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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

From many points of view, the process of globalization—economic, normative, and institutional—has displaced the Cold War as the central drama of this era. The remarkable growth of international trade, the freer international flow of capital and the outsourcing of production, the explosive growth of telecommunications and high-speed travel, and the global spread of US culture have all contributed to the creation of a new world that is increasingly interconnected.

There are strong indications that globalization is no longer an arcane and abstract topic limited to the concerns of specialists and is gaining prominence in the public eye. But little is actually known about how the majority of Americans actually feel about globalization.

To explore in depth the American public's attitudes on these questions, the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) conducted a multi-part study that included:

- a comprehensive review of existing polling data
- focus groups held in Dallas, Texas; Battle Creek, Michigan; and Baltimore, Maryland
- a nationwide poll conducted October 21-29, 1999 with 1,826 randomly selected adults (weighted to be demographically representative). The margin of error ranged from +/- 2 to 4%, depending on the portion of the sample that heard the question, with most questions at the 4% level (see Appendix F for more details on how the study was conducted)

Key Findings

Globalization in General

1 Overall, Americans see globalization as somewhat more positive than negative and appear to be growing more familiar with the concept and more positive about it. A large majority favors moving with the process of globalization and only a small minority favors resisting it. Americans view globalization as a process of the world becoming increasingly interconnected. It is seen not only as an economic process, but also as one in which values are becoming more oriented to a global context and international institutions are playing a more central role.

International Trade

2 In principle, a majority of Americans support the growth of international trade, especially when the removal of trade barriers is clearly reciprocal. However, Americans are lukewarm about the actual net benefits of trade for most sectors of society, except for the business community. A majority believes trade widens the gap between rich and poor. A strong majority feels trade has not grown in a way that adequately incorporates concerns for American workers, international labor standards and the environment. Support for fast track is low, apparently because it signifies the increase of trade without incorporating these concerns.

Concerns for American Workers

2A Most Americans feel that workers are not benefiting from the increase in international trade and that the needs of American workers are not being adequately addressed by US policymakers. To address these needs a very strong majority supports greater government efforts to help workers adapt to international trade through retraining and education, and if such efforts are made an overwhelming majority says that it would then support the further growth of trade. Using trade barriers as a means of protect-

ing workers from foreign competition elicits ambivalent feelings. A fairly strong consensus, though, points to gradually lowering trade barriers as workers are given time to adapt to the changes entailed.

Trade and Labor Standards

2B An overwhelming majority favors requiring compliance with international labor standards as part of international trade agreements. An overwhelming majority also feels that the United States should not allow products to be imported when they have been made under conditions in violation of international labor standards.

Trade and the Environment

2C Americans overwhelmingly support the view that environmental issues should be considered in trade decisions and that there should be more international agreements on environmental standards. A very strong majority rejects the WTO's current position that countries should not be able to restrict imports based on the environmental effects of their production.

Trade Sanctions

2D Americans show a substantial readiness to limit trade with other countries that violate standards on human rights, the environment, supporting terrorists and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Support for such sanctions is resilient in the face of challenges, even though Americans are divided as to whether sanctions are effective in changing other countries' behavior. Support persists because Americans want to take a stand based on their values, and because the cost of imposing sanctions is perceived as low since the net benefits of trade are seen as marginal. Americans are also surprisingly accepting of other countries putting up barriers to American products based on various principles such as concern for the health

effects of genetically modified foods or beef grown with hormones.

Globalization of Values

3 In a variety of ways, Americans show their values are oriented to a global context and are not limited to a narrow concept of national interest. Americans show nearly the same level of concern for suffering inside and outside the US. Strong majorities feel that increasing economic involvement with other parts of the world increases Americans' responsibility to address moral issues in those countries. Most say they are willing to pay higher prices for products certified as not made in sweatshops. Overwhelming majorities feel US companies operating outside the US should be expected to abide by US laws on the environment and working conditions, even though they recognize this would likely lead to higher prices.

Helping Poor Countries

3A Most Americans perceive poor countries as not receiving a net benefit from international trade and support giving poor countries preferential trade treatment. Very strong majorities believe that the US has a moral obligation to promote development in poor countries and that doing so ultimately would serve US economic interests. Support is weaker for trade with low-wage countries that are not necessarily poor, but a strong majority believes that it serves US interests for the economies of developing countries to grow.

International Cooperation

4 To address global problems, a very strong majority supports increased international cooperation and stronger international institutions that may even intervene in the internal affairs of countries. Support is strong for international institutions stepping in when there is regional economic instability; to deal with terrorism or environmental issues; and

when a country is committing atrocities. Majorities favor strengthening the UN, the World Court, and the WTO, though only a plurality favors strengthening the IMF. A strong majority favors an International Criminal Court, and a modest majority supports a standing UN peacekeeping force. A strong majority feels the US should abide by WTO decisions when they go against the US, and a majority favors the US accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court.

Spread of American Culture

5 A majority of Americans has a favorable view of American popular culture. Even though a large minority of the public is pessimistic about the quality of US movies and television and has mixed feelings about the globalization of US commercial culture, only a small minority considers the dominance of US culture a threat to other cultures. A very strong majority of Americans thinks the US has had a lot of impact on popular culture in the rest of the world, and a majority thinks it will have even more of an impact in the future. A strong majority also thinks the globalization of the economy makes understanding other cultures even more important than in the past.

Appendices

US-China Trade

It is unlikely that a majority of Americans would favor either the US Congress granting China permanent normal trading relations or the World Trade Organization extending membership to China. In numerous polls conducted during the last few years, a strong majority has said the US should limit its trade with China to pressure it to improve its human rights record and stop selling nuclear weapons technology. A modest majority has also opposed granting China most favored nation status or normal trade relations. Polls that clarify that China's joining the WTO would result in greater trade without conces-

sions from China on human rights elicit opposition ranging from a strong plurality to a strong majority. The argument that trade promotes political and economic reform in China is not highly persuasive. At the same time, a strong majority of Americans does want to continue to trade with China and does not want to behave in a punitive fashion toward China.

NAFTA

Since late 1997 a plurality of Americans has felt that the NAFTA agreement has produced net benefits for the US. Only a small minority wants to withdraw from it. But a majority does express some dissatisfaction with NAFTA in its present form. Strong majorities think NAFTA is good for US businesses; however, the public is divided about its benefits for consumers and workers. A plurality or slight majority believes that NAFTA is costing US jobs and putting a downward pressure on the wages of US workers.

Comparison with European Attitudes

Modest majorities or large pluralities in the US and four European countries all expressed positive views of economic globalization. Majorities in Europe view foreign investment positively, while a modest majority of Americans takes a negative view. In a classic case of a mirror image, by overwhelming margins Europeans and Americans both perceive their side as more open to imports from the other side. Both Europeans and Americans tend to put a higher priority on the preservation of jobs than on the benefit of lower prices that comes with trade. Despite much talk about the spread of American culture through globalization, only a small minority in Western Europe, as well as the US, consider US culture a threat to other cultures.

INTRODUCTION

From many points of view, the process of globalization has displaced the Cold War as the central drama of this era. It has become a truism that with the growth of international trade, the freer international flow of capital and the outsourcing of production, the world has become increasingly interconnected. The world economy is going through a process of becoming a singular economy, with consequences that reverberate through every corner of the globe and have profound implications for Americans.

While economic integration may be the central engine in the process of globalization, there is also a broader normative process. In addition to the increasing interdependence spawned by economic globalization, the explosive growth of telecommunications and high-speed travel have made international conditions much more salient to Americans. In public discourse there is a tremendous amount of discussion about what principles and norms should apply internationally. International institutions have gained increasing prominence as the demand has grown to apply international norms in realms that have historically been the province of nation-states, such as human rights and the treatment of ethnic minorities.

There are strong indications that globalization is no longer an arcane and abstract topic limited to the concerns of specialists. At the World Trade Organization's November 30 ministerial meeting in Seattle, government representatives were shocked to encounter thousands of demonstrators arrayed against their efforts to expand international commerce. What the WTO conferees saw as an enterprise enhancing living standards around the world was portrayed by passionate critics as undercutting labor standards, damaging the environment, and subordinating the interests of

people around the world to the demands of multinational business.

Clearly the process of globalization is gaining prominence in the public eye. But little is known about how the majority of Americans actually feel about it. The legislative calendar is filled with decisions to be made that will influence the shape of future globalization. Decision makers rightly wonder how Americans feel about these decisions.

At the most general level, how do Americans view the general process of globalization? Do they see it as something that is more positive or more negative? Do they think the policy of the US government should be to promote it or to resist it?

The most prominent aspect of globalization is international trade. Do Americans see the growth of trade as something positive or negative? Under what conditions do they favor the lowering of trade barriers? Who do they see as benefiting from the growth of trade? How do Americans relate to the traditional debate between protectionists and free traders?

The American worker now competes in a globalized economy. Do Americans see this primarily as a threat as American workers confront low wages abroad, or as an opportunity to leverage their skills in a broadened market? How do Americans feel society should deal with those whose jobs are disrupted by the forces of globalization and the growth of trade? Do they feel that it is a responsibility of the government to have special programs to help retrain them, or do they think such programs will be too expensive and ineffective?

At the top of the current agenda is the issue of whether trade agreements should incorporate commitments to minimum labor standards—or,

indeed, whether trade issues and labor issues should be discussed at the same table. Those stressing the need for universal standards argue that humanitarian principles require that workers everywhere should be protected from exploitative employers. Those concerned about American workers argue that American workers suffer if they are forced to compete with workers toiling under exploitative conditions. However, the WTO has historically resisted making labor standards part of trade agreements, fearing that they may create a barrier to trade. The leaders of developing countries have denounced them as thinly disguised protectionism intended to deprive them of their competitive edge derived from low-cost labor. For the American consumer, higher labor standards may also result in higher consumer prices. How do Americans respond to the different dimensions of this debate?

Environmental issues have generated similar controversy. Should environmental standards be part of the agenda of trade negotiations? Environmentalists insist that this is the only way to avoid a “race to the bottom”—without such standards, corporations will simply go to countries with the lowest environmental standards. Here again, the WTO has historically resisted bringing environmental issues into trade negotiations for fear that this will create new barriers to trade. Developing countries fear that complying with higher standards will be onerous. Where do Americans come out on this debate?

Another controversy is whether individual countries should be allowed to put up barriers to products that are produced in ways that are damaging to the environment. At present the WTO operates by the rule that a product was produced cannot provide a legitimate reason for erecting a barrier to that product. Those who support this rule argue that countries are free to set their own domestic environmental standards, and applying environmental standards to imported products is

really just protectionism in a new guise. Environmentalists argue that the WTO’s rule dilutes the effect of domestic environmental regulations by undercutting products that comply with them. Again, the WTO’s position may be the one that benefits Americans’ pocketbooks. Does the American public think that environmental concerns should be a basis for excluding certain imports?

Another constant source of international friction is whether the US should use trade sanctions in support of goals that have no direct connection to trade—such as stopping terrorism or the spread of weapons of mass destruction, supporting human rights, and defending the environment. Proponents stress that these other values are more important than the benefits of trade. Those that oppose them argue that sanctions only hurt the more vulnerable sectors of society and thus are not effective, and that in some cases it violates the principles of national sovereignty for the US to try to impose its standards on another society. They also say that sanctions often force American corporations to forgo key business opportunities. How do Americans respond to this welter of arguments?

Americans also face the use of sanctions against some of their own products. Europeans have sought to exclude US goods based on health concerns related to hormones and genetically modified organisms, and cultural concerns related to the export of American movies. Do Americans regard these barriers as legitimate, or as simply another barrier to trade?

While the growth of international trade is the most prominent feature of globalization, the globalization of values and the rise of international norms—on human rights, labor issues, the environment, and other areas—may actually be the aspect that, in the long run, will pose the greatest political challenges. While these changes are visible now to many observers of the international scene,

is the mass of ordinary Americans really affected by them? If so, how does the familiar framework of national interest fare with the public when it is impacted by the rise of global values? When Americans see suffering in other countries, do they respond to it in ways that are highly different from the way they respond to suffering in their own country?

Another key controversy about globalization—one which relates to both economics and values—is whether globalization is widening the gap between the rich and the poor, or whether it is improving the lot of rich countries and poor countries alike. This debate will continue, but it has already led to important proposals—such as that put forward by Michael Moore, Director-General of the World Trade Organization—for taking steps to channel the benefits of trade to the poorest countries. Which side in this debate is the majority of Americans more likely to favor? Do Americans think that the US has a responsibility to further poor countries' development? Would Americans be willing to accept costs in the pursuit of this goal?

As globalization proceeds, arguments intensify over the roles that international institutions should play. Thrust with greater frequency into crises and quarrels that nations are hesitant to manage, institutions like the United Nations, the World Court, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization all find themselves under testing and scrutiny. How do Americans view these organizations, and what do they think their future roles should be? Do Americans want these organizations to have real teeth? How do Americans think the US should react to decisions by international organizations that go against the US?

On a world scale, the spread of American culture has been the aspect of globalization that arguably has evoked the most hostility. The startling

growth of mass communications has brought American sounds, images, and discourse into every corner of the world. From China to France to the Middle East, foreign leaders and activists have expressed fear that global culture may become too Americanized, destroying their own cultural, economic, and religious traditions. How do Americans feel about the spread of American culture? Do they see this as something positive that they would like to promote?

To explore in depth the American public's attitudes on these questions, the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) conducted a multi-part study that included:

- a comprehensive review of existing polling data
- focus groups held in Dallas, Texas; Battle Creek, Michigan; and Baltimore, Maryland
- a nationwide poll conducted October 21-29, 1999 with 1,826 randomly selected adults (weighted to be demographically representative). The margin of error ranged from +/- 2 to 4%, depending on the portion of the sample that heard the question, with most questions at the 4% level (see Appendix F for more details on how the study was conducted).

FINDINGS

Globalization in General

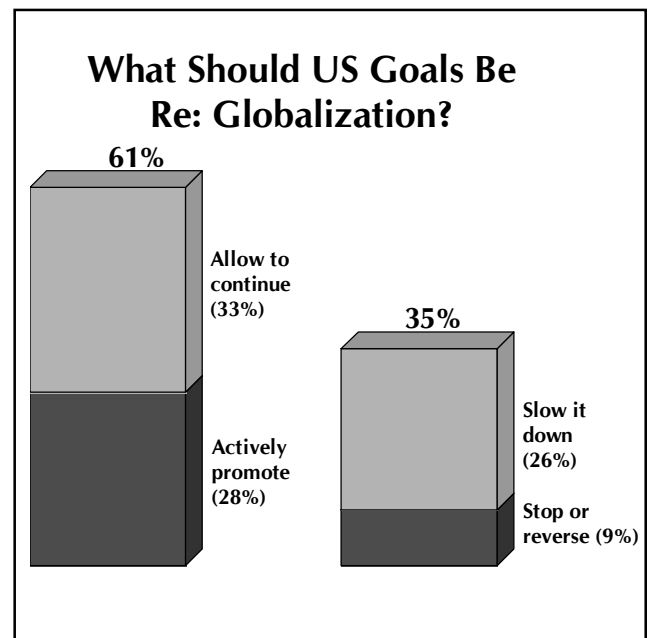
1 Overall, Americans tend to see globalization as somewhat more positive than negative and appear to be growing a bit more positive and more familiar with it. A large majority favors moving with the process of globalization, and only a small minority favors resisting it. Americans view globalization as a process of the world becoming increasingly interconnected. It is seen not only as an economic process, but also as one in which values are becoming more oriented to a global context and international institutions are playing a more central role.

Overall, it appears Americans view globalization as having a mixture of positive and negative elements, with the positive elements just moderately outweighing the negative ones. Asked to rate globalization using a scale with zero being completely negative, ten being completely positive and five being equally positive and negative, the average response was 6.0. A modest majority of 53% rated it above 5, while only 15% rated it below 5. Thirty percent rated it equally positive and negative.

This small majority of positive views reflect some improvement in attitudes about globalization from polls taken in the early 1990s. In 1993, a Market Strategies poll conducted for the Americans Talk Issues Foundation (ATIF) found that 41 percent of Americans believed globalization to be positive, unchanged from an ATIF poll in 1991. Just 14 and 9 percent, respectively, thought globalization to be negative, roughly the same level as today.

Americans are also becoming more familiar with the concept of globalization. In both ATIF polls, more than four in ten said they were not familiar enough with the idea to say how they felt about it, or expressed no opinion. In the current poll, only 29% said they were not familiar with the concept.

Perhaps most significant, in the current poll a strong majority of 61% thought the US government should either “actively promote” globalization (28%) or “allow it to continue” (33%). Only 26% favored trying to “slow it down,” and just 9% favored trying to “stop or reverse it.”



In the focus groups, there was a general consensus that the US had little choice but to embrace globalization. As one man in the Baltimore focus group said, “[We] can’t stop it. If you stop it, if you try and withdraw from it, try and put up borders, try and hide from it, it’s going to continue without you. Either you want to be in it and be on top of it or it’ll become bigger than you are.”

In the poll, those who wanted to stop or reverse globalization were asked whether they thought the government could do so. A plurality (49%) said it was not possible.

Early in the questionnaire, respondents were asked if they had heard the term “globalization.” Seventy percent said they had. Respondents then

were asked to say what the word meant to them. In various ways, virtually all responses described globalization as a growing interconnectedness of the world. As one respondent said, "It means we've become a more global society, economically and politically, so decisions being made here affect other areas, and other governments' decisions affect us." Said another, "Whatever happens in one country affects all countries." People made similar connections in the focus groups. In Baltimore, one man called it "a big merging of everything...a single culture, a big openness; the Internet...instant communication."

The dimensions of this interconnectedness varied. Most commonly cited was the economic dimension. One poll respondent said, "It means we trade with everybody and everybody trades with us." Another explained, "It means that in business everybody all over the world is connected monetarily."

However, this does not mean globalization was seen as only, or even primarily, an economic process. A bit more than half of survey respondents did not mention the economic dimension at all. A substantial number spoke in terms of values and norms. As one respondent said, globalization is "looking at things in terms of the world instead of a single country," while another said it is "all countries united, working for a better world." Others talked in terms of international institutions, for example, defining globalization as "the United Nations and their [sic] influence." In the Battle Creek focus group, one woman said she believed globalization meant "respect for others, not necessarily for changing them but for respecting them where they are...I think that somehow we're all one."

Even though most views of globalization were positive on balance, the focus groups did bring to light some concerns about the increasing interconnectedness of the world. Naturally, there was concern about the threats to American jobs that

come with the growth of international trade. In addition, some mentioned the faster spread of diseases, such as AIDS, while others brought up the possibility that outsiders may gain too much power in the US, or that countries will lose their individual identities. Some participants bristled at the notion of global government. As one man in Battle Creek said, "Globalization as trade is good. Globalization as government is bad."

International Trade

2 In principle, a majority of Americans supports the growth of international trade, especially when the removal of trade barriers is clearly reciprocal. However, Americans are lukewarm about the actual net benefits of trade for most sectors of society, except for the business community. A majority believes trade widens the gap between rich and poor. A strong majority feels trade has not grown in a way that adequately incorporates concerns for American workers, international labor standards and the environment. Support for fast track is low; one reason may be because it signifies the increase of trade without incorporating these concerns.

Support for Trade in Principle

In numerous poll questions, a majority expressed support in principle for the liberalization and growth of international trade. In the current poll, when asked about the pace of lowering trade barriers, only 30% said it was going too fast, while 62% said it was going the right speed (39%) or too slowly (23%). Asked what the US government goal should be for international trade, just 39% favored trying to "slow it down" (31%) or to "stop or reverse it" (8%), while 58% favored trying to "actively promote it" (32%) or to "allow it to continue" (26%). In May 1999, Epic-MRA asked what role the US should play at the WTO meeting in Seattle. Only 6% wanted the US to "oppose efforts to reduce trade barriers." A solid majority of 56% wanted to see the US "play a lead-

ership role in the effort to reduce trade barriers," while 31% said the US should "take a wait and see position to see what other countries propose."

Over the years, other polls also have found support for trade liberalization in principle. In polls conducted by Epic-MRA for Women in International Trade in 1998 and 1999, three-fifths of respondents approved of "free trade agreements with other countries." In an NBC News/ poll from December 1997, 55% considered "more free trade agreements" to be a "step in the right direction"; just 22 percent said they were a step in the wrong direction, and 12 percent said they didn't make any difference. In July 1994, Times Mirror found 62% support for "free trade agreements between the United States and other countries, such as NAFTA and GATT"; just 28% were opposed. Even as far back as 1953, The Gallup organization found that a 54% majority of Americans favored "a policy of free trade."

27% said it was bad (February 2000). When an April 1999 poll by Rasmussen Research asked, "Generally speaking, is free trade good for America?" 55% said yes, just 16% said no, and 29% were not sure. In August 1996, a /Kaiser Family Foundation /Harvard University poll also found 55% saying that "trade agreements between the US and other countries" are good "for the nation's economy." An October 1996 poll by CBS found an especially high 69% who thought "trade with other countries — both buying and selling products" was "good for the US economy." Only 17% thought trade with other countries was bad for the economy. However, when a September 1997 poll gave respondents the option of saying that trade had not "made a difference one way or the other to the economy," only a plurality (39%) still said "free international trade has helped the economy," while 18% chose the "no difference" option, and 30% of respondents said it has hurt the economy.



A majority has consistently expressed the view that free trade has a positive impact on the US and the US economy. Most recently, Pew found 64% felt free trade is good for the United States, while

When the growth of trade is framed in the context of the larger process of economic globalization and its potential for stimulating US growth, then overwhelming majorities endorse the US taking the lead in bringing down trade barriers. In a July 1997 poll by Penn, Schoen & Berland, 79% of respondents agreed (32% strongly) with this argument:

We live in the age of the global economy in which trade and technology are bringing the world closer together. We must lead in the revolution to reduce international trade barriers so that America will have access to all of the developing markets, because in the long run these nations will increase their buying power, and expanding exports to them will be the key to our growth.

Another reason Americans may support trade is their belief that trade promotes good relations between countries. During the period leading up to

the passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1993, two ABC News polls found that two-thirds of respondents believed NAFTA would help “strengthen US relations with Mexico and Canada.”

In the focus groups, few participants were unequivocally enthusiastic about trade; nonetheless, many did articulate support for it in principle. One man tried to articulate the principle of comparative advantage: “Basically there are some things that America can’t make because we don’t choose to, or because we simply don’t have the time or some other resources, and since some other countries have those resources, why not [trade]?” Another talked about how trade is “probably good” because “it does give some more variety in the market.” Another pointed to the impact of imports on the competitiveness of US firms: “We’ve got to have it because of the quality. We’ve got to keep on our toes as far as prices and quality and all of that. International trade’s good for it.” Another talked about the dynamic nature of trade and its wide-ranging benefits:

I profit just as a matter of course from increased international trade. I mean, take my job. I work at a gas station. Increased international trade leads to more inexpensive cars. More inexpensive cars means more fuel so the business that employs me does better. Or electronics trade means better computers, so my Internet connection is improved and eventually I upgrade to something better than I’ve got. There are all sorts of hundreds of different levels of profits in any given situation.

As will be discussed below, when poll questions present a trade-off between the benefits of lower prices that come with trade and the costs of lost jobs, the concern for lost jobs tends to have a higher priority. However, if the poll question poses this trade-off in the context of a broader question about the

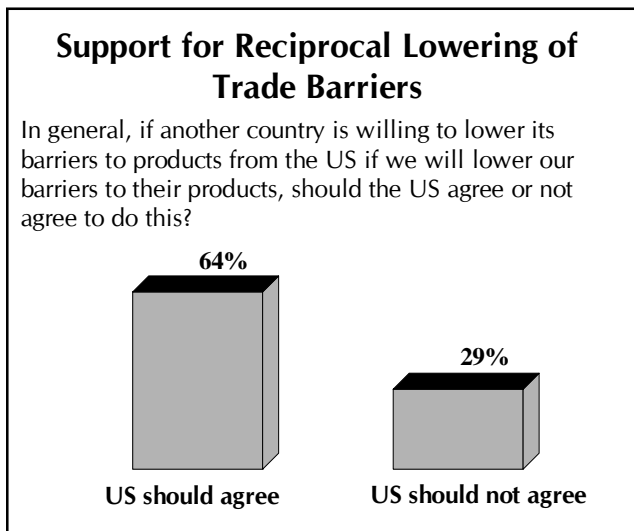
value of free trade, the underlying support for free trade in principle leads a slight majority to opt in favor of free trade even though the consequences to jobs are mentioned. Presented with two arguments, 51% percent favored the statement, “Free trade is a good idea, because it can lead to lower prices and the long-term growth of the economy,” while 44% endorsed the one that made the case, “Free trade is a bad idea, because it can lead to lower wages and people losing their jobs.” Similarly, in February 1996, a Gallup/CNN/ poll found that a 52% majority agreed with the argument that “free trade would be good for the US because it would help the US economy by expanding exports.” By contrast, 38% agreed with the opposing argument, “free trade would be bad for the US because it would end up costing the US jobs.”

This general support for free trade is so strong that, at least in the case of Europe, Americans are not willing to raise barriers against European products, even though three out of four believe the US is more open to imports than the EU. In April 1998, those who agreed that the US is more open were asked to choose between two statements. A majority of this group — 55% — chose the statement, “Putting up barriers against European products would ultimately not be best for the US.” Just 38% of this group opted for the statement, “It would be in the best interest of the US to put up more barriers against European products.” Thus, only 28% of the whole sample favored a protectionist response.

Greater Support For Reciprocal Lowering of Trade Barriers

The underlying support for freer trade in principle may even be a bit greater than the above numbers suggest. When it is assumed that the government will address the needs of displaced workers, opposition to the growth of trade becomes a small minority. Also, if it is assumed that opening markets would be reciprocal, support is higher.

As the box shows, 64% said that “in general, if another country is willing to lower its barriers to products from the US if we will lower our barriers to their products,” the US should do so. Just 29% disagreed. In PIPA’s April 1998 poll, 64% also agreed that the US should lower barriers to European products “if the countries of the European Union say they will lower barriers to products from the US.” Only 28% disagreed in that instance.



So why is it important for so many Americans that removing trade barriers be reciprocal? Apparently, a substantial portion of the population believes that it is important strategically to only remove US trade barriers reciprocally, so as to put pressure on other countries to remove their barriers. In the current poll, the 64% who endorsed reciprocal lowering of trade barriers were then asked to choose between two statements. Sixty-nine percent of this group (44% of the whole sample) agreed “the US should only lower its barriers if other countries do, because that is the only way to pressure them to open their markets.” Only 28% (18% of the full sample) thought “the US should lower its barriers even if other countries do not, because consumers can buy cheaper imports and foreign competition spurs American companies to be more efficient.”

In addition, it appears that a substantial number of Americans are annoyed because they believe that other countries benefit more from trade than the US, due to the US being more open — though this is not a majority position. An overwhelming 81% said they believed the US is more open to imports than most other countries. Forty-five percent felt that other countries benefit from increased international trade more than the US does, while 21% felt the US benefits more, and 32% saw it as equal. Furthermore, not all of those who felt that other countries benefit more were bothered by it; only 34% of the total sample said that other countries benefit more and that this bothers them.

Apparently, Americans perceive US trade practices as fair, but few other countries’ practices get this evaluation from the public. An NBC/ poll from April 1998 found that an overwhelming majority of Americans (71%) believed the US had trade policies that are fair to the “rest of the world.” Just 15% thought they were unfair. Americans were divided about Mexico (35% fair, 35% unfair, 30% not sure).

But a strong majority thought the Asian economies had unfair trade policies. In the April 1998 poll, just 25% believed Japan’s trade policies to be fair to the “rest of the world,” while 59% thought them unfair. A mere 18% believed China’s policies to be fair to the rest of the world (58% unfair). A December 1998 NBC News/ poll asked whether countries in other parts of the world had fair trade policies specifically “toward the United States.” Just 16% thought countries in Asia had fair policies, with 64% saying they were unfair (20% unsure). In January 2000, a Hart Research poll found that 51% of Americans thought Japan had unfair “trade policies toward the United States” (30% fair). In the same poll, a strong majority (61%) thought China’s policies toward the US were unfair (16% fair). While perceptions of Japan have improved, the public has grown more negative about China.

In a March 1994 NBC/ poll, an overwhelming 78% thought Japan's policies toward the US were unfair (11% fair, 11% not sure), and 48% thought China's trade policies were unfair (20% fair, 32% not sure).

Europe is viewed only a bit more positively, with a plurality perceiving Europe as unfair and very strong majorities perceiving Europe as less open to American goods than the US is to European goods. When asked about trade policies "toward the US" in December 1998 (NBC/), only 33% believed countries in Europe were fair, while 47% thought their policies were unfair. PIPA found similar results in early 1998. Seventy-four percent agreed with the statement, "In general European countries do not let in American goods as much as America lets in European goods" (20% disagreed). When another sample was asked "which is more open to imported goods from the other, Western Europe or the US," 71% said the US, while just 21% said Western Europe. An overwhelming 86% said the US makes it very (36%) or fairly (50%) easy for European companies "to sell their manufactured products" in the US. Just 41% said Western European countries make it very (6%) or fairly (35%) easy, while 41% said the Europeans make it fairly difficult.

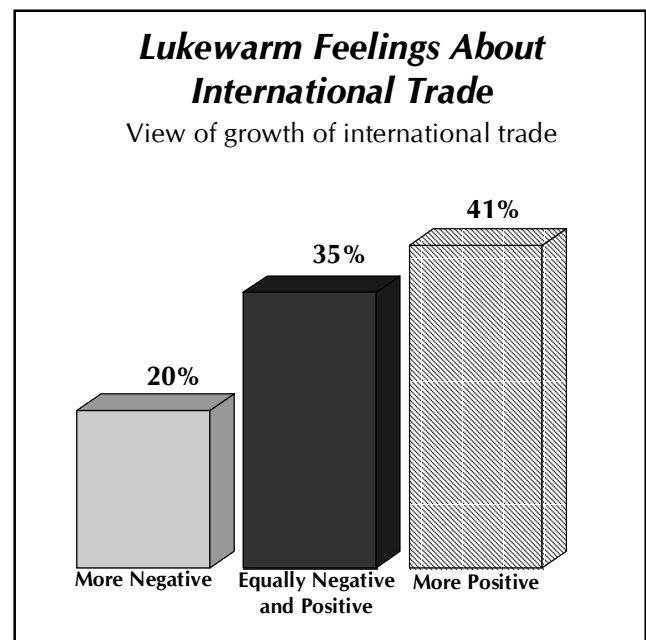
The idea that other countries are unfair traders came through strongly in the focus groups. One man in Dallas said that other countries like Japan "want to sell, not buy." Another said that other countries "don't have to pay the tariffs to us that we have to pay to them." One even likened it to a welfare system: "Instead of giving them money outright, we buy something from them, they ship it over, but they won't let us put our products over there. So again to me it's like another welfare system."

The perceived unfairness of other countries makes Americans more resistant to lowering trade barriers. When a September 1993 NBC/

poll presented two statements, 55% chose the one that said, "the United States will be worse off if restrictions on trade are lifted, because other nations will not play fairly with us." Just 35% agreed with the contrasting statement: "without any trade restrictions, the US will be better off because we can better compete with other countries."

Lukewarm About Actual Benefits of Trade

Despite fairly strong support for trade in principle, it seems that Americans are fairly lukewarm about the actual benefits of trade. As trade has been practiced, the benefits are seen as barely outweighing the costs for most sectors of society, except for the business community. Asked to rate the growth of international trade on a scale of 0 to 10 — with 0 being completely negative, 10 being completely positive and 5 being equally positive and negative — the mean rating was 5.5. Only 41% gave a score above 5.



Rating international trade "for you personally," the mean score was 5.1, with just 31% giving a score above 5. Similarly, when presented with the fact

that import tariffs have fallen from an average of 40% in the 1940s to about 6% today, only 41% of respondents said that was a good thing. A 42% plurality said it was neither good nor bad. Only 13% said it was a bad thing.

Rating International Trade

How positive or negative do you think the growth of international trade is... on a scale... with 0 being completely negative, 10 being completely positive and 5 being equally positive and negative?

| | Mean Score | Percent Saying More Positive |
|-----------------------------|------------|------------------------------|
| International trade overall | 5.51 | 41% |
| For you personally | 5.05 | 31% |
| For American workers | 4.53 | 25% |
| For American business | 6.14 | 61% |

As discussed in greater depth on page in Appendix B, support for NAFTA also has been modest. In the current poll, a plurality of 44% viewed NAFTA as good for the US, 30% saw it as bad for the US, and 18% said they did not know. This is very close to earlier responses to the same and to similar questions.

The focus groups also revealed a lack of enthusiasm about trade. The dominant theme was that trade was simply necessary. One Dallas man stated in a matter-of-fact way: "We've got goods to sell, and there are goods out there that can only be bought and brought in. The existence [of trade] is a necessity." Another remarked, "We would be in a hell of a lot worse state without any, I mean we can't shut it all off, realistically speaking. We've got to have international trade. Because we've got more goods than we can consume ourselves."

Indeed, compared to other factors, trade and globalization is seen as only one of a number of elements in the current remarkable economic boom. For example, a 1997 NBC/ poll found that 70% of Americans thought "the increasing globalization of the economy" played a major part (24%) or medium part (46%) in "helping the American economy continue to do well." Just 26% said it played a small part or no part in helping the economy. However, the public also gave high rankings to several other factors. US leadership in the information and technology-based industries (89%), better Federal Reserve management of interest rates (78%), a workforce that is better trained for high-tech jobs (76%), and improved efficiency and management of US companies (72%) were all considered to be significant causes of a continued strong economy. Of all these factors, globalization received the lowest share of those saying it was a "major part" of US economic success (24%), whereas leadership in information and high technology was seen as a major part by a majority of the public (57%). This suggests that arguments positing that future American prosperity requires expanding globalization may not persuade a majority.

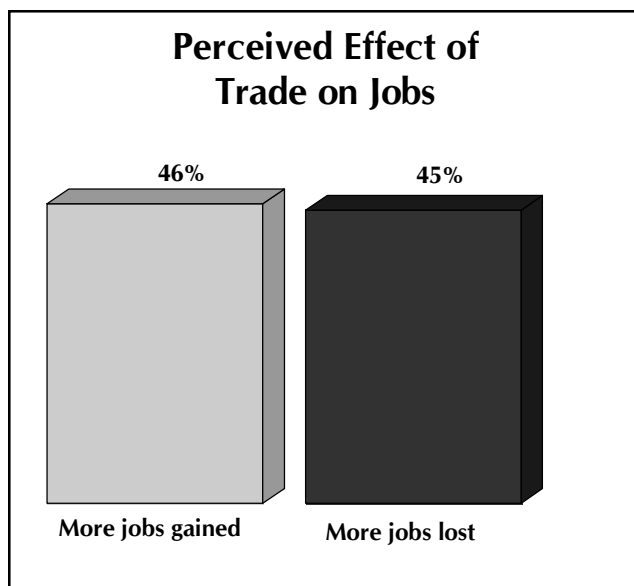
The Effect of Trade on Jobs

Clearly, the factor that has most diminished support for trade is its potential to cost Americans jobs. As one man in Battle Creek said, "I think [trade] is both positive and negative. Positive, [because we are] getting the goods at a cheaper price, and the negative thing is taking the jobs away from Americans." In the poll, when asked how trade was for "American workers," the mean score was 4.5 on a scale of 0 to 10.

It should be noted that among economists, it is widely held that international trade has very little net effect on jobs, either upward or downward. In their view, macroeconomic forces swamp trade policy in determining the number of jobs in the

United States. As unemployment decreases the trade deficit increases, due to growing US demand for goods, including imports. If the increased imports did cost US jobs, the Federal Reserve would respond by cutting US interest rates to restore the macroeconomic balance. Whether or not this view is correct, it is intriguing that there is no public majority that believes that trade per se either increases or decreases the number of jobs.¹

Based on numerous polls, it appears that there is certainly no consensus that trade produces a net gain in jobs. Most polls find the public divided on the question of whether trade produces a net gain or net loss of jobs. In the current poll, PIPA used a series of three questions to address this issue. In two separate questions, respondents were asked whether they believed that exporting products meant the creation of jobs in the US, and whether they felt importing products meant the loss of jobs in the US. Those who gave the same response to both questions were then asked whether, on balance, "more jobs are lost from imports or more jobs are gained from exports?" Combining all of these answers, respondents were almost exactly divided, with 46% saying more were gained and 45% saying more were lost.



This mirrors closely results from other polls. In a February 1996 CBS/ poll, 39% agreed that "trade with other countries creates more jobs for the US," while 40% agreed that trade "loses more jobs for the US." Eleven percent said trade had no effect on jobs. Likewise, the same question, asked by Voter Research and Surveys in November 1992, found that 43% of Americans thought trade with other countries created more jobs, 41% percent said trade lost more jobs, and 5 percent said there was no effect. In an NBC/ poll in June 1997, a 48% plurality said the American economy's becoming increasingly global "is bad because it has subjected American companies and employees to unfair competition and cheap labor," while 42% said it "is good because it has opened up new markets for American products and resulted in more jobs."

An NBC/ poll in September 1997 posed the choice as being between two hypothetical candidates for Congress taking a position on the effect of trade on jobs. Forty-four percent said they would choose a candidate who said "free trade with other countries will mainly be positive for America because it will create many high-skill, high-technology jobs that pay good wages." Forty-five percent said they would prefer a candidate who said "free trade with other countries will be mainly negative for America because it will cause the loss of US jobs to other countries, which will hurt wages and jobs here."

Contrary to this plethora of findings showing a divided response on the general question of the effect of trade on jobs, a few polls that asked specifically about the effect of elicited a more negative view, with a plurality or modest majority saying that trade agreements have resulted in

¹ See, for instance, Catherine L. Mann, (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1999), or Paul Krugman, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).

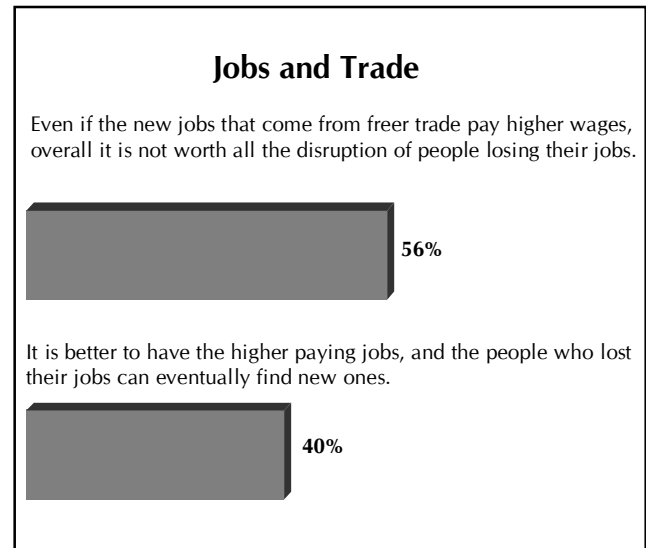
the loss of jobs and a much smaller percentage saying that more jobs were gained. This may be due to a reaction against the widely repeated argument in favor of trade agreements such as NAFTA—that they create US jobs. An April 1997 CNN/

Maga-
zine poll found 42% saying trade agreements have mostly “lost jobs for this country,” while 41% said that they have “done both about equally” and just 7% said they had “mostly gained jobs.” In 1993, the same question found 50% of Americans saying trade has caused the loss of jobs and just 4% saying it has meant job gains. In an August 1996

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/Kaiser/Harvard poll, 54% said “trade agreements between the US and other countries...cost the US jobs.” Just 17% thought they had helped create jobs, and 27% said they did not make much difference. (Two NBC News/
polls from 1996 found majorities saying that free trade agreements “cost the US jobs,” though the question is not comparable because the question structure was not parallel.) When presented in an October 1995 □ poll with an affirmative statement saying “Most American trade agreements with foreign countries are a principal cause of lost jobs and a lower standard of living in this country,” 63% agreed, while 32% disagreed.

In all these questions on whether trade creates or costs jobs, some of those who say that trade agreements cause a loss of jobs may not be expressing a view about the actual number of jobs created. Rather, some may be expressing the view that the overall net effect of the changes that come with trade are on the negative side for American workers. Some Americans seem to be more troubled by the pain and disruption of the loss of jobs than they are satisfied by the creation of new, possibly better, jobs. Even when it was emphasized that trade may generate new jobs with higher wages, a majority did not feel this offsets the disruption for the workers who lose their jobs. Asked to choose between two statements, 56% chose, “Even if the new jobs that come from freer trade pay higher wages, overall it

is not worth all the disruption of people losing their jobs.” Forty percent chose, “It is better to have the higher paying jobs, and the people who lost their jobs can eventually find new ones.” Thus, if Americans were convinced that in fact trade does produce more net jobs, this might not eliminate their reservations about the effect of trade on jobs.



Some who agree with the view that trade costs jobs also may be trying to express the belief, widely voiced in the press, that the quality rather than the number of jobs is suffering as a result of trade. For example, one man in Dallas summed up this view, saying, “The quality of living has gone down...In the case of families, the husband and wife both have to work 40 plus hours a week just to keep things going....To go back to the steel industry, the men who did that all of their life, what are they doing now? You know, are they simply working for \$6.50 an hour or something? That’s what I’m talking about. The quality jobs, the high-paying jobs, the good-paying jobs.”

However, it appears the assertion that higher-quality jobs are reduced by trade is not a majority position. In fact, overall, the public does not perceive that the kinds of jobs created from trade are significantly worse than the jobs that are lost — though presumably a significant minority does hold

this position. This is evident in an Epic-MRA poll from May 1998.

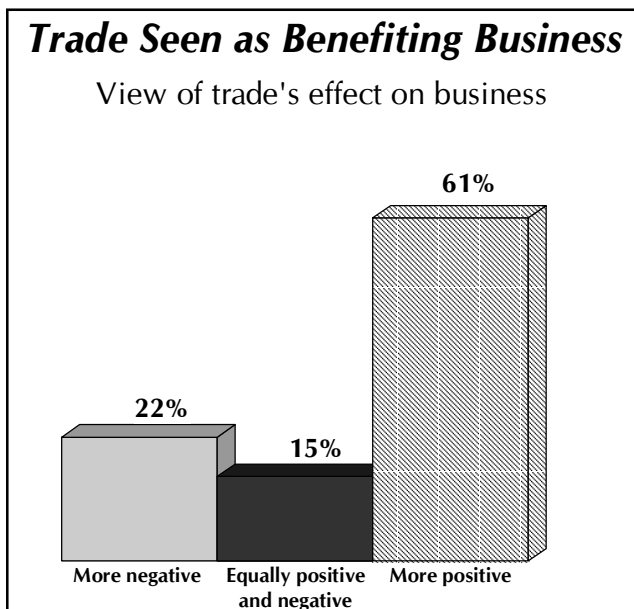
Of American jobs that are [created/lost] because of trade with other countries, do you think those lost jobs are mostly high-wage, high-benefit jobs, low-wage, no-benefit jobs, or average jobs with average benefits?

| | Created | Lost |
|-------------------|---------|------|
| High-wage jobs | 14 | 15 |
| Low-wage jobs | 29 | 34 |
| Average-wage jobs | 54 | 45 |
| Undecided | 3 | 6 |

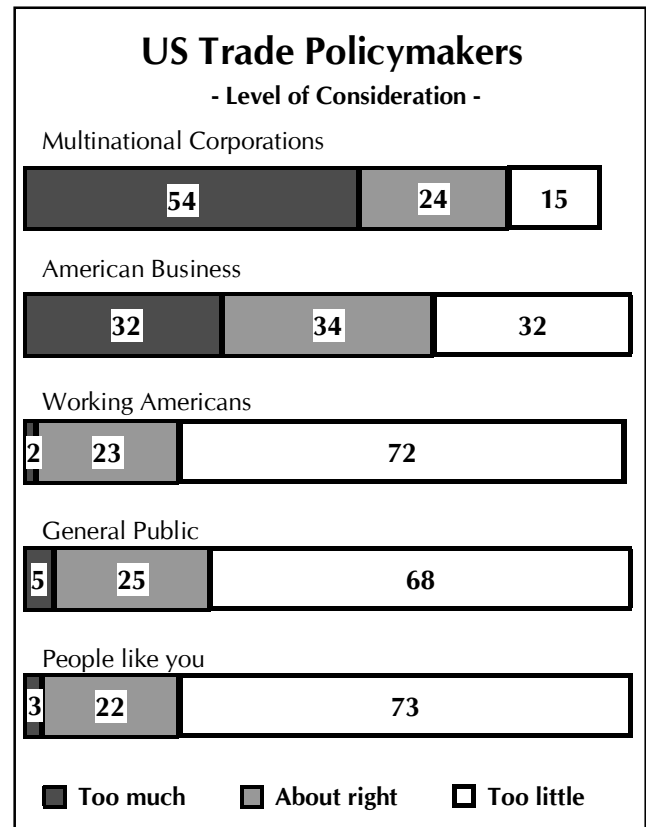
Epic-MRA, May 1998

US Trade Policy Seen as Benefiting Primarily Business and the Rich

Overall, Americans seem to feel that US trade policy benefits the interests of business and the rich at the expense of other priorities. Asked whether, on a scale of 0 to 10, international trade is positive or negative for American business, the mean score was 6.1, with 61% giving a score above 5 – far higher than for any other category of the population.



US trade policymakers are viewed as adequately considering commercial interests, but an overwhelming majority feels that other sectors of American society get short shrift. Asked about “US government officials who are making decisions about US international trade policy,” 54% said they consider the concerns of multinational corporations “too much,” while for “American business” responses were evenly distributed among too much, too little and about right. However, overwhelming majorities said US trade policymakers give “too little” consideration to “working Americans” (72%), the general public (68%), or “people like you” (73%).

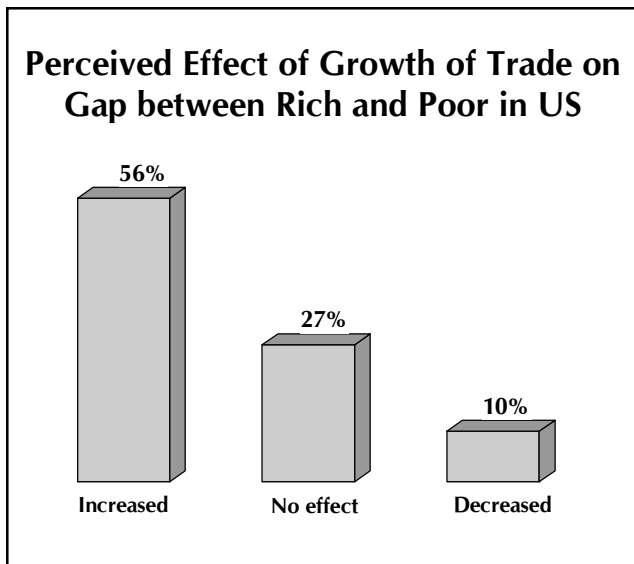


Asked about other priorities, only 36% said US trade policymakers give too little attention to the “growth of the overall American economy.” However, 60% of respondents felt policymakers give too little attention to the “impact on the environment.”

The lack of confidence in public officials was strong and widespread in the focus groups. Participants seemed to think that money and special interests were at the root of poor decision-making on trade policy. As one man said, public officials are only “listening to people who put money in their carts, and that’s what really disturbs me. The decisions that have been made have been made [in favor of] the individuals who can put money in the pockets of the people who are already in power and seeking to stay there.” Another echoed this sentiment, saying “[Those in power have] their own monetary benefit in mind without any type of looking to the future repercussions whatsoever.”

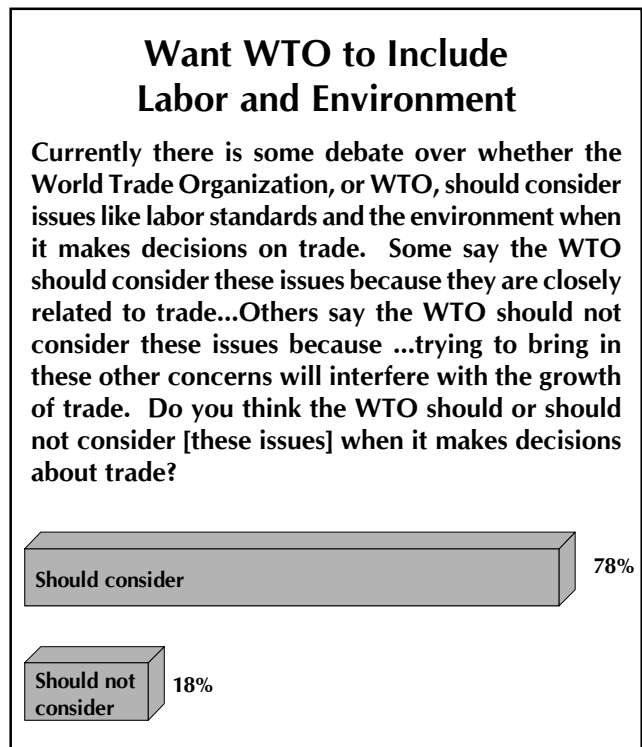
The World Trade Organization (WTO) did not fare much better than the US government. Sixty-five percent agreed that, “When the World Trade Organization makes decisions, it tends to think about what’s best for business, but not about what’s best for the world as a whole.”

Consistent with this view, a majority of 56% said they thought that “The growth of international trade has increased the gap between rich and poor in this country.” Only 10% said trade has decreased the gap, while 27% said it has had no effect.



Want Other Concerns to Be Incorporated in Trade Process

Given these perspectives, it is not surprising that Americans want the process of trade liberalization to incorporate other concerns, such as the needs of American workers, international labor standards and the environment. When presented the outlines of the current debate about whether the process of developing trade agreements should address labor standards and environmental issues, an overwhelming majority said that it should.



Data from other sources reinforces these results. According to a 1996 Wirthlin Worldwide poll, 73% of Americans favored including workers’ protection and considering environmental issues when negotiating trade agreements. Only 21% opposed the idea. Also, a 1997 Peter Hart poll found that 72% thought it “very important” to include labor and environmental standards in trade agreements. An ATIF poll from April 1993 found that two-thirds of the public

wanted economists who develop trade agreements to get input from other scientific advisors, such as “anthropologists, social scientists, and ecologists who often see ways to protect a country’s social institutions, culture, economy and environment.” Just about one in four opposed this idea.

Put another way, Americans do not see the growth of trade by itself as an overriding priority — not surprising, given they do not see that it creates substantial net benefits. Thus, there is little sense of urgency and a willingness to subordinate the goal of increasing trade to other concerns. An overwhelming 88% agreed with the following statement:

Increasing international trade is an important goal for the United States, but it should be balanced with other goals, such as protecting workers, the environment, and human rights — even if this may mean slowing the growth of trade and the economy.

A woman in Battle Creek summed up the sentiment in this way: “We have to somehow be in the world market but we have to do it in a way that we can somehow support ourselves and still have the American dream and ideals.”

Americans’ attitudes on addressing American workers’ needs, and about trade relative to labor standards and the environment, are explored in greater depth below.

Low Support for Fast Track

Consistent with their readiness to forgo the rapid growth of trade in favor of other concerns, the majority was not supportive of giving the president “fast track” authority. This may be because “fast track” sounds as if the purpose is to have trade move forward rapidly, unburdened by other considerations — something respondents clearly opposed in other questions.

Two different questions on fast track were asked in the current poll, both previously used by other polling organizations. One described the fast track legislation but did not put it in a historical context; thus, respondents might believe it would give the president new, unprecedented powers:

As you may know, President Clinton has asked Congress to give him “fast track” authority to negotiate more free trade agreements. The “fast track” authority would mean that once the negotiations are completed, Congress would take an up-or-down vote on an agreement as a whole, but could not vote to make any amendments or changes in an agreement. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose having Congress grant the President “fast track” authority to negotiate new free trade agreements?

In this case, only 32% favored it, while 65% were opposed. This is similar to most other polls that have used the same or similar questions over the last few years. In August 1998, Market Strategies found 36% in favor of giving the president fast track power, with 58% opposed. That same month, in a poll by President Clinton’s pollsters, Penn and Schoen, 37% of Americans said they supported fast track and 53% opposed it. When NBC News/ asked the same question in August 1997, 35% supported the idea and 56% opposed it. However, when Pew asked a nearly identical question in September 1999, support was a bit higher — at 44% in favor and 49% opposed to, “giving the president fast track trade authority to negotiate international trade deals that Congress can only approve or disapprove, but not change.”

The second version of a question PIPA used clarified that other presidents had held this authority previously, implying that it was business as usual:

Presidents since 1974 have had trade negotiating authority known as “fast track,” which means the trade agreements the President negotiated are considered in Congress within 90 days and put to a simple yes or no vote, without any additions that could upset the agreement. The authority to do this expired in 1994, and President Clinton no longer has such authority. Do you strongly support renewing President Clinton’s fast track trade authority, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose it?

In this case, 43% supported fast track, with 55% opposed. This level of support is down a bit from earlier responses to the identical question, when it elicited a slight majority or a plurality in favor of fast track. In an Epic/MRA poll in May 1998, a 53% majority said they supported fast track, while only 39% opposed it. In August 1997, Penn and Schoen found 48% percent in favor and 41% opposed. Thus, it appears that if fast track is associated with business as usual, the public is more closely divided, but if it implies a rapid increase in the growth of trade unhindered by other considerations, a majority opposes it.

Concerns for American Workers

2A Most Americans feel that workers are not benefiting from the increase in international trade and that the needs of American workers are not being adequately addressed by US policymakers. To address these needs, a very strong majority supports greater government efforts to help workers adapt to international trade through retraining and education. If such efforts are made, an overwhelming majority says it would then support the further growth of trade. Using trade barriers as a means of protecting workers from foreign competition elicits ambivalent feelings. A fairly strong consensus, though, points to gradually lowering trade barriers as workers are given time to adapt to the changes entailed.

Many Americans clearly feel that American workers are getting short shrift in the process of growing international trade. Asked about “US government officials who are making decisions about US international trade policy,” 72% said they give too little consideration to “working Americans.” When PIPA asked how trade has affected American workers, just 25% said that on balance it has been positive, a plurality of 45% said it has been negative, and 27% said it has been neutral. In a November 1999 Gallup poll, when given just two options, a majority of 59% said trade hurts American workers, while only 35% said they believe it helps American workers. Figures are almost the opposite for American companies, with 56% saying it mostly helps them and 39% saying it mostly hurts.

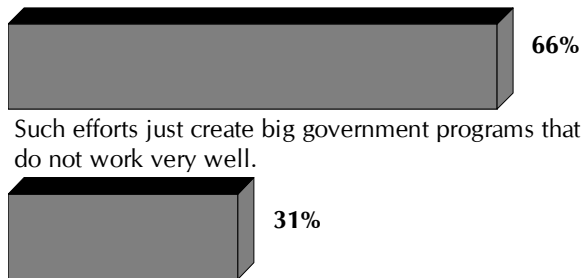
To address these needs, a very strong majority supports government programs to help workers. The more traditional method of protecting workers through erecting trade barriers to imports elicits much more ambivalent feelings among Americans.

Strong Support for More Government Programs

A strong majority believes the US government should do more to help workers adjust to the changes that come with international trade through education and training. A two-thirds majority (66%) agreed that the “federal government should invest in more worker retraining and education to help workers adapt to changes in the economy.” Just 31% felt that “such efforts just create big government programs that do not work very well” (see next page).

Strong Support for More Worker Retraining and Education

The federal government should invest more in worker retraining and education to help workers adapt to changes in the economy.



A strong majority of 60% said that government efforts to help retrain workers who have lost jobs due to international trade have been inadequate. Just 29% thought such efforts have been adequate, and only 2% believed them to be more than adequate.

This support is consistent with the public's general support for government efforts to help with worker retraining. For example, in a January 1996 Knight Ridder poll, an overwhelming 83% approved of "having [their] tax dollars used to pay for...retraining programs for people who have lost jobs." Only 15% disapproved.

In the focus groups, the idea that government should provide programs to help workers cope with the effects of greater trade was strongly supported.

I think they could certainly make the opportunities available. The opportunity should be available to anyone who wants the training. (Man, Dallas)

There should be some system, there should be something. I know it exists on a small level, but something called workfare should actually be implemented on a larger scale to help people that are being outplaced. (Man, Dallas)

Optimism That Programs Will Be Effective

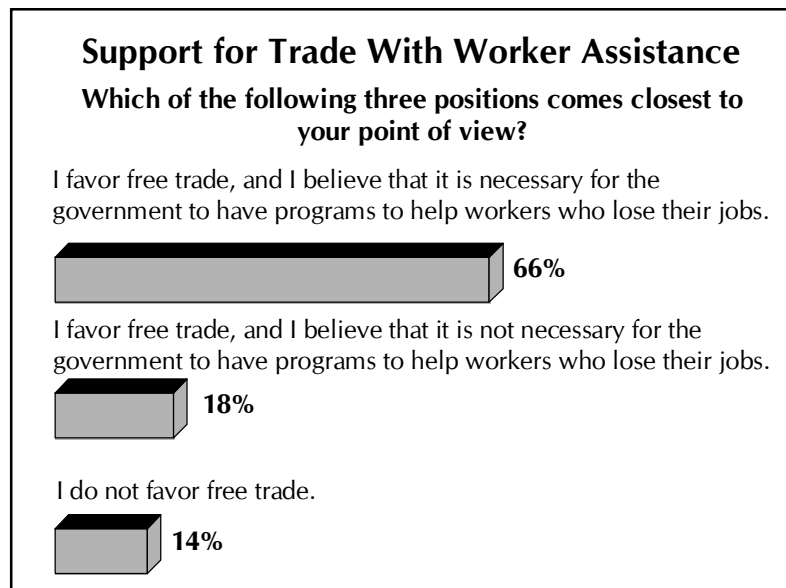
Many Americans also felt that making efforts to provide worker retraining for those who lose jobs due to trade would be an effective way to help workers deal with the changes of globalization. Respondents were asked, "How well prepared do you think the average American is for the kind of global economy that will emerge over the next twenty years?" On a scale with 0 for "not at all prepared" and 10 for "extremely well prepared," the mean answer was 4.7. Then, when asked how well prepared the average American would be if "the US substantially increased the money spent on education and retraining for adults," the mean answer jumped to 5.9.

Even more dramatic, in a 1991 poll by Peter Hart 79% said that "more training and retraining for workers to help them keep up with new technology and the skills of the future" would help "a lot" in aiding America to compete in world trade. Another 16% said retraining would help competitiveness "some," and only 3% said it would "not really help" or would be a "step in the wrong direction."

This optimism was echoed in the focus groups. If there is one issue on which the public is unequivocal, it is the importance of education and training to America's future performance in the global economy.

I was looking at education. Globalization means...that you have to be able to reeducate yourself. ...I think the United States has to get a better education so that people can learn faster and be able to adapt. (Man, Baltimore)

I don't see how we can argue with training and education. Our whole economy is based on upgrading the emphasis on education for young people. I think that's the answer to the whole situation. (Man, Battle Creek)



At the same time, only a very slim majority supports paying more taxes to support such programs. When presented with a scenario in which lowering trade barriers reduced the price of clothing in the US but cost some textile workers their jobs, 51% favored a “slight increase in taxes to support programs to help displaced workers get new jobs.” Forty-five percent opposed such programs. However, the willingness to pay increased taxes is generally not a good measure of support, as most people have some other government program that they believe should be cut first before tax increases become necessary.

Overwhelming Support for Trade when Workers Are Helped

When the possibility of helping workers adapt to changes associated with increased trade is considered, support for free trade becomes overwhelming. This is demonstrated in the question shown in the box on this page. When the possibility of a government program was spelled out, only 14% held a protectionist view, while an overwhelming 84% supported free trade under some condition.

Similarly, an overwhelming 87% agreed (56% strongly) with the statement, “I would favor more free trade, if I was confident that we were making major efforts to educate and retrain Americans to be competitive in the global economy.” Only 11% disagreed.

Ambivalence About Using Trade Barriers to Protect Workers

As compared to using government programs to help workers directly, Americans are much more ambivalent about the use of trade barriers to protect American workers from foreign competition. While some poll questions show majority support for trade barriers, others show a divided response, and virtually none show support for barriers as a permanent solution.

The strongest support for trade barriers appears in questions that offer an option in which trade barriers are a temporary measure that will gradually be removed. For example, given three options in the current poll on the question of trade barriers, only 31% took the unequivocal position in support of trade barriers: “We should keep up barriers against international trade because importing cheap prod-

ucts from other countries threatens American jobs." On the other hand, only 24% took the unequivocal position in favor of removing trade barriers immediately: "We should remove trade barriers now because this allows Americans to sell in other countries what they do the best job of producing, and to buy products that other countries do the best job of producing, saving everybody money." A plurality of 43% elected for the option that endorsed having trade barriers but gradually removing them as workers adapt: "We should lower trade barriers, but only gradually, so American workers can have time to adjust to the changes that come with international trade." Thus, 74% endorsed having some trade barriers for now, but 67% endorsed the view the goal of ultimately removing them.

Support for trade barriers also appears in questions that pose the issue as a tradeoff between the priorities of lowering consumer prices through freer trade and preserving American jobs; presented this trade-off, respondents tend to choose the latter option. The possibility of an American worker losing his or her job carries much more weight than the prospect of paying lower prices for consumer products.

In the current poll, respondents were presented a scenario in which the US makes a trade agreement that leads to a US shoe factory closing. The workers have to find new jobs that pay on average \$5,000 per year less, but American consumers save \$20 per pair of shoes. Based on this information, 63% said the US would have made a mistake by entering into the agreement.

This is consistent with results of other questions that pose a conflict between protecting jobs and lowering consumer prices. In May 1999, Pew asked the following question:

(I'm going to read you some pairs of statements and ask you to choose which one comes closest to your point of view, even if neither is exactly

right.)...The global economy will help average Americans because it will strengthen our economy and keep prices affordable for consumers, or the global economy will hurt average Americans because businesses will rely more on cheap labor from other countries and US jobs will be lost. Which comes closest to your point of view?

A majority of 52% said that the global economy would hurt average Americans, while 43% said it would help average Americans.

Since the early 1980s, the has asked whether Americans think "it should be the policy of the United States to restrict foreign imports into this country in order to protect American industry and American jobs, or [whether] there should be no restrictions on the sale of foreign products in the United States in order to permit the widest choice and the lowest prices for the American consumer." Consistently, about two-thirds of Americans have opted for restricting imports, while about a quarter of respondents have preferred no restrictions. In September 1997, 67% favored restricting imports, while just 24% preferred no restrictions.

Other similar questions have produced similar results. Also in September 1997, NBC News/ asked respondents to choose between two statements. Fifty-five percent chose the one that said, "imports from abroad are, on the whole, bad for the US because they take away American jobs and hurt the wages of American workers." On the other hand, 33% thought that "imports from abroad are, on the whole, good for the US because they make available more and cheaper goods for American consumers." In February 1996, a Time/CNN poll found two-thirds agreeing that "the United States should tax foreign goods imported into this country in order to protect American jobs and wages." Just 27% agreed with the opposing argument, that the US "should not tax foreign goods...because this will

raise the prices American consumers will have to pay for these goods.”

Even when it was emphasized that trade may generate new jobs with higher wages, a majority did not feel this offsets the disruption for the workers who lose their jobs. Asked to choose between two statements, 56% chose the one, “Even if the new jobs that come from freer trade pay higher wages, overall it is not worth all the disruption of people losing their jobs.” Forty percent chose, “It is better to have the higher paying jobs, and the people who lost their jobs can eventually find new ones.”

Such attitudes were expressed in the focus groups. Participants showed more concern for the potential of lost jobs and lower wages than lower prices and other benefits of trade, even if they assumed they personally would benefit more than lose.

...I may benefit in my pocket immediately, but that doesn't necessarily mean that our country is going to benefit. We may be immediate winners, but long term I think we're going to be losers. Because we are paying less immediately, so then in the long run there would be less jobs. (Woman, Dallas)

I think it really just comes down to how many jobs do you really want to lose... What if that was your daddy and he had been working there for forty years? He didn't know anything else. That's just what it comes down to. I mean, I don't feel responsible to take care of people in Chile... (Man, Dallas)

Shutting down the factories and moving the factories to China or Mexico means X number of jobs have been lost. That's Americans, people who look quite a bit like you and me that are now either on welfare, which is not helping us, or they're going to work for McDonald's at \$5.50 or maybe \$6.00 an hour, and they may be eat-

ing dog food, or maybe they're living under a bridge somewhere, or whatever. I just don't think we need to do things that cause us to lose out factories. (Man, Dallas)

Concerns for jobs makes Americans more amenable to having trade barriers against low-wage countries than against other countries. As mentioned, 64% said that if another country is willing to lower its trade barriers to US products, the US should be willing to lower its trade barriers. But when PIPA followed up that question by asking if the same was true for low-wage countries, about one in four changed their minds. Thus, only 50% of Americans said they would be willing to enter into such an agreement with low-wage countries, while a substantial minority of 39% would not. Similarly, in the April 1998 poll on transatlantic issues, 64% favored reciprocal lowering of barriers with countries described as “poorer than the US.” Support was sharply lower, however, when the question was posed as negotiating reduced trade barriers with countries “with low wages”, only 43% favored this, with a plurality of 48% opposed.

In the focus groups, concerns about opening to trade from low-wage countries were related to its potential impact on American workers. Some expressed concern that it would encourage American companies to relocate outside the US in low-wage countries, thus taking jobs away. By forcing American workers to compete more directly with foreign workers, some participants feared it would have a globally equalizing effect that would be to the detriment of American workers. As one man in Battle Creek said, “Eventually, if you let it balance out, it will balance out to a world economy. The only thing is that it's going to balance out the American. They're not going to be strong and wealthy, so we're going to have to come down and they're going to have to come up.”

In the effort to protect jobs and wages, a plurality is not dissuaded from choosing trade restrictions even

when cautioned of possible retaliation by our trading partners. In 1992, Roper asked whether “imposing economic penalties against the products of foreign countries is a good idea to preserve American jobs, or...a bad idea because it will cause the foreign countries to take similar actions against our products?” In this case, 50% said penalties were a good idea, with 39 percent saying they were a bad idea.

However, other poll questions show that the majority support for trade barriers to protect jobs is quite frail. When other issues are brought up, the public becomes divided. When the principle that workers have a responsibility to compete in the global market is put up against the principle of protecting workers, support for trade barriers divides. Presented two arguments, 48% favored the idea that “we have a responsibility to make sure that all Americans have the opportunity to share in the benefits of increased international trade, even if this slows the growth of trade and the general US economy.” But the statistical equivalent (45%) thought “we should do what’s best for the growth of the economy, and leave it to individuals to adapt and take advantage of the new opportunities created by international trade.” Similarly, in a May 1998 Epic-MRA poll, when asked to choose between two statements, 47% chose “we should restrict or ban imports of foreign-made goods in order to protect certain American jobs.” Forty-five percent chose the opposing argument, that “permanent import barriers artificially prolong the death of certain types of outmoded jobs—those workers should compete for work openly in the global marketplace.”

When the costs of trade barriers are brought into the picture, support for trade barriers also drops. PIPA initially posed a question about lowering trade barriers in the textile industry. Sixty-two percent said they preferred to keep barriers up. This group was then told about the costs of protection to the economy with the statement, “Some economic experts have calculated that having these barriers cost

the American economy... mostly due to higher prices consumers must pay... more than \$50,000 for each job saved.” Given this information, the percentage wanting to preserve the barriers decreased to 40% while the percentage in favor of lowering them increased to a slight majority of 53%.

Other polls also show that there are limits to how much Americans are willing to absorb in higher prices to save jobs. In 1998 and 1999, Epic-MRA (WIIT) asked how much more per month Americans were willing to include in their budget to buy only American-made products and goods. In 1999, only 39% said they would be willing to pay more, while 31% said they were not willing to pay more and 30% were undecided. In 1998, only 34% were willing to spend more, while 41% were not and 25% were undecided.

Why Are Americans Concerned About Workers?

At first glance, it seems obvious that Americans would be concerned about the effects of increasing trade on workers, because most Americans are either working or are being supported by someone who works. But this does not necessarily mean that all Americans feel personally threatened by trade. Asked how international trade affected them, only 24% said that its effect on them personally was more negative than positive. A November 1993 Gallup poll asked respondents whether they thought NAFTA would positively or negatively affect them and their families. Only 26% said they thought it would be negative, 45% said they thought it would have no effect and 25% thought it would be positive.

PIPA also explored how vulnerable Americans feel when they think about the growth of trade, both for themselves and for the average American. On a scale of 0 to 10—with 0 meaning not vulnerable at all to the changes that come with increasing international trade and 10 meaning very vulnerable to those changes—when describing themselves, the

mean score was 4.9. However, when asked about the average American, the mean score was 5.8.

What this suggests is that Americans tend to perceive others as more vulnerable than themselves. Combined with the fact that only a small minority perceives the effects of trade as a net negative for them personally, while a solid majority expresses strong concern for the effect of trade on American workers, it appears that this concern is not simply derived from self-interest. Rather, an altruistic concern for others perceived as more vulnerable is a significant factor.

Trade and Labor Standards

2B An overwhelming majority favors requiring compliance with international labor standards as part of international trade agreements. An overwhelming majority also feels that the United States should not allow products to be imported when they have been made under conditions in violation of international labor standards.

Americans overwhelmingly support the view that international labor standards should be incorporated into trade negotiations. Respondents were offered two arguments for, and two against, the idea that “countries who are part of this [trade] agreement

should be required to maintain certain standards for working conditions, such as minimum health and safety standards and the right to organize into unions.” As shown in the table below, the pro arguments were found much more convincing than the con arguments. After evaluating the pro and con arguments, respondents were asked their conclusion. A near unanimous 93% said that countries should be required to maintain such standards.

Interestingly, the pro argument based on moral concerns for foreign workers was the most convincing, with 83% endorsing it. Still strong, though, was the more self-interested argument that countries with lower standards have an unfair advantage. On the con side, the morally based argument that requiring higher labor standards would “eliminate the jobs of poor people who desperately need the work” was found convincing by just 37%. The con argument based on the principle that imposing labor standards is a violation of a country’s national sovereignty also fared poorly (41% convincing).

Requiring compliance with labor standards was popular in the focus groups:

I don’t want to think that some child put together, under abusive situations, many of my belong-

| Support for Including Labor Standards in Trade Agreements | | | |
|--|------------|---|------------|
| - Percent Finding Argument Convincing - | | | |
| PRO | | CON | |
| Countries who do not maintain minimum standards for working conditions have an unfair advantage because they can exploit workers and produce goods for less. | 74% | If countries are required to raise their standards...this will force some companies to eliminate the jobs of poor people who desperately need the work. | 37% |
| Countries should be required to meet minimum standards... because it is immoral for workers to be subject to harsh and unsafe conditions in the workplace. | 83% | It is up to each country to set its own standards...the international community should not intrude by trying to dictate what each country should do within its borders. | 41% |
| CONCLUSION | | | |
| 93% said that “countries that are part of international trade agreements should be required to maintain minimum standards for working conditions.” | | | |

ings in my home. I would hate to think of my children being put in that position. And I think the child labor laws should be across a broad spectrum...There should be some kind of regulation set. (Woman, Baltimore)

I think that we have a right to some say if they're selling [their products] here. If we're buying them then we're contributing to it. (Woman, Dallas)

Americans also appear comfortable looking to international institutions to address these issues. As noted above, 78% of Americans want to see the WTO consider labor standards, along with environmental concerns, when it makes decisions on trade. A woman in Battle Creek talked about the need for multilateral action, saying, "You know we've got the United Nations making sure there's not war crimes and this and that...we've heard it so many times, they work 17 hours a day in sweatshops. Why can't we put a stop to that?"

Support for imposing labor standards also may be going up. An April 1996 Wirthlin Group poll asked whether the WTO "should penalize countries that violate international labor standards," defined as "those calling for every country to set a minimum wage, protecting workers' rights to organize, and prohibiting child labor." Although the question presented the issue in an unbalanced manner in favor of imposing such standards, support, while very high, was a bit lower than in the current survey—79% supported it.

Besides supporting international efforts to impose labor standards, Americans also support unilaterally barring the import of products made under substandard working conditions — contrary to WTO principles. Overwhelming majorities wanted to bar products made by children under the age of 15 when they "are required to work so many hours that they cannot go to school" (80%), or when they are "forced

to work under threat of punishment" (82%). Products made by adult "workers in factories that are unsafe or unhealthy" also should be barred from the US, according to a very strong 77% majority. However, only 42% thought the US should bar "products made by workers who are not allowed to organize into unions." (This lack of majority support for barring products from countries where unions do not exist indicates that Americans do care about the other issues that receive strong majorities; they are not merely embracing any measure that would protect jobs.)

In addition, a 1997 poll by Peter Hart for the AFL-CIO found strong majorities in favor of including a wide array of labor issues in trade agreements. Americans overwhelmingly agreed with the idea of including "workplace health and safety standards (94%), "laws against child labor" (93%), "basic human rights, such as the freedom to associate or have meetings, and the freedom to strike or protest" (92%), "a minimum wage based on the poverty line of the country" (81%) and "the legal right to form unions and bargain collectively" (78%).

Trade and the Environment

2C Americans overwhelmingly support the view that environmental issues should be considered in trade decisions and that there should be more international agreements on environmental standards. A very strong majority rejects the WTO's current position that countries should not be able to restrict imports based on the environmental effects of their production.

As mentioned above, an overwhelming majority supported the view that the WTO should consider environmental issues when making decisions on trade. In a series of questions, an overwhelming majority also showed very strong support for having more international agreements on environmental

| Support for International Agreements on Environmental Problems | | | |
|--|-----|---|-----|
| - Percent Finding Argument Convincing - | | | |
| PRO | | | CON |
| Many environmental problems are global in nature. Therefore, the only way to solve them is to get all countries involved in addressing the problems. | 78% | It should be up to each country how it deals with its environment. There should not be international bodies that tell countries what to do. | 33% |
| If some countries have lower environmental standards than others, then companies...will relocate to countries with low standards. This will be bad for the environment and will take jobs away from countries with high standards. | 67% | For some countries, raising their environmental standards will be much more costly than it will be for other countries. Creating international agreements will lead to pressures to make all countries abide by the same standards. This would not be fair. | 37% |
| CONCLUSION | | | |
| 77% (48% strongly) felt there should be more international agreements on environmental standards. | | | |

standards (see table). Arguments in favor of such agreements were found convincing by very strong majorities, while con arguments fared poorly. Finally, an overwhelming 77% (48% strongly) favored having more international agreements on environmental standards.

The strongest pro argument (78% convincing) was based on environmental concerns, arguing that because many environmental problems are global, international approaches are best. The more self-interested argument, that an absence of international

environmental standards will threaten US jobs as well as the environment by making it attractive for companies to relocate to countries with lower standards, was found convincing by two out of three respondents (67% convincing). The con argument, that imposing environmental standards violates national sovereignty, was not popular (33% convincing), nor was the argument that doing so would be unfair because the costs of compliance would be different for different countries (37%).



A major controversy surrounding trade and the environment centers on the WTO's principle that countries cannot put up barriers to products based on the process of how they were made. The primary concern is that if such exceptions were allowed, countries would make them very freely and thus create a barrier to trade. As the box shows, a very strong majority of Americans rejected the WTO's position that countries should not be able to restrict imports based on the environmental effects of their production, even though the argument defending the WTO position also mentioned the potential costs to the economy and jobs.

Concerns about the possibility of American companies moving to Mexico to evade US environmental laws were prominent in the early 1990s debate on NAFTA. Two Gallup polls from September and November 1993 presented a series of arguments against NAFTA, including one that said "the environment will suffer, as US businesses move to Mexico to avoid the stricter environmental standards in the US." About 3 in 5 Americans agreed with this argument, while about one-third disagreed.

Some critics of environmental considerations in trade agreements say that concern for the environment is really old-fashioned protectionism in a new form, and that the real goal is to save jobs rather than the environment. But other data show that in the domestic context, a modest majority of Americans is willing to put a higher priority on the environment than on jobs. Thus, at least some of the support for environmental considerations in trade agreements is probably derived from an intrinsic concern for the environment.

In August 1998, a poll by [Gallup](#), Harvard University and the Kaiser Family Foundation asked the following question:

Here are some values that everyone agrees are important. But sometimes we have to choose one value over another. If you absolutely had to choose between each of the following two values, which is more important to you, personally, protecting the environment, or increasing jobs and economic growth?

A majority of Americans (52%) chose the environment, 37% chose jobs, and 10% volunteered that both were equally important. Similarly, in a June 1996 [Gallup](#) poll, 57% agreed that "We must protect the environment even if it means that jobs in your community are lost because of it." Only 32% disagreed, with 11% not sure.

Trade Sanctions

2D Americans show a substantial readiness to limit trade with other countries that violate standards on human rights, the environment, supporting terrorists and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Support for such sanctions is resilient in the face of challenges, even though Americans are divided as to whether sanctions are effective in changing other countries' behavior. Support persists because Americans want to take a stand based on their values, and because the cost of imposing sanctions is perceived as low since the net benefits of trade are seen as marginal. Americans are also surprisingly accepting of other countries putting up barriers to American products based on various principles, such as concern for the health effects of genetically modified foods or beef grown with hormones.

Respondents were introduced to the issue of trade sanctions with a statement that put forward the controversy about trade sanctions. The introductory statement underscored the four key arguments against limiting trade, because each argument subsequently presented put forward an explicit reason for imposing a sanction. The statement said:

A major controversy in the area of international trade is whether the US should limit its trade with countries that are behaving in ways that do not live up to certain international standards. Some people say that the US should not limit trade with countries on the basis of these issues. They say that it is not the US's right to make these judgments, that international trade should not be saddled with these other issues, that such limits are rarely effective and that they cost the US business and thus jobs. Others say that there are concerns that are more important than trade. I am now going to tell you about a few cases in which some people say the US should limit its trade because of a country's behavior.

Despite the four arguments given against sanctions in the introduction, in every case a strong majority favored limiting trade with the specific country for violating a standard. Strong majorities favored lim-

iting trade with specific countries for supporting terrorist groups (Libya: 81%, Iran: 80%); for attempting to build nuclear weapons (Iran: 83%); for refusing to sign an international agreement to outlaw chemical weapons (Libya: 85%); for selling components for nuclear weapons and missiles to other countries, in violation of an international treaty (China: 83%); for violating international standards for human rights (Iran: 81%, China: 75%, Cuba: 70%, Burma: 77%); and for testing nuclear weapons (India: 71%, Pakistan: 78%). Seventy-two percent also favored restricting the importation of tuna from Mexico because the fishing methods there kill dolphins, and 63% favored restricting the importation of shrimp from both India and Pakistan because fishing methods there kill sea turtles.

Other polling data also shows that Americans support economic sanctions against countries that violate international standards on human rights, weapons proliferation and other issues. In November 1998, Gallup asked whether respondents favored the use of economic sanctions against a number of countries. Majorities favored sanctions against Iran (61%), Cuba (58%), North Korea (57%) and China (52%). No more than a third of Americans opposed sanctions in any of these cases. When a Zogby poll in May 1998 offered the choice between "engaging in trade and maintaining diplomatic relations" or using "economic sanctions," a 48% plurality still supported sanctions against both Iran (28% favored engagement) and Libya (16% for engagement). An April 1998 PIPA poll showed that more Americans believed sanctions to be a better way of dealing with Iran's support of terrorism and its attempt to obtain nuclear weapons (56%) than believed maintaining trade and political ties would be more effective in influencing the Iranian government (31%).

A majority generally leans in favor of limiting trade with China to pressure China to change its behavior on human rights and the proliferation of

| Trade Sanctions | | | |
|--|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| ...Do you think the US should or should not limit trade for this reason? | | | |
| | Should Limit | Should Not | DK/ Refused |
| <i>Supporting Terrorism</i> | | | |
| Libya | 81 | 16 | 3 |
| Iran | 80 | 19 | 1 |
| <i>Testing Nuclear Weapons</i> | | | |
| Pakistan | 78 | 20 | 2 |
| India | 71 | 28 | 1 |
| <i>Proliferating Weapons of Mass Destruction</i> | | | |
| Libya | 85 | 14 | 1 |
| China | 83 | 17 | - |
| Iran | 83 | 16 | 2 |
| <i>Violating Human Rights</i> | | | |
| Iran | 81 | 17 | 2 |
| Burma | 77 | 16 | 7 |
| China | 75 | 21 | 4 |
| Cuba | 70 | 25 | 5 |
| <i>Threatening Sea Life: Fishing Methods</i> | | | |
| Mexico | 72 | 28 | 1 |
| Pakistan | 63 | 34 | 3 |
| India | 63 | 32 | 5 |

weapons of mass destruction. See Appendix A for an extensive discussion.

Poll results from earlier in the 1990s provide further evidence of the public's support for sanctions. A Harris poll from July 1992 found 75% favoring "strong economic sanctions against the aggressor country" for "situations like those...in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia." In 1994, during the proliferation crisis on the Korean peninsula, several polls found that about 3 out of 4 supported the US and the UN imposing or tightening economic sanctions on North Korea. Other polls also showed public backing for sanctions against the military junta in Haiti, the apartheid government in South Africa, and even a plurality in favor of sanctions against countries that allowed too much illegal emigration to the US.

The public has more mixed views with regard to Cuba. In a 1998 Gallup poll that simply asked respondents whether they favored or opposed economic sanctions against Cuba, 58% said they did, while 30% were opposed. An April 1998 PIPA poll found 53% wanted to "continue the embargo trade embargo against Cuba" while 42% wanted to "end the embargo and have normal trade with Cuba." However, in a May 1998 Zogby poll, 42% favored "engaging in trade and maintaining diplomatic relations," while 37% favored "economic sanctions." Also, in April 1998, PIPA found that when arguments for and against the embargo on Cuba were presented, a slight majority favored the argument against an embargo, 40% agreed that the embargo is a "good idea and the right thing to do" because it "puts pressure on Cuba to make its government more democratic and improve its human rights record", a slight majority (52%) embraced the counter-argument that the embargo is "ineffective and just isolates the US," because it "has been opposed by almost all members of the UN, including our European allies and the Pope." Also, 59% favored softening the embargo to allow food and medicine.

Support for Sanctions Resilient Despite Uncertainty About Effectiveness

Americans appear to be somewhat divided on the question of whether sanctions are effective. Nonetheless, support for them is resilient even in the face of challenges that they only hurt the masses, that economic engagement is a better approach, and that they should only be pursued with strong multi-lateral support. Apparently, Americans feel that whether they are or are not effective, sanctions are an important way to take a stand on issues and that they are a necessary alternative to the use of military force. Also, because trade is not seen as producing much net gain for most Americans, the cost of imposing sanctions is not seen as high.

Several polls have revealed the lack of consensus on whether sanctions are effective. A May 1999 Epic-MRA poll posed the question:

The United States will sometimes tie the actions of other countries on issues such as human rights, child labor practices or environmental issues, to trade agreements by imposing sanctions on imports from those countries or on exports of American products. Do you think this is an effective way to get other countries to change their policies, or would you say that this approach really doesn't work?

A plurality of 48% thought such sanctions were effective, 40% thought they were not, and 12% did not know. Similarly, in April 1998, PIPA asked, "Do you think tying the actions of other countries on human rights, child labor, environmental issues or other labor issues to trade decisions is an effective or ineffective way to pressure countries to change their policies?" In this instance, 46% agreed linking trade with other issues was effective, 44% thought this linkage ineffective, and 10% were not sure.

In April 1998, PIPA presented a series of paired arguments on the use of sanctions against Iran and

Libya. In every case, support for sanctions proved to be quite resilient. One pair of arguments began with the case that sanctions only hurt the masses. It went: "Refusing to trade with Iran and Libya will just hurt the masses of average people there, without affecting the people on top who make the decisions that cause the problem. So sanctions don't work and just create harm." Only 23% supported this view. By contrast, 68% endorsed the view that "It is unfortunate that the average people have to suffer because of the choices made by their leaders, but stopping the support of terrorists and the pursuit of weapons of mass destruction is so important that it is necessary to try to put pressure on these average people to try to get their government to change."

Another common argument against sanctions is that economic engagement is a more effective means to bring about change. However, just 26% agreed with the argument that: "Experience has shown that refusing to trade with countries rarely leads them to change. Furthermore, by trading with Iran and Libya we can maintain a relationship with them that creates opportunities to have a positive influence." Rather, 61% agreed that: "Just trading and talking with Iran and Libya won't cause them to change. It is only when autocratic leaders like these see that there are costs for their behavior will they change. Refusing to trade with these countries imposes such costs."

Finally, the argument that sanctions should only be pursued multilaterally failed to gain much support. Only 21% agreed with the statement, "We should only refuse to trade with Iran and Libya if our allies will also refuse, because otherwise it will not do any good." Seventy-five percent agreed, "We should refuse to trade with Iran and Libya, whether or not our allies do, because it is the right thing to do, and eventually our allies might follow our example."

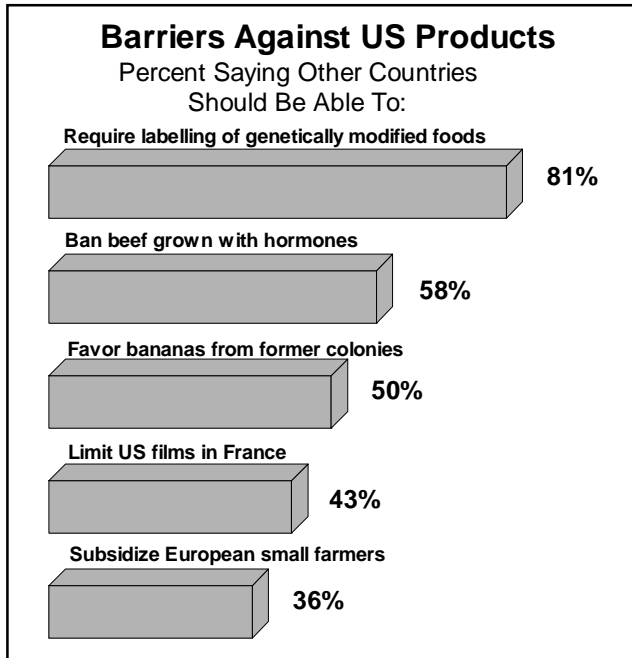
Support for sanctions is strong despite uncertainty about their effectiveness for several reasons.

First, Americans think it is necessary to take a stand for our national values. In the May 1999 Epic-MRA poll, 76% agreed that "even if tying human rights and other issues to trade agreements does not work, or seldom works, the United States should tie such issues to trade anyway as a matter of principle to pressure these countries to change their policies and do what's right." Second, the public prefers to seek non-military rather than military solutions to international crises. In 1991, a Market Strategies poll found that fully 69% of Americans agreed (27% strongly) with the statement: "The use of force seldom solves problems. The United States and the United Nations should rely on economic sanctions, diplomatic pressure and judicial remedies in handling international threats." Just 26% disagreed.

Finally, it should be noted that it is somewhat easy for Americans to be quick to impose sanctions because the cost of doing so is not seen as very high. Recall that when asked to rate the positive and negative effects of trade, the positive effects just barely outweighed the negative ones. Thus, it becomes rather easy for some other value to override what support there is for trading with countries that are offensive in some way.

Economic Sanctions Against the US

Americans show a remarkable receptivity to the idea that sanctions could be applied to US products in the name of various concerns. Although the American position was clearly articulated in each question, a majority said they regarded it as legitimate to put up barriers (by requiring labeling) to genetically modified foods (81%) and beef grown with hormones (58%), based on health concerns. A plurality (50%) saw it as legitimate for Europeans to favor bananas from their former colonies over US companies, based on historical obligations (see next page).



However, a majority (54%) rejected the idea that the French should be able to limit the showing of American films to protect their film industry and French culture. Fifty-nine percent also rejected the Europeans' position that their subsidies to farmers are a legitimate way to preserve small family farms. (See Appendix C for a comparison of American and European attitudes regarding trade openness and related issues.)

Globalization of Values

3 In a variety of ways, Americans show that their values are oriented to a global context and are not limited to a narrow concept of national interest. Americans show nearly the same level of concern for suffering inside and outside the US. Strong majorities feel that increasing economic involvement with other parts of the world increases Americans' responsibility to address moral issues in those countries. Most say they are willing to pay higher prices for products certified as not made in sweatshops. Overwhelming majorities feel US companies operating outside the US should be expected to abide by US laws on the environment

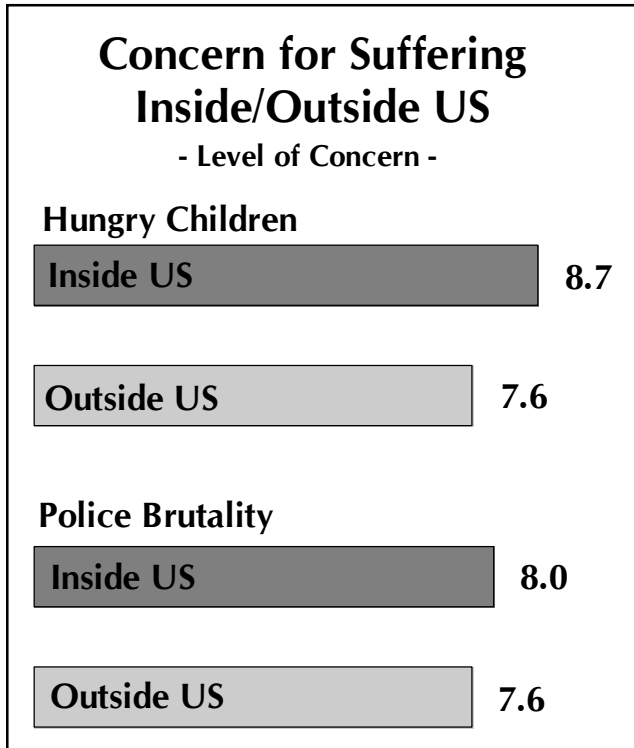
and working conditions, even though they recognize this would likely lead to higher prices.

There are strong indications that Americans' values operate in a highly global context — that their sphere of concern extends well beyond national boundaries. Seventy-three percent agreed (44% strongly) with the statement, "I regard myself as a citizen of the world as well as a citizen of the United States." A man in Battle Creek defined globalization by saying, "How I look at it is taking in the rest of the world and we're going to try to raise their standards."

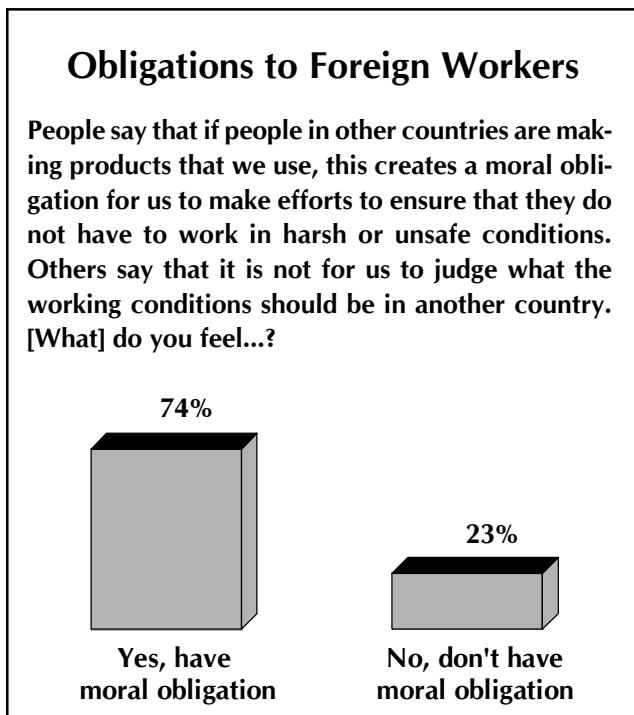
In various poll questions, respondents showed nearly the same level of concern for suffering inside the US as for outside the US. One sample was asked, "When you hear that children are hungry in some part of the US, how much does that trouble you?" Answering on a scale with zero meaning "not at all" and ten "very much," the mean answer was 8.7. When a different sample was asked the same question about "some part of the world outside of the US," the response was only slightly lower — 7.6. Separate samples also were asked how much it bothered them when they hear about "police brutality." In this case, the spread was even narrower — 8.0 for inside the US, 7.6 for outside the US (see next page).

Also, a March 1999 Greenberg Research poll found nearly the same level of concern for wars abroad that do not involve Americans as for wars abroad in general. Sixty percent said they were interested in "wars taking place in countries abroad." When asked about "wars taking place in countries abroad, not involving the US" the percentage saying they were interested was only slightly lower—57%.

Respondents showed very strong support for the idea that increasing economic involvement with other parts of the world increases Americans' responsibility to address moral issues in those countries. In the current poll, PIPA asked: "Do you think that as we



become more involved economically with another country that we should be more concerned about the



human rights in that country, or do you not feel that way?" Seventy-three percent said America should.

Focus group participants expressed such sentiments — for example, a Battle Creek woman said:

I think that we are charged in some manner to have a social conscience as far as other economies are concerned. If we're going to do business with them I think we have a responsibility, if we're able, to try and help them, because in the long run we're going to help ourselves.

An overwhelming majority also felt that if Americans are using products made by workers in other countries, this creates a moral imperative to ensure that they are not required to work in harsh or unsafe conditions—even after hearing the counter-argument that "it is not for us to judge what the working conditions should be in another country."

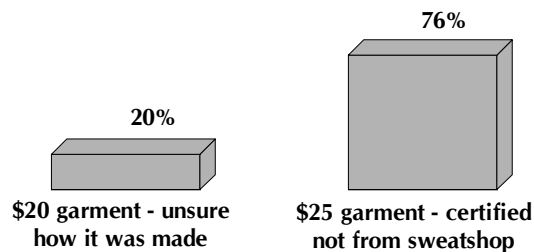
But would Americans be willing to pay more for products to ensure that they are made in proper working conditions? Respondents were told about the possibility of "an international organization that would check the conditions in a factory and, if acceptable, give them the right to label their products as not made in a sweatshop." As shown below, an overwhelming 76% said they would pay more for the product labeled as not made in a sweatshop (see next page).

A November 1999 study by ICR for Marymount University's Center for Ethical Concerns also found that Americans would pay more for non-sweatshop garments. In that poll, 86% said they would be "willing to pay up to \$1 more for a \$20 garment guaranteed to be made in a legitimate shop."

In the focus groups, some participants also agreed that they would pay more for such products. A Baltimore man said, "[no-sweatshop labeling] to me would be worth 25% to 50% to even double

Willingness to Spend More for "No Sweatshop" - Labeled Goods

If you had to choose between buying a piece of clothing that costs \$20 and you are not sure how it was made, and one that is certified as not made in a sweatshop, but costs \$25, which one would you buy?



the price of the product." A woman in Dallas said she would gladly support such a program: "Yeah, I would buy it...You'd [pay more for] a grocery product if you're assured of not having pesticides." Some were more measured in their response, like a Baltimore man who said she would buy such products provided the higher price was "within reason."

Other participants expressed doubts that other people would do so, though they implicitly seemed to be referring to themselves as well. A man from Battle Creek said, "We're not that altruistic." A woman from Baltimore said, "I think probably the easiest way to get the point across to these people so they stop doing things like this is to stop buying their products, but there's always going to be somebody who's going to do that."

Naturally the question arises, even if an overwhelming majority of Americans say that they would purchase the non-sweatshop product, would they actually do so in the real event? It is more than likely that a smaller number would do so than say they would, though the magnitude of this difference is hard to estimate. What this response does suggest—

and what is most significant—is that if the US were to require imported products to be made in non-sweatshop conditions and Americans were to hear that, as a result, the costs of products were somewhat higher, most Americans would probably find this unobjectionable.

Abiding By US Laws When Operating Outside the US

Another key sign of how Americans' values are becoming globalized is that strong majorities felt US companies should be expected to abide by US laws on environmental protection and working conditions when operating outside the US. This was true even when respondents heard about the potential costs. It appears that Americans think in terms of a kind of 'golden rule' for globalization—do unto others as you do to yourself.

Respondents were first told:

As you may know, some countries have lower environmental standards than the US. In some cases this makes it cheaper for American companies to operate in those countries if they operate by those lower standards. Currently, there is some discussion about whether American companies that operate in other countries should be expected to abide by US environmental standards.

They were then presented a series of pro and con arguments on this issue. The pro argument that received overwhelming support, with 81% finding it convincing, was based on purely moral grounds: "If Americans decide that to do something to the environment is wrong inside the US, then it would be wrong for Americans to do it in other countries." Seventy-one percent also found convincing the argument that "If US companies can lower their costs by moving to other countries with lower environmental standards, this will result in greater harm to

the environment.” Interestingly, the most self-interested argument received the lowest level of support at 64%: “If US companies can lower their costs by moving to other countries with lower environmental standards, then they will take American jobs with them.”

The con argument that denied US responsibility was firmly rejected. Only 33% found convincing the argument that “If other countries choose to have lower health and safety environmental standards, it is not the responsibility of American companies to meet the higher US standard.” However, other con arguments were found convincing. Sixty-two percent were convinced that “Imposing higher standards on American companies will increase production costs, which will sometimes mean higher prices for the American consumer.” Similarly, 54% were persuaded that “If US companies have to abide by higher standards than other companies, this will make it harder for US companies to compete.”

Nonetheless, though they seemed to recognize that it would likely raise consumer prices and make it harder for American companies, when respondents were finally asked whether they favored or opposed the idea, an overwhelming 88% said that “American companies that operate in other countries should be expected to abide by US environmental standards.” Sixty-seven percent said they felt that way strongly.

In the focus groups, several people spoke passionately in favor of applying such standards:

Well, those laws and regulations were put into effect in this country to preserve our environment and to protect the human beings and the wildlife and the animals that are here. The main reason that some of these companies are going to other countries and setting up shop is to avoid having to abide by those. But how can we be setting an example for the rest of the world and

hoping that they are going to clean up their environments so everybody can live if we let these companies go and do that? (Woman, Baltimore)

I wish [US companies] would be very moral about it because...if everybody is so concerned about the future of the world, then they should be protecting it everywhere, not just here. (Woman, Baltimore)

A different sample was also asked whether “when American corporations operate in other countries they should be expected to still abide by US health and safety standards for workers.” Once again, the purely moral argument that to do otherwise would be wrong received overwhelming support of 79%. The argument based on concern for jobs received 62% support. On the con side, only 29% affirmed that labor standards in other countries are not companies’ responsibility. Sixty-one percent recognized that such a standard would likely raise prices; nonetheless, overall, an overwhelming 86% (69% strongly) thought US companies should be expected to abide by US health and safety standards when operating outside the US.

Concern for US corporations exploiting foreign workers has appeared in other polls as well. In a September 1993 Times Mirror poll, 72% said the US should not promote capitalism and free markets around the world if that risked “exploitation of underdeveloped peoples by Western businessmen.”

Helping Poor Countries

3A Most Americans perceive poor countries as not receiving a net benefit from international trade and support giving poor countries preferential trade treatment. Very strong majorities believe that the US has a moral obligation to promote development in poor countries and that doing so ultimately would serve US economic interests. Support is weaker for trade with low-wage

countries that are not necessarily poor, but a strong majority believes that it serves US interests for the economies of developing countries to grow.

Only a minority of respondents perceived poor countries as getting a net benefit from international trade. Just 32% of respondents said they thought that trade was more positive than negative for the poor. Asked to evaluate international trade for “people in poor countries” on a scale of 0 to 10, the mean response was 4.7—meaning that on average the negatives of international trade were viewed as outweighing the benefits for people in poor countries.

In the focus groups, participants expressed concern about the effects of globalization on the poor. Some complained that corporations from rich countries, including the US, seek to exploit cheap labor and lax laws on the environment and workers’ protection to the detriment of the people in poor countries. In Baltimore, a man bemoaned the fact that corporations operating overseas “can dump whatever they want and put in the air whatever they want, which will affect the citizens.” A woman said, “I just think we’re kind of using people. We’re taking advantage of it.” Some expressed a broader concern that globalization was creating an unbridgeable gulf between the rich and poor countries.

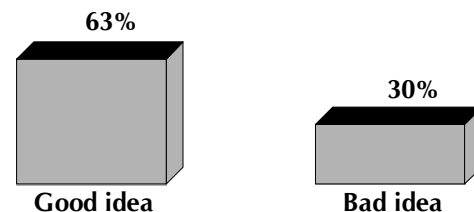
It seems like [globally] the middle class is disappearing and it’s either that people are on top or lower, and the under-developed countries aren’t going to have enough time to catch up. They’re...eighty years back from what we are now. So how are they going to cover 80 years and plus all the computers, the Internet—in the United States, we have a hard time keeping up with everything. How are people that don’t have running water in their house, and cars and phones—how are they going to catch up to where we are? We’re blasting into the future and they are so many years back. And nobody’s going to

help them catch up. It seems like the rich countries are getting richer and the poor countries are going to get poorer and they’re not going to, they’re never going to get to middle class. (Woman, Baltimore)

Americans show high levels of support for various ideas for extending the benefits of globalization to poor countries. An idea currently under discussion at the WTO for giving poor countries preferential trade treatment received strong support, even when it was suggested it might threaten some American jobs.

Giving the Poorest Countries Preferential Trade Treatment

Currently, there are efforts to find ways to help the very poorest countries... One idea being discussed is for the wealthier countries to allow in more of the products from these very poor countries. Some say that this would be a good idea because it would help these poor countries get on their feet, and, because their imports would still be no more than one percent of all imports, it would cost the wealthy countries very little. Others say that allowing in more goods from these very poor countries is a bad idea because it might threaten the jobs of American workers producing the same kinds of products. Do you think [this] is a good idea or bad idea...?



Consistent with this view, there is public support for the recently proposed trade agreement with African countries, according to a May 1998 Epic-MRA poll. Even though 40% thought such a deal would mostly benefit Africa and just 10% of the public thought a trade deal with Africa would mostly benefit the US, 56% agreed that the US should pass

legislation to open up trade with the African continent.

Another idea explored in the current poll was to transfer trade quotas from wealthier countries to poor countries. Respondents were introduced to the debate on the issue as follows:

Some people say that we should give more of these quotas to poor countries, especially those that presently receive US foreign aid, because this would help their economies and may even help some foreign aid recipients get to the point that they will not need aid. Others argue that this is not a good idea because we may have to take quotas away from the wealthier countries that presently have them, and this could be politically sensitive.

Seventy-two percent said they favored the idea, while 21% were opposed. A January 1995 PIPA poll posed the same question and found 69% support.

Support for helping poor countries is prompted by the belief that the US has a moral responsibility to do so. An overwhelming 68% agreed (30% strongly) that, "As one of the world's rich nations, the United States has a moral responsibility toward poor nations to help them develop economically and improve their people's lives." This is consistent with results from a 1995 PIPA poll, when 67% agreed (26% strongly). Such attitudes were expressed in the focus groups. In Battle Creek, one woman said, "I think that those who prosper have a responsibility to share with others."

Apparently, though, some Americans are less certain about their feelings about low-wage countries that are developing but may not be poor. In a 1998 PIPA poll, 62% said they would be willing to lower trade barriers with poor countries on a reciprocal basis. However, in the current poll, only 50% said they were willing to do the same with low-wage countries. Of course, poor countries are also gener-

ally low-wage, but apparently, when countries are clearly defined as poor this offsets some of the concerns about wage competition.

Nonetheless, a strong majority believes it is in the US interest to see developing countries grow, even though they may ultimately become economic competitors. Sixty-three percent said that "In the long run, if developing countries do become stronger economically," it would have a positive impact on "jobs in the United States," presumably because of increased demand for American products and the lessening of wage competition as developing countries grow. Also, 74% said that if developing countries become stronger economically it would have a positive impact on "U.S. business opportunities in developing countries," and 70% said that it would have a positive impact on "the U.S. economy." In a 1993 ICI poll, 67% disagreed with the idea that it was "against our interests to help developing countries because they will compete with us economically and politically."

A January 1995 PIPA poll asked specifically about the case of South Korea:

In the years after the Korean War, the US gave billions of dollars in aid to South Korea. Some people feel that this is a good example of how we contributed to developing a country that is now an ally and a trading partner. Others feel that this aid helped South Korea take away our markets by selling low-cost goods and therefore was a mistake. Do you think it was a mistake to have given aid to South Korea?

Only 33% said that it was a mistake, and 60% said it was not.

Also, Americans may tend to think that a failure to allow trade with poorer countries may increase the demand for foreign aid. Before the passage of NAFTA, a September 1993 NBC/

poll found that 54% thought it likely that, if NAFTA was not passed, “we would have to give more foreign aid and loans to Mexico in order to support their economy.” Only 38% disagreed.

International Cooperation

4 To address global problems, a very strong majority supports increased international cooperation and stronger international institutions that may even intervene in the internal affairs of countries. Support is strong for international institutions stepping in when there is regional economic instability; to deal with terrorism or environmental issues; and when a country is committing atrocities. Majorities favor strengthening the UN, the World Court, and the WTO, though only a plurality favors strengthening the IMF. A strong majority favors an International Criminal Court, and a modest majority supports a standing UN peace-keeping force. A strong majority feels the US should abide by WTO decisions when they go against the US, and a majority favors the US accepting the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court.

Within the Washington policymaking community, there is a widespread assumption that the American public is very wary of international cooperation and of the international institutions that were built for that purpose, such as the United Nations [see Steven Kull & I.M. Destler, *International Cooperation and the American Public*, Brookings Institution Press, 1999]. As in previous polls, the current poll shows that this is not the case. On the contrary, a very strong majority supports international cooperation to address global problems, and most Americans want the UN to play a more prominent role in the world.

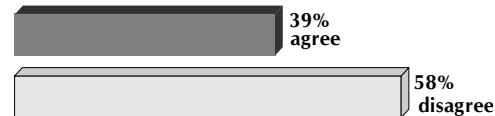
Strong majorities supported intervention by international organizations to deal with a variety of problems. One of these was regional economic instability, such as the recent crisis in Asia. Nearly

International Cooperation and Self-Interest

Because the world is so interconnected today, the US should participate in efforts to maintain peace, protect human rights, and promote economic development.



It is nice to think that joining in international efforts makes a more stable world. But in fact, the world is so big and complex that such efforts only make a minimal difference with little benefit to the US. Therefore, it is not really in the US interest to participate in them.



two-thirds said it is worthwhile for international organizations to intervene to keep the situation from spiraling out of control.

Participants in focus groups also made the connection between instability in Asia and the US economy. As one Baltimore man said:

For me, a world economy means that everything's interrelated. For instance, a couple of years ago, when the Asian economy went down, it affected Mexico, the United States—all because the traders saw that certain monies were not doing well, that the governments were backing up currency with their own money and they ran out of money. And so, just everything's interrelated. That's why we have a concern with Asia.

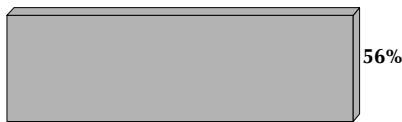
Americans also show support for multilateral intervention in cases of war and civil conflict. A March 1999 Greenberg Research poll found that a

strong majority (59%) wanted to see more “intervention from the international community” to deal with civilian hardships during war, such as “being cut off from food, water, medical supplies, or electricity.” Just 32% wanted less intervention and 6% wanted no intervention. By contrast, support for unilateral US intervention was much lower—only 39% wanted to see more unilateral intervention by the US, while 58% wanted to see less intervention (50%) or no intervention (8%).

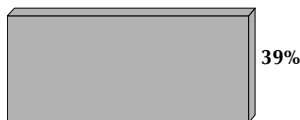
Americans also favor working through international institutions to solve problems like terrorism, environmental degradation, and human rights violations. Presented two statements, only 39% agreed with the one that read: “International institutions are slow and bureaucratic... It is better for the US to try and solve problems like terrorism and the environment on our own.”

Support for Working Through International Institutions

As the world becomes more interconnected, and problems such as terrorism and the environment are of a more international nature, it will be increasingly necessary for the US to work through international institutions.



International institutions are slow and bureaucratic, and often used as places for other countries to criticize and block the US. It is better for the US to try and solve problems like terrorism and the environment on our own.



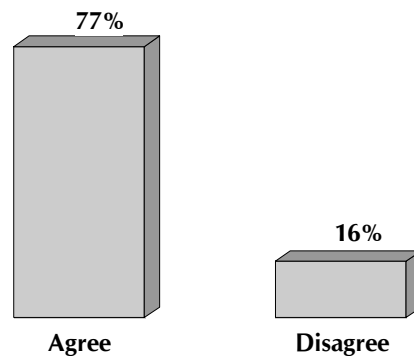
Support for working multilaterally also was voiced in the focus groups. A woman in Baltimore, speaking about stopping child labor, said: “I think it is more than just us trying to police people. I don’t think it’s a one-country...responsibility. I think it’s a global problem and everybody in this globe has to get involved in it.”

Majorities did not shrink from having international institutions intervene in the internal affairs of countries. Asked to choose between two statements, 61% supported the argument, “To deal with global problems such as terrorism and environmental dangers, it will be increasingly necessary for international institutions to get countries to change what they do inside their borders.” Only 35% endorsed the statement, “What countries do inside their borders is their own business. International institutions should not try to tell countries what they should do.”

An overwhelming majority supported the idea that international military action may be necessary when governments commit atrocities. Seventy-seven percent agreed that “If a government is committing atrocities against its people so that a significant number of people are being killed, at some point the countries of the world, including the US, should intervene, with force if necessary, to stop the killing.”

Intervene If Atrocities

If a government is committing atrocities against its people so that a significant number of people are being killed, at some point the countries of the world, including the US, should intervene with force if necessary to stop the killing.



Support was still quite high when respondents were asked to choose between two opposing arguments in an April 1999 PIPA poll. Sixty-two percent agreed with the argument that “while respect for national borders is important, when large-scale atrocities such as genocide are being committed, this justifies military intervention by the international community,” while just 29% agreed with the opposing argument that “as a general principle, even if atrocities are being committed within a country, the international community should not intervene with military force because this would be a violation of the country’s national sovereignty.” A March 1999 Greenberg Research poll also found 62% favored trying to stop wars involving atrocities by “using force and sending troops as part of an international force.”

Strengthening International Institutions

Overall, there is substantial support for strengthening international institutions, especially the United Nations. Sixty-seven percent favored strengthening the UN. In various other polls, an overwhelming majority of Americans has stressed that strengthening the UN should be a foreign policy goal for the US. A November 1998 poll by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found that 84% felt that strengthening the UN should be a very important (45%) or somewhat important (39%) foreign policy goal, with only 11% saying it should not be. A September 1997 Pew poll found that 83% believed that such a goal should be a priority in US foreign policy, with 30% saying it should be a top priority and 53% saying it should have some priority. Similarly, in an April 1996 Wirthlin poll 71% said they would be more likely (41% much more) to vote for a presidential candidate who would strengthen the UN.

Americans do not appear to be worried about the UN becoming too powerful. In an April 1998 PIPA poll, only 28% found convincing the argument against paying UN dues that “The UN is becoming too powerful...meddling in areas where the US, not

the UN, should be taking the lead”; 69% found it unconvincing. When in June 1995 ATIF presented the argument that “The UN might become a world government and take away our freedom,” 73% rejected it (58% strongly), with just 17% agreeing.

Various polls from 1995 and 1996 have shown other aspects of the public’s support for the UN. Strong majorities agreed that “for the US to move away from its role as world policeman,” the UN should be strengthened, while majorities reject the idea that this would inhibit the US from pursuing its interests. Offered four concrete options that have been proposed to strengthen UN peacekeeping, very strong majorities supported all four. This support for strengthening the UN exists despite the public’s overestimation of the UN’s size (the median respondent thought the UN’s budget was four times larger than it actually was). There is even majority support for specific types of proposed international taxes that the UN could collect. (For details, visit www.pipa.org and view the web text of this report; or see Steven Kull and I.M. Destler, , pp. 71-74.)

In addition to shoring up the United Nations, 56% also favored strengthening the World Court. Just 25% opposed the idea. Similarly, in a 1993 poll for the Americans Talk Issues Foundation, 76%



thought the World Court would be essential (26%) or helpful (50%) in order to have “practical law enforcement...in such areas as the global environment, international trade and tariffs, and international security.”

In the current poll, even though two-thirds agreed that the WTO favors business interests, nonetheless 60% wanted to strengthen it as well. Pew’s February 2000 poll found that 62% thought “US participation in the World Trade Organization” is good for the US; only 22% thought it bad. Polls from 1994 and 1995 show that those who supported the GATT or WTO outnumbered those who opposed them by about two to one. In December 1994, the Times Mirror Center found strong majority support (64%) for the GATT among those who followed closely news stories on the subject.

Only the international financial institutions did not do very well in this poll. Just a plurality of 44% wanted to strengthen the International Monetary Fund, while 37% were opposed. Also, only 40% supported the idea of a global central bank.

Other polls have found slight majorities opposed to increased US involvement with the IMF. A November 1998 Gallup poll for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found that 51% opposed the US contributing more to the IMF to meet world financial crises. In an April 1998 PIPA poll, 56% said “Congress should not approve of depositing additional money with the International Monetary Fund to help back up the economies of the Asian countries.” Similarly, a December 1997 NBC News/poll that asked, “Should the United States participate with the International Monetary Fund and other nations in a plan to lend money to countries that suffer financial collapse, such as South Korea and Thailand?” found 51% saying the US should not participate and 34% saying that it should.

However, it does appear that as Americans get more information about the IMF they grow warmer to it. In the April 1998 PIPA poll, while an overall majority opposed depositing more funds with the IMF, among the half of the sample that said they followed the issue “some” or a “great deal,” and among the quarter-sample who correctly estimated the US share of contributions to the IMF, a majority supported the idea of providing more funds to the IMF (52% in both cases). Also, while just 38% supported the idea at first, after hearing pro and con arguments about the plan, 56% favored Congress supplying funds to the IMF—an 18% jump.

Support for New International Institutions

There is also support for possible new international institutions. Sixty-six percent supported the idea of an International Criminal Court “because the world needs a better way to prosecute war criminals.” Just 29% opposed it, even when respondents were given the US argument against it, that “trumped up charges may be brought against Americans, for example, US soldiers who use force in the course of a peacekeeping operation.” A March 1999 Greenberg Research poll found that 78% of Americans believed there are “rules or laws that are so important that, if broken during war, the person who broke them should be punished.” These respondents were then asked, “If these rules are broken in war, who should be responsible for punishing wrongdoers?” An international criminal court was chosen by 40%—nearly the same percentage as the next two most commonly chosen answers together. The “governments in the countries at war” and the “military itself” were each chosen by 21% of the respondents.

Other polls by ATIF have found that overwhelming majorities (more than 8 in 10) support bringing before an international criminal court leaders who invade neighboring countries, seek to acquire nuclear weapons, support terrorism, violate human rights, damage the global environment, or stymie

democratic elections. Even when it was suggested that a US president might be brought before such a court, more than 8 in 10 of those who support the idea were unmoved.

In the current poll, a slim majority (53%) also favored "the idea of having a standing United Nations peacekeeping force made up of individuals who were not part of a national army but had independently volunteered to be part of the UN force"; 41% opposed the idea. This is somewhat lower than support for UN peacekeeping in general. In a March 1999 Greenberg poll, 79% supported "trying to limit casualties [in wars] by sending troops as part of a peacekeeping force." In a June 1999 Gallup poll, 75% supported "US participation in peacekeeping forces under the United Nations command."

The American public also supports the international movement to ban landmines. A September 1997 Gallup poll found that 64% said they thought the US "should sign an international treaty banning landmines." Only 27% said that such a ban would not be in the "best strategic interests of the United States." Also, in the March 1999 Greenberg poll 61% disapproved of the use of landmines even if it "would weaken the enemy."

Compliance With Rulings of International Institutions

Majorities tend to favor US compliance with the rulings of international institutions. Respondents were asked, "If another country files a complaint with the World Trade Organization and it rules against the US, as a general rule, should the US comply with that decision?" Sixty-five percent said the US should. However, this does not mean Americans think the US should comply. A Wirthlin Group poll from 1996 found just 34% who said "we should always abide by" WTO rulings, while 58% wanted to preserve the option of acting unilaterally.

In April 1998, PIPA found that a large majority was willing to let the WTO determine whether the extraterritorial sanctions authorized in the Helms-Burton legislation were in conformity with international law. PIPA asked this question:

European countries have argued that the US law that punishes citizens of other countries for doing business in Cuba violates international trade law, and the Europeans want this case decided by the World Trade Organization, of which the US and Europe are both members. Do you think the US should or should not agree to have this case decided by the World Trade Organization?

Sixty-three percent said the US should agree, while 33% said it should not.

In the current poll, 53% said the US should accept the compulsory jurisdiction of the World Court, while 38% said the US should decide in advance on a case-by-case basis whether to accept the ruling of the World Court. This is consistent with other results over the past decade. In an Americans Talk Issues Foundation poll from 1991, 51% believed the US should "abide by all World Court decisions, even when they go against us, because this sets an example for all nations to follow." Forty percent chose the contrasting argument that the US "should not feel bound to abide by all World Court decisions because many nations that sit on the Court are hostile to the United States." In March 1992, Roper found that 65% thought the US should accept the court's decisions if the court found that "actions by the United States have violated international law." Only 14% believed the US should "ignore" the court's decisions if the US disagreed with the outcome.

The Spread of American Culture

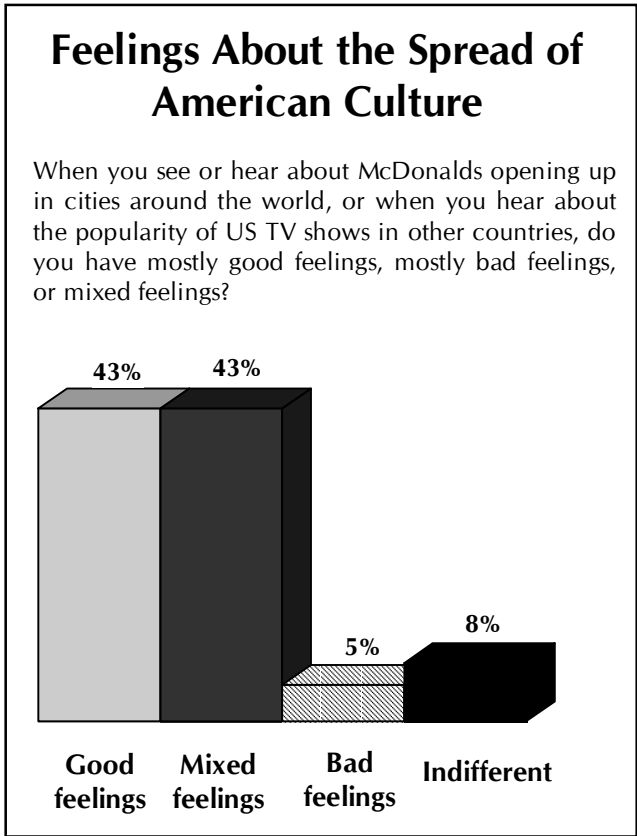
5 Though most Americans have a positive view of American culture, they do not show any desire to spread it globally. At the same time, they reject the view that American culture poses a serious threat to other cultures.

One of the most controversial aspects of globalization is the worldwide spread and dominance of American culture. Just as US goods flooded world markets in the post-World War II era, US culture is now penetrating every continent through the dramatic growth of mass communications such as music, television, films and the Internet, as well as through the penetration of American corporations into foreign countries. From China to France to the Middle East, foreign leaders and activists have expressed fear that global culture may become too Americanized, destroying their own cultural, economic and religious traditions.

In the current poll, a strong majority (60%) said they had a favorable view of “American popular culture, such as music, television, and films” (21% had a very favorable opinion). Thirty-nine percent found it to be unfavorable (14% very unfavorable).

Yet there is no indication that the majority has a desire to spread this culture. In fact, a plurality of 48% said they felt either mixed (43%) or bad (5%) feelings when they “hear about McDonalds opening up in cities around the world, or when you hear about the popularity of US TV shows in other countries.” Only 43% said they had good feelings (see next column).

With regard to the content of films and television, a substantial minority of Americans has serious misgivings about the direction of US culture. In a February 1999 poll, respondents were nearly divided on the question of the quality of American movies, with 47% saying they were satisfied and 42% saying they were dissatisfied. Five percent volunteered that they were neutral. A plurality



(45%) expected the content of future American films to be about the same as it is now, but twice as many thought it would get worse rather than better (29% to 15%). Thus, some Americans may sympathize with other countries that might not want to readily accept US cultural dominance in certain areas.

On balance, however, Americans reject the idea that US popular culture is a threat to foreign cultures. PIPA asked, “How much of a threat, if at all, do you think American popular culture, such as music, television and films, is to the cultures of other countries in the world?” Just 24% said American popular culture was a “very serious” (7%) or (17%) “serious threat” (17%) to other countries. By contrast, 33% considered it only a minor threat, and a plurality (41%) said it was not a threat at all. They also may see foreign concerns as overblown. For example, French restrictions on the showing of foreign films—the only trade restriction presented based

on cultural grounds—was the only restriction a majority of Americans rejected as illegitimate in the current poll (54% to 43%).

Americans may downplay the threat of US cultural dominance because they see US popular culture as they do America—a great “melting pot” of many different influences. In a September 1999 Harris Interactive poll, just 29% of Americans thought having a “unique culture and tradition” best described the United States, while many more felt that way for countries like China and Japan. Moreover, Americans view the mixing of cultures as valuable. In May 1999, a Pew poll found that 71% of Americans agreed that cultural diversity was a “major reason” for America’s success.

CONCLUSION

When trying to understand public attitudes on public policy issues over which there is controversy, it is easy for the mind to gravitate to a model of a polarized debate, along the lines of class or partisan conflict. On the question of globalization, it may seem logical that there would be such a bifurcation, and there are data to support this view—with less educated Democrats resisting globalization for fear of having to compete with low wage workers in other countries, and entrepreneurial Republicans showing enthusiasm for the expansion of possible markets. But there are also data that contradict it. For example, Democrats show a more positive attitude than Republicans about globalization overall and are even more positive toward fast track.

More importantly, such a bipolar model obscures what is most salient in how Americans feel about globalization: they primarily feel a tension between conflicting values, rather than primarily viewing globalization through the lens of any specific interest group with which they identify. In the focus groups we conducted, it was very rare for participants to take a strong position on one side of the issue and then argue with another participant on the other side. When asked to rate globalization or trade on a given scale, poll respondents clustered heavily around the midpoint, not the extremes.

A bipolar model also obscures the potential for finding consensus on the questions of globalization—something for which respondents in the focus groups were clearly groping. In this conclusion, we will attempt to map out some of the parameters of such a consensus, as suggested by the findings of this study.

The foundation of such a consensus would likely be the belief that, irrespective of one's preferences, the process of globalization and the growth of international trade is largely inevitable. The debate about protectionism and free trade is not the real debate

in the public's mind. Rather, the question is globalization and trade will grow.

Even in the area of trade—the most controversial dimension of globalization—there are conditions under which a clear majority will support its growth. One key condition for the removal of trade barriers is that it be reciprocal with other countries. Although most economists insist that it is in the interests of the US to remove barriers to imports irrespective of what other countries do, the majority of Americans are not convinced. Enthusiasm for the growth of trade is greatly dampened by the perception that other countries are less open than the US and thus benefit more from trade. If the removal of trade barriers is perceived as reciprocal, a strong majority emerges in favor of it.

This consensus in favor of reciprocal lowering of barriers is, however, vulnerable to concerns about competition from low-wage countries. If it is highlighted that American workers could be subject to such competition, then this consensus slips. However, if the low-wage country is also perceived as poor, then the consensus is restored—apparently due to humanitarian considerations.

This concern for protecting American workers points to another condition that, if met, can generate strong consensus in favor of removing trade barriers, even to low-wage countries. As discussed, if Americans perceive the lowering of trade barriers as threatening American workers, the majority willingness to lower barriers wavers. But maintaining trade barriers is not the preferred means of protecting workers. The preferred means is for the government to create programs to help workers adapt to the changes that come with the growth of trade. If the government does make greater efforts to help workers, the number wanting to impede the growth of trade through trade barriers drops to a small minority, while a clear consensus takes shape.

There are other conditions that are perhaps not as central as the two mentioned, but nonetheless, if they are not met, a consensus in favor of the growth of trade is likely to be shaky. Americans are uncomfortable buying products that are made in harsh and unsafe working conditions. This is prompted by humanitarian concerns and by the recognition that the tolerance of poor working conditions in foreign countries gives US workers a disadvantage in the world market. Americans are also resistant to the idea of importing products that have been made in ways that are harmful to the environment. Americans seem to grasp the idea that if companies can avoid environmental laws by moving to countries with low standards, this will hurt the environment and will, again, weaken the position of workers in countries with higher standards. Thus, to create a solid consensus in support of agreements to lower trade barriers, it will be necessary to see labor and environmental issues addressed as part of the package.

In some cases, Americans are also prone to add other conditions for further opening of trade with other countries. These may include the requirement that trading partners have minimal human rights standards or do not proliferate weapons of mass destruction.

We can think of trade as being like a train moving down a track. The goal of the WTO is to accelerate the train, and thus it has not wanted to burden the train with other ancillary conditions. Critics of the growth of trade want to throw themselves in front of the train to stop it. The public's goal is not to stop or slow down the train but, rather, to load the train with these other conditions—and if doing so does slow the train down, most think this an acceptable cost. This appears to be why the public does not support fast track: it implies letting the train move down the track unburdened by any concerns other than trade.

Of course, it can be argued that these conditions do not really amount to a consensus in favor of the growth of trade, because some of these conditions are hard to meet, even if the US wanted to do so. One could argue that such conditions are really a covert protectionist agenda; that is, Americans are really trying to protect American workers from foreign competition but are doing it in the name of the lofty principles of reciprocity and the promotion of international standards on labor, the environment, human rights, and proliferation.

It is true that it is difficult to tell how much Americans are concerned about these broader international issues and how much they are concerned about American workers, because in many cases the two concerns point in the same policy direction. It is also important to recognize that most Americans are not highly certain about the net benefits of trade, and thus it is not seen as a great cost to allow a slowing of the growth of trade in support of these other values.

But there are reasons to believe that some of these broader international concerns are a genuine force, derived from the globalization of values—i.e., the tendency to view value questions in a global context rather than in a strict national interest context. By a two-to-one margin, respondents favored giving very poor countries preferential trade treatment, even when it was argued that this would create competition for American workers. Support for trade sanctions related to human rights and proliferation was sustained even in the face of arguments that they will cost jobs. Support for requiring American companies to abide by US environmental and health-and-safety standards when operating overseas was overwhelming, even though a strong majority believed this would result in higher prices for Americans. And support for putting more emphasis on environmental considerations in trade negotiations was among those who were more positive about promoting trade and less protective of workers.

The point here is not that Americans are altruistic, but that altruism is part of a wide range of motivations that come into play in complex ways. Many concerns, such as for the environment and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, have direct connections to self-interest. On the other hand, concern for American workers is not inherently self-interested. As noted above, Americans tend to perceive other American workers as more vulnerable to the changes that come with increasing international trade than they are themselves. Apparently, many feel that it is incumbent upon them to forgo the lower prices and business opportunities that would come from trade out of an altruistic concern for other American workers.

To understand what motivates Americans, it is essential to see a multiplicity of forces operating—self-interest, altruistic concern for American workers, concerns for the environment, humanitarian concerns for the poor in other countries, worries about the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the desire for cheap imports and so on. To find consensus, all of these motivations must be addressed to some extent.

Proponents of trade have tried at times to decouple trade from other priorities such as human rights, saying that these issues should be dealt with separately. But they face a problem that is to some extent of their own making; at times they have also argued in favor of such linkages—saying, for example, that promoting trade is a way to promote human rights.

In any case, it is clear that the public is prone to view various objectives as highly interrelated and appropriate to pursue in an integrated fashion. For example, Americans are not likely to respond well to the idea of setting aside, even temporarily, concerns for human rights in favor of the pursuit of greater trade. And stressing how great the economic

benefits of trade are will probably not override these moral considerations.

Obviously, to address so many issues at once puts great demands on policymakers—demands that are likely to even grow further as Americans become more aware of the world and more attuned to the connections between distant events and their interests and values. This does not mean that policies that pursue some goals but do not address others are likely to meet with majority resistance—rather, the public is more likely to respond to such policies in a divided and ambivalent manner. To engender consensus, policies must address the varied issues of globalization and the correspondingly varied human motivations holistically.

APPENDIX A : AMERICANS ON US-CHINA TRADE

Background

US-China trade has been controversial since the thawing of Sino-American relations in the 1970s. However, the debate over how open this trade relationship should be has greatly intensified since the Tiananmen Square crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators in 1989.

Throughout the 1990s, Congress continued to grant yearly extensions of normal trade relations (or most favored nation) status, which guaranteed China the same treatment as all other major US trading partners. The Bush and Clinton Administrations, backed by business and pro-trade forces, have favored this course of action, arguing that maintaining constructive trade and diplomatic relations with China was the best way to encourage reforms in Beijing. Others on both the right and left have favored tying normalized US-China trade to improvements in China's human rights record, greater economic and political freedom in China and an end to Chinese proliferation of nuclear and missile technology in violation of international agreements. Organized labor also has voiced concern about Chinese labor standards, Beijing's ballooning trade surplus with the US and competition with low-wage Chinese workers.

In late 1999, the Clinton Administration reached an agreement with Chinese officials to bring China into the World Trade Organization. Since then, President Clinton has pledged to ask Congress to grant permanent NTR status to China, as requested by Beijing in the December 1999 US-China trade deal. With business and labor groups, among others, poised to do battle on this question, understanding the public's attitudes has never been more important.

Summary

It is unlikely that a majority of Americans would favor either the US Congress granting China permanent normal trading relations or the World Trade Organization extending membership to China. In numerous polls conducted during the last few years, a strong majority has said the US should limit its trade with China to pressure it to improve its human rights record and stop selling nuclear weapons technology. A modest majority has also opposed granting China most favored nation status or normal trade relations. Polls that clarify that China's joining the WTO would result in greater trade without concessions from China on human rights elicit opposition ranging from a strong plurality to a strong majority. The argument that trade promotes political and economic reform in China is not highly persuasive. At the same time, a strong majority of Americans does want to continue to trade with China and does not want to behave in a punitive fashion toward China.

Support for Limiting Trade Based on Concerns for Human Rights, Proliferation

For many years, a strong majority of Americans has said it wants the US to limit trade with China because of China's human rights record. This has been true even when respondents have been presented counter-arguments that trade actually promotes human rights and that limiting trade could have economic costs.

- In a November 1999 Gallup poll, respondents were offered two statements, one of which made the case that "the US should increase trade with China now, because doing so will promote economic, political and religious freedoms in that country." However, only 35% agreed with this statement, while 61% agreed with the statement that "the US should not increase trade with China

until the Chinese government gives more economic, political and religious freedoms to citizens."

- In an October 1999 PIPA poll, respondents were presented the argument that limiting trade with China may not be effective and could cost US jobs. Nonetheless, 75% said the US should limit its trade with China because China "violates a number of international standards for human rights."
- A June 1999 Zogby poll of likely voters found that 65% agreed that China's human rights abuses "should cause the US to put increased restrictions on trade with China."
- Four times since 1996, *CNN* has asked respondents to choose between the argument that it would be better to "establish strong diplomatic and trade relations with China, even if this requires overlooking some of China's human rights violations" and the argument that the US should "take a strong stand on human rights, even if this might jeopardize our diplomatic and trade relations with China." The latter argument has always received majority support, most recently 57% in May 1999 (28% the former argument).
- Between 1995 and 1997, *NBC News* polls found that at least 3 in 5 Americans wanted to "demand that China improve its human rights policies if China wants to continue to enjoy its current trade status with the United States." Only about one-third preferred the opposing argument that "we should maintain good trade relations with China, despite disagreements we might have with its human rights policies."
- Another *NBC/WSJ* question in 1997 found that 57% wanted to "limit our trade with China until it improves its record on human rights," while just 33% thought "China is too important, and

there are other ways to pressure China on its human rights record."

Americans clearly view China has having a poor human rights record. According to a January 2000 Hart Research poll, an overwhelming 81% of Americans said that "compared with other countries the US trades with", China is "below average" (49% "far below") when it comes to "respecting human rights." Only 10% said it was average (7%) or above average (3%).

An even stronger majority has supported limiting trade with China as a way of opposing its sale of nuclear weapons technology. In an October 1999 PIPA poll, 83% favored limiting trade with China because it "has sold components for nuclear weapons and missiles to other countries." Also, a 1997 Gallup poll found that 72% believed it important for the US to "take a strong stand" on "China's sale of nuclear weapons technology internationally."

However, only a bare plurality favors limiting trade for other security-related concerns. When a March 1999 Pew poll asked respondents to weigh containing China militarily against the economic benefits of US-China trade, a plurality (47%) thought it was "more important to contain China's growth as a military power." Forty-two percent thought it was more important to "maintain normal relations with China as a trading partner." In a March 1999 *CNN* poll just 50% wanted the US to "cut back its trade relations with China" because of Chinese spying in the United States (41% were opposed).

Support for limiting trade may also be enhanced by the belief that China is an unfair trader. A January 2000 Hart Research poll found that 61% of Americans think China has "unfair trade policies that make it difficult for American companies to sell products [there]." This is up sharply from a 1994 *NBC* poll in which 48% thought China had "unfair policies toward the United States." In the January 2000 poll, 60% said that, "compared

with other countries the US trades with," China was "below average" in "allowing the US equal access to its market." Just 23% thought access to Chinese markets was average (21%) or above average (2%). However, it is possible that such perspectives could be mobilized to support China's admission to the WTO to force China to allow more access.

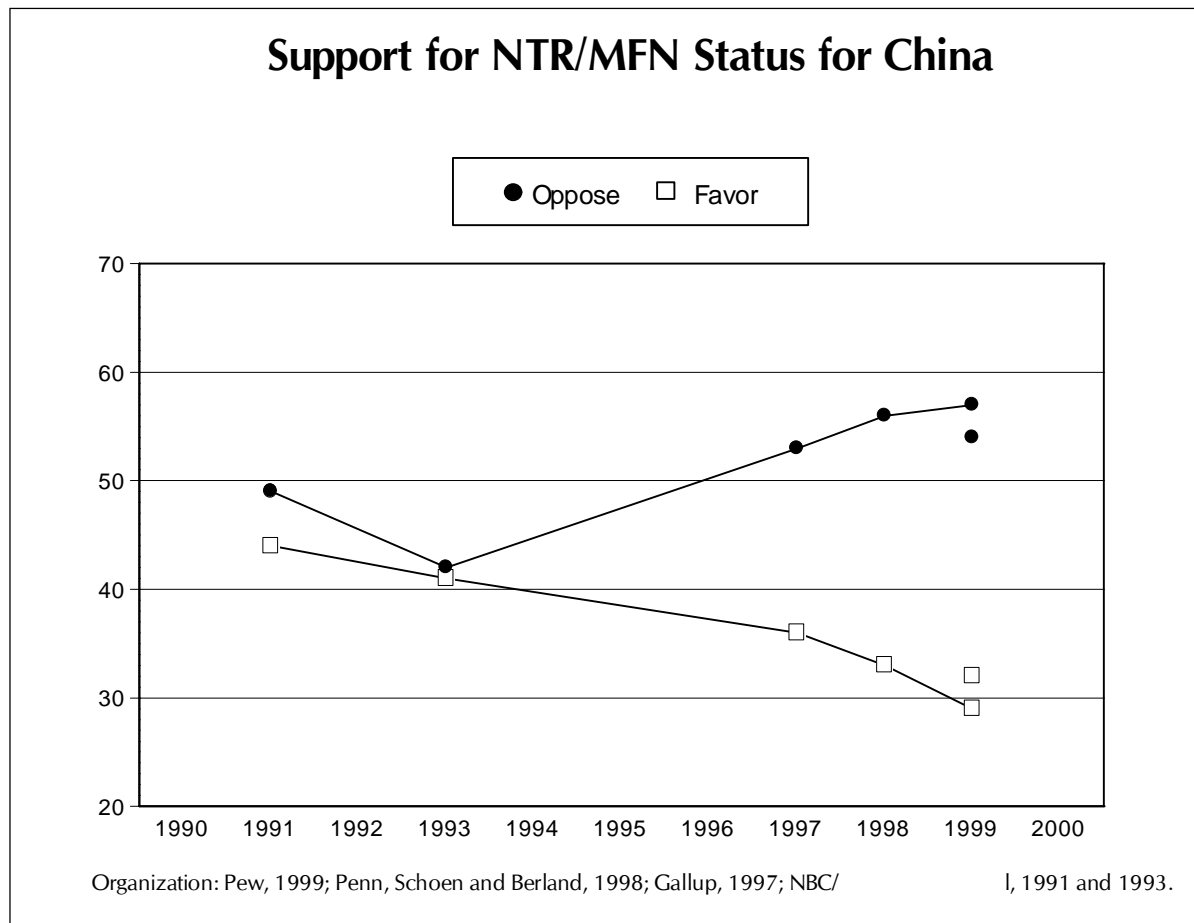
Majority Has Opposed Normal Trading Relations Status

During the past few years, a modest majority of Americans has repeatedly expressed opposition to the current policy of granting China normal trade relations or most favored nation status. This is true even when questions indicated this would simply give China the same trading status as most other US trading partners. The effort to change the term from

most favored status to normal trade relations failed to elicit any improvement in support.

Moreover, public attitudes have been trending against the idea of normal trading status for China (see chart below). In the latest poll, taken in June 1999 by the Pew Research Center, just 32% of Americans thought the US "should grant China" the same trade status as "most nations it trades with, known as normal trade relations." A majority (54%) opposed doing so. This is in contrast to polls from the early 1990s, which showed the public as divided on the issue, with neither supporters nor opponents in the majority.

It also appears the change in terminology — from MFN to NTR — has made no difference in public support. In June 1999, the Pew Research Center



asked the same question to different samples using the different terms, with virtually no change in the outcome. Support for normal trading relations was 32% (with 54% opposed), while support for most favored nation status was 29% (with 57% opposed).

A June 1998 ABC News poll did find somewhat stronger support when it asked if the US “should have free trade with China on the same terms it (the US) gives its main trading partners;” 44% supported that idea, with 46% opposed. This is the only result since 1997 in which support for more open trade with China rose above 36%. This is likely due to the use of the term “free trade,” which resonates positively with some sectors of the public. Also, other polls used the words “grant” or “give” when referring to the extension of NTR or MFN status, indicating the possibility of using trade as leverage against the Chinese on other issues, which the public clearly wants to do.

When Given Information, Majority Opposes China’s Entry into WTO

Given the readiness to limit trade and the lack of support for NTR extension, the prospect of American public support for China’s admission to the WTO is not good. The few poll questions that have asked about Chinese accession suggest that the more information respondents are given, the more likely they are to oppose the idea. When it is made clear that joining the WTO means removing trade limits on China—without prior concessions on democracy and human rights from Beijing—a clear majority is opposed.

The only poll question that found even a modest majority in favor of admitting China to the WTO provided no information about the meaning of such membership and also presented it as an already existing decision (which tends to raise support). A November 1999 Gallup poll simply asked respondents whether they favored “the recent agreement between

China and the United States that would allow China to join the World Trade Organization.” Fifty-four percent expressed support, while just 33% opposed it, and 13% had no opinion. Without information clarifying the meaning of membership some respondents may have simply thought it meant joining an organization in which trade issues are merely discussed. As a general rule, Americans tend to favor multilateral organizations; in the current PIPA poll, 60% said they supported strengthening the WTO.

Poll questions that also offer no information about the meaning of the WTO membership but do not indicate the existence of a preliminary agreement do not show majority support. In a June 1999 Fox News poll, 44% were in favor when asked simply how they felt about “allowing China to join the World Trade Organization,” while 36% were opposed and 20% were not sure. A January 2000 Hart Research poll found only 36% favored “a proposal to admit China to the WTO,” while 48% were opposed.

Questions that present China’s admission to the WTO as a way to open Chinese markets tend to do a bit better. In a January 2000 NBC/ poll, 51% said that Congress should approve “a trade agreement that would allow China’s entry into the World Trade Organization, the main international trading organization, in exchange for making Chinese markets more open and treating US products the same as those from other countries.” Thirty-five percent opposed approval. The same question produced nearly identical results in December 1999.

However, when a contrasting argument emphasizing China’s unfair trade policies is offered in addition to the argument that WTO membership would open up China, a plurality rejected China’s accession to the WTO. For example, a September 1999 NBC News/ question included the statement that “Those in favor say that

membership will encourage China to open its markets to more products, including American ones. Opponents say that China's trade practices aren't fair enough to allow it to be part of the world trading body." In this case, 47% said they opposed having China join the WTO, while just 38% favored it. This suggests some feel that China cannot be trusted to follow through on the commitments related to WTO membership. Indeed in a January 2000 Hart Research poll nearly half (48%) said "compared with other countries that the US trades with," China was below average (24% far below average) in "living up to the agreements it makes with the United States." Just 32% thought that China was average (25%) or above average (7%) in this regard.

Several other polls, while not mentioning the WTO by name, have described the meaning of including China in the WTO. When such information is given, a majority or plurality is opposed to China's joining the world trade body. For example, a February 2000 Pew poll informed respondents that the US "grants a trade status to most nations it trades with known as normal trade relations" and asked if the US should "permanently grant this status to China, or not?" A solid 56% majority thought the US should not, while only 28% felt it should (16% didn't know). In January 2000, a Hart Research poll said that "this year Congress will consider legislation that would permanently establish free trade relations between the US and China," and asked whether respondents favored or opposed "permanent free trade relations with China." In that case, 49% said they opposed the idea (25% strongly), while 41% favored it.

Opposition to admitting China to the WTO rose higher when it was made clear this meant that there would be no more annual review of China's trade status, and thus no opportunity to tie improvement in China's human rights practices to expanded US-China trade. In the same Hart Research poll, 65% of respondents opposed (41% strongly) legislation

"granting permanent trade access to the US market, with no more annual review of China's human rights and trade record by Congress." Just 18% favored such legislation and 17% were not sure.

Using a similar formulation, the same poll found that members of Congress who vote in favor of freer trade with China could be hurt in the 2000 elections. It asked:

If your member of Congress voted in favor of permanent free trade relations with China, eliminating the current requirement for annual reviews of China's human rights record, would you be more likely to vote for that candidate, less likely to vote for that candidate, or would it not affect your vote either way?

About half of respondents (49%) said they would be less likely to vote for such a candidate (28% much less likely). Only 12% said they would be more likely to vote for the candidate. Thirty-two percent said that a candidate's stance would not affect their vote either way.

A November 1999 Zogby poll asked:

Should the US have a permanent open market with China and admit the country to the global trade system, or should the US insist on better human rights and freedom of religion in China before we establish a permanent open market?

Posed as a choice between pressing for human rights improvements and irreversibly opening trade with China without any conditions, a strong 67% wanted to insist on reforms first, while just 21% wanted to admit China to the WTO. Ten percent were not sure.

When respondents are given full arguments on both sides of the debate, a very strong majority is opposed to the China-WTO deal. The January 2000

Hart poll posed a question that laid out all of the key arguments related to trade and human rights:

Let me read you statements made by people on both sides of the debate over trade relations with China, and then get your reaction. **Supporters** of permanent free trade relations with China say that this agreement will eliminate barriers to U.S. products, expanding our exports and creating good jobs in America. They say that American business will be hurt if other countries have access to the Chinese market and we don't. They also say that the best way to improve human rights in China is not to restrict trade, but to engage China and include it in important international bodies, such as the World Trade Organization. **Opponents** say that China's record of human rights abuses, use of forced labor, and violations of past trade agreements means that it has not yet earned permanent free trade relations. They say that Congress should continue to have annual reviews, to make sure that China keeps its promises to open its market to U.S. products and improve human rights. They also say that Congress should only give China permanent access to our market when it agrees to meet real human rights and labor standards. Do you agree more with the supporters or the opponents of permanent free trade relations with China?

In this case, 70% said they agreed more with the opponents of permanent free trade relations, while just 21% agreed more with the supporters' argument.

Economic Engagement Argument Unpersuasive

A key argument presented to Americans in support of including China in the WTO is that engaging China in open trade will promote reform there. This argument is not found to be very persuasive. As noted above, in a November 1999 Gallup poll that presented two arguments, only 35% agreed with the statement that the "US should increase trade with

China now, because doing so will promote economic, political and religious freedoms in that country." Sixty-one percent preferred making increased trade contingent on China first making the reforms.

When the argument in favor of engagement is presented by itself, it fares slightly better but still does not garner even plurality support. In a June 1999 Zogby poll, just 39% agreed that increased trade would be an effective way to "insure [sic] improvements" in China's human rights policies. Forty-three percent disagreed, and 18% were not sure. A Pew Research Center poll taken the same month also found that 39% thought "trade between China and Western nations" would lead to China "becoming more democratic." Forty-seven percent disagreed, with 14% not sure.

A majority of Americans also sees little evidence that the current trade policy of annually renewing MFN/NTR status has produced much in the way of favorable results. With regard to democratic reform, Gallup and Pew polls taken since 1997 have shown that only about 1 in 4 Americans thought China is becoming more democratic and allowing its citizens more freedoms. About 3 in 5 thought this was not happening, and about 10% were not sure. A May 1998 Harris poll showed that a slim majority of Americans (51%) said there had been no change in the level of democratization since 1989. The story is similar for economic reform. Pew and Gallup polls have found that a plurality rejects the idea that China's economy is "becoming more like the kind of free-market system found in the United States and other Western countries." In March 1999, just 34% thought this was happening, while 47% believed it was not. Nineteen percent did not know.

It is likely that the disapproval of renewing MFN/NTR for China coupled with the perception that the policy has not produced positive change in China has played a key role in the public's rating of President Clinton's handling of US-China relations. In

May 1999, just 36% approved and 46% disapproved, with 18% not sure. This is consistent with results from the past three years, during which MFN status has been annually renewed. Approval of the president's overall performance during this period has been around 60%.

But Public Still Wants Trade with China and Opposes Punitive Stance

Even though a majority opposes NTR and is likely to oppose WTO admission, a majority does believe that some trade with China is important and good for the US. In a May 1999 poll, an overwhelming 80% agreed that "China is an important market and trading partner for the US." Also, twice as many Americans said they think trade with China is good for the US economy than said it was bad for the economy (50% to 23%) in a June 1998 CBS/

trade. For example, a September 1999 poll by Mark Penn, one of President Clinton's pollsters, found that to encourage change in China, just 29% wanted to "cut off trade with China to punish it for its crack-down on Democracy." Nearly two-thirds preferred to "constructively engage with China to keep it moving toward greater economic and political freedom." Also in 1999, a Newsweek poll found that only 37% thought the best way to "bring more democracy, human rights, and economic reform to China" was by "imposing greater penalties on China and limits on US-China relations." By contrast, 51% wanted to "continue the current policy of commercial dealings and other engagement."

While, as discussed, a majority tends to put a higher priority on pressing for human rights over promoting trade, there are some limits to how much economic cost this majority will bear. When a May 1999 CNN/ poll posed two arguments, the one that said the US "should link human rights issues in China with US-China trade policy,

(emphasis added) elicited just 46% support. Nearly as many, 45%, said they would prefer to not link human rights and trade "because doing so might hurt US economic interests." Similarly, a May 1997 Fox News poll asked whether China's human rights record or the economic benefits of US-China trade should determine whether the US should renew China's MFN status. Forty-three percent chose the economic benefits, while 41% chose human rights.

Also, while Americans do want to take a clear stand against China's human rights violations, they do not want to behave in a punitive or antagonizing fashion and do not want to go so far as to cut off all

APPENDIX B : NAFTA

Summary

Since late 1997 a plurality of Americans has felt that the NAFTA agreement has produced net benefits for the US. Only a small minority wants to withdraw from it. But a majority does express some dissatisfaction with NAFTA in its present form. Strong majorities think NAFTA is good for US businesses; however, the public is divided about its benefits for consumers and workers. A plurality or slight majority believes that NAFTA is costing US jobs and putting a downward pressure on the wages of US workers.

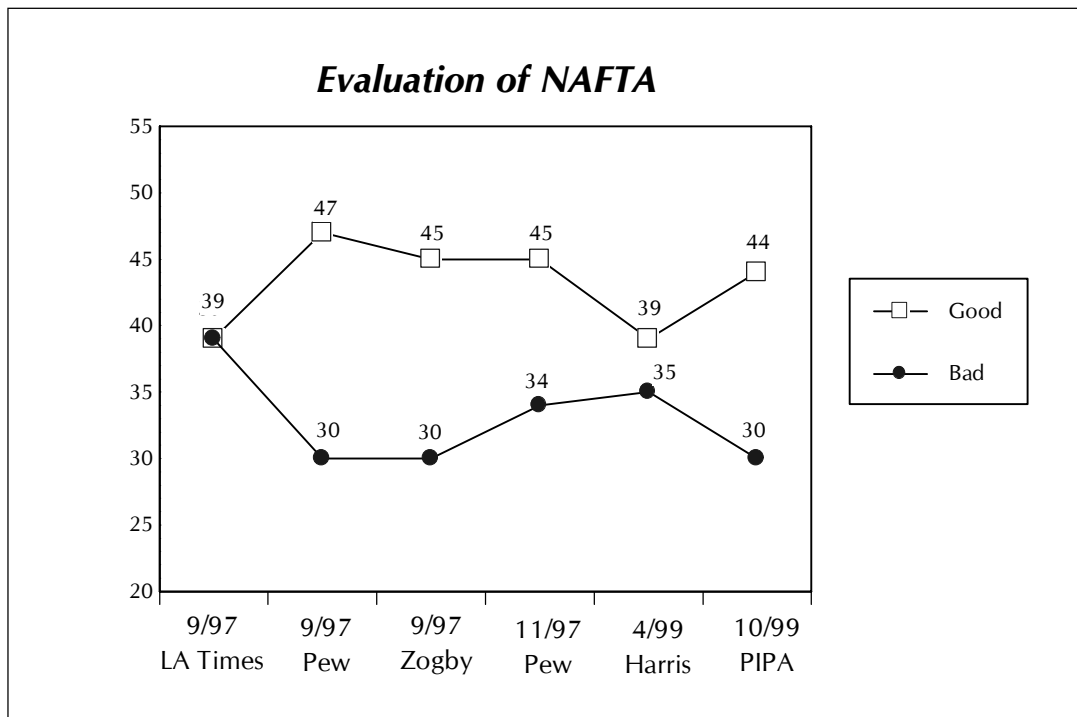
As a microcosm of the universe of attitudes on trade, there are few better examples than public attitudes on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). NAFTA enjoys lukewarm support even though it has several of the elements that make Americans uneasy about expanded trade: the perception of unfair trade practices by a trading part-

ner, the potential loss of jobs due to low-cost imports, and competition with low-wage foreign workers.

Modest Support for NAFTA

In the current PIPA poll, NAFTA elicited modest support. Asked “Do you think the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA, has been good or bad for the United States?”, a plurality of 44% viewed NAFTA as good for the US, 30% as bad, and 18% said they did not know. This is largely the same result that other polls have gotten since late 1997. As shown below, a stable plurality has had a positive view of NAFTA.

When a Kaiser/Harvard poll also offered the option—“or haven’t you heard enough to say?”—51% chose that option, while 24% said NAFTA had been good and 20% thought it had been bad.



When posed the question of whether the US should withdraw from NAFTA, only a small minority favors doing so. Three /CNN polls from early 1996 found only about a third of the public in favor of “withdrawing,” while roughly half were opposed, and the remainder unsure. In May 1999, an Epic-MRA poll probed for a 5-year assessment of NAFTA by asking whether the US should continue in NAFTA or not. Just 18% wanted to “pull out of NAFTA.”

However, some reservations about NAFTA clearly persist. In the May 1999 Epic-MRA poll, though just 18% wanted to “pull out of NAFTA,” only 24% said they simply wanted to “continue the NAFTA agreement” as is. A plurality of 40% believed NAFTA should be “continued with changes.” Thus 58% expressed some dissatisfaction with NAFTA.

In the focus groups, general approval of NAFTA also seemed to be the dominant feeling. Some based their view on a generally positive view of free trade:

Well, I really have a positive view [of NAFTA] because I have been in favor of the whole free market idea. I mean, let’s find out how we compete with Canada and Mexico. (Woman, Dallas)

Others noted that the dire negative consequences that had been predicted had not panned out:

When [NAFTA] started up a few years ago I was leaning against it because of the so-called job sucking, but what I read and for what I’ve observed it hasn’t worked out that way.... Look at our employment, it’s as high as it’s ever been. (Man, Dallas)

Also, some mentioned that NAFTA seemed to be positive for Mexico:

Well, for one thing I think it’s helped Mexico become a more stable country—politically and economically. (Man, Battle Creek).

Attitudes about NAFTA have gone through a complex evolution. In 1991 and 1992, prior to Congressional debate, support for NAFTA was quite high. The high-profile debate of 1993, though, engendered considerably more uncertainty—such that shortly before NAFTA’s passage, the public was split on whether it favored or opposed it. In early November 1993, a /CNN poll found that 41% supported the agreement to “eliminate all trade barriers” between the US, Canada, and Mexico. An almost equal number were opposed (39%), with 20% undecided. At the same time, ABC News found the public evenly split as to whether “Congress should approve or reject NAFTA”: 42% said they should and 42% said they should not. Other available data from this period reveals similarly divided views (for example, CBS/ in November 1993 found 37% in favor and 41% opposed—a difference that falls within the margin of error).

However, in December 1993, after Congress approved the trade deal, NBC found that 53 percent of Americans said it was a “step in the right direction,” and just 33% said it was a “step in the wrong direction.” Also in December 1993, Times Mirror found that, among those who were following NAFTA closely, 52% favored the treaty and 33% opposed it.

Between 1994 and 1997, a plurality felt that the net results of NAFTA for the US were not positive as yet. For example, between July 1994 and July 1997, NBC/ polls asked the public for an assessment of NAFTA’s impact on the US “so far.” In all four cases, a modest plurality said they believed NAFTA had “more of a negative impact” on the US. In July 1997, 42% said NAFTA had been negative so far, while 32% said it had been positive.

As noted, in late 1997 support increased and has stayed steady since. This may have been in response to general improvements in the economy.

Business Seen as Benefiting More Than Consumers

Public attitudes about NAFTA are consistent with the general attitude, discussed above, that international trade is a boon for American business but a marginal benefit for average Americans. This helps explain the less than enthusiastic support for the trade agreement.

In various polls, about 3 in 5 respondents have said that NAFTA would be good for American “companies” or “corporations.” Most recently, in February 1996, a CNN poll found 58% thought “free trade agreements like NAFTA and GATT are mostly good” for “American corporations.” Only 23% said it would be bad for them. Also in February 1996, CNN found that 57% thought NAFTA would be “mostly good” for “Wall Street investors”; just 15% said it would be mostly bad. In an NBC News/ poll from September 1993, 55% of Americans agreed that “only big American corporations will benefit” from NAFTA; 37% disagreed.

Americans are less certain about NAFTA’s benefits for US consumers. In a February 1996 CNN poll, 45% said that “free trade agreements like NAFTA and GATT are mostly good” for “American consumers.” Thirty-five percent said they had been “mostly bad” and 20% were unsure.

Concern For Effects on US Workers

Pluralities or slight majorities believe that NAFTA has cost Americans jobs. A September 1997 Zogby poll asked those who said they were familiar with NAFTA (58% of the sample) whether they believed that it “has created more jobs or that it has led to a net loss of jobs.” Only 28% said NAFTA had led to

more jobs, while 44% thought it had resulted in a net loss of jobs. In August 1996, a poll found that a majority of Americans (52%) said the “free trade agreement between Mexico and the United States”—with no mention of Canada—had “taken jobs away from the American people.” Only 6% said it had “generated more jobs,” and 24% said it made no difference one way or the other. In an October 1996 survey by the Associated Press, just 21% said that NAFTA “makes for more jobs” in the US, while 47% said it makes for less jobs here (29% said they did not know).

Moreover, in addition to concerns for jobs leaving the US, a plurality believes that NAFTA exerts a downward pressure on wages of US workers. In a 1997 poll sponsored by Wisconsin Public Television, 45% said they believed free trade agreements like NAFTA have done more to “keep wages down” in the US. Twenty-six percent said such agreements have not had much effect, and only 17% said they believed they have done more to increase wages. This is similar to data from 1993, when a Gallup/CNN/ poll found that 49% thought NAFTA would lower wages, 30% thought it would have no effect, and just 11% thought it would raise wages.

APPENDIX C : COMPARISON WITH EUROPEAN ATTITUDES

To better understand US attitudes on globalization and trade, it is important to place those views in the context of attitudes in other countries. For this study, PIPA asked several questions that were the same as or similar to ones asked in four European countries in the spring of 1999 by the Office of Research of the US Information Agency (which has since become Office of Research, Department of State). This builds on results of PIPA's study of transatlantic trade attitudes in April 1998, which was also coordinated with then-USIA questions.

Economic Globalization

Modest majorities or large pluralities in the US and four European countries all expressed positive views of economic globalization.

In spring 1999, USIA asked respondents in each European country whether the "globalization of the economy—that is, the increasing trade links among countries of the world"—was a good thing, a bad thing, or both "for our own country's economy." A majority of Italians (54%) embraced economic globalization; 49% in Britain and France thought it was a good thing; and 42% of Germans said the same. France had the most negative responses, with 24% saying economic globalization was bad, and 15% of British respondents agreed. Germans were more likely to have mixed views, with just 10% saying economic globalization was negative, but 24% thinking it was both good and bad. About a quarter of respondents in each country said they did not have an opinion, except in France (16%).

US views are not very different. As noted elsewhere in this report, PIPA found that 53% of Americans thought overall globalization was more positive than negative. But when Americans were asked to rate the "growth of international trade" on a zero to

ten scale, just 41% viewed it as more positive than negative. Others rated it as equally positive and negative or more negative.

Foreign Investment

Majorities in Europe view foreign investment positively, while a modest majority of Americans takes a negative view.

Europeans appear to be more open to foreign investment than Americans. Only in the United States did a majority think foreign investment was dangerous for the economy. In Europe—as the box below shows—slim majorities believed it was nec-

| | US (PIPA) | Britain (USIA) | France (USIA) | Germany (USIA) | Italy (USIA) |
|------------------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Necessary/ positive | 43 | 51 | 53 | 59 | 59 |
| Dangerous | 52 | 36 | 37 | 21 | 23 |
| DK/Refused | 6 | 13 | 11 | 20 | 18 |

essary and positive in France and Britain, and solid majorities favored it in Germany and Italy.

Openness to Trade

In a classic case of a mirror image, by overwhelming margins Europeans and Americans both perceive their side as more open to imports from the other side. Americans show a readiness to further

remove trade barriers with Europe on a reciprocal basis even though a plurality mistakenly believe that European labor standards are lower than in the US.

An abundance of polling data show that Europeans and Americans both perceive their own countries as more open to products from the other side. In the 1998 and 1999 USIA polls, Europeans were asked to rate their own country and to rate the US in terms of how easy or difficult each side makes it for the other's companies to sell manufactured products in their own countries. On the whole, in both years the Europeans overwhelmingly rated themselves as open. On the other hand, in 1999, only about a third or less in Britain, France and Italy thought the US to be open to EU products. A small majority in Germany did see the US as open. In 1998, only a minority in France and Germany and a plurality in Britain said the US makes it easy for the EU to sell manufactured products in the US.

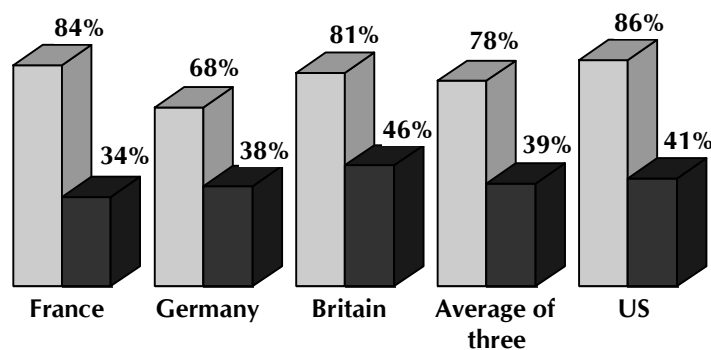
Europeans also see the US as more resistant to the trade of agricultural products. In 1999, majorities of French (65%) and British (52%) and a plurality of Italians (48%) said that their country makes it easy for the US to sell agricultural products there. Only in Germany was this not the case: 48% said Germany makes it hard for the US to sell farm goods there, while just 31% said Germany makes it easy.

On the other hand, majorities of the French (66%) and Germans (53%), and pluralities of British (49%) and Italians (39%) said the US makes it difficult for them to export agricultural goods to the US. In 1998, a strong majority of the French and modest majorities of British and Germans saw their own country as open to US agricultural products, while less than one-third in each country saw the US as open.

Consistent with these perceptions, some Europeans say they see the US as a difficult trade partner. In a May 1997 USIA poll, 72% of French

Europeans and Americans Both More Apt to See Themselves as Open to Products from the Other

□ Percent saying own country is open
 ■ Percent saying other side is open



respondents characterized the U.S. as uncooperative “on trade issues with the EU” (cooperative: 19%). Germans were more divided on the issue, with a plurality of 44% viewing the US as uncooperative, and 38% viewing the US as cooperative. Among the British, 32% saw the US as uncooperative, but a larger number—43%—saw the US as cooperative.

Americans are equally confident that the US is more open than Europe. In spring 1998 PIPA asked Americans “Please tell me your hunch: which is more open to imported products from the other, Western Europe or the US?” At that time, 71% said the US, while only 21% said Western Europe. An overwhelming 86% said the US makes it very (36%) or fairly (50%) easy for European companies “to sell their manufactured products” in the US. Just 41% said the Europeans make it fairly difficult. Among another sample, 74% agreed with the statement, “In general, European countries do not let in American goods as much as America lets in European goods” (20% disagreed). Clearly, the perceptions of both sides are strikingly symmetrical and are a classic case of a mirror image.

In the current poll, PIPA took a slightly different approach, but also found that Americans view other countries as less committed to open trade. Rather than asking respondents to assess US and EU policies, a single question was used to get a direct comparison of trade openness:

I would like to know your impression of how open the US is to imports as compared to how open most other countries are. Is it your impression that the US is more open, less open, or about the same as most other countries?

An overwhelming 81% of Americans said the US was more open than other countries, with a 57% majority saying the US was much more open than

others. Just 6% said they thought other countries were more open.

Europeans are also more apt to believe that their own country follows a free trade policy than the US does. In spring 1999, USIA found that a majority in all four European countries polled—Britain, France, Germany and Italy—thought their countries followed a policy of free trade. As the box below shows, those majorities ranged from an overwhelming 81% in France to a mere 51% in Britain.

| | Britain | France | Germany | Italy |
|--------------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| Free trade | 51 | 81 | 66 | 60 |
| Restrictions | 29 | 11 | 20 | 20 |
| DK/Refused | 20 | 8 | 14 | 20 |

At the same time, in only two of the four countries did a plurality or majority think the US followed a policy of free trade (see below)— Italy (52%) and Germany (45%).

| | Britain | France | Germany | Italy |
|--------------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| Free trade | 29 | 41 | 45 | 52 |
| Restrictions | 44 | 47 | 36 | 24 |
| DK/Refused | 27 | 12 | 19 | 24 |

Although there is no comparable data on the European side, Americans have shown a strong readiness to further open their markets to European products on a reciprocal basis, even though they perceive that Europeans have lower labor standards. Asked in the spring 1998 PIPA poll, what to do “If the countries of the European Union say they will lower barriers to products from the US if we will lower our barriers to their products,” a strong majority of 64% said the US should agree to do so, while 28% said it should not.

Interestingly, this support for lowering trade barriers with Europe is strong despite the fact that a plurality mistakenly believes that labor standards are lower in Europe than in the US. Forty-eight percent said that it is their impression “that standards for labor conditions” are lower in Europe, while just 18% said they were higher in Europe (same 25%).

A very slight plurality (35%) also had the perception that “standards for protecting the environment” are lower in Europe. Just 21% said they are higher while 34% said that they are about the same. In fact, overall European environmental standards are not sharply different from those of the US.

Trade and Jobs

While large majorities in all countries believe importing products means at least some loss of jobs, this belief is somewhat stronger in the US than in Europe. Both Europeans and Americans tend to put a higher priority on the preservation of jobs than on the benefit of lower prices that comes with trade. Like Americans, Europeans show resistance to opening their markets to goods from low-wage countries. Europeans are firmly in favor of their own system of protecting workers over the American model, while Americans want their government to play a stronger role in helping workers adapt to the changes of globalization.

Although respondents in the US and all European countries believed importing products means a loss of jobs, Americans were the most likely to think that trade costs jobs (see box below). British and French views were similar, though slightly less pessimistic. Germany and Italy were more positive. Only 9% of Americans thought trade did not result in job losses, while 35% of Italians thought the same.

| | US (PIPA) | Britain (USIA) | France (USIA) | Germany (USIA) | Italy (USIA) |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Many jobs lost | 38 | 34 | 34 | 30 | 16 |
| Only a few jobs lost | 50 | 47 | 45 | 37 | 37 |
| No jobs | 9 | 12 | 16 | 19 | 35 |
| DK/Refused | 3 | 7 | 5 | 14 | 12 |

As discussed in the body of the report, when trade is presented as a choice between lower prices and the potential loss of jobs, a modest majority of Americans prefers restrictions on foreign imports in order to protect jobs. European reactions are similar. In 1997 USIA presented a prices vs. jobs choice in a European survey: “Some people favor restrictions on foreign imports to protect [country] jobs. Others oppose restrictions because they lead to higher consumer prices. Which view is closer to your own?” In that instance, 51% of the British, 56% of the Germans and 63% of the French said they preferred such restrictions while minorities opposed such restrictions (France 32%, Britain 38%, Germany 39%).

Similar to Americans’ resistance to removing trade barriers to countries with low wages, Europeans have shown a resistance to opening their mar-

kets to goods from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. A USIA question asked whether their country “should open its markets more than it already has to low cost goods (including textiles, steel and agricultural products) from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.” A majority of the French (65%) and Germans (63%) were opposed, while a plurality of the British (46%) felt that way.

Europeans are firmly in favor of their own system of protecting workers over the competitive advantages of a US-style system. In a January 1997 USIA poll, respondents were presented two statements about the US model. Majorities in France (76%), Germany (68%) and Britain (57%) chose the one that said the U.S. system “neglects too many social problems because of a lack of job security and few employment benefits for many workers.” On average, only a quarter consider the US a desirable economic model “because it is able to maintain economic competitiveness through a flexible system of labor.” Similarly, in an October 1996 poll for *Le Monde*, 66% of those interviewed in France said they preferred the French system where there is good social protection but lots of unemployment, while 18% preferred the American system where there is little social protection, but little unemployment.

As discussed in the body of the report, Americans are not entirely happy with the current American approach. A strong majority would like to see the government play a larger role in helping workers adapt to the changes that have come with globalization.

Views of US Culture

Despite much talk about the spread of American culture through globalization, only a small minority in Western Europe, as well as the US, consider US culture a threat to other cultures. Views are more divided in Central and Eastern Europe, where somewhat more of a threat is perceived, but perceptions are not highly negative overall. Further, a modest

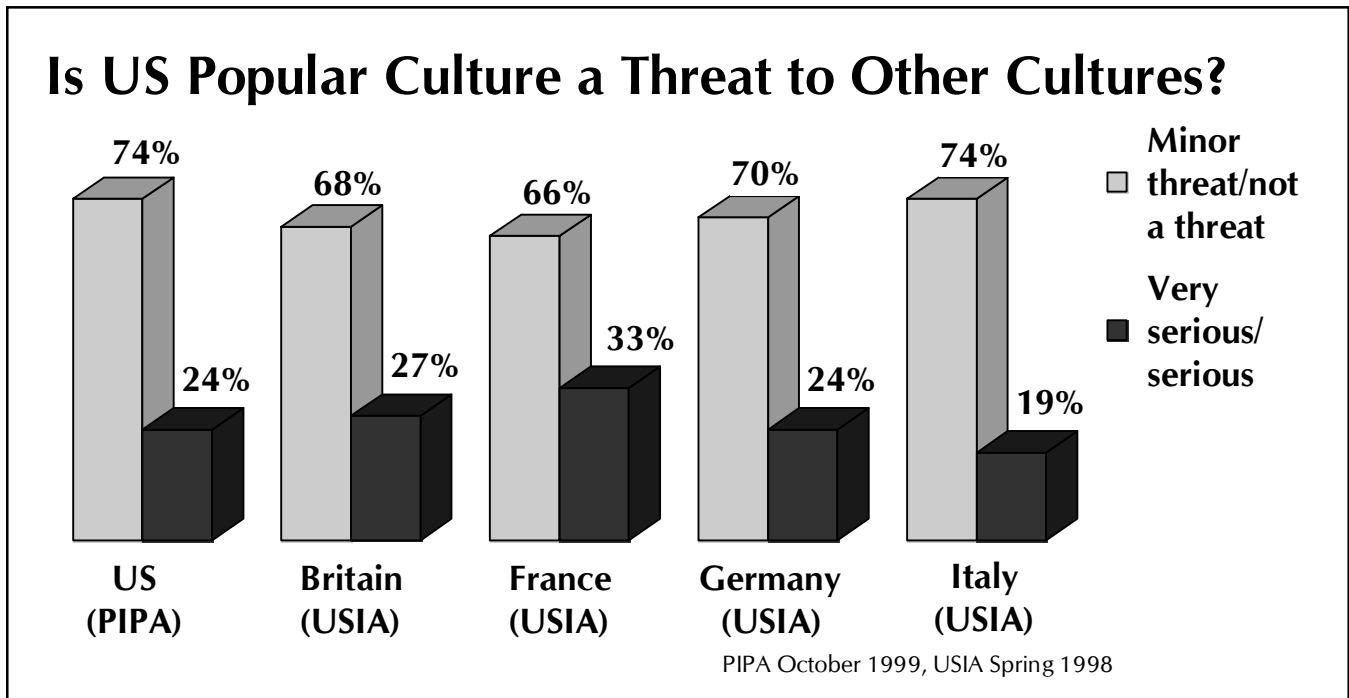
majority of West Europeans has a positive view of American popular culture, as does a slightly stronger majority of Americans. A plurality of Russians and Ukrainians also find US culture appealing.

Despite much talk about the threat of American culture through globalization, only a small minority in Western Europe, as well as the US, consider US culture a threat to other cultures. West Europeans have a fairly benign view of American culture. USIA polls conducted in spring 1999 found that only small minorities in Italy (19%), Britain (27%), and Germany (24%) thought US popular culture was a serious threat; in France this view was held by one-third. In all countries, two-thirds or more saw it as a “minor threat” or “not a threat at all.” This is similar to the low level of threat Americans perceive (see next page).

Indeed, not only do most West Europeans think US culture is not a threat, but they also have a generally favorable view of US popular culture. A strong majority in Italy (65%), a modest majority in Britain (54%), and slim majorities in France and Germany (51% each) all viewed US popular culture favorably. Unfavorable responses ranged from 26% in Italy to 45% in France. In the current PIPA poll, while Americans were more apt to rate American popular culture “very” favorably, the 60% of Americans with a favorable view of US popular culture was only



| | US (PIPA) | Britain (USIA) | France (USIA) | Germany (USIA) | Italy (USIA) |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Very favorable | 21 | 11 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Somewhat favorable | 39 | 43 | 41 | 41 | 55 |
| Somewhat | 25 | 27 | 35 | 30 | 20 |
| Very unfavorable | 14 | 13 | 10 | 11 | 6 |
| DK/Refused | 2 | 7 | 4 | 8 | 9 |



slightly higher than in European countries (Britain 54%, France 51%, Germany 51%, Italy 65%).

Views in Russia and Ukraine are also mildly positive about US culture. According to a USIA poll in March 1997, a 46% plurality of Ukrainians said they usually find products of US culture—such as films, television and books—to be “appealing.” Only 17% found them “unappealing,” with 23% “indifferent.” In Russia, a June 1995 USIA poll found a more modest plurality (38%) thought items of US culture to be appealing. Still, only 19% found them unappealing, and 22% were indifferent.

USIA polls from September 1997 show that publics in Central and Eastern Europe have a wide range of views about US culture as a threat to their own. In Hungary, a majority (55%) agreed that “the influence of American culture is a threat to our own culture.” Respondents in the Czech Republic and Slovakia were divided evenly. A plurality in Poland (48%) and a strong majority in Albania (69%) disagreed that US culture is a threat (see next column).

| | Agree | Disagree |
|----------------|-------|----------|
| Albania | 20 | 69 |
| Poland | 39 | 48 |
| Slovakia | 46 | 46 |
| Czech Republic | 49 | 46 |
| Hungary | 55 | 35 |

APPENDIX D: DEMOGRAPHIC VARIATION

Summary

In most cases, there were minimal variations between different demographic groups in their attitudes toward issues related to globalization. With a few rare exceptions, the majority positions in all demographic groups were the same, though the size of the majority did in some cases vary substantially. The demographic category that showed the strongest variation was education, with those at higher educational levels having more positive attitudes toward globalization and trade. Higher income levels were also associated with more positive attitudes, but this effect was often attributable to the higher educational levels among those with higher incomes. Younger people, racial minorities, and Democrats also showed somewhat more positive attitudes. Women showed a bit more skepticism about the benefits of trade and more concern about its effect on workers. Those who had suffered a recent job loss were distinctly more dubious about the benefits of trade. Regional differences were virtually nonexistent.

Education

Education was the demographic variable that showed the strongest variation.

On general questions about globalization and trade, there was a tendency for those with higher education to be more positive, although this was not pervasive. In only a few cases did the majority of any educational subgroup vary from the dominant trend. The most striking cases were ones that asked about how high a priority it should be to protect those who might lose their jobs, with those of higher education giving it a lower priority. This latter difference is not hard to understand, given that despite good economic times those without a high school diploma feel that their economic security has diminished over the last ten years, and barely a

majority of those with a high school diploma feels it has improved.

Individuals at all levels of education on average felt positively about globalization, both in general and in terms of its effect on their own lives; however, people with higher levels of education felt more positively. Individuals with a bachelor's degree or higher rated globalization 6.4 out of 10, while those without a high school diploma gave it a mildly positive 5.3. Those with a college degree or higher rated the effect they expect further globalization to have on them personally as 6.4, those with some college education rated it 5.6, high school graduates rated it 5.3 and those without a diploma 5.4. These differences were reflected in the support for various strategies these groups evinced.

While individuals with an advanced degree rated international trade very favorably (6.2 out of 10), this rating declines with declining educational attainment to a mildly positive 5.3 for those with a high school diploma or less. Similarly, those with advanced degrees rated the impact of trade on themselves as 5.7 of 10, while those with less education saw the impact as increasingly less positive and those with a high school diploma or less saw it as mildly negative (4.8). However, the higher positive ratings of the personal impact of increased trade are mostly attributable to the individual's household income, that is, people with higher incomes felt trade's impact on themselves was more positive and these same individuals also tended to have more education.

Attitudes about NAFTA and fast track followed this same pattern. A majority of those with advanced degrees (58%) and college degrees (52%) thought NAFTA had been good for the US. However, only pluralities of those with some college education (44%), high school graduates (41%) and those without a high school diploma (40%) considered NAFTA

to have been good. While a majority at every education level opposed “fast track” legislation, opposition rises strongly as education level declines. Two-thirds of (66%) of those who did not graduate from high school opposed “fast track” legislation, while a bare majority (51%) of those with high school or higher opposed such legislation.

One case in which a plurality of a demographic group did vary from the dominant trend was on the question of what the government should do about globalization. An overwhelming majority of respondents with a college degree or higher (75%) felt that the government should either simply allow the present process of globalization to continue or actively promote it. There was declining consensus for those with some college (65%) and with a high school diploma (57%). However, among those who did not finish high school, just 42% wanted the government to pursue this policy, while 46% favored having the government try to slow down or stop globalization.

Attitudes about free trade followed this pattern as well. While a bare majority of the sample as a whole said that free trade was a good idea because it can lead to lower prices and long-term economic growth, a strong majority of those with advanced degrees (69%) felt this way. High school graduates split (47% to 48%) on whether free trade is a good idea or a bad idea, and just 37% of respondents without a high school diploma thought free trade was a good idea, while 57% said it was a bad idea.

Attitudes about foreign investment also showed such variation. A majority of those without a college degree (56%) thought that that foreign investment might be dangerous because it allows outsiders too much control over US affairs; however, just 37% of those with college degrees or higher levels of education thought it might be dangerous.

The sharpest differences between educational levels was on questions that addressed the priority to be given to the vulnerability of American workers. Those with the lowest levels of education were much more sensitive to the disruptive costs of job loss. A strong majority of individuals without a high school diploma (66%) and high school graduates (65%) felt that even the creation of higher paying jobs was not worth the disruption caused by people losing their jobs because of freer trade. By contrast, just one third (33%) of those with a college degree or higher thought the new jobs were not worth the disruption, while 60% of them said it was better to have the higher paying jobs.

Those with lower education were much less ready to accept the loss of jobs as part of a trade agreement that leads to lower consumer prices. When asked about a possible scenario in which a worker in an American shoe factory loses his or her job as a result of a trade agreement, a very strong majority (72%) of those with a high school diploma or less said that they thought such an agreement would be a mistake if it resulted in American workers ending up in lower paying jobs. A strong majority (63%) of those with some college education also thought it would be a mistake. On the other hand, just 43% of those with a college degree or higher thought the agreement was a mistake, while 51% thought the trade agreement was the right thing to do.

These differences in response are not hard to understand, given that less educated Americans have a much less positive view of their own economic security. Despite recent economic boom times, a plurality (43%) of those without a high school diploma say that their economic security has worsened over the last ten years and only a bare majority of high school graduates (53%) say it has improved. However, solid majorities of those with some college (63%), college degrees (70%) or advanced degrees (72%) say their economic security has improved.

Those with lower levels of education also felt that they were more vulnerable to the changes that would come with increasing international trade. Those with a high school education or less rated their vulnerability as 5.4 on a scale from 0 to 10; this average declines with education level, reaching 3.7 for people with an advanced degree. A similar but attenuated pattern emerges for ratings of the average American's vulnerability to the changes that come with increasing international trade. Those with a high school diploma or less rated the average American at 6.0, while those with an advanced degree rated the average American's vulnerability at 5.4.

Likewise, while a plurality (50%) of those at the highest levels of education thought that the growth of international trade has increased the gap between rich and poor in the US, this perception grows in size with decreasing education. A majority of those with some college (53%) or a high school diploma (55%), and a very strong majority (70%) of those without a high school diploma said the growth of trade has increased the gap.

The more negative responses of less educated Americans to globalization and the growth of trade seems to be embedded in a less positive view of the general US economy and a much less positive view of their position in it. Eighty-five percent of individuals with advanced degrees felt the US economy was staying the same or getting better, but this percentage declines with education to 66% of non-high school graduates.

There was also a relationship between educational levels and attitudes about environmental issues. People with more education supported international agreements on environmental standards in greater numbers and more strongly. Eighty-three percent of those with some college education or higher favored such agreements (53% strongly favored them); 75% of high school graduates favored

environmental agreements (39% strongly); while 65% of those without a high school diploma also favored such agreements (48% strongly).

This greater emphasis on environmental issues was also reflected in the way that the groups felt about how trade negotiations were carried out. While a majority at all levels of education felt that the government officials who make decisions about US trade policy considered the environment too little, this was strongest at the higher levels of education. Sixty-eight percent of those with a college degree or higher said the environment was considered "too little," and the percentage declines with lower education level, with 51% of those without a high school diploma saying the environment was considered "too little."

Some critics of efforts to include environmental concerns in trade negotiations have argued that such efforts are largely a cover for protecting the jobs of American through obstructing the growth of trade. However, this argument is weakened by the fact that among the more educated, who clearly feel less vulnerable to the growth of trade and who place a lower priority on protecting American workers, support for including environmental issues is higher.

One of the main purposes of education is to aid us in understanding the world around us, which may well lead to an expansion of one's sphere of moral concern and elicit more positive responses about US global activism. Indeed, an overwhelming majority (73%) of those with advanced degrees disagreed with the argument that the world is so big and complex that international efforts make only a minimal difference with little benefit to the US. Large majorities of respondents with some college (68%) and a high school diploma (56%) also disagreed with this statement, but just 34% of those who did not finish high school disagreed with it while 62% agreed with it. Groups with the most education are also more likely to favor helping poor countries by

allowing in more of their products. Seventy-eight percent of those with a college degree or higher thought this was a good idea, compared to 56% of those with a high school diploma or less.

It should, of course, be reemphasized that while there were numerous poll questions, reviewed here, in which there were notable variations according to educational level, there were also numerous questions on these issues that did not elicit significant differences.

Party Identification

Differences based on political affiliation were more limited than might have been expected, given the role trade and global issues have played in recent political debates. Differences between the groups were primarily matters of degree of support, rather than support for competing policies. There were no reliable differences between individuals with different party affiliations in their ratings of increasing international trade on a 0 to 10 scale, both overall and in terms of its affect on them personally.

Fast track was an outstanding exception to this rule. A strong majority of Republicans (77%) opposed fast track legislation; a majority of independents (59%) were also opposed; while a plurality (50%) of Democrats favored it. This is particularly interesting given that the votes in Congress went in the opposite direction, with most Republicans favoring it and most Democrats opposed.

On the whole, Democrats felt more positive both about globalization overall and its effect on them personally. Asked to rate globalization in general on a scale of 0-10, among Democrats the mean score was 6.4 and for them personally globalization was rated 6.1. Republicans gave lower ratings (5.8 overall, 5.5 personally) while independents were in between (6.1 overall, 5.5 personally).

The consensus statement in favor of free trade in conjunction with government programs for workers elicited a majority in all partisan groups, but was stronger among Democrats and independents. Seventy-three percent of Democrats and 70% of independents favored this position, while 58% of Republicans felt this way. But though majorities of Democrats (60%) and independents (55%) approved of slightly increasing taxes to support programs to help displaced workers, just 40% of Republicans would support such a tax increase. Strong majorities of Democrats (77%) and independents (70%) supported greater investment in worker retraining and education, while a bare majority of Republicans (51%) did so.

Majorities of all three groups supported allowing environmental and labor issues to be considered in trade decisions, but support was stronger among Democrats and independents than among Republicans. An overwhelming majority of independents (80%) favored allowing countries to restrict products if they are produced in a way that damages the environment, compared to strong majority support from Democrats (71%) and Republicans (68%). When asked if the WTO should consider issues like labor standards and the environment when it makes decisions on trade, 86% of Democrats felt that it should, compared to 77% of independents and 69% of Republicans.

While Democrats tended to feel even more frequently than independents or Republicans that trade involved some obligation to the poorer countries in the world, majorities of all groups felt this way. Hence while very strong majorities of Democrats (74%) and independents (70%) were likely to agree that the US has a moral responsibility toward poor nations to help them develop economically and improve their people's lives, a smaller majority of Republicans (60%) agreed with this statement. Seventy-eight percent of Democrats also supported allowing more products from poor countries into the

US to help these countries get on their feet. Support for this proposition was not quite as high among independents, with 73% favoring it, or among Republicans (66% supported).

As in earlier studies, Democrats in this study showed consistently higher levels of support for international organizations than Republicans, with independents usually falling between the two. On the general principle of whether it will be necessary for the US to work through international institutions to solve problems, a majority of all three groups thought that this would be the case. More Democrats expected this to be necessary, however, with 66% taking this point of view compared to 54% of independents and 51% of Republicans. Eighty-four percent of Democrats wanted to strengthen the UN, as did a strong majority of independents (61%) and a majority of Republicans (56%). A plurality of Democrats (48%) and independents (45%) supported strengthening the International Monetary Fund, while just 39% of Republicans wanted it strengthened. Reflecting this pattern of support, Democrats (69%) and independents (71%) were more likely to consider it worthwhile for international organizations to intervene when there is instability in the world economy (as in the recent crisis in Asia) than were Republicans (55%). A strong majority of both Democrats (60%) and independents (66%) wanted to see the World Court strengthened, but only a plurality (46%) of Republicans did. A strong majority of Democrats (61%) also felt that the US should make a commitment to accept the decisions of the World Court. Fifty-three percent of independents supported such a commitment as well, but just 43% of Republicans supported such a commitment while 52% were opposed. Democrats also supported the proposed International Criminal Court at slightly higher levels. Sixty-nine percent of Democrats supported the formation of the Court, as did 64% of independents and 62% of Republicans.

Gender

Examining the differences between men and women in this study suggests a picture of women as more skeptical of the benefits of free trade and more sensitized to its costs. While a majority of men (55%) said free trade is a good idea, leading to lower prices and long term economic growth, women were split on this question, with 47% saying it is a good idea and 48% agreeing that it is not a good idea because it can lead to lower wages and people losing their jobs. When asked what the goal of the US should be regarding international trade, women's support for continuing or promoting the growth of international trade was more tepid (52%) than men's support (64%).

Women tend to show slightly more concern about the potential loss of jobs. A majority of women (55%) favored a slight increase in taxes to support programs to help displaced workers get new jobs if trade barriers are lowered, while men were split, with 48% favoring this proposal. A strong majority of women (61%) said that even if freer trade results in new jobs that pay higher wages, overall it is not worth the disruption of people losing their jobs, while only a bare majority of men (51%) felt this way.

Not only do more women see the costs of lost jobs as greater than the benefits of gained jobs, but fewer women believe that jobs will be gained as the result of freer trade. A plurality of women (49%) said they thought more jobs were lost from imports (39% said more gained), while a plurality of men (49%) thought that more jobs were gained from exports (42% said more lost).

Although a majority of both men and women felt the same way about labor-related issues, women shared a slightly higher degree of consensus about labor standards for imported products than men did. This appears to stem from a more prevalent sense

on the part of women (81% as compared to 67%) that they have a moral obligation to make efforts to ensure that the people who make the products they use are not working in harsh or unsafe conditions. Similarly, while majorities of men and women thought that the WTO should consider issues like the environment and labor standards in decisions on trade, women endorsed this concept even more overwhelmingly (81%) than did men (74%). More women also said they would pay more for a clothing item that was certified as not having been manufactured in a sweatshop (80%) than did men (71%).

When asked about using trade as a tool for pressuring regimes with poor human rights records, a majority of Americans of both sexes thought this was a reasonable approach. However, when presented with specific instances, women supported limiting trade with other countries that violate international standards for human rights in greater numbers than men did. Seventy-nine percent of women supported limiting trade with China on this basis, compared to 71% of men. Seventy-five percent of women supported limiting trade with Cuba versus 66% of men.

As in previous studies, women in this poll showed consistently higher levels of support for cooperative engagement and for international organizations. More women (81%) felt that because the world is so interconnected the US should participate in efforts to maintain peace, protect human rights and promote development than men (75%). [Asked about whether global problems will require international institutions to intervene in the internal affairs of a country, 67% of women felt this would be the case, as compared to 56% of men. While both men and women generally favor strengthening international organizations, women tend to do so in greater numbers. Seventy-two percent of women felt that we need to strengthen the UN, compared to 61% of men. Similarly, 60% of women wanted to strengthen the World Court, as did 51% of men; a plurality of women (48%) felt the IMF

should be strengthened, while just 38% of men felt this way.

Age

Younger Americans were the most upbeat about globalization and trade. They were also more positive than Americans in the middle age ranges about the way in which trade negotiations are formulated. In these areas at least, young Americans appear to feel hopeful about their future and place in the world.

Clearly those 18 to 29 years of age felt the most positive about globalization. Both in terms of their rating of globalization overall (6.7 of 10) and in terms of the effect of the process on them personally (6.3), they are much more positive than Americans 30 and older, who rated globalization overall at 5.8 and for themselves as 5.5.

Consistent with this more positive view of globalization, an overwhelming majority of younger Americans want to see the government allow the process of globalization to continue or actively promote it (74%). The size of this consensus declines with age, with 64% of those 30 to 45 taking this position, 56% of those 46 to 65, and only a plurality (41%) of those over 65 supporting these options.

Younger Americans have a much more positive view of international trade. Those under 30 felt that increasing international trade had a positive effect on them personally (5.9 of 10), while those 30 and older rated it as having a mildly negative effect on them personally (4.8). Not surprisingly, this youngest group was strongly for the government promoting or continuing the growth in international trade (71%). Support for this position declines to a simple majority among those 30 to 45 (58%) and 46 to 65 (58%), and a plurality among those over 65 (48%). The youngest group also had the weakest majority (51%) for maintaining trade barriers for clothing imports, while a solid majority of those over

30 (65%) thought trade barriers should be kept at their current levels

Young people are also less apt to believe that other countries benefit from trade more than the US. While a plurality of those 30 and older (49%) felt this way, only 27% of those 18 to 29 thought other countries benefited more than the US.

Those 30 to 65 were the most unhappy with the way that government officials make decisions about trade policy. A solid majority of those 30 to 65 (63%) said that officials were too focused on the concerns of multinational corporations, and that officials focused too little on the concerns of the American public (78%) and people like themselves (80%). Only 42% of the youngest group and 41% of those over 65 felt the concerns of multinationals were given too much weight. And while a majority of both the youngest (56%) and oldest (54%) felt the general public was considered too little, this was not as pervasive a point of view as it was with those in the middle age range. Similarly, while a strong majority of the youngest (69%) and the oldest (57%) felt that the concerns of people like them were considered too little, this feeling is not at the overwhelming levels shown by those 30 to 65.

Race

Minorities had a more positive view of trade than whites. Asked to rate trade on a 0-to-10 scale, the mean response among minorities was 6.0, while it was 5.4 for whites. Consistent with this rating, a majority of non-white Americans (52%) thought more jobs were gained from exports than were lost from imports. Only 42% of white Americans thought that this was the case.

At the same time, minorities showed more concern about the consequences of trade for themselves and others. Minorities rated themselves as more vulnerable (5.4 of 10) to the changes increasing in-

ternational trade might bring than did white Americans (4.8). Similarly, they rated the average American as more vulnerable to such changes (6.2) than white Americans did (5.7).

Given this combination of a more positive view of trade and a greater sense of vulnerability, it makes sense that minorities would then place greater emphasis on measures meant to help Americans adapt to increased trade. And in fact, minorities were much more likely to favor increasing taxes to support programs to help workers displaced by further lowering of trade barriers (65%), while white Americans were evenly split on such a proposal (47% in favor, 48% opposed). Similarly, while a majority of both groups said that the federal government should invest more in worker retraining and education to help workers adapt to changes in the economy, this point of view was more pervasive among minorities (78%) than among white Americans (63%).

International action and international organizations generally received slightly stronger support among minority groups. Asked whether the international community should intervene with force if a government is committing atrocities against its people, an overwhelming percentage of minorities (85%) thought so, compared to 75% of white Americans. Similarly, while both a large number of whites and minorities supported strengthening the United Nations, 79% of minorities took this position, compared to 63% of white Americans. Sixty-five percent of minorities favored strengthening the World Court versus 54% of white Americans. Finally, while only 39% of white Americans wanted a stronger IMF, a majority of non-white Americans (59%) did want it to be stronger.

On issues involving aid to other countries, minorities tended to be even more favorable toward aiding others than were white Americans. While both a majority of white and non-white Americans supported the idea of allotting more import quotas to

poor countries, an overwhelming 82% of minorities favored this proposal, compared to 69% of white Americans. And while a majority of both groups felt that the US has a moral responsibility toward poor nations to help them develop economically, this was strongest among minorities, with 74% endorsing this argument; 66% of white Americans agreed.

Interestingly, minorities showed even less concern about the potential Americanization of world culture than whites. While a majority of non-white Americans (52%) believed American culture was “not at all a threat” to other cultures in the world, 38% of white Americans felt this way. Similarly, when asked about whether France should be able to put limits on the showing of American films, a majority of both white and non-white Americans felt that France should not, but this majority was larger for nonwhites (69%) than for whites (51%).

Parents

While it is reasonable to presume that parents of children under 18 might have unique concerns about globalization, we were unable to discern such an effect. The only reliable difference between parents and those without children under 18 was in their sense of preparedness to cope with the global economy. Perhaps because they feel less able to move to follow new jobs, parents rated themselves as less prepared (5.0 out of 10) than did those without children (5.6).

Household Income

There were a number of questions that showed significant variation by income level. However, in many cases, the differences were better explained by the level of education—i.e., when education level was controlled for, these differences between income groups disappeared.

There were, however, a number of cases in which income did show an independent effect. With higher income, attitudes toward free trade and increasing international trade become more positive. Individuals with higher household incomes are much more likely to consider free trade a good idea. A strong majority (67%) of those with household incomes over \$100,000 thought that free trade was a good idea. The size of this majority declines with decreasing income; those with incomes between \$15,000 and \$45,000 were split (49% to 47%), and among those with incomes of \$15,000 or below just 36% thought free trade is a good idea. This is consistent with the finding that a majority (53%) of those who make more than \$70,000 a year thought that the drop in tariffs since 1940 is a good thing, as did a plurality of those making mid-level incomes (45%), but just 28% of those making up to \$25,000 a year thought so. Similarly, in a scenario in which workers had to find new jobs due to a trade agreement, but consumer prices were lowered, a strong majority (75%) of those making \$25,000 or less thought that such an agreement would be a mistake. This majority declines with rising income, and just 36% of those making more than \$70,000 thought that it was a mistake, while 56% of this group thought it would be the right thing to do.

Those with higher incomes felt more positively both about international trade overall and its effect on them personally. Individuals with household incomes over \$70,000 rated international trade overall at 6.4 of 10, and for themselves personally at 6.3. Ratings declined with income, and for individuals making \$25,000 and under reached a slightly positive rating for trade overall of 5.2, and a slightly negative rating of 4.6 for themselves personally.

This positive view of trade translated into greater support among those with higher incomes for the government actively promoting the growth of trade or allowing it to continue. A strong majority of those with incomes over \$70,000 (79%) thought this

should be a goal of the US, but this majority declines to a plurality (49%) among those with household incomes less than \$15,000. Similarly, a majority of respondents with incomes of \$45,000 or less (58%) thought foreign investment was dangerous, a plurality (50%) of those with incomes between \$45,000 and \$70,000 considered it dangerous, while just 34% of those with incomes over \$70,000 considered it dangerous.

Job Loss

One inevitable result of increased trade is the loss of some jobs in certain areas of the economy. While the workers displaced in such situations may find new jobs, the experience will no doubt impact their attitudes toward globalization and free trade. (Their attitudes may also suggest views that might become more widely held in the event of a future recession.) Fourteen percent of respondents reported having lost or left a job in the last three years, because their plant or company closed or moved or because of insufficient work. These individuals did have a somewhat less positive point of view regarding issues of trade.

Individuals who had experienced job disruption were a bit more dubious of the benefits of free trade, in contrast to the costs. While a majority of individuals who had not lost a job (52%) thought free trade was a good thing, just 46% of those who had lost a job thought free trade's benefits outweighed its costs. Indeed, a majority of those who left jobs due to lack of work (59%) thought that more jobs were lost from imports than were gained from exports, while those who had not had to leave a job were split (44% to 45%) on whether more jobs were lost or gained from trade. A plurality (48%) of individuals who had had to find new jobs said that the pace of lowering trade barriers was going too fast, while just 27% of those who had not lost jobs thought the pace was too fast. A majority of those who lost jobs (57%) thought that other countries

benefited more than the US from international trade, as did a plurality (43%) of those who had not lost jobs.

On average, people who had experienced job disruption felt both themselves (5.5 out of 10) and average Americans (6.4 of 10) to be more vulnerable to the changes that come with international trade than those who had not (self 4.8; average Americans 5.7). When presented with a scenario in which workers had to find new jobs due to a trade agreement, strong majorities of both groups (63%) said that the trade agreement was a mistake. However, a majority (62%) of those who lost jobs thought that such an agreement would still be a mistake, even if there was government help to retrain displaced workers. In contrast, those who had not lost jobs were split (47% to 47%) on whether the agreement would have been a mistake if efforts were made to retrain workers.

Individuals who had experienced job disruption were much more suspicious of foreign investment, with 70% saying it is dangerous; individuals who had not were divided, with 48% saying foreign investment was dangerous.

Region

There were only minimal differences among regions of the US regarding aspects of globalization. On the overwhelming majority of economic issues, there were surprisingly few meaningful differences among the regions. The only issue on which a clear pattern emerged was attitudes toward foreign investment. A majority of Americans in the South (58%) and West (51%), and a plurality in the Midwest (50%), felt that foreign investment is dangerous, although just 43% of those in the East felt this way.

While Americans in all regions thought it would be increasingly necessary for the US to work with international organizations, this point of view was

more common in the West (68%) and East (59%) than in the South (52%) and Midwest (51%). There were no significant differences between the regions, however, in support for strengthening various international organizations, such as the UN and the World Court.

APPENDIX E: QUESTIONNAIRE AND RESULTS

Date: October 21-29, 1999

Sample Size: 1826 respondents

Margins of error:

| Sample Portion | Number of Respondents (approx.) | Margin of Error |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| Full sample | 1826 | +/-2.3 |
| Two-thirds sample | 1200* | +/-3 |
| Half sample | 900* | +/-3.5 |
| One-third sample | 600* | +/-4 |

Results (including demographics) are weighted to the Bureau of the Census's Current Population Study for education level and age.

*Subsample sizes are approximate, due to the nature of random computer assignment to subsamples.

Questionnaire

[Full Sample]

Q1. What is your feeling about how things are going with the economy in the US? Overall, would you say the economy is getting better, getting worse, or is staying about the same?

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Getting better | 26.7 |
| Getting worse | 21.4 |
| Staying about the same | 50.3 |
| Don't Know | 1.5 |
| Refused | 0.1 |

Q2. Would you say that, over the last ten years, your economic security has improved or worsened?

| | |
|-----------------------|------|
| Improved | 57.1 |
| Worsened | 28.9 |
| Stayed the same (VOL) | 12.7 |
| Don't Know | 1.0 |
| Refused | 0.3 |

Q3. Have you heard the term globalization before?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Yes | 70.0 |
| No | 29.0 |
| Don't Know | 1.0 |
| Refused | - |

[Subsample: random partial sample of those who said "yes" in Q3]

Q4. What does the term mean to you?

Verbatim responses recorded.

See body of report for discussion.

[Half Sample]

Statement: Here's how some people define globalization: Globalization refers to the increasing connections between countries that have come with the growth of international travel and cross border shipping, and increases in communications, such as through the Internet. This has led to an increase in world trade and the flow of investments between countries. It has also made it more likely that conditions in one country will affect conditions in other countries, and has led to a more international culture in such areas as music, movies and fashion.

Q5. I'd like to know how positive or negative you think this process of globalization is overall. Please answer on a scale from 0 to 10, with 0 being completely negative, 10 being completely positive, and 5 being equally positive and negative.

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 6.04 |
| Median | 6.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 1.6% |

[One-third sample]

Q6. How about for you personally?

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 5.67 |
| Median | 5.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 2.6% |

[Half sample who heard Q5]

Q7. Overall, with regard to further globalization, do you think that it should be a goal of the US to:

[Random reverse order]

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Try to actively promote it | 27.8 |
| Simply allow it to continue | 32.7 |
| Try to slow it down | 25.8 |
| Try to stop or reverse it | 8.5 |
| Don't Know | 4.6 |
| Refused | 0.6 |

[Subsample: if "try to stop or reverse" in Q7]

Q7a. Do you think that it is possible for the government to stop or reverse further globalization?

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Yes | 44.8 |
| No | 49.1 |
| Depends (vol.) | 1.1 |
| Don't Know | 5.0 |
| Refused | |

[Half sample that did not hear Q5]

Q8. As you may know, international trade has increased substantially in recent years. I would like to know how positive or negative you think the growth of international trade is, overall. Please answer on a scale from 0 to 10, with 0 being completely negative, 10 being completely positive, and 5 being equally positive and negative.

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 5.51 |
| Median | 5.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 3.8% |

Q. Now, on the same scale, I'm going to ask you to rate how positive or negative international trade is for certain groups or people. Remember, 0 is completely negative, 10 is completely positive, and 5 is equally positive and negative.

How about for: [randomized]

[One-third sample]

Q9. You personally

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 5.05 |
| Median | 5.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 4.5% |

[Q10-13, one-fifth sample]

Q10. The average American

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 5.49 |
| Median | 5.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 2.7% |

Q11. People in poor countries

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 4.74 |
| Median | 5.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 4.9% |

Q12. American business

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 6.14 |
| Median | 7.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 2.5% |

Q13. American workers

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 4.53 |
| Median | 5.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 3.0% |

[Half sample who heard Q8]

Q14. Overall, with regard to international trade, do you think that it should be a goal of the US to:

[Random reverse order]

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Try to actively promote it | 31.6 |
| Simply allow it to continue | 25.9 |
| Try to slow it down | 31.2 |
| Try to stop or reverse it | 7.9 |
| Don't Know | 3.3 |
| Refused | 0.0 |

[Subsample: if "try to stop or reverse" in Q14]

Q14b. Do you think that it is possible for the government to stop or reverse the increase of international trade?

| | |
|---------------|------|
| Yes | 61.4 |
| No | 31.9 |
| Depends (Vol) | 4.8 |
| Don't Know | 1.9 |

| | |
|---|------|
| Refused | - |
| [One-third sample] | |
| Q15. Thinking about the benefits of international trade, do you think that for the most part, the U.S. benefits more than other countries, that other countries benefit more than the U.S., or that it's about equal? | |
| US benefits more | 21.2 |
| Other countries benefit more | 44.6 |
| About equal | 31.7 |
| Don't Know | 2.3 |
| Refused | 0.2 |

[Subsample: if "other countries benefit more" in Q15]
Q15a. I would like to know whether this bothers you or not?

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Yes, bothers | 76.2 |
| No, does not | 22.7 |
| Don't Know | 1.1 |
| Refused | - |

[Subsample: if "yes, bothers" in Q15a]
Q15b. How much—a little, somewhat, or a lot?

| | |
|------------|------|
| A lot | 57.3 |
| Somewhat | 35.5 |
| A little | 7.2 |
| Don't Know | - |
| Refused | - |

[One-third sample]
Statement: Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. Here are some international institutions. For each one, please tell me if you think it needs to be strengthened or not.

First/next: [Randomized]

| | |
|------------------------------|------|
| Q16. The United Nations | |
| Yes, need to strengthen | 66.7 |
| No, don't need to strengthen | 30.2 |

| | |
|------------|-----|
| Don't Know | 2.9 |
| Refused | .1 |

| | |
|------------------------------|------|
| Q17. The World Court | |
| Yes, need to strengthen | 56.3 |
| No, don't need to strengthen | 25.2 |
| Don't Know | 18.4 |
| Refused | .1 |

| | |
|--|------|
| Q18. The International Monetary Fund, or IMF | |
| Yes, need to strengthen | 43.5 |
| No, don't need to strengthen | 36.5 |
| Don't Know | 19.8 |
| Refused | .2 |

| | |
|---|------|
| Q19. The World Trade Organization, or WTO | |
| Yes, need to strengthen | 59.5 |
| No, don't need to strengthen | 31.5 |
| Don't Know | 8.8 |
| Refused | .2 |

Q20. I would like to know your impression of how open the US is to imports as compared to how open most other countries are. Is it your impression that the US is more open, less open, or about the same as most other countries? Is that much or somewhat (more/less) open?

| | |
|--------------------|------|
| Much more open | 56.9 |
| Somewhat more open | 24.1 |
| About the same | 10.6 |
| Somewhat less open | 4.0 |
| Much less open | 2.1 |
| Don't Know | 2.3 |
| Refused | - |

Q21. I would like to know your impression of government efforts to help retrain workers who have lost jobs due to international trade. Do you think those efforts have been:

[random reverse order]

| | |
|--------------------|------|
| More than adequate | 2.2 |
| Adequate | 29.1 |

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Not adequate | 56.9 |
| Don't Know | 11.6 |
| Refused | .2 |

[Full sample]

Q22. Please tell me which of the following two statements comes closer to your point of view.

[random reverse order]

A. Free trade is a good idea, because it can lead to lower prices and the long term growth of the economy.

B. Free trade is a bad idea, because it can lead to lower wages and people losing their jobs.

| | |
|------------|------|
| Good idea | 50.9 |
| Bad idea | 44.2 |
| Don't Know | 4.2 |
| Refused | .7 |

[Half sample]

Q23. When you see or hear about McDonalds opening up in cities around the world, or when you hear about the popularity of US TV shows in other countries, do you have mostly good feelings, mostly bad feelings, or mixed feelings?

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Good feelings | 43.2 |
| Bad feelings | 5.3 |
| Mixed Feelings | 43.4 |
| Indifferent (vol) | 7.8 |
| Don't Know | .3 |
| Refused | - |

[One-third sample]

Q24. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

Because the world is so interconnected today, the US should participate in efforts to maintain peace, protect human rights, and promote economic development. Such efforts serve US interests because they help to create a more stable world that is less apt to have wars and is better for the growth of trade and other US goals.

| | |
|----------|------|
| Agree | 77.9 |
| Disagree | 18.4 |

| | |
|------------|-----|
| Don't Know | 2.9 |
| Refused | .8 |

Q25. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

It is nice to think that joining in international efforts makes a more stable world. But in fact, the world is so big and complex that such efforts only make a minimal difference with little benefit to the US. Therefore, it is not really in the US interest to participate in them.

| | |
|------------|------|
| Agree | 38.7 |
| Disagree | 58.3 |
| Don't Know | 2.9 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q26. I'm going to read you two statements. Please tell me which comes closer to your point of view.

[random reverse order]

A. As the world becomes more interconnected, and problems such as terrorism and the environment are of a more international nature, it will be increasingly necessary for the US to work through international institutions.

B. International institutions are slow and bureaucratic, and often used as places for other countries to criticize and block the US. It is better for the US to try and solve problems like terrorism and the environment on our own instead.

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Statement A | 56.2 |
| Statement B | 39.2 |
| Don't Know | 4.3 |
| Refused | .4 |

[Two-thirds sample; Q27 and Q28 random order]

Q27. Do you think that importing foreign products means the loss of many jobs in this country, only a few jobs, or no jobs?

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Many jobs lost | 38.2 |
| Only a few jobs lost | 49.7 |
| No jobs lost | 9.1 |
| Don't Know | 2.8 |

Refused .2

Q28. Do you think that exporting products to other countries means the creation of many jobs in this country, only a few jobs, or no jobs?

Many jobs created 40.9
 Only a few jobs created 50.9
 No jobs created 6.1
 Don't Know 2.0
 Refused .1

[Two-thirds sample. All who gave the same response in Q27 and Q28 heard Q28a. Those who said "don't know" or "refused" in either Q27 or Q28 were placed in those categories for Q28a. Those who gave different responses for Q27 and Q28 were classified accordingly for Q28a.]

Q28a. Do you think that more jobs are lost from imports or more jobs are gained from exports?

More jobs lost from imports 44.8
 More jobs gained from exports 45.8
 No jobs lost or gained 1.3
 Don't Know 7.9
 Refused .2

[Full sample]

Q29. I'd just like to know your impression. Which of the following countries do you think is the largest exporter of goods and services?

The United States 22.5
 Japan 38.4
 Germany 1.8
 China 35.0
 Don't Know 2.1
 Refused .2

[One-third sample (two-thirds sample total, with each respondent randomly hearing four of Q30-36)]

Statement: I would like to know your sense about the US government officials who are making decisions about US international trade policy. How much do you think that they consider the: [Q30-36

below]. Would you say too much, too little, or about right?

Q30. Concerns of working Americans

Too much 2.2
 Too little 72.4
 About right 23.3
 Don't Know 2.0
 Refused 0.1

Q31. Concerns of American business

Too much 31.7
 Too little 33.8
 About right 32.3
 Don't Know 2.2
 Refused -

Q32. Impact on the environment

Too much 8.5
 Too little 59.5
 About right 29.3
 Don't Know 2.7
 Refused -

Q33. Concerns of multinational corporations

Too much 54.2
 Too little 14.5
 About right 24.2
 Don't Know 6.9
 Refused .2

Q34. General American public

Too much 5.3
 Too little 68.3
 About right 24.6
 Don't Know 1.8
 Refused -

Q35. Concerns of people like you

Too much 2.5

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Too little | 73.3 |
| About right | 22.1 |
| Don't Know | 2.1 |
| Refused | - |

Q36. Growth of the overall American economy

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Too much | 12.3 |
| Too little | 35.7 |
| About right | 50.3 |
| Don't Know | 1.8 |
| Refused | - |

[One-third sample]

Statement: As you may know, many countries in the world have entered into an agreement to jointly lower the barriers to trade between them. There is some discussion about whether countries who are part of this agreement should be required to maintain certain standards for working conditions, such as minimum health and safety standards and the right to organize into unions.

[Whether pro or con arguments were heard first was randomized. Arguments within pro and con blocs were also randomized.]

I'm now going to read you positions IN FAVOR of the idea that countries who are part of trade agreements should maintain certain standards for working conditions. Please tell me whether you find them convincing or unconvincing.

Q37. Countries who do not maintain minimum standards have an unfair advantage because they can exploit workers and produce goods for less. This threatens jobs for American workers.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 74.2 |
| Not convincing | 23.9 |
| Don't Know | 1.3 |
| Refused | .7 |

Q38. Countries should be required to meet minimum standards because it is immoral for workers to

be subject to harsh and unsafe conditions in the workplace.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 82.9 |
| Not convincing | 16.6 |
| Don't Know | .5 |
| Refused | - |

I'm now going to read you positions AGAINST the idea that countries who are part of trade agreements should maintain certain standards for working conditions. Please tell me whether you find them convincing or unconvincing.

Q39. If countries are required to raise their standards this will force some companies to eliminate the jobs of poor people who desperately need the work.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 37.1 |
| Not convincing | 60.4 |
| Don't Know | 2.5 |
| Refused | - |

Q40. It is up to each country to set its own labor standards. The international community should not intrude by trying to dictate what each country should do within its borders.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 40.6 |
| Not convincing | 57.3 |
| Don't Know | 2.2 |
| Refused | - |

Q41. So, overall, do you think that countries that are part of international trade agreements should or should not be required to maintain minimum standards for working conditions?

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Should be required | 92.5 |
| Should not be required | 6.3 |
| Don't Know | .9 |
| Refused | .3 |

[Two-thirds sample]

Q42. Of the following statements, which comes closer to your view?

[random reverse order]

- A. To deal with global problems such as terrorism and environmental dangers, it will be increasingly necessary for international institutions to get countries to change what they do inside their borders
- B. What countries do inside their borders is their own business. International institutions should not try to tell countries what they should do.

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Statement A | 61.4 |
| Statement B | 35.2 |
| Don't Know | 2.9 |
| Refused | .4 |

[One-third sample]

Q43. Would you favor or oppose the idea of having a standing United Nations peacekeeping force made up of individuals who were not part of a national army but had independently volunteered to be part of the UN force?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Favor | 53.3 |
| Oppose | 41.2 |
| Don't Know | 4.9 |
| Refused | .6 |

Q44. I would like to know how you feel about the process of increasing trade between countries through lowering trade barriers, such as taxes on imports. Do you feel this process has been going too fast, too slowly, or at about the right pace? Would you say much too (fast/slow) or a bit too (fast/slow)?

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Much too fast | 12.6 |
| A bit too fast | 17.3 |
| About the right pace | 38.9 |
| A bit too slowly | 14.2 |
| Much too slowly | 9.1 |
| Don't Know | 7.8 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q45. As you may know, international trade has increased substantially in recent years. This increase is largely due to the lowering of trade barriers between countries by, for example, lowering import

taxes. Lowering trade barriers is a controversial issue. Here are three positions on the issue. Which comes closest to your point of view?

[random order]

- A. We should keep up barriers against international trade because importing cheap products from other countries threatens American jobs.
- B. We should remove trade barriers now because this allows Americans to sell in other countries what they do the best job of producing, and to buy products that other countries do the best job of producing, saving everybody money.
- C. We should lower trade barriers, but only gradually, so American workers can have time to adjust to the changes that come with international trade.

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Statement A | 31.3 |
| Statement B | 24.0 |
| Statement C | 42.9 |
| Don't Know | 1.3 |
| Refused | .5 |

[Different one-third samples heard Q46-49, Q50-54, and Q55-58]

Statement: Currently there is some discussion about whether it is important for America's self interest to do something about cases in which human rights are being violated. I'm now going to read you some statements on this issue. For each one, please tell me if you find it convincing or not convincing.

[Q46-49 random start, alternating pro and con]

Q46. When a minority is being deprived of its human rights by a government that is supported by the US, this may lead that minority to use terrorism against Americans.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 53.1 |
| Not convincing | 44.4 |
| Don't Know | 2.4 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q47. When a minority is being deprived of its human rights this often leads to political conflict and

instability which can spread and ultimately harm US interests.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 62.5 |
| Not convincing | 35.0 |
| Don't Know | 2.3 |
| Refused | .2 |

Q48. Some countries with poor human rights records are major trading partners for the US. If we get involved in trying to promote human rights in these countries we may irritate them and we may lose their trade.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 49.1 |
| Not convincing | 49.3 |
| Don't Know | 1.6 |
| Refused | - |

Q49. The world is so big that we should not worry too much if human rights violations are being committed in distant parts of the world, because such things are unlikely to affect us.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 20.2 |
| Not convincing | 78.6 |
| Don't Know | .8 |
| Refused | .4 |

Statement: Currently there is a debate about whether there should be more international agreements on environmental standards, and international means for enforcing them. Here are some positions that have been taken on each side.

[Whether pro or con arguments were heard first was randomized. Arguments within pro and con blocs were also randomized.]

Now I'm going to read you some positions IN FAVOR of more international agreements on environmental standards. Please tell me whether you find them convincing or unconvincing.

Q50. Many environmental problems are global in nature. Therefore the only way to solve them is to get all countries involved in addressing the problems.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 77.8 |
| Not convincing | 21.1 |
| Don't Know | 1.1 |
| Refused | - |

Q51. If some countries have lower environmental standards than others, then companies that want to avoid the costs of high standards will relocate to countries with low standards. This will be bad for the environment and will take jobs away from countries with high standards.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 67.1 |
| Not convincing | 30.8 |
| Don't Know | 2.1 |
| Refused | - |

Now I'm going to read you some positions AGAINST more international agreements on environmental standards. Please tell me whether you find them convincing or not convincing.

Q52. It should be up to each country how it deals with its environment. There should not be international bodies that tell countries what to do.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 32.7 |
| Not convincing | 65.7 |
| Don't Know | 1.3 |
| Refused | .2 |

Q53. For some countries, raising their environmental standards will be much more costly than it will be for other countries. Creating international agreements will lead to pressures to make all countries abide by the same standards. This would not be fair.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 37.1 |
| Not convincing | 59.9 |
| Don't Know | 2.9 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q54. So now, on balance, would you say you favor or oppose the idea of making more international agreements on environmental standards? Would that be strongly or somewhat (favor/oppose)?

| | |
|-----------------|------|
| Strongly favor | 47.7 |
| Somewhat favor | 28.9 |
| Somewhat oppose | 10.5 |
| Strongly oppose | 10.0 |
| Don't Know | 2.8 |
| Refused | - |

Statement: Some people feel that the United States should not allow products to be imported when they have been made under conditions that are in violation of international labor standards. Other people feel that it is up to each country to set its own labor standards and the US should not get involved in judging what goes on in these countries, especially when they are poor countries. I'm now going to describe some cases and I'd like you to tell me whether you think the US should refuse to allow products to be imported in those cases. First...

[Q55-58 randomized]

Q55. When the products are made by children under 15 who are forced to work under threat of punishment?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Yes | 82.3 |
| No | 17.1 |
| Don't Know | .4 |
| Refused | .2 |

Q56. When the products are made by workers who are not allowed to organize into unions?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Yes | 42.3 |
| No | 53.7 |
| Don't Know | 3.5 |
| Refused | .5 |

Q57. When the products are made by workers in factories that are unsafe or unhealthy?

| | |
|-----|------|
| Yes | 76.6 |
|-----|------|

| | |
|------------|------|
| No | 21.5 |
| Don't Know | 1.8 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q58. When the products are made by children under the age of 15 who are required to work so many hours that they cannot go to school?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Yes | 80.2 |
| No | 18.3 |
| Don't Know | 1.4 |
| Refused | .2 |

[Full sample]

Q59. As you may know, there are various views on the question of whether the US should promote freer trade. There are also different views on the question of whether the US government should have programs that try to help workers who lose their jobs because of free trade. Which of the following three positions comes closest to your point of view?

[random alternate order—A,B,C, and C,A,B]

A. I favor free trade, and I believe that it IS necessary for the government to have programs to help workers who lose their jobs.

B. I favor free trade, and I believe that it is NOT necessary for the government to have programs to help workers who lose their jobs.

C. I do not favor free trade.

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Statement A | 66.3 |
| Statement B | 17.6 |
| Statement C | 14.3 |
| Don't Know | 1.9 |
| Refused | - |

[Two-thirds sample]

Q60. In general, if another country is willing to lower its barriers to products from the US if we will lower our barriers to their products, should the US agree or not agree to this?

| | |
|------------------|------|
| Should agree | 64.0 |
| Should not agree | 28.7 |
| Don't Know | 6.5 |

| | | | |
|--|------|---|------|
| Refused | .8 | Don't Know | 9.7 |
| | | Refused | 1.4 |
| [Subsample: If "should agree" in Q60] | | [Two-thirds sample] | |
| Q60a. Here are two statements: Tell me which one you most agree with: | | Q61. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: | |
| [random reverse order] | | Free trade is an important goal for the United States, but it should be balanced with other goals, such as protecting workers, the environment, and human rights—even if this may mean slowing the growth of trade and the economy. | |
| A. The US should lower its barriers even if other countries do not, because consumers can buy cheaper imports and foreign competition spurs American companies to be more efficient. | | Agree | 88.0 |
| B. The US should only lower its barriers if other countries do, because that is the only way to pressure them to open their markets. | | Disagree | 9.1 |
| Statement A | 28.1 | Don't Know | 2.8 |
| Statement B | 69.4 | Refused | - |
| Don't Know | 1.9 | [Full sample] | |
| Refused | .6 | Q62. Some people say that the federal government should invest more in worker retraining and education to help workers adapt to changes in the economy. Others say that such efforts just create big government programs that do not work very well. Which comes closer to your view? | |
| [Two-thirds sample: Q60 and 60a combined] | | Government should invest more | 66.3 |
| Should lower barriers unconditionally | 18.0 | Just create big programs that don't work | 30.5 |
| Should lower only reciprocally | 44.4 | Don't Know | 3.1 |
| Should not lower barriers | 28.7 | Refused | .1 |
| Don't Know | 7.8 | [Two-thirds sample] | |
| Refused | 1.2 | Q63. Some say that while international trade can be positive in some ways, it can also be disruptive because it involves major changes. I would like to know how vulnerable you feel you are to the changes that come with increasing international trade. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being not vulnerable at all and ten being very vulnerable. | |
| [Subsample: if chose Statement B in Q60a] | | Mean | 4.89 |
| Q60b. As a general rule, if a country that has LOWER WAGES than the US says it will lower its barriers to products from the US if we will lower our barriers to their products, should the US agree or not agree to do this? | | Median | 5.00 |
| Agree | 71.2 | Don't know / refused | 1.4% |
| Not agree | 23.9 | Q64. On the same scale, how vulnerable do you think the average American is to the changes that come with increasing international trade? | |
| Don't Know | 4.3 | | |
| Refused | .5 | | |
| [Two-thirds sample: Q60, 60a, 60b combined] | | | |
| Should lower barriers unconditionally | 18.0 | | |
| Lower reciprocally, even with low wage | 31.6 | | |
| Lower reciprocally, not with low wage | 10.6 | | |
| Should not lower barriers | 28.7 | | |

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 5.78 |
| Median | 5.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 2.7% |

[One-third sample]

Q65. The World Court is part of the United Nations. It makes rulings on disputes between countries based on treaties the countries have signed. Some countries have made commitments to accept the decisions of the World Court. Other countries decide in advance for each case whether to accept the court's decisions. Do you think the US should or should not make the commitment to accept the decisions of the World Court?

| | |
|----------------------------|------|
| Should make commitment | 52.8 |
| Should not make commitment | 37.9 |
| Never accept (VOL) | 8.9 |
| Don't Know | .4 |
| Refused | - |

Q66. Presidents since 1974 have had trade negotiating authority known as "fast track", which means the trade agreements the President negotiated are considered in Congress within 90 days and put to a simple yes or no vote, without any additions that could upset the agreement. The authority to do this expired in 1994, and President Clinton no longer has such authority. Do you strongly support renewing President Clinton's fast track trade authority, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose it?

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Support, strongly | 14.0 |
| Support, somewhat | 28.9 |
| Oppose, somewhat | 24.1 |
| Oppose, strongly | 31.3 |
| Don't Know | 1.6 |
| Refused | .2 |

Q67. A permanent International Criminal Court has been proposed by the UN to try individuals suspected of war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. Some say the US should not support the proposed Court because trumped up charges may be brought against Americans, for example, US soldiers who use force in the course of a peacekeeping operation. Others say that the US should support such

a court because the world needs a better way to prosecute war criminals, many of whom go unpunished today. Do you think the US should or should not support a permanent international criminal court?

| | |
|--------------------|------|
| Should support | 65.5 |
| Should not support | 29.0 |
| Don't Know | 4.8 |
| Refused | .6 |

[One-third sample that did not hear Q66]

Q68. As you may know, President Clinton has asked Congress to give him "fast track" authority to negotiate more free trade agreements. The "fast track" authority would mean that once the negotiations are completed, Congress would take an up-or-down vote on an agreement as a whole, but could not vote to make any amendments or changes in an agreement. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose having Congress grant the President "fast track" authority to negotiate new free trade agreements?

| | |
|------------------|------|
| Favor, strongly | 10.0 |
| Favor, somewhat | 21.9 |
| Oppose, somewhat | 29.5 |
| Oppose, strongly | 35.7 |
| Don't Know | 2.9 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q69. When you hear that children are hungry in some part of the US, how much does that trouble you? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being not at all and 10 being very much.

| | |
|----------------------|-------|
| Mean | 8.73 |
| Median | 10.00 |
| Don't know / refused | - |

Q70. Do you think that as we become more involved economically with another country that we should be more concerned about the human rights in that country, or do you not feel that way?

| | |
|-------------------------------|------|
| Yes, should be more concerned | 72.9 |
| No, should not be | 23.3 |

Don't Know 3.6
Refused .2

[One-third sample that did not hear Q69]

Q71. When you hear that children are hungry in some part of the world, outside of the US, how much does that trouble you? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being not at all and 10 being very much.

Mean 7.59
Median 8.00
Don't know / refused .8%

Q72. Do you think that the growth of international trade has increased the gap between rich and poor in this country, decreased the gap, or has had no effect?

Increased 56.2
Decreased 10.4
Neither (VOL) 27.2
Don't Know 5.9
Refused .2

Q73. How much does it bother you when you hear that there is police brutality in other countries? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all, 10 meaning very much, and 5 meaning only a moderate amount.

Mean 7.59
Median 8.00
Don't know / refused 1.4%

[One-third sample that did not hear Q73]

Q74. How much does it bother you when you hear that there is police brutality in the United States? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning not at all, 10 meaning very much, and 5 meaning a moderate amount.

Mean 7.96
Median 9.00
Don't know / refused .4%

Q75. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

While we cannot expect workers in foreign countries to make the same wages as in the US, we should expect other countries to permit wages to rise by allowing workers to organize into unions and by putting a stop to child labor.

Agree 81.7
Disagree 15.1
Don't Know 2.6
Refused .5

Statement: A major controversy in the area of international trade is whether the US should limit its trade with countries that are behaving in ways that do not live up to certain international standards. Some people say that the US should not limit trade with countries on the basis of these issues. They say that it is not the US's right to make these judgments, that international trade should not be saddled with these other issues, that such limits are rarely effective and that they cost the US business and thus jobs. Others say that there are concerns that are more important than trade. I am now going to tell you about a few cases in which some people say the US should limit its trade because of a country's behavior. Here's the first one.

[Support of terrorism]

Q. The US says that [country] supports terrorist groups. Do you think the US should or should not limit its trade with [country] for this reason?

[One-third sample heard either Q76 or Q77]

Q.76 Libya

Should limit trade 81.3
Should not limit trade 15.9
Don't Know 2.6
Refused .2

Q77. Iran

Should limit trade 79.7
Should not limit trade 18.9
Don't Know 1.2

| | | | |
|---|------|---|------|
| Refused | .2 | [Sample that heard Q81] | |
| [Testing of nuclear weapons] | | Q82. The US says China has sold components for nuclear weapons and missiles to other countries, in violation of an international treaty. Do you think the US should or should not limit its trade with China for this reason? | |
| Q. [Country] has recently tested nuclear weapons, undermining international agreements to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Do you think the US should or should not limit its trade with [country] for this reason? | | Should limit trade | 82.7 |
| | | Should not limit trade | 17.0 |
| [One-third sample heard either Q78 or Q79] | | Don't Know | .4 |
| Q78. Pakistan | | Refused | - |
| Should limit trade | 78.2 | [Human rights violations] | |
| Should not limit trade | 19.8 | Q. The US and the United Nations say [country] violates a number of international standards for human rights. Do you think the US should or should not limit its trade with [country] for this reason? | |
| Don't Know | 1.9 | | |
| Refused | - | | |
| Q79. India | | [One-third sample heard either Q83 or Q84] | |
| Should limit trade | 71.4 | Q83. Iran | |
| Should not limit trade | 27.7 | Should limit trade | 80.8 |
| Don't Know | .7 | Should not limit trade | 17.2 |
| Refused | .2 | Don't Know | 1.9 |
| [Proliferating weapons of mass destruction] | | Refused | - |
| [One-third sample heard either Q80 or Q81] | | | |
| Q80. The US believes Iran is attempting to build nuclear weapons, in violation of an international agreement. Do you think the US should or should not limit its trade with Iran for this reason? | | Q84. China | |
| Should limit trade | 82.5 | Should limit trade | 74.6 |
| Should not limit trade | 15.9 | Should not limit trade | 21.2 |
| Don't Know | 1.4 | Don't Know | 3.7 |
| Refused | .2 | Refused | .5 |
| Q81. Libya refuses to sign an international agreement to outlaw chemical weapons, and the US believes Libya is attempting to build chemical weapons. Do you think the US should or should not limit its trade with Libya for this reason? | | [Two-thirds sample heard either Q85 or Q86] | |
| Should limit trade | 84.7 | Q85. Burma (or Myanmar) | |
| Should not limit trade | 14.2 | Should limit trade | 76.8 |
| Don't Know | 1.1 | Should not limit trade | 16.4 |
| Refused | - | Don't Know | 6.6 |
| | | Refused | .2 |
| | | Q86. Cuba | |
| | | Should limit trade | 70.3 |
| | | Should not limit trade | 24.5 |

| | |
|------------|-----|
| Don't Know | 5.0 |
| Refused | .2 |

[Environmental damage: fishing methods]

Q. Some say the US should restrict imports of shrimp from [country] because the shrimp are caught using methods that kill many sea turtles. Do you think the US should or should not restrict imports of shrimp from [country] for this reason?

[Half sample; each respondent heard one of Q87-89]

Q87. India

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Should restrict imports | 63.0 |
| Should not restrict imports | 32.4 |
| Don't Know | 4.4 |
| Refused | .2 |

Q88. Pakistan

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Should restrict imports | 62.8 |
| Should not restrict imports | 34.0 |
| Don't Know | 3.2 |
| Refused | - |

Q89. Some say the US should restrict imports of tuna from Mexico, because the tuna are caught using methods that kill many dolphins. Do you think the US should or should not restrict imports of tuna from Mexico for this reason?

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Should restrict imports | 71.7 |
| Should not restrict imports | 27.6 |
| Don't Know | .8 |
| Refused | - |

[One-third sample]

Q90. There are different opinions about foreign investment in the US. Some people think that foreign investment is necessary and has a positive influence on our economy. Others say that foreign investment is dangerous because it allows outsiders too much control over our affairs. Which view is closer to your own?

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Necessary and positive | 42.7 |
|------------------------|------|

| | |
|------------|------|
| Dangerous | 51.5 |
| Don't Know | 5.5 |
| Refused | .3 |

Q91. Right now every country has a central bank that helps regulate the national economy by loaning money, stabilizing currencies and setting monetary policy. Some people say that there should also be a central bank to regulate the global economy. Here are two positions on this issue. Which one comes closer to your view?

[random reverse order]

A. The US economy is more and more reliant on the world. The painful economic crisis in Asia shows how much we need a global central bank to help keep stability in the international economy.

B. A global central bank would just be another ineffective bureaucracy. The market will naturally bring stability to the international economy without outside intervention.

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Statement A | 39.7 |
| Statement B | 52.2 |
| Don't Know | 7.8 |
| Refused | .2 |

[Half sample]

Q92. The World Trade Organization was established to rule on disputes over trade treaties. If another country files a complaint with the World Trade Organization and it rules against the US, as a general rule, should the US comply with that decision?

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Yes | 64.7 |
| No | 23.8 |
| Depends (Vol.) | 5.9 |
| Don't Know | 5.6 |
| Refused | .1 |

[Two-thirds sample]

Q93. Do you think the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA, has been good or bad for the United States?

| | |
|------|------|
| Good | 44.3 |
|------|------|

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Bad | 30.0 |
| Neither (vol.) | 7.1 |
| Don't Know | 18.4 |
| Refused | .1 |

[One-third sample]

Q94. The recent financial crisis in Asia has led to a debate over whether international organizations should intervene when there is instability in the world economy. Some people say the world economy will naturally adjust itself, and that it is not necessary and would probably be ineffective to intervene. Others say that instability in the world economy can spiral out of control and cause a lot of harm, and it is worth intervening. On balance, do you think it is or is not worthwhile for international organizations to intervene to try to stabilize troubled areas of the world economy?

| | |
|------------------------------|------|
| Yes, worthwhile to intervene | 62.8 |
| No, not worthwhile | 31.9 |
| Don't Know | 4.3 |
| Refused | 1.0 |

Q95. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

I regard myself as a citizen of the world as well as a citizen of the United States.

Would that be strongly or somewhat (agree/disagree)?

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Strongly agree | 44.3 |
| Somewhat agree | 28.4 |
| Somewhat disagree | 11.7 |
| Strongly disagree | 13.3 |
| Don't Know | 1.9 |
| Refused | .3 |

Q96. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement.

As one of the world's rich nations, the United States has a moral responsibility toward poor nations to help them develop economically and improve their people's lives.

Would that be strongly or somewhat (agree/disagree)?

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Strongly agree | 30.8 |
| Somewhat agree | 36.9 |
| Somewhat disagree | 15.6 |
| Strongly disagree | 13.9 |
| Don't Know | 2.4 |
| Refused | .3 |

Q97. Under the current rules of international trade, countries are not allowed to restrict imports based on how they are produced. So, if a factory overseas generates excessive levels of pollution, the United States can't impose trade restrictions on the factory's products. Now, tell me which of the following statements you agree with most:

[random reverse order]

A. Countries should be able to restrict the import of products if they are produced in a way that damages the environment, because protecting the environment is at least as important as trade.

B. If countries can put up trade barriers against a product any time they can come up with something they do not like about how it is produced, pretty soon they will be putting barriers up right and left.

This will hurt the global economy and cost jobs.

| | |
|--------------|------|
| Statement A | 73.6 |
| Statement B | 22.4 |
| (Don't Know) | 3.4 |
| Refused | .6 |

Statement: Other countries have sometimes put up trade barriers against US products. The US has complained that these trade barriers are unfair, and that they violate international trade agreements to be open to products from other countries. Other countries, though, say there are good reasons for these barriers. I'm going to read you some examples and I'd like you to tell me if you think the other country should or should not be able to put up barriers in each case.

[Different one-third samples heard Q98-99 and Q100-101; order within pairs randomized]

Q98. The European Union has banned the import of American beef from cows that were given growth hormones. The EU says the beef may pose a health risk to European consumers. The US says that health agencies both in the US and EU have certified the beef as safe. Do you think the EU should or should not be able to impose this ban on American beef?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Should | 57.8 |
| Should not | 39.9 |
| Don't Know | 2.1 |
| Refused | .2 |

Q99. The European Union and Japan are considering requiring that labels be placed on genetically modified foods imported from the US. They say that consumers have a right to know this because the long-term health effects of such foods are not known. The US says the foods are proven safe and that labeling could be costly and discourage people from buying the foods. Do you think the EU and Japan should or should not be able to require the labeling of genetically modified food from the US?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Should | 80.5 |
| Should not | 17.5 |
| Don't Know | 2.0 |
| Refused | - |

Q100. The European Union currently has higher trade barriers for bananas from US companies and other countries than it does for bananas imported from its former colonies. The EU says it has a historical obligation to help these former colonies. The US says this is unfair to American banana companies. Do you think the EU should or should not be able to give preferences to bananas from its former colonies?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Should | 50.1 |
| Should not | 43.9 |
| Don't Know | 5.9 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q101. France has placed strict limits on the amount of non-French films that can be shown in theaters. They say this is important to support their film in-

dustry and to protect French culture. The US says this unfairly excludes American films. Do you think France should or should not be able to put limits on the showing of non-French films?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Should | 42.6 |
| Should not | 53.9 |
| Don't Know | 3.2 |
| Refused | .3 |

[One-third sample]

Q102. Some factories in countries that produce clothing for the American market place their workers in harsh and unsafe conditions, sometimes called sweatshops, to keep their costs low. Presently there is a proposal to have an international organization that would check the conditions in a factory and, if acceptable, give them the right to label their products as not made in a sweatshop. However, this may mean that the price of those products will be higher than those made in sweatshops. If you had to choose between buying a piece of clothing that costs \$20 and you are not sure how it was made, and one that is certified as not made in a sweatshop, but costs \$25, which one would you buy?

| | |
|--|------|
| Unsure how it is made for \$20 | 20.3 |
| Certified not made in sweatshop for \$25 | 75.7 |
| Don't Know | 3.5 |
| Refused | .6 |

Q103. Currently the US has numerous barriers, such as import taxes and quotas, that limit the amount of clothing imported into the US. There is some discussion about whether these barriers should be lowered. [Next two sentences randomly rotated] On one hand, if the US lowered these barriers this would allow Americans to buy clothing at a much lower cost. On the other hand, lowering barriers would create competition for American clothing manufacturers and some American jobs would likely be lost. What is your opinion? Do you lean in favor of lowering or not lowering barriers that limit clothing imports?

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| Lean toward lowering barriers | 35.7 |
| Lean toward not lowering barriers | 62.0 |
| Don't Know | 2.1 |

Refused .2

[Subsample: If "lean toward not lowering barriers" in Q103]

Q103a. Some economic experts have calculated that having these barriers costs the American economy a substantial amount of money, mostly due to higher prices consumers must pay. While the barriers may save jobs, these economists calculate that it costs the American economy more than \$50,000 for EACH job saved. Assuming this is true, do you feel this cost to the American economy is worth it if it will save jobs, or that it is too high a cost to save jobs?

| | |
|-----------------|------|
| Worth it | 65.1 |
| Too high a cost | 28.2 |
| Don't Know | 6.3 |
| Refused | .3 |

[All respondents, Q103-103a combined]

After hearing costs of protection:

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| Favor lowering barriers | 53.2 |
| Oppose lowering barriers | 40.4 |
| Don't Know | 6.0 |
| Refused | .4 |

[Subsample: if not "refused" in Q103]

Q103b. Some people feel that if trade barriers are lowered, Americans will be able to buy cheaper clothing. Thus, some people feel Americans should be willing to pay a bit more in taxes to support programs to help the former clothing workers get new jobs. Others feel that such programs for workers are not really necessary and are not likely to be effective. What about you? If barriers are lowered and clothing prices come down, would you favor or oppose a slight increase in taxes to support programs to help displaced workers get new jobs?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Favor | 51.2 |
| Oppose | 44.8 |
| Don't Know | 3.8 |
| Refused | .2 |

[One-third sample]

Q104. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

When the World Trade Organization makes decisions, it tends to think about what's best for business, but not about what's best for the world as a whole.

| | |
|------------|------|
| Agree | 65.3 |
| Disagree | 23.9 |
| Don't Know | 10.1 |
| Refused | .6 |

Q105. Let me tell you about a dispute between Europe and the US. The European countries give substantial financial aid to their small farmers. They say that this is because they want to preserve their small family farms, and this is the only way to make them competitive. The US complains that this aid gives European farmers an unfair advantage, because it makes it possible for them to charge lower prices and undercut American farmers. Do you feel more sympathetic to the European position or the American position on this question?

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| European position | 35.9 |
| American position | 58.7 |
| Don't Know | 5.1 |
| Refused | .4 |

Q106. Currently there are efforts to find ways to help the very poorest countries in the world other than giving them direct aid. One idea being discussed is for the wealthier countries to allow in more of the products from these very poor countries. Some say that this would be a good idea because it would help these poor countries get on their feet, and because their imports would still be no more than one percent of all imports, it would cost the wealthy countries very little. Others say that allowing in more goods from these very poor countries is a bad idea because it might threaten the jobs of American workers producing the same kinds of products. Do you think it is a good idea or bad idea to allow in more products from the very poorest countries?

| | |
|-----------|------|
| Good idea | 62.7 |
|-----------|------|

| | |
|------------|------|
| Bad idea | 30.0 |
| Don't Know | 6.6 |
| Refused | .7 |

Q107. Currently, there is some debate over whether the World Trade Organization, or WTO, should consider issues like labor standards and the environment when it makes decisions on trade. Some say the WTO SHOULD consider these issues because they are closely related to trade, and good decisions can be made only if all these things are taken into account. Others say the WTO should NOT consider these issues because its job is to deal only with trade, and trying to bring in these other concerns will interfere with the growth of trade. What about you? Do you think the WTO should or should not consider labor standards and the environment when it makes decisions about trade?

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| Should consider | 77.5 |
| Should not consider | 17.7 |
| Don't Know | 4.4 |
| Refused | .4 |

Q108. In general, what is your opinion of American popular culture, such as music, television and films? Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of American popular culture?

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Very favorable | 21.0 |
| Somewhat favorable | 39.0 |
| Somewhat unfavorable | 24.9 |
| Very unfavorable | 13.6 |
| Don't Know | 1.5 |
| Refused | - |

[One-third sample. For Q109, half the respondents heard the section in brackets; the other half did not. The difference in responses was not statistically significant. Also, half the respondents heard about lower pay for US workers last, while the other half heard about the savings for US consumers last; there were no statistically significant ordinal effects.]

Q109. I would like you to consider a possible scenario. Let's say there is an American factory making

shoes that sell for about \$70, and the workers there make about \$28,000 a year. Then the US makes a trade agreement with a poorer country so that their shoes can be imported into the US. These shoes sell for \$50, saving American consumers \$20. [The workers in a poor country who make the shoes increase their income from \$1,000 dollars a year to \$3,000 a year.] As a result of this competition the American shoe factory closes so the workers have to get new jobs. These jobs pay on average \$23,000 a year—\$5,000 less. Overall, would you think the US did the right thing or made a mistake by making the trade agreement?

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| Did the right thing | 31.4 |
| Made a mistake | 63.1 |
| Don't Know | 4.9 |
| Refused | .6 |

[One-third sample]

Q110. How much of a threat, if at all, do you think American popular culture, such as music, television and films, is to the cultures of other countries in the world? Do you think it is a very serious threat, a serious threat, a minor threat, or not a threat at all?

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| Very serious threat | 7.0 |
| Serious threat | 16.8 |
| Minor threat | 32.5 |
| Not a threat at all | 41.0 |
| Don't Know | 2.6 |
| Refused | .1 |

[One-sixth sample]

Q111. I would like you to consider a possible scenario. Let's say there is an American factory that is making shoes that sell for about \$70, and the workers there make about \$28,000 a year. Then the US makes a trade agreement with a poorer country so that their shoes can be imported into the US. The shoes sell for \$50, having consumers \$20. But as a result of this competition the American shoe factory closes. To retrain these workers and others like them, a new program is put in place that requires a tax increase of \$10 a year for the average taxpayer. As a result of the program, most of the displaced workers find new jobs. Overall, would you think the US did

the right thing or made a mistake by making the trade agreement?

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| Did the right thing | 40.3 |
| Made a mistake | 53.3 |
| Don't Know | 5.9 |
| Refused | .5 |

[One-sixth sample that did not hear Q111]

Q112. I would like you to consider a possible scenario. Let's say there is an American factory that is making shoes that sell for about \$70, and the workers there make about \$28,000 a year. Then the US makes a trade agreement with a poorer country so that their shoes can be imported into the US. As a result of this competition the American shoe factory closes. To retrain these workers and others like them, a new program is put in place that requires a tax increase of \$10 a year for the average taxpayer. As a result of the program, most of the displaced workers find new jobs. The imported shoes sell for \$50 rather than \$70, saving consumers \$20. Overall, would you think the US did the right thing or made a mistake by making the trade agreement?

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| Did the right thing | 50.6 |
| Made a mistake | 44.6 |
| Don't Know | 4.2 |
| Refused | .5 |

[One-third sample; Q111-112 combined]

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| Did the right thing | 45.4 |
| Made a mistake | 49.0 |
| Don't Know | 5.1 |
| Refused | .5 |

[One-third sample]

Q113. In the 1940's, taxes on imported goods averaged 40 percent of the price of the product. As a result of trade agreements among the industrialized countries, today they are about 6 percent. Do you think that has been:

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| A good thing | 40.7 |
| A bad thing | 12.6 |
| Neither good nor bad | 41.5 |
| Don't Know | 5.2 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q114. At present, the US limits the import of goods from countries by giving countries a limited number of quotas, which give them the right to sell a certain number of products in the US. At present, most of these quotas go to countries that are not poor. Some people say that we should give more of these quotas to poor countries, especially those that presently receive US foreign aid, because this would help their economies and may even help some foreign aid recipients get to the point that they will not need aid. Others argue that this is not a good idea because we may have to take quotas away from the wealthier countries that presently have them, and this could be politically sensitive. Do you favor or oppose the idea of giving poor countries more of such quotas?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Favor | 71.5 |
| Oppose | 21.4 |
| Don't Know | 6.5 |
| Refused | .5 |

Q115. As you may know with freer trade, jobs are often lost due to imports from other countries, while new jobs are created when the US exports more products to other countries. I'd like you to imagine in one industry some jobs are lost because of foreign competition, while in a different industry an equal number are created, but these new jobs pay higher wages. Which of the following statements about this do you agree with most?

[random reverse order]

A. Even if the new jobs that come from freer trade pay higher wages, overall it is not worth all the disruption of people losing their jobs.

B. It is better to have the higher paying jobs, and the people who lost their jobs can eventually find new ones.

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Statement A | 55.5 |
| Statement B | 40.3 |
| Don't Know | 3.6 |
| Refused | .6 |

Q116. Which of the following two statements comes closer to your point of view:

[random reverse order]

A. We have a responsibility to make sure that all Americans have the opportunity to share in the benefits of increased international trade, even if this slows the growth of trade and the general US economy.

B. We should do what's best for the growth of the economy, and leave it to individuals to adapt and take advantage of the new opportunities created by international trade.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Statement A | 48.2 |
| Statement B | 45.2 |
| Neither (vol.) | 2.3 |
| Don't Know | 4.2 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q117. How well prepared do you think the average American is for the kind of global economy that will emerge over the next twenty years? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning "not at all prepared" and 10 meaning "very well prepared".

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 4.74 |
| Median | 5.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 1.8% |

Q118. What number would you give for yourself?

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 5.34 |
| Median | 5.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 2.1% |

Q119. Suppose the US substantially increased the money spent on education and retraining for adults. If this happened, how well prepared would you say the average American would be? Please answer on the same 0-to-10 scale.

| | |
|----------------------|------|
| Mean | 5.90 |
| Median | 6.00 |
| Don't know / refused | 2.9% |

[One-third sample]

Statement: As you may know, some countries have lower environmental standards than the US. Currently there is some discussion about whether Ameri-

can companies that operate in other countries should be expected to abide by US environmental standards.

[Whether pro or con arguments were heard first was randomized. Arguments within pro and con blocs were also randomized.]

I will now read you three statements IN FAVOR of expecting corporations to abide by US environmental standards when they operate in other countries. Please tell me for each whether you find it convincing or not convincing.

Q120. If US companies can lower their costs by moving to other countries with lower environmental standards then they will take American jobs with them.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 63.8 |
| Not convincing | 35.3 |
| Don't Know | .9 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q121. If US companies can lower their costs by moving to other countries with lower environmental standards this will result in greater harm to the environment.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 70.6 |
| Not convincing | 27.6 |
| Don't Know | 1.7 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q122. If Americans decide that to do something to hurt the environment is wrong inside the US, then it would also be wrong for American companies to do it in other countries.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 80.8 |
| Not convincing | 17.5 |
| Don't Know | 1.5 |
| Refused | .1 |

I will now read you three statements AGAINST expecting corporations to abide by US environmental standards when they operate in other countries.

Please tell me for each one whether you find it convincing or not convincing.

Q123. If US companies have to abide by higher environmental standards than other companies, this will make it harder for US companies to compete.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 54.4 |
| Not convincing | 43.8 |
| Don't Know | 1.7 |
| Refused | - |

Q124. Imposing higher environmental standards on American companies will increase production costs, which will sometimes mean higher prices for the American consumer.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 61.5 |
| Not convincing | 37.8 |
| Don't Know | .7 |
| Refused | - |

Q125. If other countries choose to have lower environmental standards it is not the responsibility of American companies to meet the higher U.S. standard.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 32.5 |
| Not convincing | 66.0 |
| Don't Know | 1.5 |
| Refused | - |

Q126. So now, overall, would you say that American companies that operate in other countries should be expected to abide by US environmental standards? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

| | |
|---------------|------|
| Yes, strongly | 66.9 |
| Yes, somewhat | 20.8 |
| No, somewhat | 6.4 |
| No, strongly | 4.8 |
| Don't Know | 1.0 |
| Refused | - |

Q127. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

I would favor more free trade, if I was confident that we were making major efforts to educate and retrain Americans to be competitive in the global economy. Would that be strongly or somewhat (agree/disagree)?

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Strongly agree | 56.1 |
| Somewhat agree | 31.4 |
| Somewhat disagree | 6.4 |
| Strongly disagree | 4.8 |
| Don't Know | 1.3 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q. In the long run, if developing countries do become stronger economically, do you think there will be a very positive impact, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative impact on: [randomize]

Q128. U.S. business opportunities in developing countries

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Very positive | 23.8 |
| Somewhat positive | 50.3 |
| Somewhat negative | 17.6 |
| Very negative | 4.5 |
| Don't Know | 3.9 |
| Refused | - |

Q129. The U.S. economy

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Very positive | 17.9 |
| Somewhat positive | 51.6 |
| Somewhat negative | 20.3 |
| Very negative | 5.5 |
| Don't Know | 4.6 |
| Refused | .1 |

Q130. Jobs in the United States

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Very positive | 17.6 |
| Somewhat positive | 45.1 |
| Somewhat negative | 25.3 |
| Very negative | 9.4 |
| Don't Know | 2.5 |
| Refused | .1 |

Statement: As you may know, some countries have lower health and safety standards for workers than the US. Currently there is some discussion about whether American corporations that operate in other countries should be expected to abide by US health and safety standards for workers.

[Whether pro or con arguments were heard first was randomized. Arguments within pro and con blocs were also randomized.]

I will now read you statements IN FAVOR of expecting corporations to abide by US health and safety standards when they operate in other countries. Please tell me for each one whether you find it convincing or not convincing.

Q131. If US companies can lower their costs by moving to other countries with lower health and safety standards, then they will take American jobs with them.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 61.9 |
| Not convincing | 36.6 |
| Don't Know | 1.1 |
| Refused | .4 |

Q132. If Americans decide that to do something to put workers in unsafe conditions is wrong inside the US, then it would also be wrong for American companies to do it in other countries.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 79.3 |
| Not convincing | 17.9 |
| Don't Know | 2.5 |
| Refused | .3 |

I will now read you statements AGAINST expecting corporations to abide by US health and safety standards when they operate in other countries. Please tell me for each one whether you find it convincing or not convincing.

Q133. Imposing higher standards on American companies will increase production costs, which will

sometimes mean higher prices for the American consumer.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 60.9 |
| Not convincing | 38.1 |
| Don't Know | .8 |
| Refused | .2 |

Q134. If other countries choose to have lower health and safety standards, it is not the responsibility of American companies to meet the higher US standard.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Convincing | 28.7 |
| Not convincing | 69.0 |
| Don't Know | 1.7 |
| Refused | .6 |

Q135. So now, overall, would you say that American companies that operate in other countries should be expected to abide by US health and safety standards for workers? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

| | |
|---------------|------|
| Yes, strongly | 69.1 |
| Yes, somewhat | 17.1 |
| No, somewhat | 7.3 |
| No, strongly | 5.6 |
| Don't Know | .7 |
| Refused | .2 |

Q136. Some people say that if people in other countries are making products that we use, this creates a moral obligation for us to make efforts to ensure that they do not have to work in harsh or unsafe conditions. Others say that it is not for us to judge what the working conditions should be in another country. Do you feel that we do or do not have a moral obligation to make efforts to ensure that workers in other countries who make products we use are not required to work in harsh or unsafe conditions?

| | |
|---------------------------------|------|
| Yes, have moral obligation | 74.1 |
| No, don't have moral obligation | 22.7 |
| Don't Know | 2.4 |
| Refused | .8 |

Q137. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

If a government is committing atrocities against its people so that a significant number of people are being killed, at some point the countries of the world, including the US, should intervene with force if necessary to stop the killing.

| | |
|------------|------|
| Agree | 77.2 |
| Disagree | 15.8 |
| Don't Know | 6.2 |
| Refused | .8 |

Q138. As you may know, there is a UN peacekeeping force in East Timor. This force is restoring order after the violence following the vote for East Timor independence from Indonesia. The total force is about 6,000 troops, mostly from Australia. The US has contributed about 200 troops, mostly to help with transport and communications, but not for combat. Do you approve or disapprove of the US contributing 200 troops to the UN peacekeeping force in East Timor?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Approve | 70.7 |
| Disapprove | 25.4 |
| Don't Know | 3.8 |
| Refused | .1 |

[Full sample]

Q139. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

| | |
|---------------------------|------|
| Strongly Republican | 17.0 |
| Leaning toward Republican | 13.3 |
| Leaning toward Democrat | 13.0 |
| Strongly Democrat | 17.2 |
| Independent | 27.7 |
| Other | 9.9 |
| Don't Know | 1.3 |
| Refused | .7 |

Q140. What is your age?

| | |
|----------|------|
| 18 to 29 | 22.2 |
| 30 to 45 | 32.5 |
| 46 to 65 | 28.3 |
| Over 65 | 16.2 |

Refused .8

Q141. Do you have any children who are under 18 years of age?

| | |
|---------|------|
| Yes | 35.5 |
| No | 64.2 |
| Refused | .3 |

Q142. What ethnic group do you consider yourself to be part of?

| | |
|-------------------------|------|
| White/Caucasian | 77.9 |
| Black/ African American | 7.4 |
| Hispanic/Latino | 7.6 |
| Other | 5.6 |
| Don't Know | .2 |
| Refused | 1.4 |

Q143. What is the highest level of education that you have had:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| Less than high school (no degree) | 17.9 |
| High school graduate | 33.2 |
| Some college | 26.4 |
| 4 year college degree | 15.1 |
| Advanced degree | 6.9 |
| Don't Know | .1 |
| Refused | .4 |

Q144. During the last three years, did you lose a job, or leave one because your plant or company closed or moved, there was insufficient work, or another similar reason?

| | |
|---------|------|
| Yes | 13.7 |
| No | 85.7 |
| Refused | .6 |

[Two-thirds sample]

Q145. Which of the following sources do you rely on most often as your primary source of news—broadcast or cable TV, public TV or radio, newspapers, news magazines, radio, or the Internet?

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------|---------------------------|------|
| Broadcast or cable TV | 38.2 | [From sample] | |
| Public TV or radio | 24.8 | Q148. Region | |
| Newspapers | 21.0 | | |
| News magazines | 2.2 | East | 18.7 |
| Radio | 7.7 | South | 35.7 |
| The Internet | 4.2 | Midwest | 24.4 |
| Other | 1.1 | West | 21.2 |
| Don't Know | .4 | | |
| Refused | .5 | [Recorded by observation] | |

| | | | |
|---|------|--------------|------|
| Q146. Do you have stocks in American companies that export, or stocks in foreign companies? | | Q149. Gender | |
| | | Male | 48.8 |
| | | Female | 51.2 |
| Yes | 28.6 | | |
| No | 66.6 | | |
| Don't Know | 4.5 | | |
| Refused | .4 | | |

[Subsample: if "no" or "don't know" in Q146]

Q146a. Is it your impression that you have money in retirement funds with such stocks?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Yes | 23.1 |
| No | 68.8 |
| Don't Know | 7.8 |
| Refused | .3 |

[Full sample]

Q147. Here is a range of household incomes. Just stop me when I read an amount that is more than the correct category for your household income for last year.

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| \$15,000 | 14.3 |
| \$25,000 | 18.0 |
| \$45,000 | 29.0 |
| \$70,000 | 19.0 |
| 100,000 | 7.6 |
| More than \$100,000 | 5.8 |
| Don't Know | 2.0 |
| Refused | 4.3 |

APPENDIX F: HOW THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED

To prepare for this study, PIPA conducted a nationwide poll, focus groups, and a comprehensive review of previous polls done by other organizations.

The Poll

The poll was conducted October 21-29, 1999 with a sample of 1,826 American adults. Research Data Design and Communications Center, Inc. interviewed respondents by telephone on a CATI system, using a survey designed by PIPA. Respondents were chosen from all households in the continental United States by a random digit dialing sample generated by Scientific Telephone Samples. Interviewers observed gender and region quotas.

Questions that were asked of the entire sample have a margin of error of plus or minus 2.3%. Two-thirds sample questions have a margin of error of plus or minus 3%. Half sample questions have a margin of error of plus or minus 3.5%. One-third sample questions have a margin of error of plus or minus 4%.

Survey Methodology

Data for this survey were collected using telephone interviews with Americans 18 years or older living in the continental United States. The telephone exchanges for this sample were drawn from residential working block exchanges excluding blocks assigned exclusively for business use, mobile phones, military or governmental purposes, and known business numbers. Selection from these working blocks was weighted according to the estimated number of working residential telephones within each. The exact number of RDD numbers generated per working block was calculated proportional to the estimated working residential telephones for the particular working block against the total estimated working telephones for the entire sampling frame. Estimates of household telephone

coverage were derived from census data on residential telephone incidence and updated with information from local telephone companies and other sources and cross-checked with Bellcore files. For the purpose of this study, a working bank was defined as those with more than three known working residential telephones out of the 100 possible numbers within that block.

The sample was released for interviewing in replicates. Using replicates to order the sequence of calls eliminates potential calling order bias.

Data were weighted to the actual national proportions for age and education, based on estimates from the US Census Bureau.

Focus Groups

PIPA used focus groups to help write poll questions that would reflect how people think and talk about globalization and related issues. Focus groups provide citizens with an opportunity to talk about their views and feelings in their own words, and to explain the underlying assumptions behind their views.

PIPA conducted three focus groups: in Dallas, Texas on June 21, 1999; in Battle Creek, Michigan on June 23, 1999; and in Baltimore, Maryland on September 20, 1999. Each discussion lasted about 2 hours and included 10-12 participants. Nortex Research Group recruited participants for the Dallas focus group; W.J. Shroer Company arranged the focus group in Battle Creek; and Maryland Marketing Source coordinated the Baltimore focus group. In all cases, a strong effort was made to recruit participants who reflected the demographic makeup of the region.

Review of Other Polls

PIPA performed a comprehensive review of publicly released polls on globalization and the related issues covered in this report. The primary sources were the Public Opinion Location Library database of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut, and the Office of Research, US Department of State (formerly Office of Research and Media Reaction, US Information Agency). Peter D. Hart Research, the Mellman Group, and Greenberg Research, Inc. provided proprietary data at PIPA's request.