



**AMERICANS ON GLOBALIZATION:
A Study of US Public Attitudes
March 28, 2000**

Questionnaire and Results

Date: October 21-29, 1999
Sample Size: 1826 respondents

Margins of error: Full sample +/-2.3
Two-thirds sample (1,200*) +/-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.

[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
Analysis in progress

[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

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 -

[One-third sample]

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]

Q.27 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 | .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 labor 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 labor 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 |

[Subsample: If “should agree” in Q60]

Q60a. Here are two statements: Tell me which one you most agree with:

[random reverse order]

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.

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.

| | |
|-------------|------|
| Statement A | 28.1 |
| Statement B | 69.4 |
| Don't Know | 1.9 |
| Refused | .6 |

[Two-thirds sample: Q60 and 60a combined]

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| Should lower barriers unconditionally | 18.0 |
| Should lower only reciprocally | 44.4 |
| Should not lower barriers | 28.7 |
| Don't Know | 7.8 |
| Refused | 1.2 |

[Subsample: if chose Statement B in Q60a]

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?

| | |
|------------|------|
| Agree | 71.2 |
| Not agree | 23.9 |
| Don't Know | 4.3 |
| Refused | .5 |

[Two-thirds sample: Q60, 60a, 60b combined]

| | |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| Should lower barriers unconditionally | 18.0 |
| Lower reciprocally, even w/ low wage | 31.6 |
| Lower reciprocally, not w/ low wage | 10.6 |
| Should not lower barriers | 28.7 |
| Don't Know | 9.7 |
| Refused | 1.4 |

[Two-thirds sample]

Q61. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

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.

| | |
|------------|------|
| Agree | 88.0 |
| Disagree | 9.1 |
| Don't Know | 2.8 |
| Refused | - |

[Full sample]

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?

| | |
|-------------------------------|------|
| Government should invest more | 66.3 |
| Big programs that don't work | 30.5 |
| Don't Know | 3.1 |
| Refused | .1 |

[Two-thirds sample]

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.

Mean=4.89 Median=5.00

Don't know / refused 1.4%

Q64. On the same scale, how vulnerable do you think the average American is to the changes that come with increasing international trade?

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 who 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 | |
| Don't Know | 23.3 |
| Refused | 3.6 |
| | .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]

Q76. 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 |

[Testing of nuclear weapons]

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?

[One-third sample heard either Q78 or Q79]

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Q78. Pakistan | |
| Should limit trade | |
| Should not limit trade | 78.2 |
| Don't Know | 19.8 |
| Refused | 1.9 |
| | - |

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Q79. India | |
| Should limit trade | 71.4 |
| Should not limit trade | 27.7 |
| Don't Know | .7 |
| Refused | .2 |

[Proliferating weapons of mass destruction]

[One-third sample heard either Q80 or Q81]

Q80. The US believes Iran is attempting to build a nuclear weapon, in violation of an international agreement. Do you think the US should or should not limit its trade with Iran for this reason?

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Should limit trade | 82.5 |
| Should not limit trade | 15.9 |
| Don't Know | 1.4 |
| Refused | .2 |

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?

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Should limit trade | 84.7 |
| Should not limit trade | 14.2 |
| Don't Know | 1.1 |
| Refused | - |

[Sample that heard Q81]

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?

| | |
|--------------------|------|
| Should limit trade | 82.7 |
|--------------------|------|

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Should not limit trade | 17.0 |
| Don't Know | 4 |
| Refused | - |

[*Human rights violations*]

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 Pakistan for this reason?

Q83. Iran

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Should limit trade | 80.8 |
| Should not limit trade | 17.2 |
| Don't Know | 1.9 |
| Refused | - |

Q84. China

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Should restrict imports | 74.6 |
| Should not restrict imports | 21.2 |
| Don't Know | 3.7 |
| Refused | .5 |

[Two-thirds sample heard either Q85 or Q86]

Q85. Burma (or Myanmar)

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Should limit trade | 76.8 |
| Should not limit trade | 16.4 |
| Don't Know | 6.6 |
| Refused | .2 |

Q86. Cuba

| | |
|-----------------------------|------|
| Should restrict imports | 70.3 |
| Should not restrict imports | 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 limit its trade with [country] for this reason?

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

Q87. India

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Should limit trade | 63.0 |
| Should not limit trade | 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 limit its trade with Mexico for this reason?

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Should limit trade | 71.7 |
| Should not limit trade | 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 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 industry 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 |
| Not made in sweatshop for \$25 | 75.7 |
| Don't Know | |
| Refused | 3.5 |
| | .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 | |
| Refused | 2.1 |
| | .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 |

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 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 saving consumers \$20. But as a result of this competition the American shoe factory closes. To retrain the 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 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 the 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 | 46.6 |
| Don't Know | 4.2 |
| Refused | .5 |

[One-sixth sample; Q111-112 Combined]

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| Did the right thing | 28.6 |
| Made a mistake | 66.8 |
| Don't Know | 4.2 |
| Refused | .4 |

[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

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 American 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

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 |

[One-third sample]

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 |
| Public TV or radio | 24.8 |
| Newspapers | 21.0 |
| News magazines | 2.2 |
| Radio | 7.7 |
| The Internet | 4.2 |
| Other | 1.1 |
| Don't Know | .4 |
| Refused | .5 |

Q146. Do you have stocks in American companies that export, or stocks in foreign companies?

| | |
|------------|------|
| 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 |

[From sample]
Q148. Region

| | |
|---------|------|
| East | 18.7 |
| South | 35.7 |
| Midwest | 24.4 |
| West | 21.2 |

[Recorded by observation]
Q149. Gender

| | |
|--------|------|
| Male | 48.8 |
| Female | 51.2 |