



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

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. Clearly the process of globalization 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 poll data
- focus groups held in Dallas, Texas; Battle Creek, Michigan; and Baltimore, Maryland.
- a nationwide poll conducted October 21-29, 1999 with 1,8126 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 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 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.

Trade and Labor Standards

2B. An overwhelming majority favored 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 favor limiting trade with other countries who 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 on 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 barriers applied 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 that their values are oriented to a global context and are not limited to a narrow concept of national interest. They 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 getting 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. A more modest majority supports 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 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.

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 in 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 historically have 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 the WTO's efforts to expand international commerce. What the trade specialists 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 feels about it. The legislative calendar is filled with upcoming decisions that will influence the shape of future globalization. Decisionmakers 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 primarily as an opportunity to leverage their skills in a broadened market? How do Americans feel society should deal with those workers whose jobs are disrupted by the forces of globalization and the growth of trade? Do they feel it is the government's responsibility to have special programs which help retrain them or do they think such programs will be 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 historically has resisted making labor standards part of trade agreements, fearing that these may create a barrier to trade. The leaders of developing countries have denounced such standards as thinly disguised protectionism intended to deprive them of a 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 trade negotiations? Environmentalists insist 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 historically has resisted bringing environmental issues into trade negotiations for fear 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 produced in ways which damage the environment. At present, the WTO operates by the rule that *how* 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 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 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 national sovereignty for the US to impose its standards on another society. Opponents also say that sanctions often force American corporations to forego 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 they think 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 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 future role do they think these institutions should play? 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 international 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 local cultural, economic and religious traditions. How do Americans feel about the spread of American culture? Do they see this as something positive 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 including:

- 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

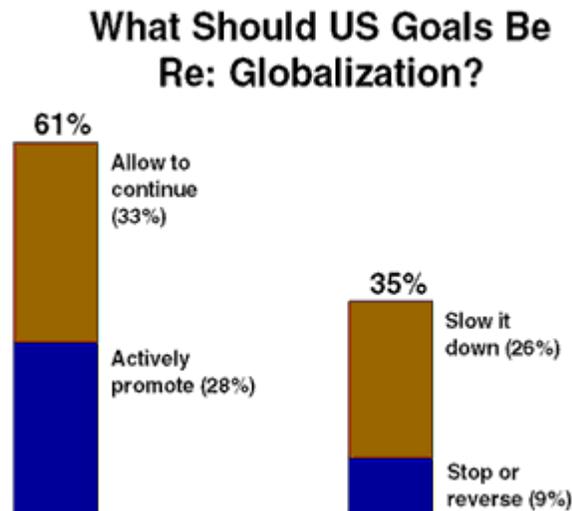
1. Overall, Americans see globalization as somewhat more positive than negative and appear to be growing more familiar with the concept and more positive about it. A large majority favors moving with the process of globalization, and only a small minority favors resisting it. Americans view globalization 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.

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 in the current PIPA poll 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 6.04. 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 reflects 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) poll found that 41 percent believed globalization to be positive, unchanged from a Market Strategies poll in 1991.¹ Just 14 and 9 percent, respectively, thought globalization to be negative, roughly the same level as today.

Americans also are 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 PIPA poll, only 29% said they were not familiar with the concept.

Perhaps most significant, in the PIPA 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 PIPA 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 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 said, "It means that in business everybody all over the world is connected monetarily."

However, this does not mean globalization was seen only, or even primarily, as 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

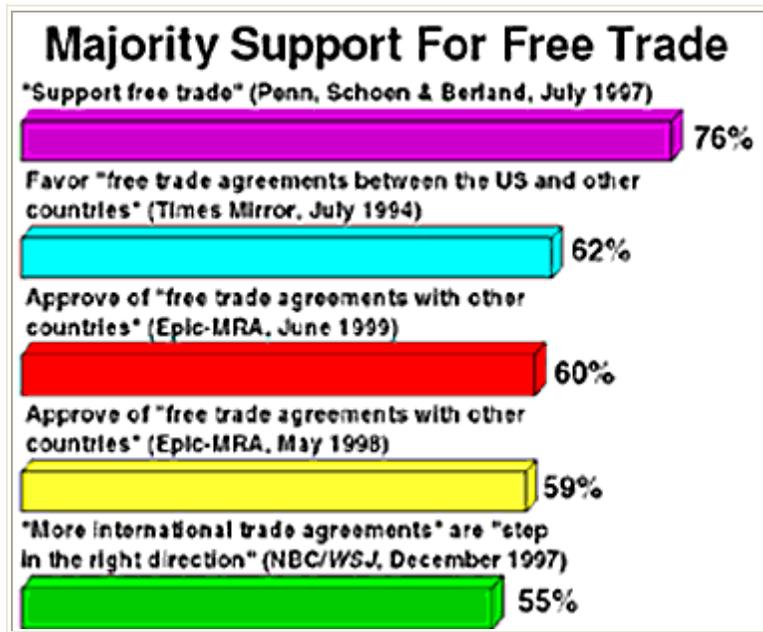
2. In principle, a majority of Americans supports the growth of international trade, especially when the removal of trade barriers is clearly reciprocal. However, Americans are lukewarm about the actual net benefits of trade for most sectors of society, except for the business community. A majority believes 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, apparently 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. For example, 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 leadership 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."²

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/*Wall Street Journal* 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, Gallup found that a 54% majority of Americans favored "a policy of free trade."³



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 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 *Washington Post*/Kaiser Foundation /Harvard 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% 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 *Los Angeles Times* 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% said it has hurt the economy.⁴

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.⁵

Another reason Americans support trade is their support for the idea 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."⁶

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/*USA Today* poll found that a 52% majority agreed with the argument that "free trade would be good for the U.S. because it would help the U.S. economy by expanding exports." By contrast, 38% agreed with the opposing argument, "free trade would be bad for the U.S. because it would end up costing the U.S. jobs."⁷

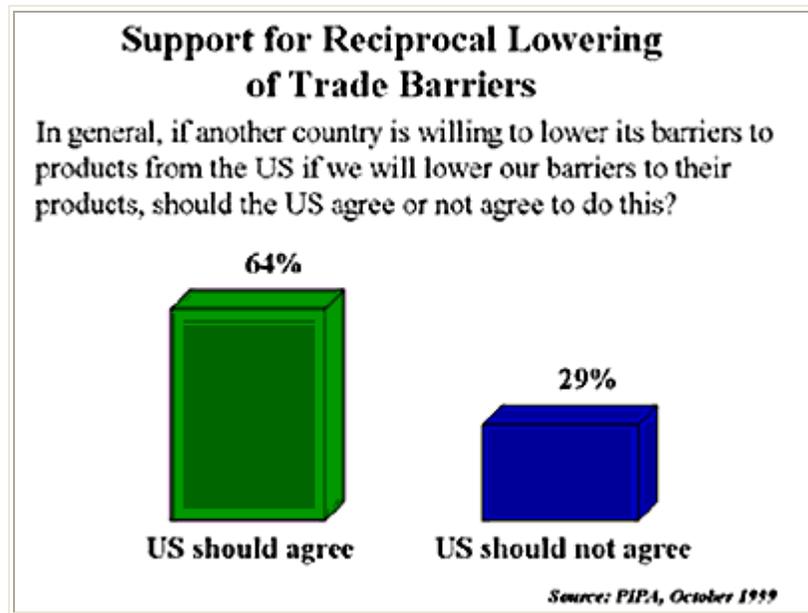
This general support for free trade is so strong that, at least in the case of Europe, Americans are not willing to raise barriers against European products, even though three out of four believe the US is more open to imports than the EU. In April 1998, those who agreed that the US is more open were 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.⁸

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.⁹



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 get this evaluation. An NBC/*Wall Street Journal* 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).¹⁰ A December 1998 NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* 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).¹¹ 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).¹² While perceptions of Japan have improved, the public has grown more negative about China. In a March 1994, NBC/*Wall Street Journal* 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).¹³

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/*Wall Street Journal*), 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).¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

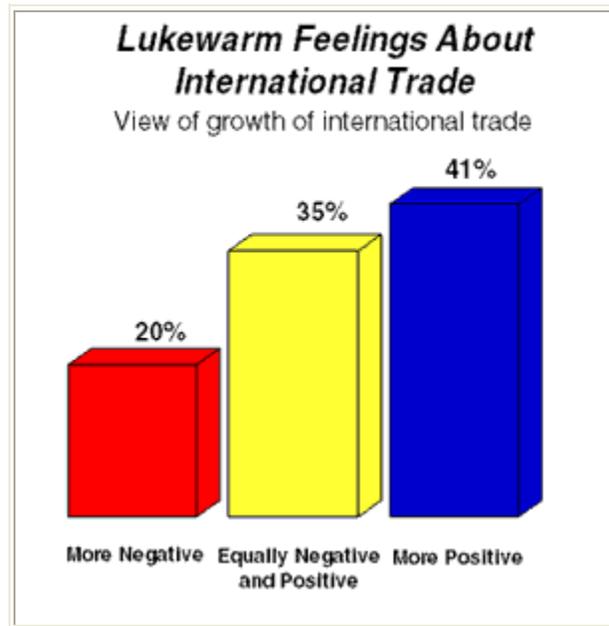
The idea that other countries are unfair traders came through strongly in the focus groups. One man in Dallas said that other countries like Japan "want to sell, not buy." Another said that other countries "don't have to pay the tariffs to us that we have to pay to them." One even likened it to a welfare 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/*Wall Street Journal* 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 U.S. will be better off because we can better compete with other countries."¹⁷

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 percent in the 1940s to about 6 percent 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 in Appendix B, support for the North American Free Trade Agreement has also been modest. In the current poll a plurality of 44% viewed NAFTA as more good than bad, 30% saw it as more bad, and 18% said they did not know. This is very close to earlier responses to the same and 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."

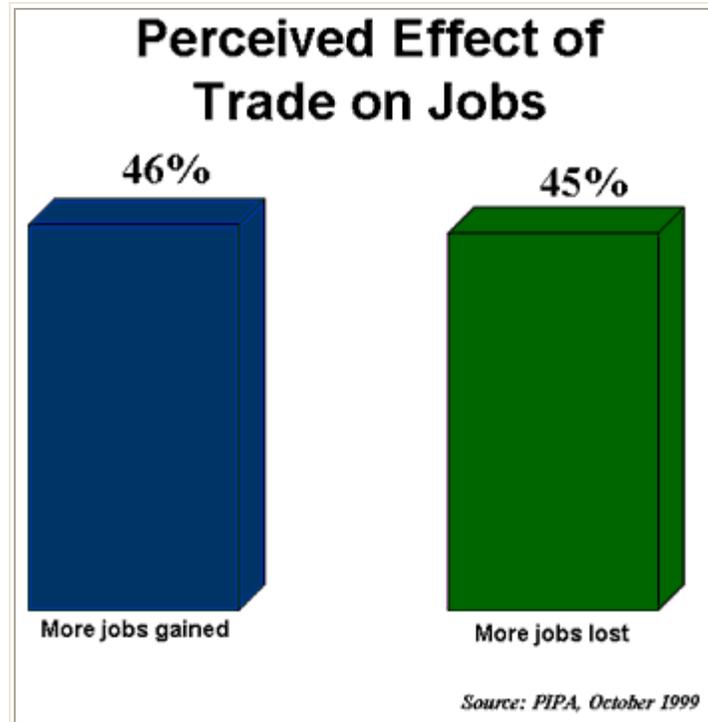
Indeed, compared to other factors, trade and globalization is seen as only one of a number of elements in the current remarkable economic boom. For example, a 1997 NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll found that 70% of Americans thought that "the increasing globalization of the economy" played a major part (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 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%).¹⁸ 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.*

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/*New York Times* 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.¹⁹ In an NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll in June 1997, a 48% plurality said that 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."²⁰

An NBC/*Wall Street Journal* 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 U.S. jobs to other countries, which will hurt wages and jobs here."²¹

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 trade agreements elicited a more negative view, with a plurality or modest majority saying that trade agreements have resulted in 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/*Time* poll found 42% saying that trade agreements have mostly "lost jobs for this country," while 41% said that they have "done both about equally" and just 7% said that 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 *Washington Post/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/*Wall Street Journal* 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 *Los Angeles Times* 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.²²

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 may also 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 those which are lost--though presumably a significant minority does hold this position. This is evident in an Epic-MRA poll from May 1998.

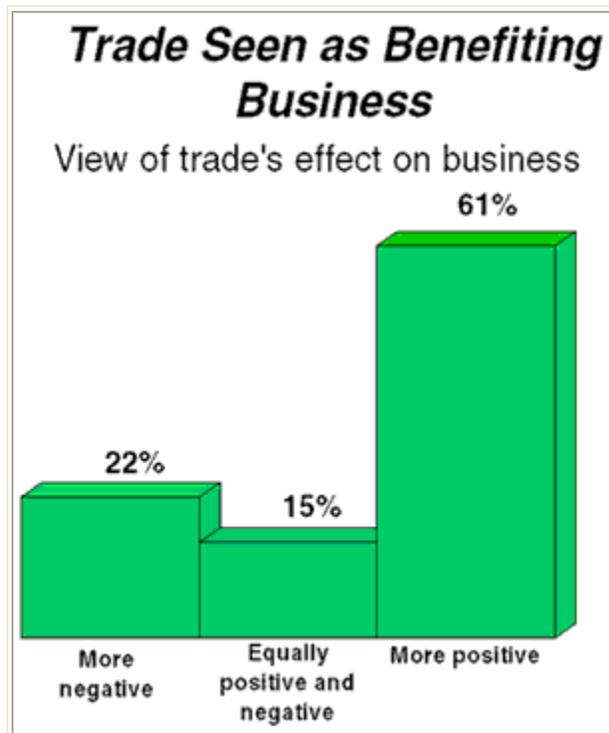
Of American jobs that are [created/lost] because of trade with other countries, do you think those lost jobs are mostly high-wage, high-benefit jobs, low-wage, no-benefit jobs, or average jobs with average benefits?		
	Created	Lost
High-wage jobs	14	15
Low-wage jobs	29	34
Average-wage jobs	54	45
Undecided	3	6

US Trade Policy Seen as Benefiting Primarily Business and the Rich

Overall, Americans seem to feel that trade 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.

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

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%).

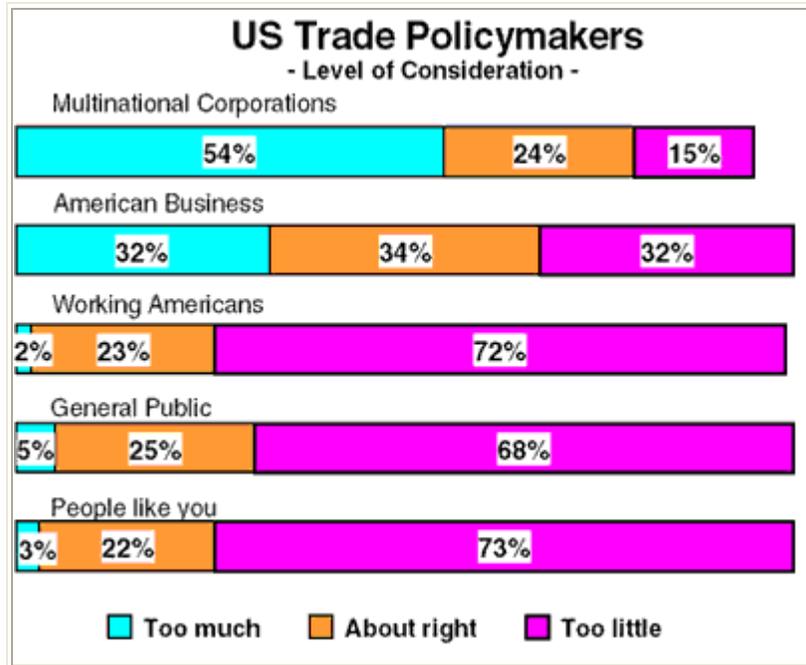


Asked about other priorities, only 36% said US trade policymakers give too little attention to the "growth of the overall American economy." However, 60% felt policymakers give too little attention to the "impact on the environment."

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.

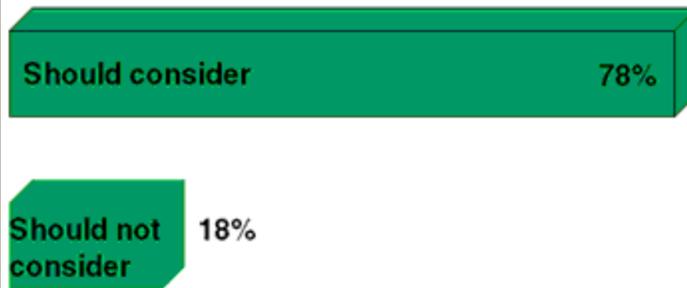


Want Other Concerns to Be Incorporated in Trade Process

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.

Want WTO to Include Labor and Environment

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...Others say the WTO should not consider these issues because ...trying to bring in these other concerns will interfere with the growth of trade. Do you think the WTO should or should not consider [these issues] when it makes decisions about trade?



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.²³ 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.²⁴

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 is probably 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/*Wall Street Journal* 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."²⁵

The second version of question that 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.²⁶ 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

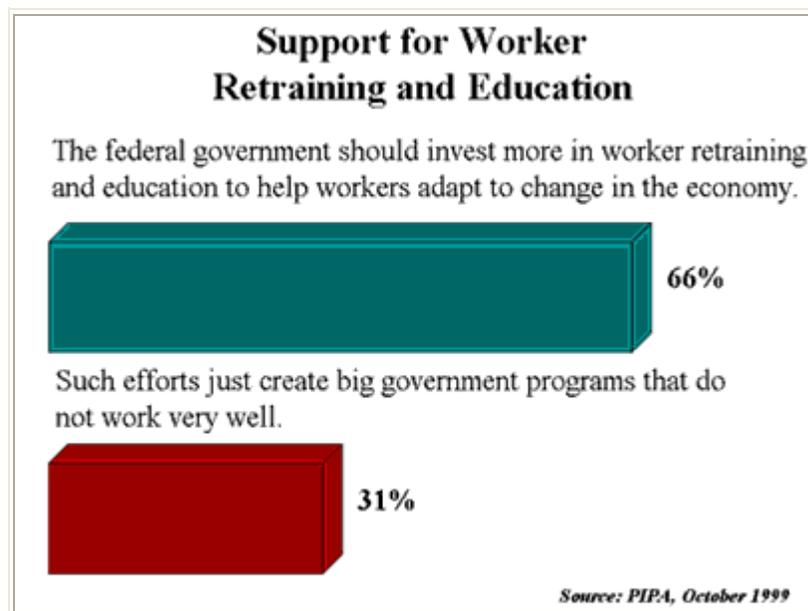
2A. Most Americans feel that workers are not benefiting from the increase in international trade and that the needs of American workers are not being adequately addressed by US policymakers. To address these needs, a very strong majority supports greater government efforts through retraining and education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



A strong majority of 60% said 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.²⁷

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 globalization's changes. 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 where 0 meant "not at all prepared" and 10 meant "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 Research, 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."²⁸

This optimism was echoed in PIPA's 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 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 below.



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.²⁹

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 for 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 be removed gradually. For example, given three options in the PIPA

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 products 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 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 tradeoff, 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 PIPA 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 52% majority said the global economy would hurt average Americans, while 43% said it would help average Americans.³⁰

Since the early 1980s, the *Los Angeles Times* 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.³¹

Similar questions have produced similar results. Also in September 1997, NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* asked respondents to choose between two statements. Fifty-five percent chose, "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, "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, "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."³²

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."

Such attitudes were expressed in PIPA's 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 eating 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 our factories. (Man, Dallas)

Concerns for jobs make 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.³³

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 away jobs. 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.³⁴

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 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 that "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."³⁵

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.³⁶

Why Are Americans Concerned About Workers?

At first glance it seems obvious that Americans would be concerned about the trade's effects 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 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, while 45% said they thought it would have no effect, and 25% thought it would be positive.³⁷

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 zero 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 being a net negative for them personally, while a solid majority expresses strong concern for the effect of trade on American workers, it appears this concern is not simply derived from self-interest. Rather, an altruistic concern for other Americans who are perceived as more vulnerable is a significant factor.

Trade and Labor Standards

2B. An overwhelming majority favored requiring compliance with international labor standards as part of international trade agreements. An overwhelming majority also feels the United States should not allow products to be imported when these products have been made under conditions which violate international labor standards.

Americans overwhelmingly support the view that international labor standards should be incorporated into trade negotiations. In PIPA's current poll, 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 countries should be required to maintain such standards.

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."			

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 belongings 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 may also be rising. 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 favoring such standards, support, while very high, was a bit lower than in PIPA's current survey -- 79% supported it.³⁸

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 favoring the inclusion of 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 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%).³⁹

Trade and the Environment

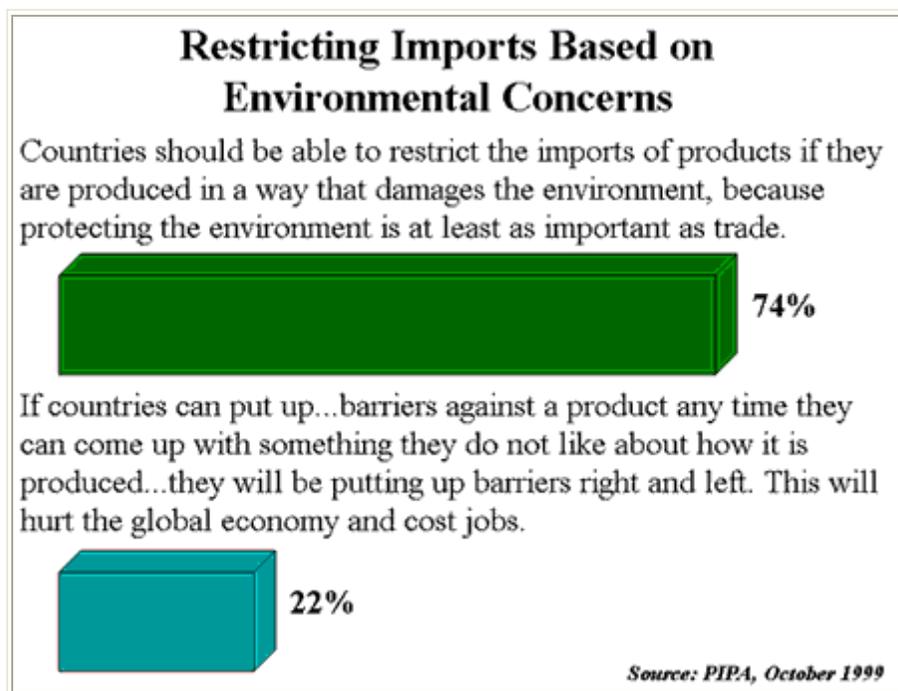
2C. Americans overwhelmingly support the views that environmental issues should be considered in trade decisions and that there should be more international agreements on environmental standards. A very strong majority rejects the WTO's current position that countries should not be able to restrict imports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

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

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	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	33%

addressing the problems.		do.	
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.			

The most convincing pro argument ("convincing," 78%) was based on environmental concerns saying 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 ("convincing," 67%). The con argument, that imposing environmental standards violates national sovereignty, was not popular ("convincing," 33%), nor was the argument that doing so would be unfair because the costs of compliance would vary 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 their production's environmental effects, even though the argument defending the WTO position also mentioned the potential costs to the economy and jobs.

Concerns about 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.⁴⁰

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 the *The Washington Post*, 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 *New York Times* poll, 57% agreed, "We must protect the environment even if it means that jobs in your community are lost because of it." Only 32% disagreed, and 11% were not sure.⁴¹

Trade Sanctions

2D. Americans show a substantial readiness to favor limiting trade with other countries which 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' behaviors. 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 also are surprisingly accepting of barriers applied 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 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 limiting 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.

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

Other polling data also show 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 one-third of Americans opposed sanctions in any of these cases.⁴² 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).⁴³ 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%).⁴⁴

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 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% of Americans favoring "strong economic sanctions against the aggressor country" for "situations like those ... in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia."⁴⁵ In 1994, during the proliferation crisis on the Korean peninsula, several polls found that about 3 out of 4 Americans supported the US and the UN imposing or tightening economic sanctions on North Korea.⁴⁶ Other polls also showed public backing for sanctions against the military junta in Haiti and 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.⁴⁷

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% said they did not. 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."⁴⁸ However, in a May 1998 Zogby poll, 42% favored "engaging in trade and maintaining diplomatic relations," while 37% favored "economic sanctions."⁴⁹ 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. Forty percent agreed 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".⁵⁰ 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 sanctions only hurt the masses, that economic engagement is a better approach and that they should only be pursued with strong multilateral 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.⁵¹ Similarly, PIPA asked in April 1998, "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.⁵²

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: "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." Just 23% supported this view. By contrast, 68% endorsed the view, "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 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."⁵³

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."⁵⁴

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."⁵⁵

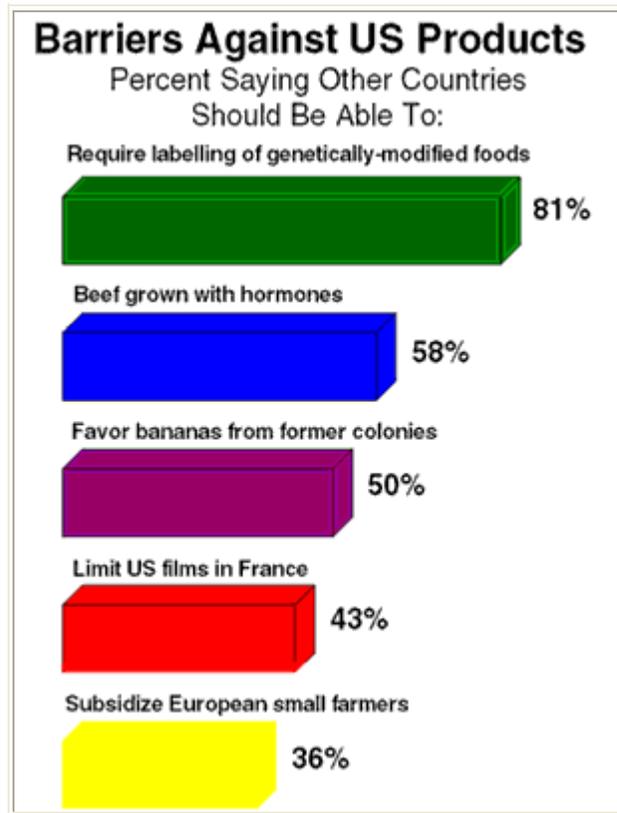
Support for sanctions is strong despite uncertainty about their effectiveness for several reasons. First, Americans think it is necessary to take a stand for national values. In the May 1999 Epic-MRA poll, 76% agreed that "even if tying human rights and other issues to trade agreements does not work, 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."⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷

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, based on health concerns) to genetically modified foods (81%) and beef grown with hormones (58%). A plurality (50%) saw it as legitimate for Europeans to favor bananas from their former colonies over US companies, based on historical obligations. 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. They 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 Americans 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.

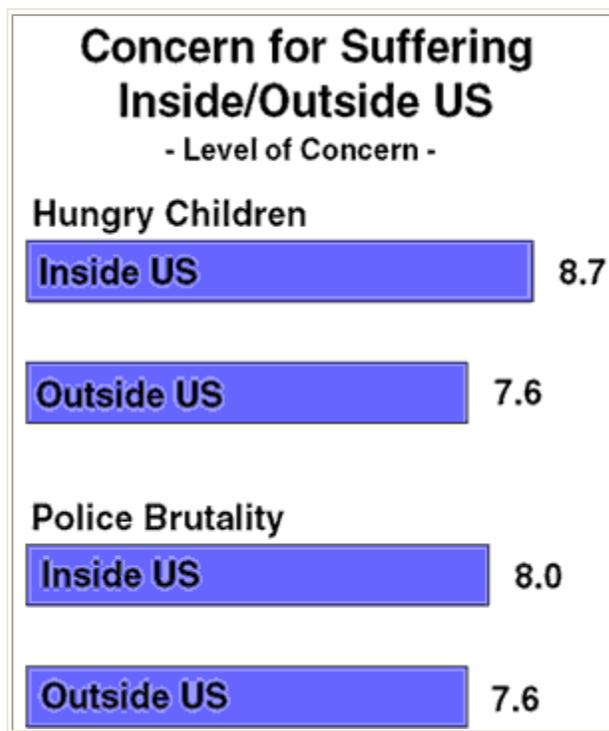
There are strong indications that Americans' values operate in a highly global context -- that their sphere of concern extends well beyond national boundaries. Seventy-three percent agreed (44% strongly) with the statement, "I regard myself as a citizen of the world as well as a citizen of the United 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 in the 1999 PIPA study, 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.

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%).⁵⁸

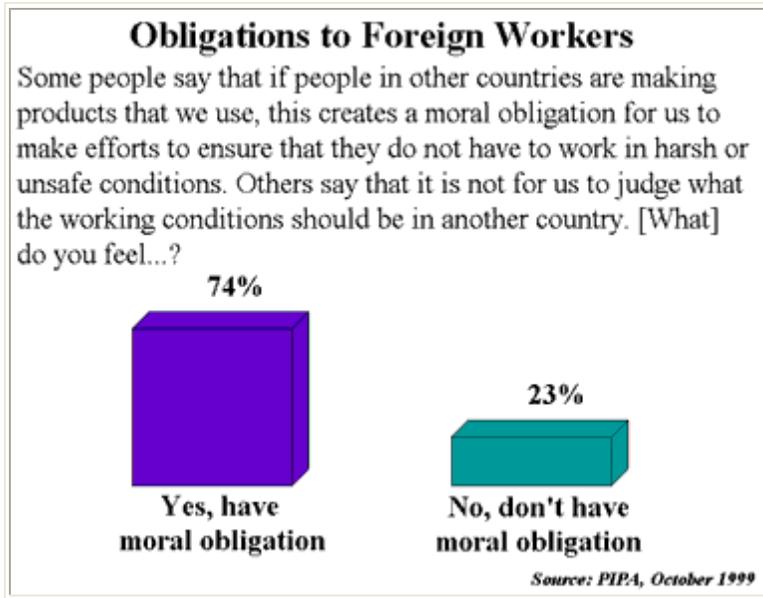
Respondents showed very strong support for the idea that increasing economic involvement with other parts of the world increases Americans' responsibility to address moral issues in those countries. In the current poll, PIPA asked: "Do you think that as we become more involved economically with another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



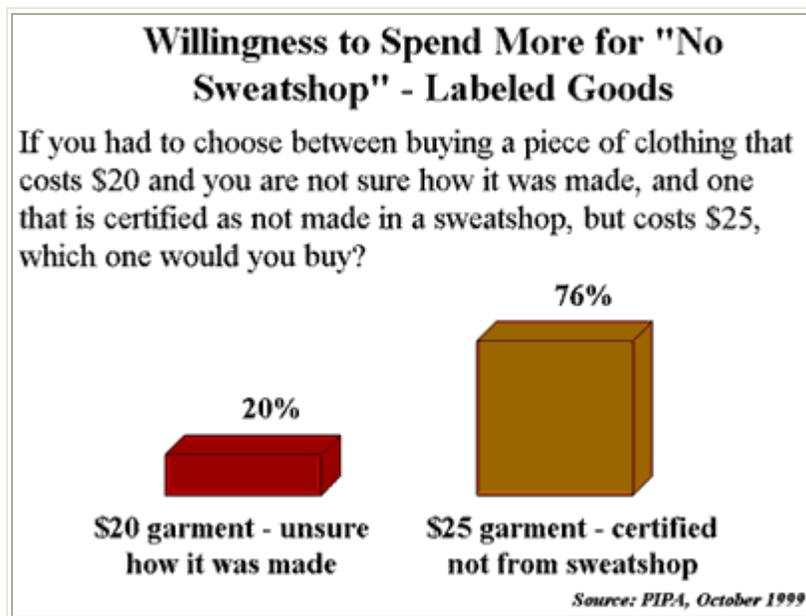
Focus group participants expressed such sentiments -- for example, a Battle Creek woman said:

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 the products were 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.



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."⁵⁹

In PIPA's focus groups, some participants also agreed 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 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 he 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 first were 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, "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, "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, "Imposing higher standards on American companies will increase production costs, which will sometimes mean higher prices for the American consumer." Similarly, 54% were persuaded, "If US companies have to abide by higher standards than other companies, this will make it harder for US companies to compete."

Nonetheless, though respondents seemed to recognize that such a restriction would likely raise consumer prices and make it harder for American companies, when they finally were asked whether they favored or opposed the idea, an overwhelming 88% agreed 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."⁶⁰

Helping Poor Countries

3A. Most Americans perceive poor countries as not getting a net benefit from international trade, and they support giving preferential trade treatment to poor countries. 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. A more-modest majority supports trade with low-wage countries that are not necessarily poor, but a strong majority believes it serves US interests for the economies of developing countries to grow.

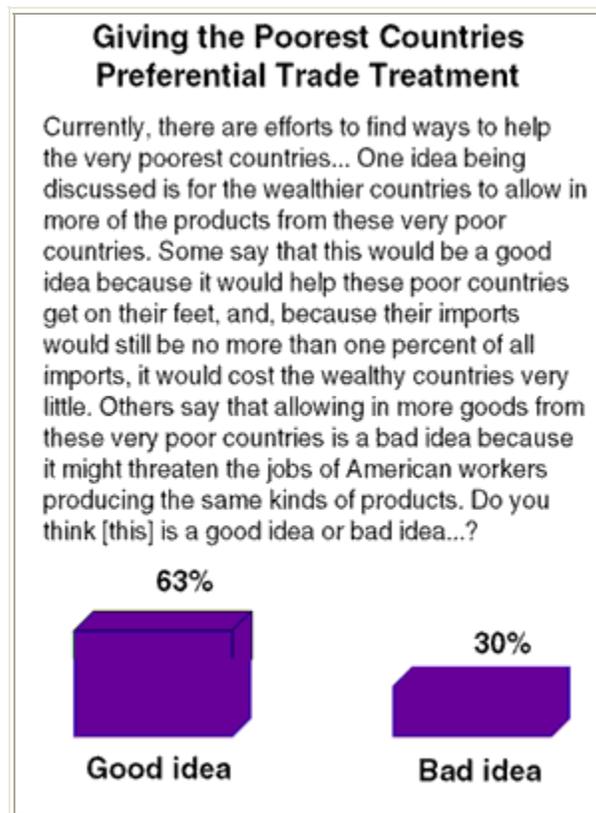
Only a minority of respondents perceived poor countries as getting a net benefit from international trade. Just 32% of respondents said they thought trade was more positive than negative for the poor. Asked to evaluate international trade for "people in poor countries" on a scale of 0 to 10, the mean response was 4.74 -- 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 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 underdeveloped 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 to extend 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.



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 the US should pass legislation to open up trade with the African continent.⁶¹

Another idea explored in the 1999 PIPA 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.⁶²

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), "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).⁶³ 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, 64% said they would be willing to lower trade barriers with poor countries on a reciprocal basis.⁶⁴ However, in the current PIPA poll, only 50% said they were willing to do the same with low-wage countries. Of course, poor countries are also generally 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 ultimately may become economic competitors. Sixty-three percent said, "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."⁶⁵

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.⁶⁶

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/*Wall Street Journal* 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.⁶⁷

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 these decisions 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 *Misreading the Public: The Myth of a New Isolationism*, Brookings Institution Press, 1999). As in previous polls, PIPA's current poll shows 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 two-thirds said it is worthwhile for international organizations to intervene to keep the situation from spiraling out of control.

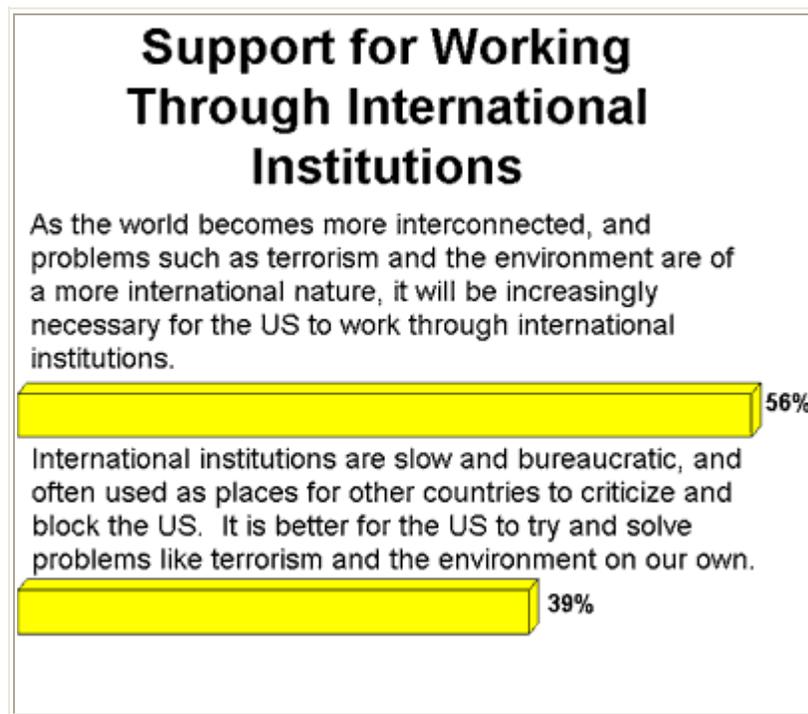


Participants in focus groups also made the connections between instability in Asia and the US economy. As one Baltimore man said:

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%).⁶⁸

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."

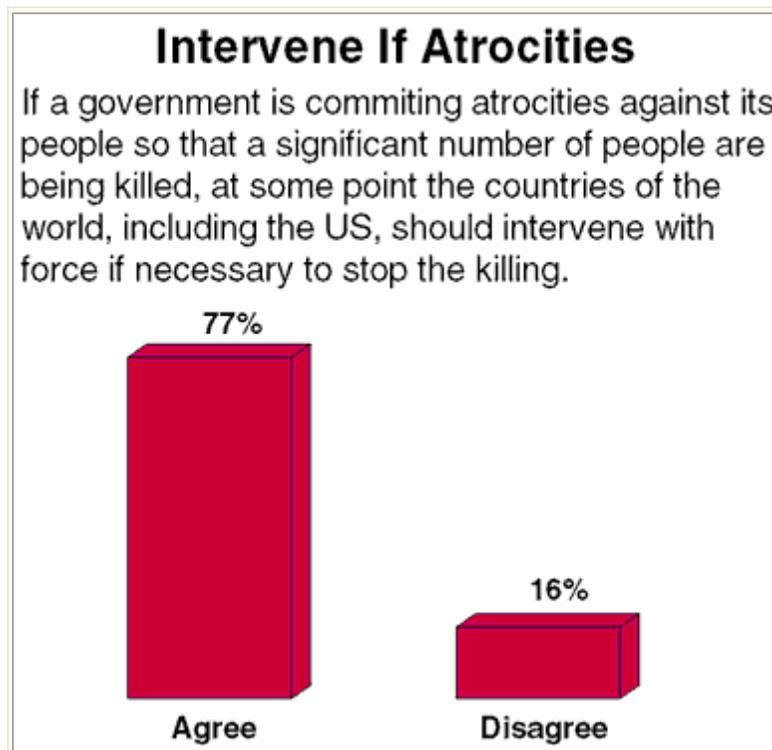


Support for working multilaterally was also voiced in the focus groups. A woman in Baltimore, speaking about stopping child labor said, "I think it is more than just us trying to police people. I don't think it's a one-country ... responsibility. I think it's a global problem and everybody in this globe 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, "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."⁶⁹ 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."⁷⁰

Strengthening International Institutions

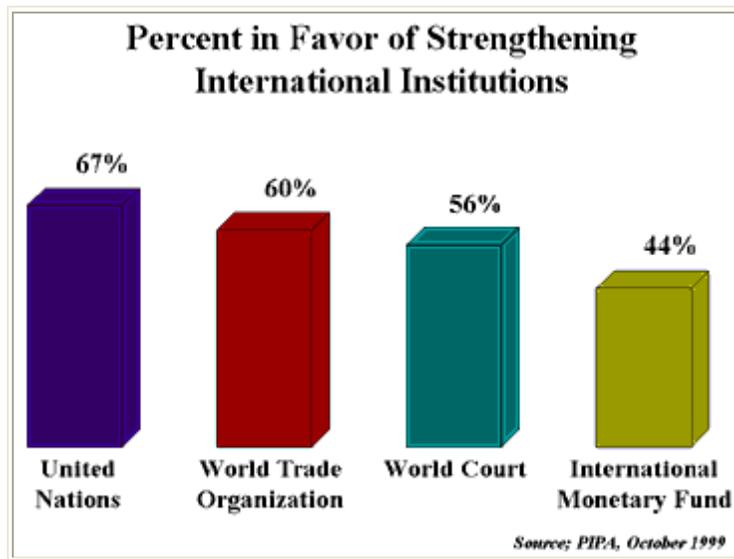
Overall, there is substantial support for strengthening international institutions, especially the United Nations. In the current PIPA polls, 67% favored strengthening the UN. In various other polls, an overwhelming majority of Americans has stressed that strengthening the UN should be a foreign policy goal for the US. A November 1998 poll by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found 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.⁷¹ A September 1997 Pew poll found 83% believed 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.⁷² 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.⁷³

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.⁷⁴

When in June 1995 ATIF presented the argument, "The UN might become a world government and take away our freedom," 73% rejected it (58% strongly), with just 17% agreeing.⁷⁵

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 rejected 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 (see Steven Kull and I.M. Destler, *Misreading the Public*, 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."⁷⁶



In the PIPA poll, even though two-thirds agreed that the WTO favors business interests, 60% nonetheless wanted to strengthen it as well. Pew's February 2000 poll found 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.⁷⁷

Only the international financial institutions did not fare 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.⁷⁸ 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."⁷⁹ Similarly, a December 1997 NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* 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.⁸⁰

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 which 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.⁸¹

Support for New International Institutions

There also is 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 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 combined. The "governments in the countries at war" and the "military itself" were each chosen by 21% of the respondents.⁸²

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.⁸³

In the current PIPA 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."⁸⁴ In a June 1999 Gallup poll, 75% supported "US participation in peacekeeping forces under the United Nations command."⁸⁵

The American public also supports the international movement to ban landmines. A September 1997 Gallup poll found 64% said they thought the US "should sign an international treaty banning landmines." Only 27% said such a ban would not be in the "best strategic interests of the United States."⁸⁶ Also, in the March 1999 Greenberg poll, 61% disapproved of the use of landmines even if it "would weaken the enemy."⁸⁷

Compliance With Rulings by 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

comply. However, this does not mean Americans think the US should always 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."⁸⁸

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 both 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 PIPA 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 a 1991 ATIF poll, 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."⁸⁹ In March 1992, Roper found 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.⁹⁰

The Spread of American Culture

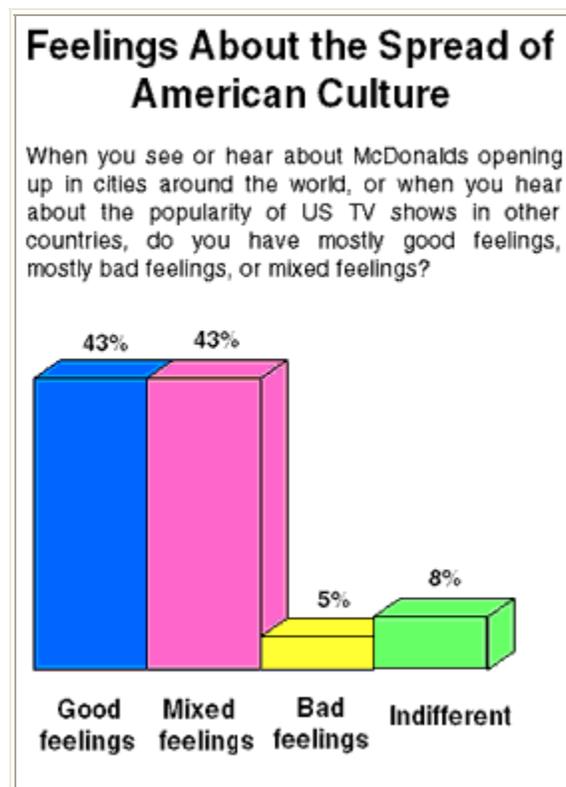
5. A majority of Americans has a favorable view of American popular culture. Even though a large minority of the public is pessimistic about the quality of US movies and television and has mixed feelings about the globalization of US commercial culture, only a small minority considers the dominance of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

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. Americans, for their part, also recognize the spread and growth of US cultural dominance. While they are displeased with some aspects of US culture and perhaps uneasy about its global role, they do not see it as an overall negative force or a threat to other cultures.

In the current PIPA 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 McDonald's 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.

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 *Los Angeles Times* 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.⁹¹



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 "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 may also 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.⁹² Moreover, Americans view the mixing of cultures as valuable. In May 1999, a Pew poll found that 71% of Americans agreed cultural diversity was a "major reason" for America's success.⁹³

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 proposals.

More importantly, such a bipolar model obscures what is most salient in how Americans feel about globalization: Americans 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 PIPA 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. This conclusion 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 is 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 *how* 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 regardless 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. Americans tend to view the American worker as not really benefiting from the growth of trade and being vulnerable to the changes it brings. As discussed, if Americans perceive the lowering of trade barriers as threatening American workers, the majority willing 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 trade growth. 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 which perhaps are 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 also are 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.

Trade can be likened to 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 trade growth want to throw themselves in front of the train to stop it. The public's goal is neither to stop nor to 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 proposals, as the term 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 these conditions are really a covert protectionist agenda, that 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 what we have identified above as 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 this would create competition for American workers. Support for trade sanctions related to human rights and proliferation is sustained even in the face of arguments that sanctions 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 *higher* 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 -- paradoxically -- 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 Americans feel 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 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. The problem they face is, to some extent, of their own making, because 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 which pursue some goals but do not address others are likely to meet with majority resistance. Rather, the public is more likely to respond in a divided and ambivalent manner. But to engender true consensus, policies that address the issues of globalization must address the varied issues and the correspondingly varied human motivations holistically.

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 +/- 2.3%. Two-thirds sample questions have a margin of error of +/- 3%. Half-sample questions have a margin of error of +/- 3.5%. One-third sample questions have a margin of error of +/- 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 prepare to 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 two hours and included 10 to 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.

Notes

1 Question: Many business transactions and other activities which used to take place between people and groups within a country are now taking place more frequently and on a global scale, between people and groups across many different countries. This change has been called globalization. Do you think this is a generally positive development in the world, a negative development, or are you not familiar with this idea of globalization?		
	4/14/93	12/02/91
Positive	41	46%
Negative	14	9
Not familiar	43	42
Don't know	2	3
Refused/No answer	*	*
* = less than .5 percent		
Organization: Market Strategies / Americans Talk Issues Foundation		
Population Size: approx. 1000		
Date: DEC 2, 1991		

2 Question: In November of this year, the United States will host the largest international trade meeting ever held, in Seattle, Washington, where more than 130 countries will decide whether to hold new negotiations aimed at reducing trade barriers worldwide. Do you think the United States should play a leadership role in the effort to reduce trade barriers, should the U.S. take a wait and see position on world trade to see what other countries propose, or should the U.S. oppose efforts to reduce trade barriers?	
U.S. should play a leadership role in . the effort to reduce trade barriers	56%
U.S. should take a wait and see position . on trade to see what others propose	31
U.S. should oppose efforts to . reduce trade barriers	6
Undecided/Don't know	7
Organization: Epic-MRA, Women in International Trade	
Population Size: 850	
Date: May 1999	

3 FREE TRADE/FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS, GENERAL SUPPORT		
Question: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of free trade agreements with other countries?		
	June 99	May 98
Approve	60	59
Disapprove	26	26
DK/Ref	14	15

<p>Organization: Epic-MRA / Women in International Trade Population Size: 850 each Date: as noted</p>	
<p>Question: Do you support free trade?</p>	
Yes	76
No	16
DK/Ref	8
<p>Organization: Penn, Schoen & Berland Population Size: 1009 Date: July 27, 1997</p>	
<p>Question: Please tell me if you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each one.)... Free trade agreements between the United States and other countries, such as N.A.F.T.A. and G.A.T.T.</p>	
Strongly Favor	18%
Favor	44
Oppose	18
Strongly Oppose	10
Don't know	10
<p>Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Times Mirror Population Size: unknown Date: July 25, 1994</p>	
Favor	54%
Oppose	33
No Opinion	12
<p>Organization: Gallup Population Size: approx. 800 Date: April 2, 1953</p>	
<p>Question: (I'd like to read you a list of trends in American society today. For each one I read, please tell me whether you consider this to be a step in the right direction, something that won't make any difference, or is it a step in the wrong direction?) ...More international trade agreements</p>	
Step in right direction	55%
Not make any difference	13
Step in wrong direction	22
Not sure	10
<p>Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal Population Size: 2013 Date: DEC 8, 1997</p>	

4 FREE TRADE, GENERAL, IMPACT ON U.S. ECONOMY:	
Question: Generally speaking, is free trade good for America?	
Yes	55%
No	16
Not sure	29
Organization: Rasmussen Research Population Size: 1000 Date: APR 18, 1999	
Question: (Generally speaking, do you think each of the following is good or bad for the nation's economy, or don't you think it makes much difference?)... Trade agreements between the United States and other countries	
Good	55%
Bad	28
Doesn't make much difference	14
Don't know/No opinion	2
Organization: Washington Post / Kaiser Foundation, Harvard Population Size: 1510 Date: AUG 2, 1996	
Question: Generally speaking, do you believe that free international trade has helped the economy, or hurt the economy, or hasn't free international trade made a difference one way or the other to the economy?	
Helped	39%
Hurt	30
No difference	18
Don't know	13
Organization: Los Angeles Times Population Size: 1258 Date: SEP 9, 1997	
Question: On balance, do you think trade with other countries--both buying and selling products--is good for the U.S (United States) economy, or is it bad for the U.S. economy, or does it have no effect?	
Good	69%
Bad	17
No effect	7
Don't know/No answer	7
Organization: CBS News Population Size: 1528 Date: OCT 27, 1996	

5 Question: 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. Do you strongly agree with this statement, somewhat agree with it, somewhat disagree with it or strongly disagree with this statement?

Strongly agree	32%
Somewhat agree	47
Somewhat disagree	9
Strongly disagree	6
Don't know	6

Organization: Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, Inc. / Democratic Leadership Council
 Population Size: unknown
 Date: JUL 27, 1997

6 Question: Please tell me if you agree or disagree with each item I name: N.A.F.T.A. (North American Free Trade Agreement) will strengthen U.S. (United States) relations with Mexico and Canada.

	11/14/93	11/09/93
Agree	68	66
Disagree	23	26
No opinion	9	8

Survey Organization: ABC News
 Population Size: varies
 Date: as noted

7 Question: Which of the following statements comes closer to your own view about free trade--free trade would be good for the United States because it would help the U.S. economy by expanding exports, or free trade would be bad for the U.S. because it would end up costing the U.S. jobs?

Good for U.S.	52%
Bad for U.S.	38
Neither/Other (vol.)	3
Don't know/Refused	8

Organization: Gallup Organization / Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
 Population Size: 1002
 Date: FEB 25, 1996

8 Question: I'm going to read you a statement. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree. In general European countries do not let in American goods as much as America lets in European goods.	
Agree	74%
Disagree	20
Don't know/ Refused	6
[Those who agree above]	
Question: I'm going to read you two statements. Please tell me which you agree with more. (A) It would be in the best interest of the US to put up more barriers against European products (B) Putting up barriers against European products would ultimately not be best for the US.	
Statement A	38%
Statement B	55
Keep current level [volunteered]	1
Both [volunteered]	-
Neither [volunteered]	1
Don't know/ Refused	5
Organization: PIPA Population Size: 600 Date: April 1998	

9 Question: As a general rule, if the countries of the European Union say they will lower their 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?	
US should agree to lower barriers	63.9%
US should NOT agree to lower barriers	27.7%
Don't know/ Refused	8.4%
Organization: PIPA Population Size: 600 Date: April 1998	

10 Question: (For each of the following, please tell me whether you think it has fair or unfair trade policies toward the rest of the world.) Does...[country]...have fair or unfair trade policies?					
	China	Europe	U.S.	Mexico	Japan
Fair	18	54	71	35	25
Unfair	58	18	15	35	59
Not sure	24	28	14	30	16

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal
 Population Size: approx. 500 each
 Date: APR 20, 1998

11 Question: In general, do you believe that countries in [region] have fair or unfair trade policies toward the United States?

	Asia	Europe
Fair	16	33
Unfair	64	47
Not sure	20	20

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News/Wall Street Journal
 Population Size: approx. 1000
 Date: Dec 3-6, 1998

12 Question: Some people say that some of our country's trading partners have unfair trade policies that make it difficult for American companies to sell products in those countries. For each of the following countries, please tell me whether you think it has fair or unfair trade policies toward the United States.

	Jan 2000* (1015)	Mar 1994+ (1503)
Japan		
Fair	30	11
Unfair	51	78
Not sure	19	11
China		
Fair	16	20
Unfair	61	48
Not sure	23	32

Survey Organization: *Hart Research/AFL-CIO, +NBC/Wall Street Journal
 Population Size: as noted
 Date: as noted

13 Question: Some people say that some of our country's trading partners have unfair trade policies that make it difficult for American companies to sell products in those countries. For each of the following countries, please tell me if you think it has fair or unfair trade policies toward the United States....
 [country]

	China	Japan	Germany	France	Mexico	Canada
--	-------	-------	---------	--------	--------	--------

Fair	20	11	42	37	46	72
Unfair	48	78	16	22	31	9
Not sure	32	11	42	41	23	19
Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News/Wall Street Journal						
Population Size: approx. 750						
Date: MAR 8, 1994						

14 Question: I'm going to read you a statement. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree. In general European countries do not let in American goods as much as America lets in European goods.	
Agree	74%
Disagree	20
Don't know/ Refused	6
Organization: PIPA	
Population Size: 600	
Date: April 1998	

15 Question: Thinking about trade between the US and Western Europe, please tell me your hunch: which is more open to imported goods from the other, Western Europe or the US? (Again, just your hunch: is that slightly, somewhat or a lot more open?)	
Western Europe is slightly more open	8%
Western Europe is somewhat more open	8
Western Europe is a lot more open	5
The US is slightly more open	15
The US is somewhat more open	22
The US is a lot more open	34
Don't know/ Refused	8
Organization: PIPA	
Population Size: 600	
Date: April 1998	

16 Question: How easy would you say the US makes it for European companies to sell their manufactured products in the US-very easy, fairly easy, fairly difficult, or very difficult?	
Very easy	36%
Fairly easy	50
Fairly difficult	8

Very difficult	2
Don't know/ Refused	4
Organization: PIPA Population Size: 600 Date: April 1998	

17 Question: Some people say that if the United States and its neighbors trade freely, without any restrictions, the U.S. will be better off because we can compete better than other countries. Other people say that the United States will be worse off if restrictions on trade are lifted because other nations will not play fairly with us. In your view, is the United States better off with or without restrictions on free trade?	
U.S. better off with restrictions	55%
U.S. better off without restrictions	35
Not sure	10
Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal Population Size: 1006 Date: SEP 13, 1993	

18 Question: (I am going to read you a list of reasons that people have suggested as to why the American economy is growing and will continue to perform well into the future. For each one I read, please tell me whether you think it will play a major part, a medium part, a small part, or no part in helping the American economy continue to do well.)... The increasing globalization of the economy has helped bring stability to the American economy.	
Major part	24%
Medium part	46
Small part	18
No part	8
Not sure	4
Labor unions have become less influential and there have been fewer strikes than in the past	
Major part	25%
Medium part	41
Small part	23
No part	8
Not sure	3
American companies are better managed and run more efficiently than in the past.	
Major part	36%
Medium part	36
Small part	15

No part	10
Not sure	3
The Federal Reserve Board is doing a better job of managing interest rates.	
Major part	37%
Medium part	41
Small part	13
No part	4
Not sure	5
American workers are better trained for the new, high-tech jobs of the future.	
Major part	44%
Medium part	32
Small part	13
No part	9
Not sure	2
The US (United States) has quickly become a world leader in the information and technology-based industries.	
Major part	57%
Medium part	32
Small part	7
No part	1
Not sure	3
Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News/Wall Street Journal Population Size: approx. 1000 Date: 1997	

19 TRADE AND JOBS:	
Question: Overall, would you say U.S. (United States) trade with other countries creates more jobs for the U.S., loses more jobs for the U.S., or does U.S. trade with other countries have no effect on U.S. jobs? (CBS/NYT)	
Creates	39%
Loses	40
No effect	11
DK/Ref	10
Organization: CBS News Population Size: approx. 1200 Date: Feb 1996	
Question: Overall, would you say U.S. (United States) trade with other countries: creates more jobs for the U.S., loses more jobs for the U.S., or has no effect on U.S. jobs.	

Good	43%
Bad	41
No effect	5
DK/ No answer	11
Organization: VRS Population Size: approx. 1300 Date: Nov 1992	

20 Question: Do you think the fact that the American economy has become increasingly global is good because it has opened up new markets for American products and resulted in more jobs, or bad because it has subjected American companies and employees to unfair competition and cheap labor?	
Globalization been good	42%
Globalization been bad	48
Equally good and bad (vol.)	7
Not sure	3
Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal Population Size: approx. 1000 Date: JUN 23, 1997	

21 Question: Suppose the election for Congress in your district were between (A) candidate who says that 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, and (B) a candidate who says that free trade with other countries will be mainly negative for America because it will cause the loss of US (United States) jobs to other countries, which will hurt wages and jobs here. Which of these candidates would you be more likely to support?	
A--free trade will be positive	44%
B--free trade will be negative	45
Depends (vol.)	5
Not sure	6
Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal Population Size: approx. 1000 Date: SEP 15, 1997	

22 TRADE AGREEMENTS AND JOBS
Question: Overall, do you feel past international trade agreements have mostly lost jobs for this country,

mostly gained jobs, or done both about equally?		
	4/17/97 (1040)	3/18/93 (800)
Mostly lost jobs	42	50
Mostly gained jobs	7	4
Done both equally	41	40
Not sure	10	6
Organization: Yankelovich Partners Inc. / Time, Cable News Network Population Size: as noted Date: as noted		
Question: Do you think that trade agreements between the United States and other countries have helped create more jobs in the U.S., or have they cost the U.S. jobs, or haven't they made much of a difference?		
Helped create jobs		17%
Cost U.S. jobs		54
Haven't made much difference		27
Don't know/No opinion		2
Organization: Washington Post / Kaiser Foundation, Harvard Population Size: 1510 Date: AUG 2, 1996		
Question: From what you know, do you think that free trade agreements between the United States and other countries help create more jobs in the U.S., or do you think they cost the U.S. jobs?		
	3/5/96 (2001)	1/16/96 (~500)
Create jobs	25	21
Cost jobs	59	62
Depends (vol.)	4	3
Not sure	12	14
Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal Population Size: as noted Date: as noted		
Question: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Most American trade agreements with foreign countries are a principle cause of lost jobs and a lower standard of living in this country? (If agree/ disagree, ask:) Do you (agree/disagree) strongly or do you (agree/ disagree) not strongly?		
Agree strongly		42%
Agree not strongly		21
Disagree not strongly		19
Disagree strongly		13
Not sure/Refused		5

Organization: Los Angeles Times / National adult
 Population Size: 1426
 Date: OCT 30, 1995

23 Question: Some people say that when we negotiate trade agreements, it is important to include labor and environmental standards that all countries must agree to meet. If a country violates these standards, restrictions will be placed on their products. Do you think it is very important, fairly important, just somewhat important, or not important to include such standards?*

Very important	72
Fairly important	15
Just somewhat important	8
Not important	4
Not sure	1

Organization: Hart Research
 Pop Size: 806
 Date: July 18-22, 1997

24 Question: Whether we go for global or regional trade agreements, these agreements are crafted by economists who focus on economic aspects. The economists get very little input from other scientific advisors, like anthropologists, social scientists, and ecologists who often see ways to protect a country's social institutions, culture, economy, and environment. Do you think that experts in other social and physical sciences should be involved in the development of trade agreements, or should the agreements be designed by economists alone, and not be complicated by competing viewpoints?

Other experts should be involved	71%
Economists should design agreements alone	23
Neither (vol.)	1
Don't know	5

Organization: Market Strategies And Greenberg Research / Americans Talk Issues Found.
 Population Size: 1020
 Date: APR 4, 1993

Question: There are two points of view on this issue: which statement comes closer to your own view? 1. Here's the first one: Some people say that a combination of economists and experts from social and physical sciences would produce trade agreements more acceptable to everyone. The amount of time spent as these professionals learn to work together would be wisely invested, as they are sure to be more successful than the current system of economists working alone. Reaching agreements using only the limited ideas of economists will mean continuing delays in treaty approval, as well as harmful social and environmental impacts. 2. Here's the second one: Other people say introducing non-economic considerations will make these already complicated negotiations hopelessly more complicated, so that no agreements will be reached for an even longer time than it would take for the economists to put together

satisfactory agreements. With every year that it takes to reach satisfactory agreements, each country's economy will suffer from the lost opportunities for expanded trade, jobs, and a better material standard of living.

Combination of economists and experts from social and physical sciences	65%
Will make complicated negotiations hopelessly more complicated	26
Neither (vol.)	2
In between (vol.)	1
Both (vol.)	1
Don't know	6

Organization: Market Strategies And Greenberg Research / Americans Talk Issues Found.
 Population Size: 1020
 Date: APR 4, 1993

25 FAST TRACK-No historical perspective

Question: (I'd like your opinion of some programs and proposals being discussed in this country today. Please tell me if you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each one.)... Giving the president fast track authority to negotiate international trade deals that Congress can only approve or disapprove, but not change

Strongly favor	11%
Favor	33
Oppose	32
Strongly oppose 17	17
Don't know	7

Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Pew Research Center
 Population Size: approx. 2000
 Date: SEP 9, 1999

Question: Changing the topic for a minute, the US Congress may consider giving the president so-called fast track trade authority. Under this authority, the president would be able to negotiate international trade agreements and write legislation to enact these agreements. Congress would then have the ability to vote to pass or defeat these trade agreements without being able to change any part of the agreement. Do you agree or disagree that Congress should give the president fast-track trade authority? (If agree/disagree, ask:) And do you strongly agree/disagree or somewhat agree/disagree?

Strongly agree	14%
Somewhat agree	22
Neither agree nor disagree (vol.)	2
Somewhat disagree	20
Strongly disagree	38
Don't know/Refused	4

Organization: Market Strategies

Population Size: 800 Date: AUG 1, 1998	
Question: Do you think that President (Bill) Clinton should be given fast track negotiating authority--the ability to negotiate trade agreements that would then go to Congress for a straight up or down vote without allowing amendments or changes?	
Yes	38%
No	53
Don't know	8
Organization: Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates / Democratic Leadership Council Population Size: 1400 Date: AUG 2, 1998	
Question: As you may know, President (Bill) Clinton has been seeking support in Congress to give him the 'fast track' authority to negotiate international trade deals that Congress can only approve or disapprove, but not change. Do you personally support or oppose giving the president this kind of 'fast track' authority?	
Support	37%
Oppose	56
Don't know/Refused	7
Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Newsweek Population Size: 752 Date: NOV 14, 1997	
Question: As you may know, President (Bill) Clinton has asked Congress to give him 'fast track' authority to negotiate 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 the agreement?	
Favor	41%
Oppose	49
Undecided	10
Organization: Epic-Mra /Women In International Trade Population Size: 850 Date: MAY 1, 1998	
Question: President (Bill) Clinton has asked Congress for authority to negotiate trade agreements. This would mean that once negotiations are completed, Congress would vote yes or no on the agreement as a whole, but could not make any amendments or changes. Do you favor or oppose giving the President this so-called 'fast track' authority to negotiate free trade agreements?	
Favor	27%
Oppose	67
Don't know/Refused	5

Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Pew Research Center
 Population Size: 1218
 Date: JAN 18, 1998

Question: As you may know, President (Bill) 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?

	10/274/97 (~600)	9/15/97 (~1000)	7/28/97 (1002)
Strongly favor	12	11	9
Somewhat favor	23	26	23
Somewhat oppose	25	25	29
Strongly oppose	31	31	32
Not sure	9	7	7

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal
 Population Size: As noted
 Date: as noted

26 FAST TRACK--with historical perspective/renewal reference

Question: 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 (Bill) 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?

Strongly support	25%
Somewhat support	28
Somewhat oppose	18
Strongly oppose	21
Don't know	8

Organization: Penn, Schoen, & Berland Associates, Inc. / Democratic Leadership Council
 Population Size: 400
 Date: AUG 4, 1997

Presidents since 1974 have had negotiating authority known as fast-track, which means that 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 agreements. The authority to do this expired in 1994,

and President (Bill) Clinton no longer has such an authority. Do you strongly support renewing President Clinton's fast track authority, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose it?	
Strongly support	25%
Somewhat support	23
Somewhat oppose	16
Strongly oppose	25
Undecided/Don't know	11
Organization: Epic-Mra / Women in International Trade Population Size: 850 Date: MAY 1, 1998	

27 (As a taxpayer, please tell me whether you generally approve or disapprove of having your tax dollars used to help pay for each of the following.) What about...retraining programs for people whose jobs have been eliminated?	
Approve	83%
Disapprove	15
It depends (vol.)	1
Don't know/Refused	1
Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Knight-Ridder Population Size: unknown Date: JAN 15, 1996	

28 (Here are some things that can be done to deal with the problem of America's ability to compete economically in the world. For each one, please tell me whether you feel it would help a lot, would help some, would not really help, or would go too far and be a step in the wrong direction.)... Provide more training and retraining for workers, to help them keep up with new technology and the skills of the future	
Help a lot	79%
Help some	16
Not really help	2
Go too far/Step in the wrong direction	1
Not sure	2
Organization: Peter Hart / The Council On Competitiveness Population Size: 1003 Date: SEP 1991	

29 Research on other issues, such as welfare reform, has also found support for an activist government role in job training. Asked in the context of providing skills to welfare recipients, the unemployed, or the working poor, these questions show that a majority of Americans believe government should play a role in such programs, that the programs should be improved and better funded, and that they can be effective.

Question: Which is closest to your view on how to best ensure American workers are trained for the information age? The federal government needs to increase funding for the current job training system. The federal government needs to reform and improve job training to give workers skill grants to update their skills when necessary. Competition in the work force, and not the federal government, will ensure that American workers receive training.

Government needs to increase funding for job training	11%
Government needs to reform and improve job training	44
Competition will ensure training	41
Don't know	4

Organization: Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates / Democratic Leadership Council
 Population Size: 1400 registered voters
 Date: AUG 2, 1998

Question: Do you think the current system of government-funded job training is more than adequate, adequate, or less than adequate for most workers?

More than adequate	8%
Adequate	43
Less than adequate	33
Don't know	16
Refused	*

* = less than .5 percent

Organization: Center For Survey Research And Analysis, Univ. Of Conn.
 Population Size: 1001
 Date: AUG 16, 1998

Question: (Now, I am going to read some areas of government spending, and for each one, please tell me if you think the government should spend less in this area, spend more in this area, or spend about the same as it does now. (If 'less', ask:) Is that somewhat less, or much less? (If 'more', ask:) Is that somewhat more, or much more?) Job training...

Much less	6%
Somewhat less	6
Same as now	20
Somewhat more	37
Much more	29
Not sure	2

<p>Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal Population Size: 1003 Date: JAN 17, 1995</p>	
<p>Question: Do you think government spending on job training programs should be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</p>	
Increased	54%
Decreased	8
Kept same	34
Don't know/no answer	5
<p>Organization: New York Times Population Size: 1193 Date: FEB 17, 1994</p>	
<p>Question: Do you think federal spending on programs to create jobs and provide job training should be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?</p>	
Increased	59%
Decreased	13
Same	27
No opinion	1
<p>Organization: Washington Post / Kaiser Family Foundation, Harvard University Population Size: 602 Date: SEP 14, 1997</p>	
<p>Question: Do you think the government should be doing more to help American workers get job training and education to develop their skills, or do you think government is doing enough in this area?</p>	
Should do more	62%
Doing enough	34
Don't know	4
<p>Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Wisconsin Public Television Population: 832 (National adults employed full or part time) Date: JUL 9, 1997</p>	
<p>Question: (Here are several steps that some people think could be taken to raise incomes and help improve things economically. For each item, please tell me whether you think it is a very effective way to improve the economy, fairly effective, just somewhat effective, or not that effective way to improve things economically.)... Increase government spending on job training and education programs</p>	
Very effective	23%
Fairly effective	16

Just somewhat effective	30
Not that effective	29
Not sure	2
Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal Population Size: 1001 Date: MAY 14, 1996	
Question: Do you think the federal government should or should not provide tax incentives to American corporations that invest in: job training?	
Should	77%
Should not	19
Not sure	4
Organization: Yankelovich Partners Inc. / Time, Cable News Network Population Size: 1011 Date: MAY 9, 1996	
Question: For each of the following, please tell me whether you think there is a need for more of these kinds of services, whether you think there is about the right amount now, or whether too many such services are being provided now.... Job training?	
Need for more of these services	67%
About right/Too many services now/Not sure	33
Organization: Yankelovich Partners Inc. / Covenant House Population Size: 1201 Date: MAY 9, 1995	
Question: Thinking about job opportunities for Americans as a whole, please tell me if you feel the following proposals would help or hurt the job situation for Americans. Would... expanding job training opportunities... help the job situation a lot, help it a little, hurt it a little or hurt the job situation a lot?	
Help a lot	65%
Help a little	27
Hurt a little	3
Hurt a lot	2
No effect (vol.)	1
Don't know	2
Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / U. S. News and World Report Population Size: approx. 600 Date: MAY 7, 1992	
Question: Which comes closer to your view? Government should provide tools to help families better their lives, such as education and job training programs. The best thing that government can do for families is to cut taxes and allow individual families to decide for themselves how to allocate their money.	
Government should help families	55%

Government should cut taxes	42
Don't know/No answer	3
<p>Organization: CBS News Population Size: 1376 Date: SEP 18, 1999</p>	
<p>Question: (I am going to read you a list of actions that the government might take to help workers or those looking for better jobs. For each one, please tell me whether you think that these actions are extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not very important, or not important all.)...Improve the quality of job training programs</p>	
Extremely important	30%
Very important	45
Somewhat important	17
Not very important	4
Not important at all	3
Don't know	2
Refused	*
* = less than .5 percent	
<p>Organization: Center For Survey Research And Analysis, Univ. Of Conn. Population Size: 1001 Date: AUG 16, 1998</p>	
<p>Question: Which one of the following do you think would be the most effective way to reduce unemployment...instituting government-sponsored job-retraining programs, increasing government spending to rebuild our highways and bridges, reducing federal regulations on business, reducing taxes for businesses and individuals, or freezing the minimum wage?</p>	
Government-sponsored job-retraining	32%
Increasing spending to rebuild our highways . and bridges	10
Reducing regulations on business	15
Reducing taxes	25
Freezing minimum wage	4
Combination (vol.)	4
All (vol.)	1
None (vol.)	3
Not sure	6
<p>Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal Population Size: 1009 Date: JAN 18, 1994</p>	

30 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 (United States) jobs will be lost. Which comes closest to your point of view?

The global economy will help average Americans because it will strengthen our economy and keep . prices affordable for consumers	43%
The global economy will hurt average Americans because businesses will rely more on cheap labor from other countries and US jobs will be lost	52
Neither/Both equally (vol.)	1
Don't know/Refused	4

Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Pew Research Center
 Population Size: 1546
 Date: MAY 6, 1999

31 PROTECTION OF JOBS vs. CONSUMER PRICES

Question: Do you 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 do you think 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?

	9/9/97 (1258)	8/6/96 (1572)	6/14/93 (1474)	2/3/92 (1776)	1/12/91 (2434)
Restrict imports	67	63	68	70	67
No restrictions	24	28	24	23	25
Don't know	9	9	8	7	8

Organization: Los Angeles Times
 Population Size: as noted
 Date: as noted

32 MORE JOBS VS. PRICES

Question: I am going to read you two statements about trade, and I would like you to tell me which statement best reflects your views on this issue. Statement A: Imports from abroad are, on the whole, good for the US (United States) because they make available more and cheaper goods for American consumers. Statement B: Imports from abroad are, on the whole, bad for the US because they take away American jobs and hurt the wages of American workers.

Imports are good	33%
Imports are bad	55
Some of both (vol.)	8
Neither (vol.)	2

Not sure	2
<p>Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal Population Size: approx. 1000 Date: SEP 15, 1997</p>	
<p>Question: Which of these statements comes closest to your views about importing goods from other countries: The United States should tax foreign goods imported into this country in order to protect American jobs and wages. The United States should not tax foreign goods imported into this country because this will raise the prices American consumers will have to pay for these goods.</p>	
Should tax foreign goods imported	65%
Should not tax foreign goods	27
Not sure	8
<p>Organization: Yankelovich Partners Inc. / Time, Cable News Network Population Size: 1218 Date: FEB 22, 1996</p>	
<p>Question: Some people have suggested placing new limits on foreign imports in order to protect American jobs. Others say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. Do you favor or oppose placing new limits on imports, or haven't you thought much about this?</p>	
Favor new limits	48%
Oppose new limits	23
Don't know	3
Haven't thought much about it	26
<p>Organization: Center For Political Studies, University Of Michigan Population Size: 2487 Date: NOV 2, 1992</p>	
<p>Question: I'd like to read you the opinions that two imaginary people have on the issue of foreign imports. Mr. Smith believes the U.S. (United States) government should place some restrictions on foreign products imported into this country in order to preserve American jobs and to protect our industries against unfair trading practices abroad. Mr. Jones believes the U.S. government should not place any restrictions on the sale of foreign products in this country in order to give American consumers the widest choice and the lowest prices and to force our industries to become more competitive worldwide.</p>	
Just like Smith	32%
Somewhat like Smith	37
Somewhat like Jones	19
Just like Jones	10
Don't know	1
Refused	8
<p>Organization: Wirthlin Group Population: National adult age 25 and over Population Size: 1013 Date: MAR 19, 1992</p>	

Question: Which is more important to you--to protect American industries and jobs by limiting imports from other countries, or to allow free trade so you can buy good products at low prices no matter what country they come from?	
Limit imports	56%
Allow free trade	38
Depends (vol.)	3
Don't know/No answer	3
Organization: CBS News/New York Times Population Size: 1281 Date: JAN 25, 1992	
Question: I'm going to read you some proposals that are now being discussed nationally. As I read each, tell me if you generally favor or oppose it. Do you favor or oppose... new restrictions on the sale of Japanese products to protect American jobs, even if it means higher prices for American consumers?	
Favor	57%
Oppose	39
No opinion	4
Subpopulation: Asked of registered voters (79%) Organization: Gallup Organization / Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today Population Size: 1260 Date: JUN 14, 1992	
Question: (As I read each of the following issue positions, please tell me if you would be more likely or less likely to vote for a presidential candidate taking this position--or if it would not make much difference.) What if the candidate favored... new restrictions on the sale of Japanese products to protect American jobs, even if it means higher prices for American consumers?	
More likely	58%
Less likely	30
Not much difference	9
Don't know/Refused	3
Organization: Gallup Organization / Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today Population Size: 1421 Date: JAN 9, 1992 Plus, see data in previous footnote.	

33 Question: As a general rule, if a country that is poorer 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?	
US should agree to lower barriers	64.4%
US should NOT agree to lower barriers	28.9%
Don't know/ Refused	6.7%

Organization: PIPA Population Size: 300 Date: April 1998	
Question: 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?	
US should agree to lower barriers	43.3%
US should NOT agree to lower barriers	48.1%
Don't know/ Refused	8.7%
Organization: PIPA Population Size: 300 Date: April 1998	

34 Question: Generally speaking, do you think imposing economic penalties against the products of foreign countries is a good idea to preserve American jobs, or do you think it is a bad idea because it will cause the foreign countries to take similar actions against our products?	
Good idea	50%
Bad idea	39
Don't know	11
Organization: Roper Organization / Semiconductor Industry Association Population Size: 1001 Date: FEB 21, 1992	

35 Question: Which of the following two statements comes closer to your view about the impact of trade on American jobs? We should restrict or ban imports of foreign-made goods in order to protect certain American jobs. Permanent import barriers artificially prolong the death of certain types of outmoded jobs--those workers should compete for work open in the global marketplace. Which statement...the one saying imports should be restricted to protect American jobs, or one saying American workers should have to compete in the open market, comes closer to your view?	
American jobs should be protected	47%
American workers should have to compete	45
Undecided/Don't know	8
Organization: Epic-Mra / Women in International Trade Population Size: 850 Date: MAY 1, 1998	

36 Question: Some people say they are willing to spend more to buy only American products because doing so protects American jobs. How much more per month are you willing to include in your family budget to buy only American made products and goods?

	May 1999	May 1998
Willing to pay more	39	34
Not willing to pay more	31	41
Undecided	30	25
Mean =	\$48.35	\$40.71

Survey Organization: Epic-Mra
 Population Size: 850
 Research Sponsor: Women In International Trade

37 Question: If Congress approves the North American Free Trade Agreement, how do you think it will affect the financial and employment situation of you and your family? Will the effect of N.A.F.T.A. on you and your family be-very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, very negative, or will N.A.F.T.A. not affect you either way?

Very positive	6%	25
Somewhat positive	19	
Somewhat negative	16	26
Very negative	10	
Not affect either way	45	45
Don't know/Refused	3	

Organization: Gallup Organization / Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
 Population Size: 1003
 Date: NOV 21, 1993

38 Question: While nations have agreed on international labor standards, like those calling for every country to set a minimum wage, protecting workers' rights to organize, and prohibiting child labor, some countries ignore those standards so they can sell their products more cheaply. Some people say those countries' violation of labor standards undercuts American workers, and they want the World Trade Organization to penalize it as an unfair trade practice. Others say that countries should be free to disregard these labor standards to gain a competitive advantage and attract business, and that it shouldn't be against world trade rules. Do you agree or disagree that world trade rules should penalize countries that violate international labor standards?

Should penalize	79%
Should not penalize	17
Don't know/Refused	4

Organization: Wirthlin Group / United Nations Association--U.S.A.

Population Size:
Date: APR 4, 1996

39 Now I am going to read you a few standards that could be included in trade agreements made by the U.S. For each one I read, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with including this standard in trade agreements. First, all countries involved would have to:

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Not Sure
Meet workplace health and safety standards *	81	13	3	2	1
Have and enforce laws against child labor *	82	11	2	3	2
Protect basic human rights, such as the freedom to associate or have meetings, and the freedom to strike or protest *	74	18	3	3	2
Pay their workers a minimum wage based on the poverty line of the country *	64	17	5	11	3
Ensure the legal right to form unions and bargain collectively **	56	22	11	7	4

Organization: Hart Research
Pop Size: approx. 400
Date: July 18-22, 1997

40 Question: (I am going to read some arguments that have been made as reasons why the U.S. (United States) should not agree to N.A.F.T.A. (North American Free Trade Agreement). For each one, please tell me whether you strongly agree, moderately agree, moderately disagree, or strongly disagree.)... The environment will suffer, as U.S. businesses move to Mexico to avoid the stricter environmental standards in the U.S.

	11/04/93	9/12/93
Strongly agree	34	37
Moderately agree	23 57	24 61
Moderately disagree	20	21
Strongly disagree	16 36	11 32
No opinion	7	7

Organization: Gallup Organization / Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
Population Size: approx. 1000

Date: as noted

41 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

Protecting environment	52%
Increasing jobs and economic growth	37
Both equally important (vol.)	10
No opinion	2

Survey Organization: Washington Post, Kaiser Family Fdtn, Harvard
Population Size: 1200
Date: AUG 27, 1998

42 Question: Do you favor or oppose the use of economic sanctions against each of the following countries?

	Cuba	Iran	N.Korea	China
Yes, favor sanctions	58	61	57	52
No, oppose sanctions	30	26	26	32
Don't know/Refused	12	13	17	16

Organization: Gallup Organization / The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Population Size: 1507
Date: NOV 10, 1998

43 Question: Should the US (United States) engage in trade and maintain diplomatic relations or should there be economic sanctions against...?

	Iran	Libya	Cuba
Trade and diplomatic relations	28	16	42
Economic sanctions	48	48	37
Don't know/Not sure	24	37	20

Organization: Zogby International
Population Size: 969
Date: MAY 1998

44 Question: Some in the West believe that Iran supports terrorism and is trying to acquire nuclear weapons. Some people say that economic sanctions are the most effective way to stop Iran from supporting terrorism and acquiring a nuclear capability. Others think maintaining political and trade ties with Iran is a more effective way to influence their government. Which of these views is closer to your own?

Economic sanctions are the most effective way to stop Iran from supporting terrorism and . acquiring a nuclear capability	56%
Maintaining political and trade ties with Iran is a more effective way to influence their government	31
Neither (vol.)	7
Don't know/Refused	6
Organization: PIPA Population Size: 300 Date: APR 20, 1998	

45 Question: (I will read you a series of suggestions for ways to react to situations like those which we now have in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia (in what used to be Yugoslavia) where, in effect, one country has invaded another. Please say for each one if you tend to support or oppose it.)...Enforce strong economic sanctions against the aggressor country until it stops its aggression

Support	75%
Oppose	21
Not sure	5
Organization: Louis Harris And Associates Population Size: 1256 Date: JUL 19, 1992	

46 Question: If North Korea continues to refuse inspection of its nuclear facilities, would you support or oppose each of the following U.S. (United States) policies? How about... tighter economic sanctions?

Support	76%
Oppose	18
Don't know/Refused	7
Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Newsweek Population Size: 499 Date: JUN 17, 1994	

Question: (If North Korea does not allow its nuclear production facilities to be inspected to confirm whether it is building a nuclear bomb, please tell me whether you would favor or oppose the following actions.)... Imposing economic sanctions on North Korea.

	5/03/94	1/18/94
--	---------	---------

Favor	78	69
Oppose	17	22
Not sure	5	9
<p>Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal Population Size: approx. 1000 Date: JAN 18, 1994</p>		
<p>Question: As you may know, treaty obligations require North Korea to permit inspection of its facilities to determine whether North Korea has manufactured nuclear bombs. So far North Korea has refused. If North Korea continues to refuse international inspection, do you think the United Nations should impose economic sanctions against North Korea, or not?</p>		
Yes, should		80%
No		13
Not sure		7
<p>Organization: Yankelovich Partners Inc. / Time, Cable News Network Population Size: 600 Date: JUN 2, 1994</p>		

<p>47 Question: The military government of Haiti has refused to abide by an agreement to restore power to the elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Do you favor or oppose the United States participating in a naval blockade to enforce United Nations sanctions against Haiti?</p>		
Favor		46%
Oppose		37
Don't know/No answer		17
<p>Organization: CBS News Population Size: 893 Date: OCT 19, 1993</p>		
<p>Question: (Now I have a few questions about Haiti. As you may know, in 1991 the military in Haiti overthrew the president who had been chosen in a democratic election. The resulting political unrest and economic hardships have led thousands of Haitians to flee the country and attempt to reach the United States in boats.) (Would you favor or oppose the United States taking each of the following actions in Haiti to end the current situation in that country?) Continuing to impose tight economic sanctions on Haiti.</p>		
Favor		61%
Oppose		27
Not sure		12
<p>Organization: Yankelovich Partners Inc. / Time, Cable News Network Population Size: 600 Date: JUL 14, 1994</p>		

Question: Considering the recent events in South Africa and Nelson Mandela's visit to the United States, do you think the U.S. should continue its sanctions on the government of South Africa, decrease them, or remove them altogether?

Continue sanctions	48%
Decrease sanctions	15
Remove sanctions	16
Increase sanctions (vol.)	5
Not sure	16

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC NEWS/WALL STREET JOURNAL
 Population Size: 1555
 Date: JUL 10, 1990

Question: Do you favor or oppose the United States continuing its economic sanctions against South Africa as a way of pushing that government further toward finally abandoning apartheid?

	6/24/91	6/26/90
Favor	60	66
Oppose	31	27
Not sure	9	7

Organization: Louis Harris And Associates
 Population Size: approx. 1200
 Date: as noted

Question: Some people feel economic sanctions against South Africa should be lifted as a result of the changes that are taking place there now. Others think the economic sanctions should be maintained to pressure the government to make further changes. Which view comes closer to your own?

	06/30/91	2/18/90
Remove sanctions	23	26
Leave sanction in place	57	62
Don't know	20	12

Organization: Gallup Organization
 Population Size: approx. 1200
 Date: as noted

Question: I'm going to name three ideas that have been discussed about stopping illegal immigration: How about putting economic sanctions on other nations from where large numbers of immigrants are coming?

Approve	48%
Disapprove	42
Uncertain	10

Organization: Scripps Howard News Service/Ohio University

Population Size: 1022 Date: JAN 31, 1995	
48 Question: The United States has imposed a trade embargo against Cuba since it became a Communist nation under Fidel Castro, prohibiting US trade with Cuba. Do you think the US government should continue the trade embargo against Cuba, or should it end the embargo and have normal trade with Cuba?	
Continue the embargo	53
Have normal trade with Cuba	42
Don't know/Refused	6
Organization: PIPA Population Size: 600 Date: APR, 1998	

49 Question: Should the US (United States) engage in trade and maintain diplomatic relations or should there be economic sanctions against...Cuba?	
Trade and diplomatic relations	42%
Economic sanctions	37
Don't know/Not sure	20
Organization: Zogby International Population Size: 969 Date: MAY 1998	

50 Question: As you may know the US has an embargo on Cuba that prohibits any trade between the US and Cuba. There are a number of debates on this issue. I am going to present you two arguments from each of these debates please tell me which one you find most convincing. Please tell me which you find most convincing.	
A. The embargo puts pressure on Cuba to make its government more democratic and improve its human rights record. Therefore its a good idea and the right thing to do.	
B. The embargo has been opposed by almost all members of the UN including our European allies, and by the Pope. With all these other countries continuing to trade with Cuba the embargo is ineffective and just isolates the US.	
Statement A	40%
Statement B	52
Both [volunteered]	2
Neither [volunteered]	2
Don't know/ Refused	4
Organization: PIPA Population Size: 600	

Date: APR 20, 1998

51 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 approach is an effective way to get other countries to change their policies, or would you say that this approach really doesn't work?"

Is effective	48
Doesn't work	40
Don't know	12

Organization: Epic/MRA
Population Size: 850
Date: May 2, 1999

52 Question: 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?

Effective	46%
Ineffective	44
Don't know/refused	10

53 Question: Currently there are a number of debates about what to do about the fact that Iran and Libya are believed to be supporting terrorists and trying to develop weapons of mass destruction. One debate is over the best way to try to bring about change in these countries: refusing to trade with them or maintaining trade and dialogue with them. I am going to read you some arguments that have been made on this issue. Please tell me which one you find most convincing.

A. 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.

B. 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 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.

Statement A	23%
Statement B	68
Both [volunteered]	3
Neither [volunteered]	2
Don't know/ Refused	3

Organization: PIPA
 Population Size: 600
 Date: APR 20, 1998

54 Question: Currently there is a controversy about how the US should deal with the fact that Iran and Libya are believed to be supporting terrorists and trying to develop weapons of mass destruction. So as to pressure Iran and Libya to change this behavior the US has refused to trade with these countries. However our European allies have continued to trade with them. There are a number of debates on this issue. I would like to know what you think about each one. I am going to present you a pair of arguments that are sometimes made and I would like to know which one you find more convincing.

A. 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

B. Just trading and talking with Iran and Libya won't cause them to change. It is only when autocratic leaders like this see that there are costs for their behavior will they change. Refusing to trade with these countries imposes such costs. Please tell me which you find more convincing.

Statement A	26%
Statement B	61
Both (vol)	1
Neither (vol)	5
Don't know/refused	7

Organization: PIPA
 Population Size: 600
 Date: APR 20, 1998

55 Statement A: Currently there is a controversy about how the US should deal with the fact that Iran and Libya are believed to be supporting terrorists and trying to develop weapons of mass destruction. So as to pressure Iran and Libya to change this behavior the US has refused to trade with these countries. However our European allies have continued to trade with them. There are a number of debates on this issue. I would like to know what you think about each one. I am going to present you a pair of arguments that are sometimes made and I would like to know which one you find more convincing. A. We should only refuse to trade with Iran and Libya if our European allies will also refuse, because otherwise it will not really do any good. B. 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. Please tell me which you find more convincing.

Statement A	21%
Statement B	75
Both [volunteered]	1
Neither [volunteered]	3
Don't know/ Refused	2

Organization: PIPA
 Population Size: 600
 Date: APR 20, 1998

56 Question: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? 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? Do you agree or disagree?"

Agree	76
Disagree	19
Don't know	5

Organization: Epic/MRA
 Population Size: 850
 Date: May 2, 1999

57 Question: (President Bush says that the war in the Persian Gulf is the beginning of a New World Order--new ways for the United States and other countries to behave. I am going to read you some ways of doing things that might be part of the New World Order, and I'd like you to tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree. (Items randomized).)... 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

Strongly agree	27%
Somewhat agree	42
Somewhat disagree	17
Strongly disagree	9
Don't know/Refused	4

Organization: Market Strategies
 Population Size: 1000
 Date: MAR 24, 1991

58 Question: As you know, newspapers and the TV news report on wars taking place in countries abroad. When you see those stories, are you very interested, interested, somewhat interested, only a little interested or not at all interested?

Very interested	33
Interested	27
Somewhat interested	26

Only a little interested	8
Not at all interested	6
(Don't know/Refused)	0
Organization: Greenberg Research / International Committee of the Red Cross Population Size: 504 Date: March 1999	
Question: As you know, newspapers and the TV news report on wars taking place in countries abroad, not involving the United States. When you see those stories, are you very interested, interested, somewhat interested, only a little interested or not at all interested?	
Very interested	28
Interested	29
Somewhat interested	26
Only a little interested	10
Not at all interested	7
(Don't know/Refused)	0
Organization: Greenberg Research / International Committee of the Red Cross Population Size: 504 Date: March 1999	

59 Question: Would you be willing to pay up to \$1 more for a \$20 garment guaranteed to be made in a legitimate shop?	
Yes	86%
No	12
Don't know/Refused	2
Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Times Mirror Population Size: 2000 Date: SEP 15, 1993	

60 Question: Should the United States promote free markets and economic capitalism around the world, even if that policy seriously risks exploitation of underdeveloped peoples by Western businessmen?	
Yes, should promote	18%
No, should not promote	72
Other (vol.)	1
Don't know/Refused	9
Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Times Mirror Population Size: 2000 Date: SEP 15, 1993	

61 Question: Do you think we should pass Africa trade legislation that would open up our trade with that continent or not?	
Yes	56%
No	28
Don't know	16
Organization: Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates / Democratic Leadership Council Population Size: 1400 Date: AUG 2, 1998	
Question: Part of President (Bill) Clinton's recent trip to Africa was to promote expanded trade and economic investment in Africa countries. Which of the following statements best describes what you feel will be the overall impact of a closer trade relationship between the United States and African countries...will only benefit African countries, will only benefit the United States, it will mostly benefit African countries, it will mostly benefit the United States, it will benefit all countries equally, or it will benefit no country?	
Only benefit African countries	12%
Only benefit the United States	3
Mostly benefit African countries	28
Mostly benefit the United States	7
Benefit all countries equally	39
Will benefit no country	6
Undecided	5
Organization: Epic-Mra / Women In International Trade Population Size: 850 Date: MAY 1, 1998	

62 Question: Now I would like you to consider an idea for how the U.S. could better help poor countries, but in a way that would not cost any additional tax dollars. At present, the U.S. (United States) 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 U.S. 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 U.S. 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 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	69%
Oppose	22
Don't know/refused	10
Organization: PIPA	

Population Size: 400
Date: JAN 15, 1995

63 Question: (Okay, now I am going to read you a number of arguments that have been made on the subject of foreign aid. As I read each one please say whether you agree or disagree with it (strongly or somewhat).) 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.

Agree strongly	26%
Agree somewhat	41
Disagree somewhat	16
Disagree strongly	16
Don't know/refused	1

Organization: PIPA
Population Size: 600
Date: JAN 15, 1995

64 Question: As a general rule, if a country that is poorer 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	64%
Not agree	29
Don't know/refused	7

Organization: PIPA
Population Size: 300
Date: April, 1998

65 Question: As I read some statements about US assistance for developing countries, tell me if you tend to strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree...It is against our interests to help developing countries because they will compete with us economically and politically?

Total Agree	29%
Total disagree	67
Don't know/refused	4

Organization: Intercultural Communication, Inc.
Population Size: 1201
Date: March 21, 1993

66 Question: 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?

Yes	33%
No	60
(Don't know/refused)	7

Organization: PIPA
 Population Size: approx. 600
 Date: January 1995

67 Question: (Now I would like to read you some statements that have been made about what may happen if the North American Free Trade Agreement (with Mexico and Canada) is not passed. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each statement.)... We would have to give more foreign aid and loans to Mexico in order to support their economy.

Agree	54%
Disagree	38
Not sure	8

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal
 Population Size: 1006
 Date: SEP 13, 1993

68 Question: In the future, would you like to see more or less intervention from the international community to deal with these kind of issues?

More intervention	59
Less intervention	32
(No intervention)	6
(Don't know/refused)	3

Organization: Greenberg Research / ICRC
 Population Size: 504
 Date: March 1999

[different sample]

Question: In the future, would you like to see more or less intervention by the United States to deal with these kind of issues?

More intervention	39
Less intervention	50
(No intervention)	8

(Don't know/refused)	3
Organization: Greenberg Research / ICRC Population Size: 504 Date: March 1999	

69 Question: Tell me which of the following statements you most agree with: A-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. B-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.

Statement A	29
Statement B	62
Don't know	8
Refused	1
Organization: PIPA Population Size: 1206 Date: APR 1999	

70 The U.S. should try to stop these wars by using force and by sending troops as part of an international force

Strongly Agree	25
Somewhat Agree	37
Somewhat Disagree	16
Strongly Disagree	20
(Don't know/Refused)	1
Organization: Greenberg Research / ICRC Population Size: 1009 Date: March 1999	

71 Question: (I'm going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please say whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all.) How important a foreign policy goal should... strengthening the United Nations be?

	11/10/98 (1507)	10/25/94 (1492)
Very important	45	51

Somewhat important	39	33
Not important	11	12
Don't know	5	4
Organization: Gallup Organization / The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Population Size: as noted Date: as noted		

72 Question: (As I read a list of possible long-range foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me how much priority you think each one should be given.) Strengthening the United Nations...do you think this should have top priority, some priority, or no priority at all?	
Top priority	30%
Some priority	53
No priority	14
Don't know/Refused	3
Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Pew Research Center Population Size: 2000 Date: SEP 11, 1997	

73 Question: All other things being equal, if one candidate for President wanted to weaken the United Nations and another wanted to strengthen it, which of the two would you be more likely to vote for: the one who would weaken the UN or the one who would strengthen it? (If one who would weaken/strengthen, ask:) Would that be much more likely, or somewhat more likely?	
Much more likely--weaken	10%
Somewhat more likely--weaken	9
Much more likely--strengthen	41
Somewhat more likely--strengthen	30
Don't know/Refused	10
Organization: Wirthlin Group Population Size: 1000 Date: APR 4, 1996	

74 Question: Question: Now I would like to read you some arguments that have been made for and against the US paying its UN dues. For each one I would like to know if you find the argument convincing or not convincing and whether you feel that way strongly or somewhat. Here's the first/next one. The UN is becoming too powerful. It is meddling in areas where the US, not the UN, should take the lead. To make sure that the UN does not gain too much control over US foreign policy, we should stop giving it money?

Strongly convincing	16%
Somewhat convincing	12
Somewhat unconvincing	30
Strongly unconvincing	39
Don't know/refused	3
Organization: PIPA Population Size: 600 Date: APR 20, 1998	

75 Question: (Here are reasons why some people mistrust the United Nations. For each one, please tell me if you agree, disagree, or are neutral about it. (If agree/disagree, ask:) Would that be strongly (agree/disagree) or just somewhat (agree/disagree)?) The U.N. might become a world government and take away our freedom.

Strongly agree	11%
Somewhat agree	6
Neutral	10
Somewhat disagree	15
Strongly disagree	58
Don't know/Refused	*
* = less than .5 percent	
Organization: Market Strategies/Greenberg Research / The Americans Talk Issues Foundation Population Size: 1000 Date: JUN 28, 1995	

76 Question: Now put aside what we've been saying about revising the U.N. (United Nations) charter. I'm going to read you some things that might be essential, or at least helpful, in order to have practical and effective law enforcement, whether here or abroad, in such problem areas as the global environment, international trade and tariffs, and international security, and ask which of them do you think will be essential, helpful if not essential, or not helpful....World Court. Would that be essential, helpful, or not helpful in order to have practical and effective law enforcement, whether here or abroad?

Essential	26%
Helpful if not essential	50
Not helpful/Don't know/No answer	24
Organization: The Telephone Center / Americans Talk Issues Foundation Population Size: approx. 600 Date: MAR 21, 1993	

77 GATT/WTO APPROVAL

Questions: Question: Congress is now considering whether to approve a new world trade agreement called GATT--the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs--which would lower world trade barriers and establish an international organization that would have the power to rule on trade disputes between countries. Do you favor Congressional approval of GATT, oppose approval of GATT, or don't you know enough about GATT to say?

Favor approval of GATT	24%
Oppose approval of GATT	13
Don't know enough to say	61
Not sure	2

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research / NBC News, Wall Street Journal
 Population Size: 1255
 Date: SEP 27, 1994

Question: From what you know about it or just heard about it, do you approve or disapprove of the World Trade Organization? (If approve/ disapprove, ask:) Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove) or just somewhat (approve/disapprove)?

Strongly approve	13%
Somewhat approve	43
Somewhat disapprove	18
Strongly disapprove	11
Don't know	14
Refused	1

Organization: Market Strategies/Greenberg Research / The Americans Talk Issues Foundation
 Population Size: 1000
 Date: JUN 28, 1995

Question: Congress will soon vote on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade--also known as the 'G.A.T.T.' agreement. This agreement, involving the U.S. (United States) and 120 nations, would supposedly stimulate world trade by substantially reducing the tariffs each country may charge on another country's imported goods. It would set up a World Trade Organization which could impose binding trade sanctions on any nation whose domestic laws were found to discriminate against foreign firms. Do you favor or oppose the G.A.T.T. trade agreement?

Favor	27%
Oppose	13
Don't know	60

Organization: Los Angeles Times
 Population Size: 1272
 Date: OCT 19, 1994

Question: Do you favor or oppose the G.A.T.T. (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) treaty (which would eliminate many current restrictions on trade between the U.S. (United States) and most countries), or don't you know enough about it to say?

Favor	23%
Oppose	14
Don't know enough	63
No opinion	*
* = less than .5 percent.	
Organization: Gallup Organization / Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today Population Size: 1020 Date: NOV 29, 1994	
Question: Do you support or oppose the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, called the G.A.T.T. treaty, which would bring the United States and 123 other nations into a system with common rules for international trade?	
Support	64%
Oppose	28
Don't know/Refused	8
Asked of those who have followed news stories about the debate over G.A.T.T. very/fairly closely (44%)	
Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Times Mirror Population Size: 1511 Date: DEC 4, 1994	

78 Question: Now we have a question about the International Monetary Fund organization, also know as the 'I-M-F'. Do you think the United States, along with other countries, should or should not contribute more money to the International Monetary Fund to meet world financial crises?	
Yes, should contribute more	25%
No, should not contribute more	51
Don't know/Refused	24
Organization: Gallup Organization / Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Population Size: 1507 Date: NOV 10, 1998	

79 Question: Presently Congress is considering whether to approve this agreement [to deposit money with the IMF to help Asian economies]. Just based on what you have heard, are you inclined to feel Congress should approve or should not approve of depositing additional money with the International Monetary Fund to help back up the economies of Asian countries?	
Should approve	38
Should not approve	56
Don't know/refused	5

Organization: PIPA
 Population Size: 600
 Date: APR 20, 1998

80 Question: 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?

Yes, U.S. should participate	34%
No, U.S. should not participate	51
Depends (vol.)	8
Not sure	7

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal
 Population Size: approx. 1000
 Date: DEC 8, 1997

81 See PIPA's publication, "Americans on UN Dues and IMF Funding: A Study of US Public Attitudes." Available online at www.pipa.org, or by contacting the PIPA office.

82 Question: Are there rules or laws that are so important that if broken during war, the person who broke them should be punished?

Yes	78
No	21
(Don't know/refused)	1

Organization: Greenberg Research/ ICRC
 Population Size: 1009
 Date: March 1999

Question: (IF YES IN PREVIOUS) If these rules are broken in war, who should be responsible for punishing the wrongdoers?

International criminal court	40
The governments in the countries at war	21
The military itself	21
The courts in the countries at war	8
The civilian population	2
The politicians in the countries at war	2
UN/United Nations	-

Independent/neutral body	-
International groups community	-
Whoever propose/uphold laws	-
(Other)	3
(Does not apply/rules are not broken)	0
(Don't know/refused)	1
Organization: Greenberg Research/ ICRC	
Population Size: 783	
Date: March 1999	

83 Question: Some people think that the U.N. (United Nations) Charter should be changed so that top leaders, such as heads of state in different countries, could be arrested by the U.N. for certain serious crimes and then tried by an International Criminal Court, and if judged guilty would be punished. I am going to read you some things that leaders have done and ask if you approve or disapprove changing the U.N. Charter to permit the U.N., upon due process of law, to bring leaders accused of these things to stand trial by an International Criminal Court....[below]..Do you approve or disapprove bringing that leader to trial in an International Court? (If approve/disapprove, ask:) Would that be strongly or somewhat?	
A leader who does serious damage to the global environment.	
Strongly approve	68%
Somewhat approve	18
Somewhat disapprove	6
Strongly disapprove	6
Don't know	2
A leader who invades and occupies a neighboring country.	
Strongly approve	69%
Somewhat approve	17
Somewhat disapprove	7
Strongly disapprove	6
Don't know	2
A leader who violates human rights, including making war on ethnic and other groups in that leader's country.	
Strongly approve	71%
Somewhat approve	16
Somewhat disapprove	5
Strongly disapprove	7
Don't know	1
A leader who prevents a democratic election from taking place.	
Strongly approve	44%

Somewhat approve	24
Somewhat disapprove	18
Strongly disapprove	12
Don't know	2
A leader who acquires nuclear weapons.	
Strongly approve	50%
Somewhat approve	17
Somewhat disapprove	17
Strongly disapprove	12
Don't know	4
Organization: Market Strategies And Greenberg Research Population Size: 1020 Date: APR 4, 1993	
Question: You have said the U.N. (United Nations) charter should be revised to allow the U.N. to arrest leaders for (one or more) certain crimes (serious damage to global environment, invading neighboring countries, violating human rights, prevent democratic election, acquire nuclear weapons). It is conceivable that a President of the United States might someday be arrested by the U.N. under this charter revision. Knowing this, do you support or oppose giving the U.N. the authority to arrest heads of state for these crimes?	
Support	86%
Oppose	12
Don't know	3
Asked of Form A half sample who approve strongly or somewhat of allowing U.N. to arrest leaders and bring them to trial in the International Criminal Court	
Organization: Market Strategies And Greenberg Research Population Size: 1020 Date: APR 4, 1993	

84 Question: The U.S. should try to limit casualties by sending troops as part of a peacekeeping force.	
Strongly Agree	41
Somewhat Agree	38
Somewhat Disagree	9
Strongly Disagree	10
(Don't know / Refused)	1
Organization: Greenberg Research/ ICRC Population Size: 1009 Date: March 1999	

85 Question: Do you generally approve or disapprove of American troops participating in peace-keeping forces under the United Nations command?

Approve	75%
Disapprove	24
No opinion	1

Organization: Gallup Organization / Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
 Population Size: approx. 600
 Date: JUN 13, 1999

86 Question: Thinking about the explosive devices that armies use, called landmines, do you think that the United States should sign an international treaty banning land mines or do you think such a ban would not be in the best strategic interests of the United States?

Should sign treaty banning	64%
Ban not in best interests of US	27
Don't know/Refused	9

Organization: Gallup Organization / Cable News Network, U.S.A. Today
 Population Size: 1002
 Date: SEP 7, 1997

87 Question: What about soldiers and fighters planting land mines to stop the movement of enemy combatants, even though civilians may step on them accidentally. Is it okay or not okay to do that if it would weaken the enemy?

Okay, if necessary	37
Not okay	61
(Don't know/refused)	2

Organization: Greenberg Research/ ICRC
 Population Size: 1009
 Date: March 1999

88 Question: Nations agreed on world rules for free and fair trade over a year ago and created a new World Trade Organization with power to settle trade disputes and tell countries to change unfair trade practices. But some people have opposed it, saying individual countries should be free to take actions against trade competitors regardless of the Organization's rulings. Do you think we should always abide by World Trade Organization rulings, or that we should feel free to take our own trade actions regardless of its rulings?

Always abide by rulings	34%
Take own actions	58
Don't know/Refused	4
Organization: Wirthlin Group / United Nations Association--U.S.A. Population Size: 1000 Date: APR 4, 1996	

89 Question: As you may know, within the United Nations there's something called the World Court that tries to settle international conflicts peacefully. Which one of these two views of the World Court do you most agree with?..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...We 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.

US should abide by all World Court decisions	51%
We should not feel bound to abide by all . World Court decisions	40
Don't know/Refused	9
Organization: Market Strategies / Greenberg-Lake Population Size: 1000 Date: DEC 2, 1991	

90 Question: As you may know, there is an organization called the 'World Court' that tries to settle international disputes peacefully among countries that accept its jurisdiction. If the World Court finds that actions by the United States have violated international law, should the U.S. accept the Court's decisions, or should it feel free to ignore the Court's decisions if it disagrees with them?

Accept Court's decisions	65%
Ignore the Court	14
Don't know	21
Organization: Roper Organization / United Nations Association Population Size: approx. 1000 Date: MAR 1992	

91 Question: Would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the quality of movies being made by American film companies these days?

Satisfied	47%
Neutral (vol.)	5
Dissatisfied	42
Don't know	6

Question: Do you think the content of the material produced by America's film industry is getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same these days?

Better	16%
Worse	29
Same	45
Depends (vol.)	5
Don't know	5

Organization: Los Angeles Times
 Population Size: 1249
 Date: FEB 28, 1999

Question: Compared to twenty years ago, would you say that the standards and values of each of the following groups are higher, lower, or about the same as they were twenty years ago? Movie makers and television producers... (If lower, ask:) Is that a little lower or a lot lower?

Higher	18%
A little lower	14
A lot lower	50
About the same	15
Not sure	3

Organization: Hart And Teeter Research Companies / NBC News, Wall Street Journal
 Population Size: approx. 1000
 Date: MAR 1, 1998

92 Question: (I'm going to read you some statements that describe countries in the world. For each statement please tell me if it describes that country or not. Do you think this item describes Japan, China, or the United States?)... Has a unique culture and tradition

Japan	63%
China	45
United States	29

Adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses

Organization: Harris Interactive / Asahi Shimbun
 Population Size:
 Date: SEP 21, 1999

93 Question: (We're interested in finding out why you think America has been successful during this past century. As I read a list, tell me whether you think each thing is a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason that America has been so successful in this century.)... The cultural diversity of our people ...Do

you think this is a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason for America's success?	
Major reason	71%
Minor reason	20
Not a reason	6
Don't know/Refused	3
Organization: Princeton Survey Research Associates / Pew Research Center Population Size: 1546 Date: MAY 6, 1999	