



FOCUS
CANADA

2025 FALL
SERIES

Canadian public opinion on our

Relationships with Other Countries

**Environics
Institute**
For Survey Research

Environics Institute

For Survey Research

The Environics Institute for Survey Research was established by Michael Adams in 2006 with a mandate to conduct in-depth public opinion and social research on the issues shaping Canada's future. It is through such research that Canadians can better understand themselves and their changing society.

Get in touch

environicsinstitute.org

info@environicsinstitute.org

701-33 Bloor Street East
Toronto, ON M4W 3H1



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As part of its Focus Canada public opinion research program (launched in 1976), the Environics Institute updated its research on Canadian opinions about their country's relationships with the United States and other countries. This latest survey was based on telephone interviews conducted (via landline and cellphones) with a representative sample of 2,004 Canadians (ages 18 and over) between September 8 and 21, 2025. A sample of this size drawn from the population produces results accurate to within plus or minus 2.2 percentage points in 19 out of 20 samples. All results are expressed as percentages.

For more information about this research, contact [Andrew Parkin](#).

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Background

In 2025, Canadians find themselves facing a much less certain international situation than they have been used to. Some of this is due to the persistence of conflicts in Ukraine, and in Israel and Gaza, and the wider threats they pose to international peace and security. Some of this is due to the cooling of relations with influential countries such as China and India. And much of it is the result of the return of U.S. President Donald Trump to the White House, with his protectionist policies and annexationist rhetoric. Canadians are used to being overlooked by U.S. administrations. In recent months, they have discovered that this is preferable to being the target of a president who has described Canada as “mean and nasty.”

The proportion of Canadians who think of the U.S. as a friend is less than half of what it was a little more than a decade ago, prior to Donald Trump’s first term in office.

These events have sharply impacted how Canadians see their relations with several other countries. In particular, the United States, Russia, China, India and Israel are all much less likely to be perceived as friends of Canada today than they were several years ago. The change is especially striking in the case of the United States. The proportion of Canadians who think of the U.S. as a friend is less than half of what it was a little more than a decade ago, prior to Donald Trump’s first term in office.

Key Findings

Canada's relationship with the United States

- Following the return of Donald Trump to the White House for a second term as U.S. president, **only a minority of Canadians (36%) see the United States as our friend.** The proportion seeing the U.S. as our enemy, which a little over a decade ago stood at only one percent, has jumped up to 27 percent.
- Canadians are now about as likely to consider the U.S. as a friend of Canada as they are India. And they are now about as likely to consider the U.S. as an enemy of Canada as they are China.
- **Men are much more likely than women** to consider the U.S. as a friend of Canada and less likely to consider that country as an enemy.
- Among both Liberal Party and NDP supporters, the proportion that sees the U.S. as an enemy outweighs the proportion seeing that country as a friend. **The pattern is very different among supporters of the Conservative Party;** in this case, many more see the U.S. as a friend than as an enemy.
- Two in three Canadians (66%) now say that they have a very or somewhat **unfavourable view of the United States**, compared to 28 percent whose view is either somewhat or very favourable. These results are essentially unchanged from the spring, and are the most negative since this question was first asked in 1982.
- Among supporters of the main federal political parties, opinions of the U.S. are heavily unfavourable – **with one exception.** A majority of Conservative Party supporters continue to hold a favourable opinion of the United States.



Canada's relationships with other countries

- The proportion of Canadians who consider **Russia** to be an enemy of Canada has increased five-fold since 2013, from 10 to 52 percent. This shift started prior to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, and continued afterwards.
- There has been a sharp decline since 2020 in the proportion of Canadians who see **India** as a friend of Canada, from 66 to 39 percent.
- The proportion of Canadians who see **China** as a friend of Canada is now only half of what it was in 2013 (falling from 49% to 25%).
- Canadians are much less likely today than in 2013 to see **Israel** as a friend of Canada, with the proportion holding this view dropping by 25 points, from 56 to 31 percent.





Canada's relations with other countries

Environics Institute surveys have explored how Canadians see their country's position and role in the world, and how these opinions have shifted in response to changing circumstances. In the most recent Focus Canada survey, Canadians were asked whether they consider each of a number of countries to be a friend of Canada, an enemy of Canada, or neither a friend nor an enemy. This question was also asked in earlier Environics Institute surveys, in 2013 and 2020.

European and Mexico allies

In the case of traditional European allies such as Great Britain and France, opinions are strongly positive and stable over time. In each of the three surveys since 2013, including the most recent one in 2025, about nine in ten Canadians say that they consider **Great Britain** to be a friend of Canada, and about eight in ten say the same of **France**. In every survey, no more than two percent say either of these two countries are enemies of Canada.

Results are somewhat similar in the case of two other countries: Germany and Mexico (although each of these countries were only included in two of the three surveys since 2013):

- Over seven in ten Canadians, both in 2020 and in 2025, say they consider **Germany** to be a friend of Canada, and very few (2% in each survey) say they consider it to be an enemy.
- Similarly, over seven in ten, both in 2013 and in 2025, say they consider **Mexico** to be a friend of Canada. Since 2013, the proportion of Canadians who see Mexico as neither a friend nor an enemy has declined modestly (by 7 percentage points, from 22% to 15%), while the proportion that sees this country as a friend has edged up slightly (by 5 points, from 72% to 77%).

Table 1

Friends or enemies of Canada?

2013 – 2025

Country	Survey year	Friend of Canada	Neither	Enemy of Canada	Don't know
Great Britain	2013	91	7	0	1
	2020	89	5	2	4
	2025	87	7	1	5
France	2013	84	14	0	2
	2020	81	11	2	7
	2025	82	12	1	6
Germany	2013	–	–	–	–
	2020	77	15	2	6
	2025	72	16	2	10
Mexico	2013	72	22	3	3
	2020	–	–	–	–
	2025	77	15	2	6
United States	2013	89	9	1	0
	2020	60	24	11	6
	2025	36	32	27	5
China	2013	49	42	7	3
	2020	25	33	34	8
	2025	25	42	25	7
India	2013	61	34	2	3
	2020	66	22	2	9
	2025	39	40	11	10
Russia	2013	33	55	10	3
	2020	18	40	33	10
	2025	10	30	52	8
Israel	2013	56	34	7	4
	2020	–	–	–	–
	2025	31	38	20	11

Q: I will now read you a short list of countries. In each case, please tell me whether you consider this country to be a friend of Canada, an enemy of Canada, or neither a friend nor enemy.¹

¹ In each survey year, some countries are only included in the list presented to half of the total sample of survey respondents, selected at random.

The United States

In other cases, however, opinions have changed sharply over the past decade. This is most evident when it comes to our relationship with the

United States:

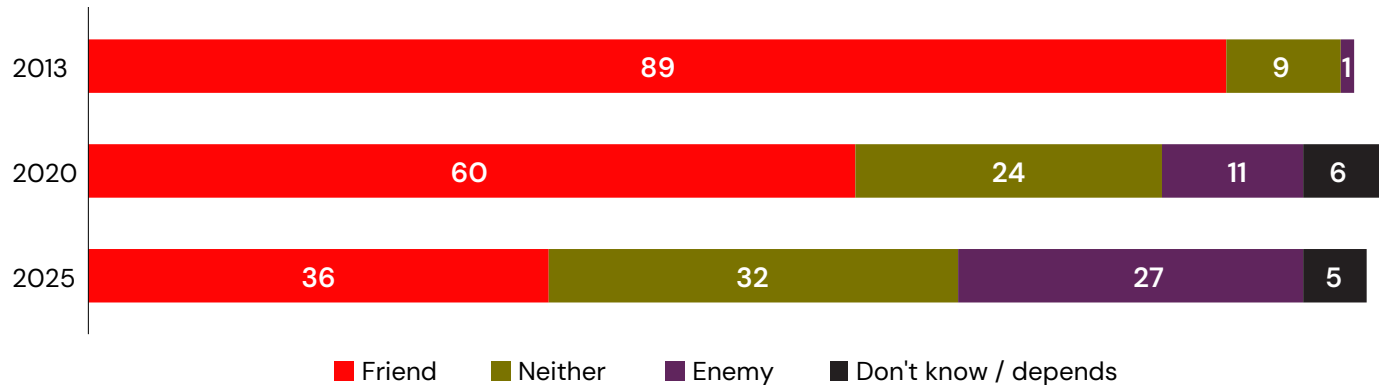
- In 2013, opinions about the United States mirrored those about our other traditional allies, such as Great Britain and France. Nine in ten Canadians considered the U.S. to be a friend of Canada, while one in ten said it was neither a friend nor an enemy. A negligible one percent considered the U.S. to be our enemy.
- In 2020, near the end of Donald Trump's first term as President, the proportion considering the U.S. to be a friend of Canada had fallen by 29 points, to 60 percent. The portion seeing the U.S. as an enemy had grown to 11 percent.
- Today, with Trump back in the White House, and expressing interest in annexing Canada, fewer than four in ten Canadians (36%) see the U.S. as our friend. Almost as many (32%) say that our neighbour is neither our friend nor our enemy, while the proportion seeing the U.S. as our enemy has jumped up to 27 percent.

With Trump back in the White House, fewer than four in ten Canadians see the U.S. as our friend, while the proportion seeing the U.S. as our enemy has jumped up to 27 percent.

Figure 1

The United States: a friend or an enemy of Canada?

2013 – 2025



Q: I will now read you a short list of countries. In each case, please tell me whether you consider this country to be a friend of Canada, an enemy of Canada, or neither a friend nor enemy. The United States.

Canadians are now about as likely to consider the U.S. as a friend of Canada as they are India (36% and 39%, respectively). And they are now about as likely to consider the U.S. an enemy of Canada as they are China (27% and 25%, respectively).

In 2025, opinions regarding the United States vary across the population. One of the most notable differences is between men and women. Men are much more likely than women to consider the U.S. as a friend of Canada (a 21-point difference: 47% and 26%, respectively) and less likely to consider that country as an enemy (a 14-point difference: 20% and 34%, respectively).

There are also differences among age groups and regions:

- The proportion considering the U.S. as a friend declines as age increases. Roughly one in four Canadians in all age groups under the age of 60 consider the U.S. as an enemy, but this rises to one in three among those age 60 and older.
- The proportion considering the U.S. as a friend is highest in Alberta (44%), and lowest in B.C. (32%) and Quebec (31%). Conversely, the proportion that sees the U.S. as an enemy of Canada is lowest in Alberta (18%), and highest in B.C. (31%) and Quebec (34%).

Finally, there are major differences in opinion based on which political party someone would support in a federal election:

- Among both Liberal Party and NDP supporters, the proportion that sees the U.S. as an enemy outweighs the proportion seeing that country as a friend. The pattern is very different among supporters of the Conservative Party; in this case, many more see the U.S. as a friend than as an enemy.

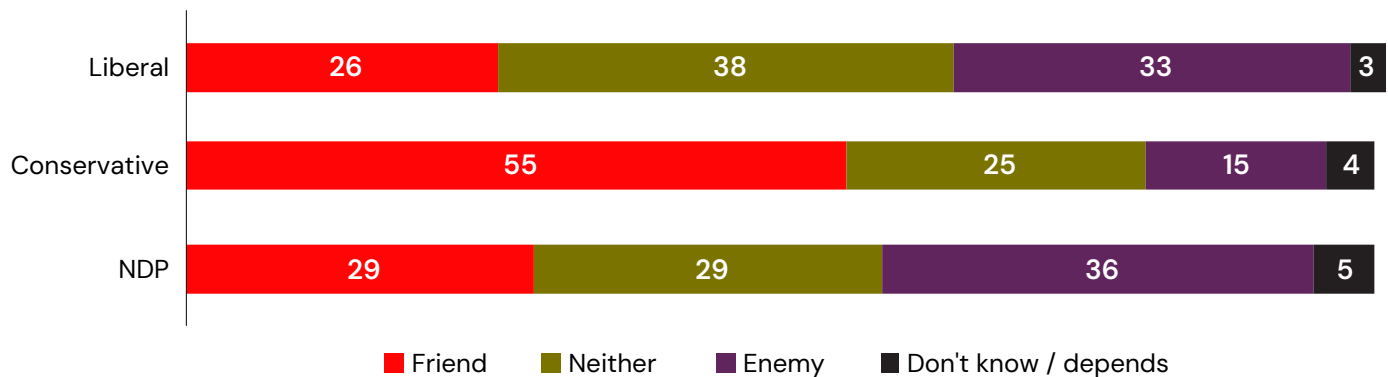


- Conservative Party supporters (55%) are twice as likely as supporters of the Liberal Party (26%) to see the U.S. as a friend of Canada. Conversely, Liberal Party supporters (33%) are twice as likely as supporters of the Conservative Party (15%) to see the U.S. as an enemy.²

Figure 2

The United States: a friend or an enemy of Canada?

2025, By federal vote intention



Q: I will now read you a short list of countries. In each case, please tell me whether you consider this country to be a friend of Canada, an enemy of Canada, or neither a friend nor enemy. The United States.

Relationships with other countries

The proportion of Canadians perceiving others as friendly has also declined in the case of four other countries: Russia, India, China and Israel.

- The proportion of Canadians who consider **Russia** to be an enemy of Canada has increased five-fold since 2013, from 10 to 52 percent. This shift started prior to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in 2022, and continued afterwards. Only 10 percent of Canadians now consider Russia to be a friend of our country.

² In 2020, there was a 15-point difference in the proportion of supporters of the Liberal Party (55%) and of the Conservative Party (70%) who considered the U.S. a friend of Canada; far fewer of either group (11% and 6%, respectively) considered the U.S. an enemy at that time.

- There has been a sharp decline since 2020 in the proportion of Canadians who see **India** as a friend of Canada, from 66 to 39 percent. The proportion seeing India as neither a friend nor an enemy has increased by 18 points (from 22% to 40%), while the proportion seeing India as an enemy increased by nine points (from 2% to 11%). Among the possible reasons for this change is the Canadian government's allegation in 2023 that agents of the government of India were responsible for the murder of a Canadian citizen on Canadian soil.
- The proportion of Canadians who see **China** as a friend of Canada is now only half of what it was in 2013 (falling from 49% to 25%). However, this change occurred between 2013 and 2020, following the high-profile detention of two Canadian citizens in China in retaliation for the Government of Canada's arrest of a leading Chinese businessperson. While the proportion considering China as a friend has remained unchanged since 2020, the proportion seeing that country as an enemy has declined, from 34 to 25 percent.
- Canadians are much less likely today than in 2013 to see **Israel** as a friend of Canada, with the proportion holding this view dropping by 25 points, from 56 to 31 percent. The proportion seeing Israel as an enemy increased over that time, from seven to 20 percent.

While women are more likely than men to view the United States as an enemy of Canada, the reverse is true in the case of China. In 2025, men are nine points more likely than women to consider China an enemy (30%, compared to 21%). Men and women are equally likely to consider Israel an enemy of Canada, but men are more likely than women to say that that country is Canada's friend (40%, compared to 22%). Women are more likely than men to say that India is a friend of Canada (43%, compared to 35%).



More From the Focus Canada 2025 Fall Series

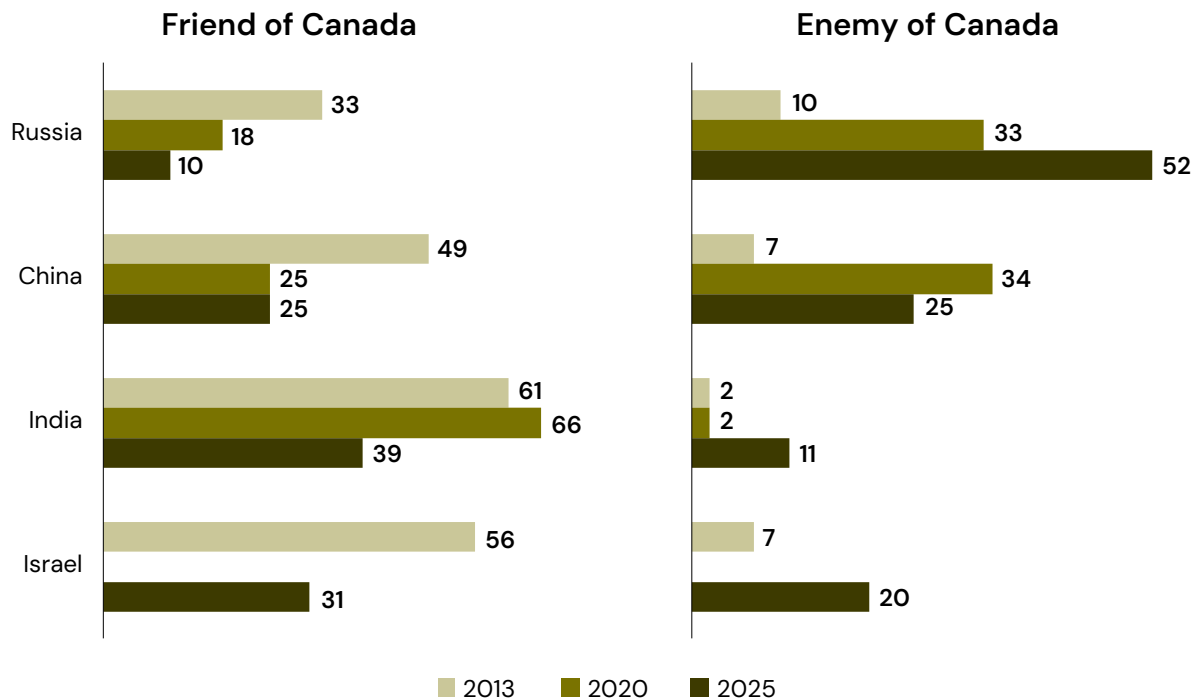


For more on Canadians' opinions on Israel, Palestine and the conflict in the Middle East, see [*Canadian Public Opinion about the Conflict in the Middle East*](#).

Figure 3

Friends or enemies of Canada?

2013 – 2025, Selected countries



Q: I will now read you a short list of countries. In each case, please tell me whether you consider this country to be a friend of Canada, an enemy of Canada, or neither a friend nor enemy.

Older Canadians (those age 60 and older) are more likely to say that China is an enemy of Canada (32%, compared to 21% for those under the age of 60), and to say the same of Russia (64%, compared to 46%).

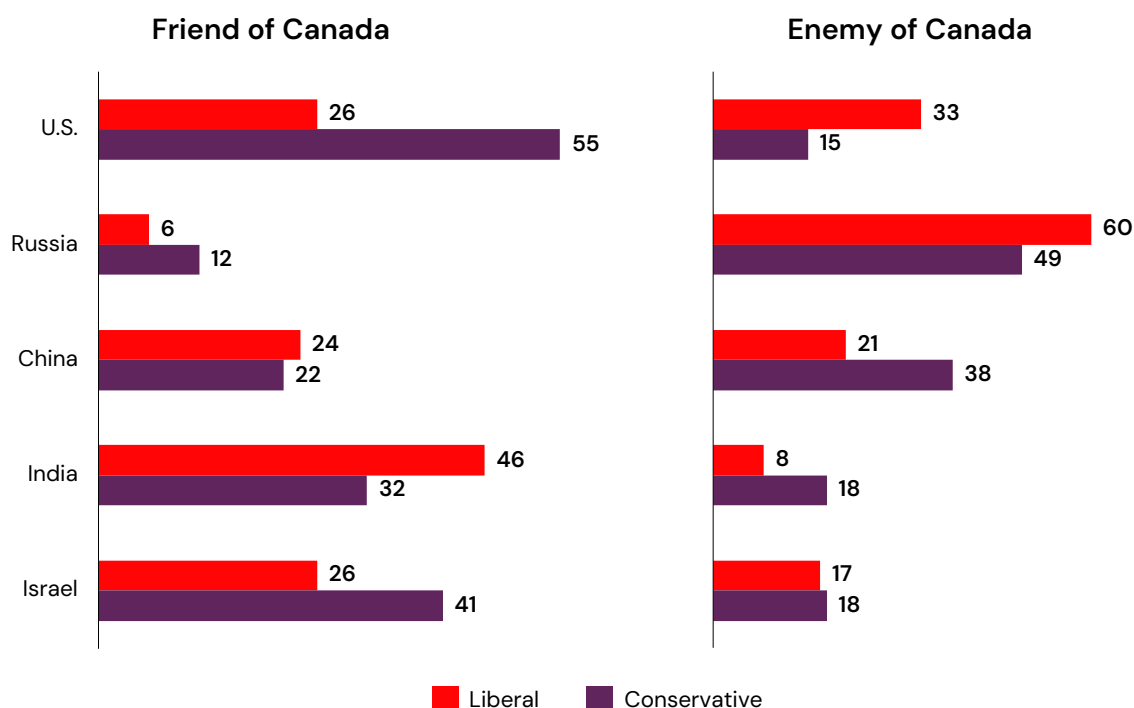
Finally, there are some differences between the supporters of the federal Liberal and Conservative parties.³ Liberal Party supporters are more likely than their Conservative counterparts to consider Russia to be an enemy of Canada, but less likely to say the same of China or India. Conservative Party supporters are more likely than those who support the Liberal Party to consider Israel to be a friend of Canada.

³ In 2025, all countries, with the exception of the United States, were only included in the list presented to half of the total number of survey respondents (2,004), selected at random. For this reason, the subsample of NDP supporters is too small to allow their results to be reported.

Figure 4

Friends or enemies of Canada?

2025, Selected countries, by federal vote intention



Q: I will now read you a short list of countries. In each case, please tell me whether you consider this country to be a friend of Canada, an enemy of Canada, or neither a friend nor enemy.

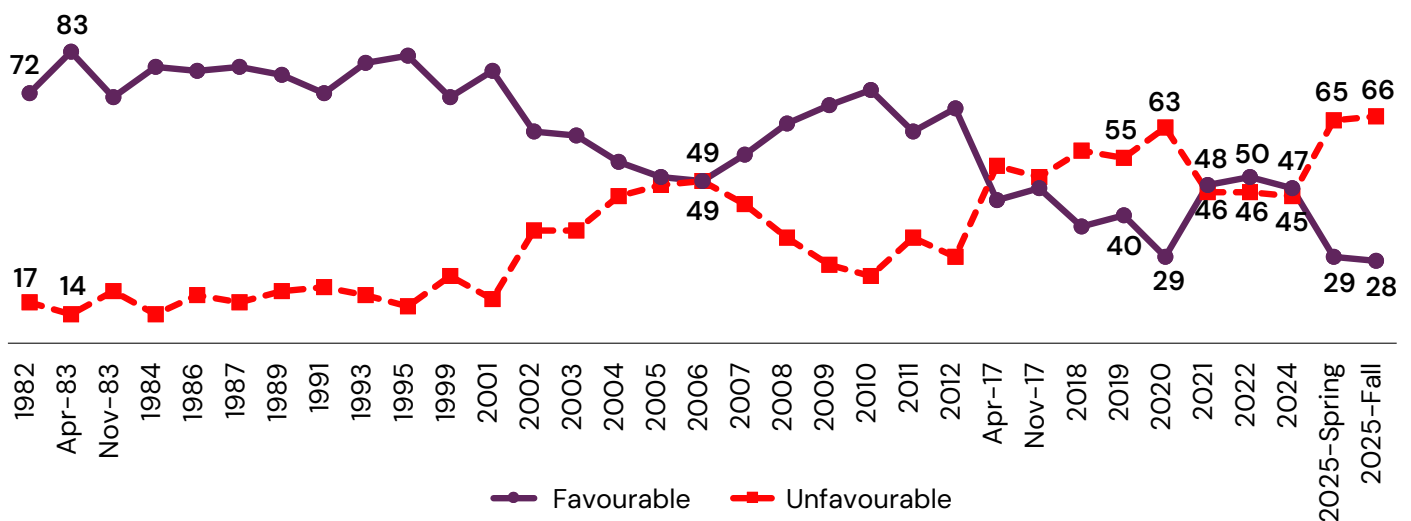
Liberal Party supporters are more likely than their Conservative counterparts to consider Russia to be an enemy of Canada, but less likely to say the same of China or India. Conservative Party supporters are more likely than those who support the Liberal Party to consider Israel to be a friend of Canada.

Canada's opinion of the United States

The question about friends and enemies has only been asked periodically. A second survey question about Canada's relationship with the United States has been asked much more regularly, and over a far longer period of time. This helps to illustrate how unusual it is for Canadians to have such negative feelings about their neighbour.

In the spring of 2025, the Environics Institute's Focus Canada survey reported a sharp negative turn in Canadians' opinion of the United States following the re-election of Donald Trump as President. This latest Focus Canada survey, conducted in September, finds that opinions remain no less negative. Two in three Canadians (66%) continue to say that they have a very or somewhat unfavourable view of the United States, compared to 28 percent whose view is either somewhat or very favourable. These results are essentially unchanged from the spring, and are the most negative since this question was first asked in 1982.

Figure 5
Canadians' opinion of the United States
1982 – 2025



Q: In general, what is your opinion of the United States?

Women (73%) are more likely than men (58%) to have an unfavourable opinion of the United States. Regionally, unfavourable opinions of the U.S. are highest in Quebec (70%) and lowest in the Prairies (59%). Among age groups, they are highest among those age 60 and older (74%), and lowest among those age 30 to 44 (57%).

These variations notwithstanding, it is evident that almost every identifiable group in Canada is now much more likely to have an unfavourable than a favourable opinion of the United States. There is only one exception to this pattern.

Among supporters of most federal political parties, opinions of the U.S. are heavily unfavourable. A majority of Conservative Party supporters, however, continue to hold a favourable opinion of the United States.

Among supporters of most federal political parties, opinions of the U.S. are heavily unfavourable. This is the case for supporters of the Liberal Party (83% unfavourable, compared to 12% favourable), of the NDP (82%, compared to 13%) and the Bloc Québécois (84%, compared to 11%). A majority of Conservative Party supporters, however, continue to hold a favourable opinion of the United States: 56 percent of these supporters view the U.S. favourably, compared to 39 percent who have an unfavourable view.



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