts or tasks that were undertaken in preparing this study.

criteria that were employed in the master scoring of the entire $N = 1830$ observations by the authors. The purpose of having external judges is to assure that each observation is interpreted objectively, reliably, and devoid of any subjective biases. Most content analyses use two external judges and we elected to follow this standard (Kolbe and Burnett, 1991).

The selection of observations used for the sample was made using a standard random number-generation process without replacement.⁵ We extracted $n = 286$, or approximately 15% of the total $N = 1830$ observations from our dataset for grading by the external judges. The observations used for the sample were selected in a manner that ensured a proportional representation of the whole $N = 1830$ population of observations over time. We extracted roughly 15% of the observations from each Congress for both the House and Senate.⁶ We then compiled the sample by amalgamating all of the observations extracted from each Congress and for each chamber, thus constructing a representative sample of the data.

Our two judges were students at Simon Fraser University and have no affiliation with the Fraser Institute or with the authors of this study. Using astute judges, who could exercise diligence and precision while scoring the sample, was crucial for ensuring that their analyses accurately and consistently depicted the correct sentiment evident in each observation (Kassarjian, 1979). The judges were given a comprehensive list of instructions for evaluating the data along with the complete scoring criteria. The final document given to the external judges containing the sample observations omitted the names of the senators and representatives and their

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- 5 The random-number generator in Excel® can be multiplied by a factor of 100 to produce a series of numbers between 1 and 100. We generated a series of random numbers to indicate which observations to include in the sample contingent on the number of observations to be extracted from a given session. For example, in the 110th Congress the Senate yielded 138 observations. Thus, we needed to extract 21 observations for the sample, or roughly 15% of the total, for inclusion in the sample. The random-number generator was then used to select 21 random observations. However, the random-number generator only produces numbers between 1 and 100. In order to create a process that could also indicate the inclusion of numbers above 100, we simultaneously used a binary-number generator that only produces two values, 0 and 1. We then multiplied the value of the binary number generator by 100 to yield either a 0 or 100 (0×100 ; 1×100) and added this number to the number produced by the random-number generator. In doing so, this process was able to generate random numbers between 0 and 200 so any of the 138 observations in the Senate during the 110th Congress could be included in the sample. If the Congress contained more than 200 observations, the binary-number operation was performed twice and so on. After repeating this process for each session, the $n = 275$ sample observations were selected.
- 6 For example, within the total population of observations we found and classified 175 comments from the Senate during the 108th Congress. As such, the sample would include 26 randomly selected observations (roughly 15% of 175) from the Senate uttered during the 108th Congress.

Democratic or Republican affiliations to reduce the possibility of any bias that might result from evaluating an observation associated with a particular lawmaker or a political party (see Appendix C).

After tabulating the judges' scores, we calculated a coefficient-of-agreement matrix (table 1), using three sets of scores, those of the two external judges and the author's master evaluation, to show the coefficients of agreement between each respective pair of judges. We found that all of the judges were in agreement between approximately two thirds (67%) and four fifths (79%) of the time. Indeed, we found 163 observations, or roughly 57% of the sample, for which the judges were in unanimous three-way agreement. More specifically, the average interjudge agreement was 0.71 or 71%. The resultant composite reliability coefficient was 0.88.⁷ A composite reliability coefficient combines the scores off all the judges into a single reliability metric. The composite reliability coefficient is premised on the assumption that increasing the number of judges improves the validity of their combined judgment.

The final reliability indicator that required computation was Scott's Π .⁸ The purpose of this metric is to eliminate any possibility of agreement owing to chance and measure the likelihood of agreement based on the filtering out those agreements that are purely random. In other words, Scott's Π is meant to isolate the likelihood of agreement that results solely from using the coding criteria. The version of Scott's Π that we calculated, known as the Generalized Scott's Index, was formulated by Craig (1981) and designed to accommodate the use of multiple judges. This modified formula permits the adoption of different voting rules to be used in the scoring. For example, a voting rule might require perfect unanimity of agreement or it can use a majority-rules decision-making mechanism. We elected to use a majority-rules decision-making mechanism (agreement between at least two of three judges in our case) because of this rule's relative flexibility. For observed interjudge agreement, we used the average interjudge agreement statistic as a proxy. Similarly, the proportion of final coding decisions falling into each of the three possible sentiment scores (positive, negative, or neutral) was computed as the average of each judge's respective scoring distribution. The resultant Generalized Scott's Index was 0.539683 with a corresponding 95%

7 The composite reliability score was calculated using the following formula, which can be found in Holsti, 1969:

$$\text{Composite reliability} = N \times (\text{avg. interjudge agreement}) / 1 + [(N - 1) \times (\text{avg. interjudge agreement})],$$

where N is equal to the number of judges.

8 Scott's Π was developed by Scott (1955). The Generalized version we calculated uses the following formula:

$$\Pi (2 / 3) = [P_o (2 / 3) - P_e (2 / 3)] / [1 - P_e (2 / 3)],$$

where P_o = observed intercoder agreement, and P_e = expected proportion of agreement by chance of at least 2 out of 3 coders (see Craig, 1981).

Table 1: Coefficient of Agreement

	Master	Judge 1	Judge 2	Average
Master	1	0.79	0.67	0.73
Judge 1	0.79	1	0.67	0.73
Judge 2	0.67	0.67	1	0.67
Average	0.73	0.73	0.67	0.71

confidence interval of 0.497093 to 0.582272.⁹ The confidence interval was relatively narrow (a desirable statistical quality), with a small spread of just 8.5 percentage points. The narrow confidence interval is likely a result of our using a relatively large sample of $n = 286$ observations, constituting roughly 15.5% of the entire $N = 1830$ observations collected and scrutinized by the authors. Our Generalized Scott's Index can be interpreted as indicating that at least 53% of intercoder agreement could be attributed to the robustness of the scoring criteria and should not be attributable to chance. Our value for Scott's Generalized Index suggests that, if we eliminate all possible chance agreements, then intercoder agreement would be at least 53%, if not higher.

We used the scoring assessment range developed by Landis and Koch (1977) and endorsed by Craig (1981) to give a standard interpretative meaning to our results. According to the Landis and Koch standard, our Generalized Scott's Index of 0.53 falls in the upper moderate range for reliability with respect to the Generalized Scott's index. Similarly, Shoemaker suggests that a score between 0.5 and 0.6 is of "adequate" reliability. However, this interpretation is flexible and should take the complexity of the coding criteria into account (Shoemaker, 2003). Given that our coding criteria contained 23 specific points (A–W; see Appendix C) and 15 general points (five for positive scores, six for negative scores, and four for neutral scores; see table 2), there is a case to be made that our coding criteria was better than "adequate." In sum, we believe that our coding criteria have been sufficiently demonstrated as reliable and objective.

In light of the reasonable rate of interjudge agreement for the sample, we decided that in terms of objectivity and reliability, proceeding with an analysis of the whole $N = 1830$ observations was tenable and would not be adulterated by any biases. In essence, the relatively high agreement levels

9 The confidence intervals were calculated using the following formula:

$$95\% \text{ CI} = \Pi \pm 1.96\sigma,$$

where $\sigma^2 = [1 / (1 - P_o)]^2 [P_o (1 - P_o) / (n - 1)]$. In other words, 95 out of 100 times, our generalized Scott's Π will fall in the range 0.497093 to 0.582272 (see Neuendorf, 2002).

between the evaluations of the independent outside judges and that of the authors served to confirm the objective interpretation of all the recorded data, as assessed in the authors' master scoring.

A comprehensive set of tables containing all of the scoring results is offered in Appendices A and B. The data was broken down by Congress (107th–111th), nature of passage (EG or CAR), policy issue (TRD, HC, BS, ENEG, BS, DFA,) and political party affiliation (REP or DEM).¹⁰ This breakdown was used for both the House of Representatives and the Senate. To shed more light on the important “hot button” issues that were central to discussions about Canada, we also performed a raw frequency count for words and phrases that occurred frequently throughout the congressional debates. The words that we searched for and their frequency of mention are given in table 2 (p. 32). We believe that words and phrases that are mentioned with greater frequency demark the more important issues being debated. These frequency counts loosely quantify the intensity of debate surrounding any particular issue and act as guideposts to the policy issues on the congressional agenda. Thus, the keyword frequency count played a complementary role in our analysis by adding further context to the evaluation of American lawmakers' perception of Canada.

10 The few independent lawmakers and members of the smaller regional parties were treated as members of the caucus to which they were closest ideologically. For example, Independent Rep. Bernard Sanders of Vermont was treated as a Democrat as were members of the Minnesota Democratic–Farmer–Labor party such as Rep. Jim Oberstar of Minnesota. Despite not being members of the two main parties, their political platforms remained sufficiently close to that of the larger Democratic caucus, often holding similar platforms and espousing similar views and opinions.

Table 2: Word frequency count, 107th–111th Congresses

References to ...	Number of mentions in:	
	House	Senate
Canada		
<i>Canada</i>	2306	2708
<i>Canada's</i>	63	99
<i>Canadian</i>	645	1077
<i>Canadians</i>	182	119
Trade and commerce		
<i>Brazil + Sugar</i>	0 + 56	19 + 188
<i>Commercial Trucks</i>	207	853
<i>COOL</i>	27	74
<i>Dumping</i>	29	41
<i>Mad cow/BSE</i>	20	320
<i>Molasses</i>	0	66
<i>NAFTA</i>	403	660
<i>Pesticides</i>	2	23
<i>Pharmaceuticals</i>	81	77
<i>Prescription drugs</i>	555	914
<i>Softwood Lumber</i>	9	33
<i>Trade Deficit</i>	155	239
<i>Travel Promotion</i>	0	19
<i>Wheat Board</i>	4	49
Health care		
<i>Canadian Health Care</i>	16	5
<i>Canadian Health Insurance</i>	2	0
<i>Health Care</i>	1225	1547
Energy and environment		
<i>Great Lakes</i>	251	71
<i>Natural gas</i>	632	245
<i>Natural gas (pipeline)</i>	36	192 (18)
<i>Oil sands</i>	29	14
<i>Slant drilling</i>	2	0
<i>Tar sands</i>	103	13
<i>Waste management</i>	187	62
Borders and security		
<i>9/11</i>	70	79
<i>Border security</i>	63	99
<i>Immigration</i>	359	457
<i>Methamphetamine + Marijuana + BC Bud + Cocaine + Narcotics</i>	7 + 86 + 9 + 36 + 75 = 223	0 + 1 + 0 + 1 + 2 = 4
<i>Northern Border</i>	128	155
<i>Point system</i>	2	25
<i>September 11</i>	99	164
<i>Terror</i>	45	31
<i>Terrorism</i>	141	247
<i>Terrorist</i>	137	240
Defence and foreign affairs		
<i>Afghanistan</i>	159	123
<i>Ally</i>	16	15
<i>Missile defence</i>	84	11
<i>NATO</i>	154	56
<i>NORAD</i>	9	32

Appendix A Breakdown of *all* observations by issue and Congress, 107th–111th Congresses

Table A1: Number of observations from the Senate used in this study

	TRD	HC	ENEG	BS	DFA	COMM	Total
107 th Congress	204	16	26	57	2	10	315
108 th Congress	112	24	17	18	3	1	175
109 th Congress	51	14	6	17	2	3	93
110 th Congress	51	9	29	43	2	4	138
111 th Congress	35	83	16	0	8	9	151
Total	453	146	94	135	17	29	874

Table A2: Number of observations from the House of Representatives used in this study

	TRD	HC	ENEG	BS	DFA	COMM	Total
107 th Congress	83	43	19	55	18	8	226
108 th Congress	199	79	10	26	6	0	320
109 th Congress	60	13	23	39	3	2	140
110 th Congress	22	10	86	16	1	3	138
111 th Congress	12	96	6	5	2	11	132
Total	376	241	144	141	30	24	956

Legend

Type of comment

- EG Canada used as an example for American public policy;
- CAR Canada spoken of in the course of explicit discussions of bilateral relations;
- COMM relationship between Canada and the United States commemorated.

Area of public policy

- TRD Trade and commerce;
- HC Health care;
- ENEG Energy and environment.
- BS Borders and security;
- DFA Defence and foreign affairs;

Speaker's affiliation

- DEM Democrat;
- REP Republican.

Note: All percentages listed in tables A3 to A72 have been rounded to 2 digits and, as a result, the total sum of percentages of the Positive, Neutral, and Negative columns may not equal exactly 100% but either 99% or 101%. All percentages did sum to 100% before they were rounded off.

107th Congress—House of Representatives

Table A3: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	16	42%	7	18%	15	39%	38	100%
DEM/EG	5	62%	0	0%	3	38%	8	100%
REP/CAR	18	69%	4	15%	4	15%	26	100%
REP/EG	10	91%	1	9%	0	0%	11	100%
Total	49	59%	12	14%	22	27%	83	100%

Table A4: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	32	84%	5	13%	1	3%	38	100%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/EG	4	80%	0	0%	1	20%	5	100%
Total	36	83%	5	12%	2	5%	43	100%

Table A5: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	7	88%	1	13%	0	0%	8	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	6	75%	1	13%	1	13%	8	100%
REP/EG	1	33%	1	33%	1	33%	3	100%
Total	14	74%	3	16%	2	11%	19	100%

Table A6: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	6	33%	5	28%	7	39%	18	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	9	25%	7	19%	20	56%	36	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	1	100%
Total	15	27%	12	21%	28	51%	55	100%

Table A7: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	5	100%	0	0	0	0	5	100%
DEM/EG	2	100%	0	0	0	0	2	100%
REP/CAR	11	100%	0	0	0	0	11	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0	0	0	0	0%
Total	18	100%	0	0	0	0	18	100%

107th Congress—Senate

Table A8: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	62	48%	15	12%	51	40%	128	100%
DEM/EG	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
REP/CAR	46	68%	9	13%	13	19%	68	100%
REP/EG	6	100%	0	0%	0	0%	6	100%
Total	116	57%	24	12%	64	31%	204	100%

Table A9: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	10	77%	0	0%	3	23%	13	100%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%	3	100%
Total	10	63%	0	0%	6	38%	16	100%

Table A10: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	6	75%	2	25%	0	0%	8	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	7	54%	5	38%	1	8%	13	100%
REP/EG	4	80%	1	20%	0	0%	5	100%
Total	17	65%	8	31%	1	4%	26	100%

Table A11: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	16	37%	7	16%	20	47%	43	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	6	36%	5	29%	6	36%	17	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	22	37%	12	19%	26	44%	60	100%

Table A12: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%

108th Congress—House of Representatives

Table A13: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 108th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	108	72%	8	57%	20	59%	136	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	42	28%	5	36%	14	41%	61	100%
REP/EG	1	1%	1	7%	0	0%	2	100%
Total	151	76%	14	7%	34	17%	199	100%

Table A14: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 108th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	46	98%	1	2%	0	0%	47	100%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	1	100%
REP/EG	20	65%	1	3%	10	32%	31	100%
Total	66	84%	2	3%	11	13%	79	100%

Table A15: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 108th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	3	42%	2	29%	2	29%	7	100%
REP/EG	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
Total	6	60%	2	20%	2	20%	10	100%

Table A16: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 108th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	4	36%	3	27%	4	36%	11	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	1	7%	2	13%	12	80%	15	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	5	19%	5	19%	16	62%	26	100%

Table A17: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 108th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	0	0%	1	33%	2	67%	3	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	3	50%	1	17%	2	33%	6	100%

108th Congress—Senate

Table A18: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 108th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	55	71%	2	3%	21	26%	78	100%
DEM/EG	1	25%	2	50%	1	25%	4	100%
REP/CAR	6	20%	6	20%	18	60%	30	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	62	55%	10	9%	40	36%	112	100%

Table A19: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 108th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	20	100%	0	0%	0	0%	20	100%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/EG	2	50%	0	0%	2	50%	4	100%
Total	22	92%	0	0%	2	8%	24	100%

Table A20: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 108th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	4	57%	1	14%	2	29%	7	100%
DEM/EG	1	50%	1	50%	0	0%	2	100%
REP/CAR	7	88%	1	12%	0	0%	8	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	12	70%	3	18%	2	12%	17	100%

Table A21: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 108th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	3	21%	4	29%	7	50%	14	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	2	50%	2	50%	0	0%	4	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	5	28%	6	33%	7	39%	18	100%

Table A22: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 108th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
DEM/EG	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%

109th Congress—House of Representatives

Table A23: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 109th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	9	24%	3	8%	25	68%	37	100%
DEM/EG	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
REP/CAR	8	38%	6	29%	7	33%	21	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	19	32%	9	15%	32	53%	60	100%

Table A24: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 109th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	7	100%	0	0%	0	0%	7	100%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/EG	2	33%	0	0%	4	67%	6	100%
Total	9	69%	0	0%	4	31%	13	100%

Table A25: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 109th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
DEM/EG	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/CAR	2	40%	3	60%	0	0%	5	100%
REP/EG	8	53%	6	40%	1	7%	15	100%
Total	13	57%	9	39%	1	4%	23	100%

Table A26: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 109th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	5	50%	1	10%	4	40%	10	100%
DEM/EG	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/CAR	4	16%	5	20%	16	64%	25	100%
REP/EG	2	67%	1	33%	0	0%	3	100%
Total	12	31%	7	18%	20	51%	39	100%

Table A27: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 109th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/CAR	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%

109th Congress—Senate

Table A28: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 109th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	6	25%	3	12%	15	63%	24	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	13	48%	2	7%	12	44%	27	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	19	37%	5	10%	27	53%	51	100%

Table A29: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 109th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	8	73%	3	27%	0	0%	11	100%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/EG	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%
Total	11	79%	3	21%	0	0%	14	100%

Table A30: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 109th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%	1	100%
DEM/EG	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/CAR	1	33%	1	33%	1	33%	3	100%
REP/EG	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
Total	3	50%	1	17%	2	33%	6	100%

Table A31: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 109th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	2	40%	0	0%	3	60%	5	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	3	30%	4	40%	3	30%	10	100%
REP/EG	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
Total	7	41%	4	23%	6	36%	17	100%

Table A32: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 109th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%

110th Congress—House of Representatives

Table A33: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 110th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	4	33%	0	0%	8	67%	12	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	2	28%	0	0%	5	72%	7	100%
REP/EG	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%
Total	9	41%	0	0%	13	59%	22	100%

Table A34: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 110th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	10	100%	10	100%
Total	0	0%	0	0%	10	100%	10	100%

Table A35: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 110th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	11	85%	1	8%	1	7%	13	100%
DEM/EG	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/CAR	28	72%	7	18%	4	10%	39	100%
REP/EG	15	46%	16	48%	2	6%	33	100%
Total	55	64%	24	28%	7	8%	86	100%

Table A36: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 110th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	2	50%	1	25%	1	25%	4	100%
DEM/EG	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/CAR	5	50%	1	10%	4	40%	10	100%
REP/EG	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
Total	9	56%	2	13%	5	31%	16	100%

Table A37: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 110th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%

110th Congress—Senate

Table A38: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 110th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	17	62%	4	11%	8	27%	29	100%
DEM/EG	3	50%	1	17%	2	33%	6	100%
REP/CAR	8	50%	2	13%	6	37%	16	100%
REP/EG	2	67%	1	33%	0	0%	3	100%
Total	30	57%	8	14%	16	29%	54	100%

Table A39: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 110th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	6	100%	6	100%
Total	3	33%	0	0%	6	67%	9	100%

Table A40: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 110th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	2	40%	2	40%	1	20%	5	100%
DEM/EG	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
REP/CAR	11	73%	3	20%	1	7%	15	100%
REP/EG	6	86%	1	14%	0	0%	7	100%
Total	21	72%	6	21%	2	7%	29	100%

Table A41: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Border and Security (BS) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 110th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	12	76%	2	12%	2	12%	16	100%
DEM/EG	1	50%	1	50%	0	0%	2	100%
REP/CAR	4	57%	1	15%	2	28%	7	100%
REP/EG	16	89%	0	0%	2	11%	18	100%
Total	33	77%	4	9%	6	14%	43	100%

Table A42: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 110th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%

111th Congress—House of Representatives

Table A43: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 111th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	1	20%	0	0%	4	80%	5	100%
DEM/EG	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/CAR	2	67%	1	33%	0	0%	3	100%
REP/EG	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%
Total	7	58%	1	9%	4	33%	12	100%

Table A44: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 111th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
DEM/EG	11	100%	0	0%	0	0%	11	100%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	79	100%	79	100%
Total	11	12%	0	0%	79	88%	90	100%

Table A45: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 111th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	4	80%	1	20%	0	0%	5	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	5	83%	1	17%	0	0%	6	100%

Table A46: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Border and Security (BS) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 111th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	0	0%	2	40%	3	60%	5	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	0	0%	2	40%	3	60%	5	100%

Table A47: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 111th Congress

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
DEM/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
DEM/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
REP/CAR	1	100%	0	0%	0	0%	1	100%
REP/EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%

111th Congress—Senate

Table A48: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 111th Congress

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
DEM/CAR	6 60%	4 40%	0 0%	10 100%
DEM/EG	4 57%	3 43%	0 0%	7 100%
REP/CAR	10 62%	3 19%	3 19%	16 100%
REP/EG	1 50%	1 50%	0 0%	2 100%
Total	21 60%	11 31%	3 9%	35 100%

Table A49: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 111th Congress

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
DEM/CAR	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
DEM/EG	22 63%	11 31%	2 6%	35 100%
REP/CAR	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
REP/EG	1 2%	1 2%	46 96%	48 100%
Total	23 28%	12 14%	48 58%	83 100%

Table A50: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 111th Congress

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
DEM/CAR	3 50%	0 0%	3 50%	6 100%
DEM/EG	2 100%	0 0%	0 0%	2 100%
REP/CAR	0 0%	1 50%	1 50%	2 100%
REP/EG	3 50%	3 50%	0 0%	6 100%
Total	8 50%	4 25%	4 25%	16 100%

Table A51: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Border and Security (BS) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 111th Congress

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
DEM/CAR	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
DEM/EG	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
REP/CAR	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
REP/EG	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Total	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%

Table A52: Total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 111th Congress

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Total
DEM/CAR	4 80%	1 20%	0 0%	5 100%
DEM/EG	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	1 100%
REP/CAR	1 50%	0 0%	1 50%	2 100%
REP/EG	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Total	6 74%	1 13%	1 13%	8 100%

107th–111th Congresses, House of Representatives—by party*Table A53: Democrat—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the House of Representatives by Type and Score, 107th–111th Congresses*

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	138	60%	18	8%	72	32%	228	100%
EG	8	73%	0	0%	3	27%	11	100%
Total	146	61%	18	8%	75	31%	239	100%

Table A54: Republican—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the House of Representatives by Type and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	72	61%	16	14%	30	25%	118	100%
EG	17	89%	2	11%	0	0%	19	100%
Total	89	65%	18	13%	30	22%	137	100%

Table A55: Democrat—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
EG	91	83%	17	16%	1	1%	109	100%
Total	91	83%	17	16%	1	1%	109	100%

Table A56: Republican—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
EG	26	20%	1	1%	104	79%	131	100%
Total	26	20%	1	1%	104	79%	131	100%

Table A57: Democrat—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	22	88%	2	8%	1	4%	25	100%
EG	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
Total	24	89%	2	7%	1	4%	27	100%

Table A58: Republican—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	43	67%	14	22%	7	11%	64	100%
EG	26	49%	23	43%	4	8%	53	100%
Total	69	59%	37	32%	11	9%	117	100%

Table A59: Democrat—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	17	35%	12	25%	19	40%	48	100%
EG	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
Total	19	38%	12	24%	19	38%	50	100%

Table A60: Republican—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	19	23%	15	17%	52	60%	86	100%
EG	3	60%	1	20%	1	20%	5	100%
Total	22	24%	16	18%	53	59%	91	100%

Table A61: Democrat—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	10	100%	0	0%	0	0%	10	100%
EG	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3	100%
Total	13	100%	0	0%	0	0%	13	100%

Table A62: Republican—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	14	82%	1	6%	2	12%	17	100%
EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	14	82%	1	6%	2	12%	17	100%

107th–111th Congresses, Senate—by party*Table A63: Democrat—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses*

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	145	55%	27	10%	94	35%	266	100%
EG	10	53%	6	32%	3	16%	19	100%
Total	155	54%	33	12%	97	34%	285	100%

Table A64: Republican—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Trade and Commerce (TRD) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	83	53%	22	14%	52	33%	157	100%
EG	9	82%	2	18%	0	0%	11	100%
Total	92	56%	24	14%	52	31%	168	100%

Table A65: Democrat—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
EG	63	77%	14	17%	5	6%	82	100%
Total	63	77%	14	17%	5	6%	82	100%

Table A66: Republican—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Health Care (HC) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
EG	6	9%	1	2%	57	89%	64	100%
Total	6	9%	1	2%	57	89%	64	100%

Table A67: Democrat—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	15	56%	5	19%	7	26%	27	100%
EG	6	86%	1	14%	0	0%	7	100%
Total	21	62%	6	18%	7	21%	34	100%

Table A68: Republican—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Energy and Environment (ENEG) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	26	63%	11	27%	4	10%	41	100%
EG	14	74%	5	26%	0	0%	19	100%
Total	40	67%	16	27%	4	7%	60	100%

Table A69: Democrat—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	33	42%	13	17%	32	41%	78	100%
EG	1	50%	1	50%	0	0%	2	100%
Total	34	43%	14	17%	32	40%	80	100%

Table A70: Republican—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Borders and Security (BS) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	14	40%	11	31%	10	29%	35	100%
EG	18	90%	0	0%	2	10%	20	100%
Total	32	58%	11	20%	12	22%	55	100%

Table A71: Democrat—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	7	88%	1	12%	0	0%	8	100%
EG	2	100%	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%
Total	9	90%	1	10%	0	0%	10	100%

Table A72: Republican—total number of comments and percentage of comments on Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA) in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive		Neutral		Negative		Total	
CAR	6	86%	0	0%	1	14%	7	100%
EG	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Total	6	86%	0	0%	1	14%	7	100%

Appendix B Percentage of *all* comments that were positive, neutral and negative, by issue and party, 107th–111th Congresses

Table B1: House of Representatives—percentage of comments that were positive, neutral and negative, by issue and party, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive (%)	Neutral (%)	Negative (%)
Trade and Commerce (TRD)			
<i>Democrat</i>	61	8	31
<i>Republican</i>	65	13	22
Health Care (HC)			
<i>Democrat</i>	83	16	1
<i>Republican</i>	19	1	80
Energy and Environment (ENEG)			
<i>Democrat</i>	49	44	11
<i>Republican</i>	89	7	7
Borders and Security (BS)			
<i>Democrat</i>	38	24	38
<i>Republican</i>	24	18	58
Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA)			
<i>Democrat</i>	100	0	0
<i>Republican</i>	82	0	18

Table B2: Senate—percentage of comments that were positive, neutral and negative, by issue and party, 107th–111th Congresses

	Positive (%)	Neutral (%)	Negative (%)
Trade and Commerce (TRD)			
<i>Democrat</i>	54	12	34
<i>Republican</i>	55	14	31
Health Care (HC)			
<i>Democrat</i>	77	17	6
<i>Republican</i>	9	2	89
Energy and Environment (ENEG)			
<i>Democrat</i>	62	18	21
<i>Republican</i>	67	27	7
Borders and Security (BS)			
<i>Democrat</i>	43	18	40
<i>Republican</i>	58	20	22
Defence and Foreign Affairs (DFA)			
<i>Democrat</i>	90	0	10
<i>Republican</i>	86	0	14

Comments classed Commemorative or Other

Table B3: Total number of comments classified as Commemorative or Other in the House of Representatives by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Commemorative	Other	Total
Democrat			
107 th Congress	3	0	3
108 th Congress	0	0	0
109 th Congress	2	0	2
110 th Congress	0	0	0
111 th Congress	9	0	9
Total	14	0	14
Republican			
107 th Congress	3	2	5
108 th Congress	0	0	0
109 th Congress	0	0	0
110 th Congress	1	2	3
111 th Congress	2	0	2
Total	6	4	10

Table B4: Total number of comments classified as Commemorative or Other in the Senate by Party, Type, and Score, 107th–111th Congresses

	Commemorative	Other	Total
Democrat			
107 th Congress	2	7	9
108 th Congress	0	0	0
109 th Congress	1	1	2
110 th Congress	1	0	1
111 th Congress	6	3	9
Total	10	11	21
Republican			
107 th Congress	0	2	2
108 th Congress	1	0	1
109 th Congress	0	2	2
110 th Congress	3	0	3
111 th Congress	0	0	0
Total	4	4	8

Appendix C Instructions for external judges

In order to assure that the authors obtained bias-free insights into the views and opinions being expressed by US lawmakers within the Senate and House of Representatives, the authors' analysis was augmented by the analyses of two external judges (judges that were not affiliated with the authors in any professional capacity). The external judges were recruited for sole purpose of offering an outside analysis that would either support or negate the authors' interpretations of the data. To navigate through the compiled observations, the authors prepared two sets of coding instructions (one with 15 general directives and one with 23 specific directives) that together functioned as a compass, guiding the reviewers through the sample of observations, with an eye to uncovering the true underlying sentiments and views being expressed about Canada in the two chambers of the US Congress.

Instructions

The observations contained in this sample comprise passages, dialogues, monologues, spoken discourse, and excerpts from debates on the floors of the US Senate and House of Representatives. These observations are the foundation of the data that the authors are using in a quantitative content analysis analyzing how US lawmakers perceive Canada.

The purpose of the analysis is to determine the nature of the sentiment being expressed, and to establish how American lawmakers feel about, view, and perceive Canada. To simplify the characterization of sentiment, views, and feelings towards Canada, we have chosen to use a basic three-point evaluation scale. Thus, every observation is meant to be evaluated and given a score of A. Positive (1/+), B. Negative (-1/-), or C. Neutral (0). In addition, we classify the observations into two categories: EG or CAR. EG stands for if Canada is being referenced as an example and CAR if Canada is mentioned in the context of an issue in bilateral relations, CAR being an acronym for basic Canada-US relations. The criteria are as follows.

15-point general coding instructions

- A Coding criteria for positive +1 [CAR or EG] scores—any statement that argues for or declares:
- ♦ cooperation
 - ♦ coordination
 - ♦ collaboration

- ♦ good will and improved relations in trade, security, foreign affairs and bilateral relations
 - ♦ an example to emulate, follow and learn from.
- B** Coding criteria for negative –1 [CAR or EG] scores—any statement that argues for or declares:
- ♦ unilateral action
 - ♦ less cooperation
 - ♦ condemnation
 - ♦ independent work and regulation
 - ♦ negative sentiment towards trade, security, foreign affairs and bilateral relationship
 - ♦ an example to condemn, distinguish from, reject and act differently from.
- C** Coding criteria for neutral 0 [CAR & EG] scores—any statement that argues for or declares:
- ♦ ambiguity about sentiment towards Canada
 - ♦ overall balance of both negative and positive sentiment towards Canada
 - ♦ lack of any expression or sentiment towards Canada
 - ♦ some reference to Canada but with predominant concern for domestic affairs.

The identities of the politician actually speaking, and his/her party affiliation (Democrat or Republican) have been withheld. The reason for denying access to these descriptive details is to ensure that no bias results from associating the comments being made in an observation with a particular political party and its respective political platform.

23-point specific coding instructions

A partial rough guideline to ensure that we have the same perspective on policy issues can be summed up as:

- A** Arguments in favor of re-importing pharmaceuticals from Canada is positive (+).
- B** Arguments that tout Canada's assurance/safeguarding of access to cheaper pharmaceuticals for Canadians, as an admirable policy intervention is positive (+).
- C** Arguments that criticize Canada's cheaper pharmaceutical prices as a government intervention that creates distortion in the pharmaceutical market and drug R&D is negative (–).
- D** Any argument that is in favor of or defends NAFTA is positive (+).

- E** Any argument that recognizes that Canadian safety and commercial standards are similar to the United States' is positive (+).
- F** Any argument criticizing Canada over what US lawmakers regard as unfair trade practices over softwood lumber, Canada's wheat board, diluted sugar/molasses, Canada's problem with BSE & Country of Origin labeling (COOL) as a solution is negative (-).
- G** Arguments in favor of COOL laws in general and use of Canada as an example of a country where COOL laws are used is positive (+).
- H** Any argument in favor of importing energy, tar sands, natural gas, building interconnected pipelines or recognizes that Canada is a vital source to fulfill US energy needs is positive (+).
- I** Arguments that Canada's energy industry is unsustainable or extracts energy in environmentally unfriendly ways is negative (-).
- J** Any argument that associates Canada, the Northern border and terrorism/security threats is negative (-).
- K** Any argument that calls for more resources for the northern border on account of a terrorist/security threat is negative (-).
- L** Any argument that calls for more resources for the northern border meant to improve the flow of commerce is positive (+).
- M** Any argument that criticizes the Canadian universal-coverage single-payer health care system is negative (-).
- N** Any argument that looks for saving graces regarding the Canadian universal-coverage single-payer health is positive (+).
- O** Any argument that refers to Canada as an ally, or shows admiration towards Canada and Canadians is positive (+).
- P** Arguments to replicate or adopt Canadian style policies is positive (+).
- Q** Arguments to avoid and move away from Canadian style policies is negative (-).
- R** Any argument that is adversarial towards Canada in the trade and security realms are negative (-).

- S** Any argument critical of how Canada practices environmentalism or safeguards natural resources is negative (-).
- T** Any argument that constitutes an attack on NAFTA is negative (-).
- U** When US lawmakers blame NAFTA for allowing unsafe Mexican trucks to endanger US drivers but note that Canadian trucks are safe and meet safety regulations in accordance with those prevailing in the US, the comment is positive (+).
- V** Canada is often mentioned alongside other nations. Most important of these other countries is Mexico. Mexico and Canada are often discussed together in the course of North American issues, notably NAFTA and Border Security. If Canada is regarded as the more favourable of the two, for example, regarding the similarity of safety standards of commercial vehicles and trucks between the US and Canada but not Mexico, then the passage is positive (+). If Canada is lumped together alongside Mexico with no distinguishing, for example, regarding the permeability of borders and security threat posed both by the southern and northern borders, then the passage is negative (-).
- W** Focus on the central issue at hand in the passage and give less weight to tangential or peripheral issues. For example, if a lawmaker focuses on the similarity between Canadian and American regulations with respect to commercial trucking while attacking the safety standards of Mexican trucks and making brief note of the deficiencies in NAFTA that ensure the right of unsafe Mexican trucks to drive on American roads, then the argument is positive because the focus is on the similarity of Canadian-American standards and not the faults or deficiencies of NAFTA.

Instructions on how to mark your score

Please place a positive (+1), neutral (0), or negative (-1) to the immediate right of, or immediately below, each NUMBER demarking an observation to describe the sentiment you feel is being expressed within. Please also add next to your grade an EG if you think Canada is being referenced as an example or a CAR if you think Canada is mentioned in the context of an issue in bilateral relations, CAR being an acronym for basic Canada-US relations. A completed example is offered immediately below. Lastly, the yellow highlights are meant to draw your attention to the points of Canada's actual mention in the passage and other important parts of the passage capturing, highlighting, and clarifying the speaker's sentiment.

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