



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

Appendix E: Questionnaire and Results

Please note that the questionnaire is 149 questions long. Questions 1-74 are displayed here. Follow the link at the bottom of this page to get questions 75-149.

Date: October 21-29, 1999	Margins of	Full sample +/-2.3
Sample Size: 1826	error:	Two-thirds sample (1,200*) +/-3
respondents		Half sample (900*) +/-3.5
		One-third sample (600*) +/-4

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

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

[Full Sample]

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

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

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

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

Q3. Have you heard the term globalization before?

Yes	70.0
No	29.0
Don't Know	1.0
Refused	-

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

Q4. What does the term mean to you?

Verbatim responses recorded
Analysis in progress

[Half Sample]

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

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

Mean=6.04 Median=6.00

Don't know / refused 1.6%

[One-third sample]

Q6. How about for you personally?

Mean=5.67 Median=5.00

Don't know / refused 2.6%

[Half sample who heard Q5]

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

[Random reverse order]

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

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

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

Yes	44.8
No	49.1
Depends (VOL)	1.1
Don't Know	5.0
Refused	-

[Half sample that did not hear Q5]

Q8. As you may know, international trade has increased substantially in recent years. I would like to know how positive or negative you think the growth of international trade is, OVERALL. Please answer on a scale from 0

to 10, with 0 being completely negative, 10 being completely positive, and 5 being equally positive and negative.

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

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

How about for: [randomized]

[One-third sample]

Q9. You personally

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

[Q10-13, one-fifth sample]

Q10. The average American

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

Q11. People in poor countries

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

Q12. American business

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

Q13. American workers

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

[Half sample who heard Q8]

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

[Random reverse order]

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

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

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

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

[One-third sample]

Q15. Thinking about the benefits of international trade, do you think that for the most part, the U.S. benefits more than other countries, that other countries benefit more than the U.S., or that it's about equal?

US benefits more	21.2
Other countries benefit more	44.6
About equal	31.7
Don't Know	2.3
Refused	0.2

[Subsample: if "other countries benefit more" in Q15]

Q15a. I would like to know whether this bothers you or not?

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

[Subsample: if "yes, bothers" in Q15a]

Q15b. How much--a little, somewhat, or a lot?

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

[One-third sample]

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

First/next: [Randomized]

Q16. The United Nations

Yes, need to strengthen	66.7
No, don't need to strengthen	30.2
Don't Know	2.9
Refused	.1

Q17. The World Court

Yes, need to strengthen	56.3
No, don't need to strengthen	25.2

Don't Know	18.4
Refused	.1

Q18. The International Monetary Fund, or IMF

Yes, need to strengthen	43.5
No, don't need to strengthen	36.5
Don't Know	19.8
Refused	.2

Q19. The World Trade Organization, or WTO

Yes, need to strengthen	59.5
No, don't need to strengthen	31.5
Don't Know	8.8
Refused	.2

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

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

[One-third sample]

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

[random reverse order]

More than adequate	2.2
Adequate	29.1
Not adequate	56.9
Don't Know	11.6
Refused	.2

[Full sample]

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

[random reverse order]

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

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

Good idea	50.9
Bad idea	44.2
Don't Know	4.2

Refused .7

[Half sample]

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

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

[One-third sample]

Q24. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: Because the world is so interconnected today, the US should participate in efforts to maintain peace, protect human rights, and promote economic development. Such efforts serve US interests because they help to create a more stable world that is less apt to have wars and is better for the growth of trade and other US goals.

Agree	77.9
Disagree	18.4
Don't Know	2.9
Refused	.8

Q25. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is nice to think that joining in international efforts makes a more stable world. But in fact, the world is so big and complex that such efforts only make a minimal difference with little benefit to the US. Therefore, it is not really in the US interest to participate in them.

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

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

[Random reverse order]

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

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

Statement A	56.2
Statement B	39.2
Don't Know	4.3

Refused .4

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

Q.27 Do you think that importing foreign products means the loss of many jobs in this country, only a few jobs, or no jobs?

Many jobs lost	38.2
Only a few jobs lost	49.7
No jobs lost	9.1
Don't know	2.8
Refused	.2

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

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

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

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

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

[Full sample]

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

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

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

Statement: I would like to know your sense about the US government officials who are making decisions about US international trade policy. How much do you think that they consider the: [Q30-36 below]. Would you say too much, too little, or about right?

Q30. Concerns of working Americans

Too much	2.2
Too little	72.4
About right	23.3
Don't Know	2.0
Refused	.1

Q31. Concerns of American business

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

Q32. Impact on the environment

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

Q33. Concerns of multinational corporations

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

Q34. General American public

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

Q35. Concerns of people like you

Too much	2.5
Too little	73.3
About right	22.1
Don't Know	2.1
Refused	-

Q36. Growth of the overall American economy

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

[One-third sample]

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

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

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

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

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

Q38. Countries should be required to meet minimum standards because it is immoral for workers to be subject to harsh and unsafe conditions in the workplace.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Two-thirds sample]

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

[random reverse order]

A. To deal with global problems such as terrorism and environmental dangers, it will be increasingly necessary for international institutions to get countries to change what they do inside their borders

B. What countries do inside their borders is their own business.

International institutions should not try to tell countries what they should do.

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

[One-third sample]

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

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

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

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

Q45. As you may know, international trade has increased substantially in recent years. This increase is largely due to the lowering of trade barriers between countries by, for example, lowering import taxes. Lowering trade barriers is a controversial issue. Here are three positions on the issue. Which comes closest to your point of view?

[random order]

A. We should keep up barriers against international trade because importing cheap products from other countries threatens American jobs.

B. We should remove trade barriers now because this allows Americans to sell in other countries what they do the best job of producing, and to buy products that other countries do the best job of producing, saving everybody money.

C. We should lower trade barriers, but only gradually, so American workers can have time to adjust to the changes that come with international trade.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q47. When a minority is being deprived of its human rights this often leads to political conflict and instability which can spread and ultimately harm US interests.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Convincing	32.7
Not convincing	65.7

Don't Know	1.3
Refused	.2

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

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

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

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

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

[Q55-58 randomized]

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

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

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

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

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

Yes	76.6
No	21.5
Don't Know	1.8
Refused	.1

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

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

[Full sample]

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

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

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

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

C. I do not favor free trade.

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

[Two-thirds sample]

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

Should agree	64.0
Should not agree	28.7
Don't Know	6.5
Refused	.8

[Subsample: If "should agree" in Q60]

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

[random reverse order]

A. The US should lower its barriers even if other countries do not, because consumers can buy cheaper imports and foreign competition spurs American companies to be more efficient.

B. The US should only lower its barriers if other countries do, because that is the only way to pressure them to open their markets.

Statement A	28.1
Statement B	69.4

Don't Know	1.9
Refused	.6

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

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

[Subsample: if chose Statement B in Q60a]

Q60b. As a general rule, if a country that has LOWER WAGES than the US says it will lower its barriers to products from the US if we will lower our barriers to their products, should the US agree or not agree to do this?

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

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

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

[Two-thirds sample]

Q61. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: Free trade is an important goal for the United States, but it should be balanced with other goals, such as protecting workers, the environment, and human rights--even if this may mean slowing the growth of trade and the economy.

Agree	88.0
Disagree	9.1
Don't Know	2.8
Refused	-

[Full sample]

Q62. Some people say that the federal government should invest more in worker retraining and education to help workers adapt to changes in the economy. Others say that such efforts just create big government programs that do not work very well. Which comes closer to your view?

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

[Two-thirds sample]

Q63. Some say that while international trade can be positive in some ways, it can also be disruptive because it involves major changes. I would like to know how vulnerable you feel you are to the changes that come with increasing international trade. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being not vulnerable at all and ten being very vulnerable.

Mean=4.89 Median=5.00

Don't know / refused 1.4%

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

Mean=5.78 Median=5.00

Don't know / refused 2.7%

[One-third sample]

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

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

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

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

Q67. A permanent International Criminal Court has been proposed by the UN to try individuals suspected of war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. Some say the US should not support the proposed Court

because trumped up charges may be brought against Americans, for example, US soldiers who use force in the course of a peacekeeping operation. Others say that the US should support such a court because the world needs a better way to prosecute war criminals, many of whom go unpunished today. Do you think the US should or should not support a permanent international criminal court?

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

[One-third sample who did not hear Q66]

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

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

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

Mean=8.73 Median=10.00

Don't know / refused -

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

Yes, should be more concerned	72.9
No, should not be	23.3
Don't Know	3.6
Refused	.2

[One-third sample that did not hear Q69]

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

Mean=7.59 Median=8.00

Don't know / refused .8%

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

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

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

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

[One-third sample that did not hear Q73]

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

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

[Content Questions 75-149](#) >>