

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Americans on Globalization, Trade, and Farm Subsidies

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Dec 19 – Jan 5, 2004
Sample Size: 1896

Margin of Error: +/- 2.3% [full sample]
+/-2.8% [2/3 sample]
+/-3.2% [1/2 sample]
+/-4.0% [1/3 sample]

[SAMPLE DIVIDED INTO 12 SUBSAMPLES, LABELED A THROUGH L]

[1/3 SAMPLE A,B,C,D Q1-3]

STATEMENT: The next set of questions are about what is often called globalization.

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.

Q1. 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.

	National	10/99
0.....		2%
1.....		2
2.....		2
3.....		7
4.....		7
5.....		39
6.....		10
7.....		11
8.....		10
9.....		2
10.....		6

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(No answer).....	3	
Negative (0-4)	19	15
Equally positive and negative (5) ..	39	30
Positive (6-10).....	40	53
(No answer).....	3	2
Mean	5.62	6.04
Median	5	6.00

Q2. Thinking back, how do you think you would have answered this question, say, four years ago?

	National
0.....	5%
1.....	3
2.....	4
3.....	9
4.....	8
5.....	30
6.....	9
7.....	8
8.....	11
9.....	5
10.....	4
(No answer).....	5
Negative (0-4)	28
Equally positive and negative (5) ..	30
Positive (6-10).....	37
(No answer).....	5
Mean	5.26
Median	5

Q3. Overall, with regard to further globalization, do you think that it should be a goal of the US to: [RANDOM REVERSE ORDER]

	National	10/99
Try to actively promote it	19%	28
Simply allow it to continue	40	33
Try to slow it down.....	29	26
Try to stop it or reverse it.....	9	9
(No answer).....	4	5

[2/3 SAMPLE E,F,G,H,I,J,K,L Q4-14]

Q4. 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.

	National	Farm*	10/99
0.....	3%	3	
1.....	2	2	
2.....	4	4	
3.....	7	8	
4.....	7	9	
5.....	38	38	
6.....	9	10	
7.....	12	9	
8.....	10	9	
9.....	1	1	
10.....	4	3	
(No answer).....	3	4	
Negative (0-4).....	23	26	21
Equally positive and negative (5) ..	38	38	35
Positive (6-10).....	36	32	40
(No answer).....	3	4	4
Mean	5.31	5.14	5.51
Median	5	5	5

[1/3 SAMPLE E,F,G,H]

Q5 Thinking back, how do you think you would have answered this question, say, four years ago? [answer 0-10]

	National
0.....	4%
1.....	1
2.....	3
3.....	6
4.....	9

* The farm states sample includes an oversample of 312, plus 424 from the general population sample who qualified in the states oversampled. The states chosen were the 17 states that receive the highest dollar amount of farm subsidies: Iowa, Texas, Illinois, Nebraska, Minnesota, Kansas, Arkansas, North Dakota, Indiana, Missouri, California South Dakota, Mississippi, Ohio, Montana, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma. For Texas, California, and Illinois the major designated metropolitan areas were excluded.

5.....	29
6.....	13
7.....	13
8.....	9
9.....	3
10.....	5
(No answer).....	6
Negative (0-4).....	23
Equally positive and negative (5) ..	29
Positive (6-10).....	43
(No answer).....	6
Mean	5.50
Median	5

[RANDOM ORDER WITH 1/3 SAMPLE: I,J,K,L]

STATEMENT: 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: [0-10 FOR Q6-Q10]

Q6. You personally

	National	Farm	10/99
0.....	7%	7	
1.....	2	2	
2.....	3	3	
3.....	5	4	
4.....	7	6	
5.....	42	46	
6.....	8	8	
7.....	7	8	
8.....	9	9	
9.....	2	2	
10.....	5	3	
(No answer).....	4	3	
Negative (0-4).....	23	22	24
Equally positive and negative (5) ..	42	46	40
Positive (6-10).....	31	29	31
(No answer).....	4	3	5
Mean	5.15	5.07	5.05

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Positive (6-10).....	46	44	31
(No answer).....	4	3	5
Mean	5.72	5.63	4.74
Median	5	5	5

Q9. American business

	National	Farm	10/99
0.....	3%	4	
1.....	3	1	
2.....	4	4	
3.....	8	8	
4.....	8	6	
5.....	22	30	
6.....	8	9	
7.....	12	11	
8.....	13	12	
9.....	8	6	
10.....	9	7	
(No answer).....	3	3	
Negative (0-4)	25	23	22
Equally positive and negative (5) ..	22	30	15
Positive (6-10).....	51	44	60
(No answer).....	3	3	3
Mean	5.92	5.66	6.14
Median	6	5	7

Q10. American workers

	National	Farm	10/99
0.....	10%	9	
1.....	5	4	
2.....	10	10	
3.....	14	14	
4.....	9	8	
5.....	24	31	
6.....	6	8	
7.....	8	7	
8.....	5	4	
9.....	2	1	
10.....	3	3	

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(No answer).....	3	3	
Negative (0-4)	48	44	45
Equally positive and negative (5) ..	24	31	27
Positive (6-10).....	25	22	25
(No answer).....	3	3	3
Mean	4.24	4.25	4.53
Median	5	5	5

[HALF SAMPLE: F,G,H,I,J,K]

Q11. Overall, with regard to international trade, do you think that it should be a goal of the US to: [RANDOM REVERSE ORDER]

	National	Farm	10/99
Try to actively promote it	23%	25	32
Simply allow it to continue.....	31	26	26
Try to slow it down.....	36	35	31
Try to stop or reverse it.....	7	10	8
(No answer).....	3	4	3

[1/3 SAMPLE: A,C,D,I]

Q12: How do you feel that the effects of the growth of international trade have been as compared to how US government officials said they would be? Please answer on a scale with 0 meaning they have been about the same as US government officials said, +5 meaning they have been much more positive, and -5 meaning they have been much less positive than they said.

	National	Farm
5.....	2%	0
4.....	2	1
3.....	5	6
2.....	7	6
1.....	8	5
0.....	28	30
-1	8	11
-2	10	8
-3	10	9
-4	3	2
-5	9	11
(No answer).....	9	10
More positive (1 to 5)	23	18
About the same (0).....	28	30

Less positive (-5 to -1)	39	42
(No answer).....	9	10
Mean	-0.65	-0.87
Median	0	0

[ONE-THIRD SAMPLE: D,F,H,I]

Q13. 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?

	National	Farm	10/99
US benefits more.....	17%	12	21
Other countries benefit more	52	60	45
About equal.....	28	24	32
(No answer).....	3	5	3

[SUBSAMPLE: IF “OTHER COUNTRIES BENEFIT MORE” IN Q13]

Q13a. I would like to know whether this bothers you or not?

	National	Farm	10/99
Yes, bothers.....	41%*	49	34
No, does not	10	10	10
(No answer).....	1	0	1

[ONE-THIRD SAMPLE THAT DID NOT GET Q13 and 13a: B,C,E,J]

Q14. 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]

	National	Farm	10/99
More than adequate.....	5%	5	2
Adequate	26	28	29
Not adequate	63	59	57
(No answer).....	6	7	12

[1/3 SAMPLE: A,G,K,L]

Q15. 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?

* All numbers are a percentage of full sample

	National	10/99
Good feelings	46%	43
Bad feelings	5	5
Mixed feelings	48	43
(No answer).....	1	0

[1/3 SAMPLE: B,F,H,I]

Q16. I'm going to read you two statements. Please tell me which comes closer to your point of view. [RANDOM REVERSE ORDER]

	National	10/99
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.....	64%	56
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.....	30	39
(No answer).....	6	5

[TWO-THIRDS SAMPLE A,C,D,E,G,J,K,L]

Q17: Thinking about the effect of imports and exports on jobs for Americans, do you think:

	National	Farm
More jobs are lost from imports....	63%	65
More jobs are gained from exports	8	6
The number of jobs lost and gained are about equal	25	26

(No answer).....4 3

[TWO-THIRDS SAMPLE (B,C,E,F,G,H,I,J) with EACH RESPONDENT RANDOMLY HEARING THREE OF Q18-23, SO THAT EACH QUESTION GETS 1/3]

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: [Q18-23 below]

Q18. Concerns of working Americans:

	National	Farm	10/99
Too much	4%	3	2
Too little.....	77	76	72
About right.....	17	17	23
(No answer).....	3	3	2

Q19. Concerns of American business:

	National	Farm	10/99
Too much	23%	22	32
Too little.....	48	49	34
About right.....	26	23	32
(No answer).....	3	6	2

Q20. Impact on the environment:

	National	Farm	10/99
Too much	11%	12	9
Too little.....	62	60	60
About right.....	21	20	29
(No answer).....	7	8	3

Q21. Concerns of multinational corporations:

	National	Farm	10/99
Too much	49%	52	54
Too little.....	23	20	15
About right.....	23	23	24
(No answer).....	5	5	7

Q22. Concerns of people like you:

	National	Farm	10/99
Too much	3%	3	3
Too little.....	76	74	73
About right.....	18	20	22
(No answer).....	3	4	2

Q23. Growth of the overall American economy:

	National	Farm	10/99
Too much	9%	4	12
Too little.....	61	62	36
About right.....	25	29	50
(No answer).....	5	6	2

[1/3 SAMPLE A,D,K,L]

Q24. 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?

	National	10/99
Should be required	93%	93
Should not be required.....	5	6
(No answer).....	2	1

[1/3 SAMPLE C,F,I,J]

Q25. Overall, do you think that countries that are part of international trade agreements should or should not be required to maintain minimum standards for protection of the environment?

	National	6/02*
Should be required	93%	94
Should not be required.....	4	4
(No answer).....	3	2

[1/3 SAMPLE B,E,G,H]

Q26. Of the following statements, which comes closer to your view? [RANDOM REVERSE ORDER]

	National	10/99
To deal with global problems such as terrorism and		

* Taken from the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations June 2002 Worldviews survey.

environmental dangers, it will be increasingly necessary for international institutions to get countries to change what they do inside their borders..... 68% 61

What countries do inside their borders is their own business. International institutions should not try to tell countries what they should do27 35

(No answer).....5 3

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q27. 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)?

	National	Farm	10/99
Much too fast	17%	15	13
A bit too fast.....	24	23	17
About the right pace.....	31	33	39
A bit too slowly.....	14	12	14
Much too slowly	4	5	9
(No answer).....	11	12	8

[1/3 SAMPLE: E,J,H,K]

Q28. 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]

	National	Farm	10/99
We should keep up barriers against international trade because importing cheap products from other countries threatens American jobs.....	40%	41	31

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.	19	15	24
We should lower trade barriers, but only gradually, so American workers can have time to adjust to changes that come with international trade	35	40	43
(No answer).....	6	3	2

[1/3 SAMPLE: A,C,D,L—GETS STATEMENT AND Q29-32]

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 one or more statements on this issue. For each one, please tell me if you find it convincing or not convincing.

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF 29-32]

Q29. 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.

	National	10/99
Convincing.....	61%	53
Not convincing.....	36	44
(No answer).....	3	3

Q30. 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.

	National	10/99
Convincing.....	65%	63
Not convincing.....	32	35
(No answer).....	3	3

Q31. 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.

	National	10/99
Convincing.....	34%	49

Not convincing.....	64	49
(No answer).....	3	2

Q32. 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.

	National	10/99
Convincing.....	10%	20
Not convincing.....	88	79
(No answer).....	2	1

[1/3 SAMPLE: C,F,G,I]

Q33: As you may know, the US and some countries of Central America have negotiated a treaty called the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) that is similar to what the US now has with Mexico and Canada in NAFTA. Would you favor or oppose Congress approving such a new agreement?

	National	Farm
Favor	49%	43
Oppose	42	46
(No answer).....	10	11

[1/3 SAMPLE A,D,H,K]

Q34. As you may know, when complaints are filed at the WTO or NAFTA, they are heard at proceedings that are not open to the public. Some say that this is a good idea because they are more likely to be resolved through quiet diplomacy and without the interference of pressure groups. Others say that trade disputes can affect the public interest and thus the proceedings should be open. Do you think WTO and NAFTA proceedings should or should not be open to the public?

	National
Should	63%
Should not.....	27
(No answer).....	11

[TWO-THIRDS SAMPLE: B,E,G,H,I,J,K,L]

Q35. 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]

	National	Farm	10/99
I favor free trade, and I believe that it IS necessary for the government to have programs to help works who lose their jobs	60%	56	66
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.....	13	14	18
I do not favor free trade	22	25	14
(No answer).....	5	6	2

[1/3 SAMPLE: A,C,E,F]

Q36. As you may know, the US and most countries of North, Central and South America have been discussing the possibility of having a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas, similar to what the US now has with Mexico and Canada in NAFTA. Would you favor or oppose having such a new agreement?

	National
Favor	52%
Oppose	40
(No answer).....	8

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: The next questions are about farm subsidies. These are various forms of financial aid the US government gives to small farms and large farming businesses that produce a variety of crops.

[3 1/3 SAMPLES, CALLED SAMPLES 1, 2 AND 3 FOR QUESTIONS 38 TO 52]

SAMPLE 1=A,B,C,D

SAMPLE 2=E,F,G,H

SAMPLE 3=I,J,K,L]

[SAMPLE 1]

Q38: Do you favor or oppose the US government giving subsidies to small farmers, who work farms less than 500 acres?

	National	Farm
Favor	77%	81

Oppose	19	16
(No answer).....	4	3

[THOSE WHO SAY FAVOR OR DK IN ABOVE]

Q39: Do you favor or oppose the US government giving subsidies to small farmers:

	National	Farm
Only in bad years	44%*	46
On a regular annual basis	34	35
(No answer).....	3	3

Q40: Do you favor or oppose the US government giving subsidies to large farming businesses?

	National	Farm
Favor	31%	31
Oppose	65	64
(No answer).....	4	6

[THOSE WHO SAY FAVOR OR DK IN ABOVE]

Q41: Do you favor or oppose the US government giving subsidies to large farming businesses:

	National	Farm
Only in bad years	24%*	25
On a regular annual basis	9	9
(No answer).....	3	3

[SAMPLE 2]

Statement: There is a debate about whether the US government should subsidize small farmers by giving them various forms of financial support. ‘Small farmers’ means those who work farms that are less than 500 acres. What follows are some pairs of statements expressing some positions on this issue. Please indicate which position is closer to yours.

Q42

A. Family farming is an American way of life that should be maintained. Subsidies are the only way that small family farms can compete with large agribusiness and imports from low wage countries.

B. There are many ways of making a living that are part of the American way of life. It is unfair to subsidize farmers and not subsidize other equally American ways of making a living.

* All numbers are a percentage of full sample

	National	Farm
Position A.....	70%	67
Position B.....	25	26
(No answer).....	4	7

Q43

A. People should have food available to them that was locally grown. Locally grown foods taste better and lead people to have a larger share of fresh foods in their diet. Without subsidies most of our food would be grown far away, even in foreign countries.

B. Having locally grown food is nice, but the people who want it should be willing to pay the extra cost of producing it rather than expecting the government to subsidize their preferences for certain kinds of food.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	70%	67
Position B.....	26	28
(No answer).....	4	5

[SAMPLE 3]

Statement: There is a debate about whether the US government should subsidize large farming businesses by giving them various forms of financial support. What follows are some pairs of statements expressing some positions on this issue. Please indicate which position is closer to yours.

[OUT OF THE FOLLOWING EIGHT QUESTIONS, Q44-51, SAMPLE 1 RESPONDENTS GET ONE, RANDOMLY SELECTED. SAMPLE 2 RESPONDENTS GET ANY THREE, RANDOMLY SELECTED. SAMPLE 3 RESPONDENTS GET ANY FOUR, RANDOMLY SELECTED.]

Q44

A. It is unfair for US farmers to get government subsidies so that they can sell their products below the price of production, making it impossible for poor farmers to compete. We don't like it when other countries do the same kind of thing to us.

B. It is not our responsibility to take care of farmers in other countries. We need to do what is best for America and let other countries take care of themselves.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	37%	34
Position B.....	56	57
(No answer).....	6	9

Q45

A. Farming is a risky business. Depending on the weather, farmers have good years and bad years. The government needs to help farmers have a minimum income so that they can be sure they will get through the bad years.

B. Farmers should not be given preferential treatment. Just like any business, they should have capital reserves and insurance protection so they can take care of themselves if they have a bad year. They should not expect the government to bail them out.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	62%	64
Position B.....	34	33
(No answer).....	4	4

Q46 [ARO POSITIONS A AND B]

A. It is good for the US to subsidize its farmers because then they are able to provide food to people around the world at very low prices, enabling poor countries to feed their populations and reducing hunger.

B. It is not good for the US to flood the world market with subsidized food. This has been shown to undercut farmers in poor countries that rely on agriculture. In many cases this has wiped out their agriculture, made these countries dependent on the US and increased hunger.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	54%	48
Position B.....	37	41
(No answer).....	9	11

Q47 [ARO POSITIONS A AND B]

A. Rather than giving poor countries foreign aid, it is better to let them export what they can produce. For many poor countries agricultural products are one of the few things they can export. We should not undercut them by flooding the world market with cheap subsidized farm products.

B. Farmers in poor countries work for much lower returns than American farmers. Without government subsidies, American farmers won't be able to compete and a lot of people working on farms will end up unemployed.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	38%	38
Position B.....	53	52
(No answer).....	9	9

Q48

A. If we do not give subsidies to US farmers, other developed countries will keep giving subsidies to their farmers and the US will not be able to compete in the global market.

B. If we give subsidies it is just as likely that other developed countries will just match them, creating an endless cycle. We should do what makes sense—reduce our subsidies—and press others to do the same.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	54%	51
Position B.....	38	38
(No answer).....	8	11

Q49

A. Subsidies have prompted US agribusiness to produce far more food than the US people can eat, driving down the cost of food. This has led retailers to serve larger portions of food and played a major role in the epidemic of obesity, which is threatening the health of many Americans and driving up health care costs.

B. It is up to individuals to decide how much food they eat. Removing subsidies and driving up the cost of food is not the way to address the problem of obesity and would be hard on the pocketbooks of low-income Americans.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	16%	14
Position B.....	79	80
(No answer).....	5	6

Q50 [ARO POSITIONS A AND B]

A. It is not consistent with the American way to have a whole sector of the economy dependent on government handouts at taxpayers' expense. We should trust the market, not the government, to find the right balance between supply and demand.

B. There is nothing more important than food. The government needs to subsidize farming to make sure there will always be a good supply of food and that the price does not go up and down according to the whims of the market.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	37%	40
Position B.....	58	55
(No answer).....	5	5

Q51

A. Subsidizing farmers gives America an important export product. If subsidies were ended it would lead the US to import more food, worsening the already-bad trade balance we have with other countries.

B. If the US uses taxpayers' money to prop up exports, it only creates an illusory gain, because ultimately these subsidies have to be paid for by raising taxes or increasing deficits.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	50%	45
Position B.....	40	40
(No answer).....	10	15

[ONLY SAMPLE 3 GETS Q52]

Q52

A. When food is grown in the USA we can be more confident that it meets the proper food safety standards. Subsidies ensure that American farmers can keep producing safe food for the American people.

B. The US government monitors the safety of all food sold in the US, so there is no reason to believe that imported food is less safe. Subsidizing American agribusiness based on such unfounded fears is a waste of taxpayers' money.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	61%	63
Position B.....	36	32
(No answer).....	3	5

[SAMPLE 2]

Q38-1: So now, having heard these arguments, do you favor or oppose the US government giving subsidies to small farmers, who work farms less than 500 acres?

[Note: This question is essentially the same as Q38 above. However, this sample was asked after hearing the arguments for and against subsidies.]

	National	Farm
Favor	74%	70
Oppose	20	22
(No answer).....	5	8

[THOSE WHO SAY FAVOR OR DK IN Q38-1 ABOVE]

Q38-1a: Another debate is whether small farmers should get subsidies only in bad years or on a regular annual basis, whether or not it is a bad year. Here are two positions on this issue. Which one do you find more convincing:

A. Because farmers in other countries work at low wages, the only way that small American farmers can compete is to give them regular annual subsidies.

B. It is fine to help small American farmers when they are having a bad year, but we should not put them on permanent welfare.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	24%*	23
Position B.....	51	50
(No answer).....	5	5

[PRESENT ONLY TO RESPONDENTS WHO GET Q38-1a]

Q39-1: So now, having considered these arguments, do you favor or oppose the US government giving subsidies to small farmers:

[Note: This question is essentially the same as Q39 above. However, this sample was asked after hearing the arguments for and against subsidies.]

	National	Farm
Only in bad years	53%*	55
On a regular annual basis	22	19
(No answer).....	4	5

[SAMPLE 3]

Q40-1: So now, having heard these arguments, do you favor or oppose the US government giving subsidies to large farming businesses? [See note below][†]

[Note: This question is essentially the same as Q40 above. However, this sample was asked after hearing the arguments for and against subsidies.]

	National	Farm
Favor	47%	37
Oppose	47	53
(No answer).....	6	10

* All numbers are a percentage of full sample

[†] In the report, this question's result is from Sample 1, who received the question before being exposed to arguments. Sample 3 was not offered a question about small farmers specifically at any point, and further analysis indicated that the 47%-47% response from Sample 3 on subsidies to large farmers was an effect of having no opportunity to express support for subsidies to small farmers. This is confirmed by the near-identical numbers in Sample 1 and Sample 3 in the next question, supporting subsidies to large farming businesses "on a regular annual basis": 9% and 10%, respectively.

[THOSE WHO SAY FAVOR OR DK IN Q40-1 ABOVE]

Q40-1a: Another debate is whether large farming businesses should get subsidies only in bad years or on a regular annual basis, whether or not it is a bad year. Here are two positions on this issue. Which one do you find more convincing:

- a. Because farmers in other countries work at low wages, the only way that American farming businesses can compete is to give them regular annual subsidies.
- b. It is fine to help American agricultural businesses when they are having a bad year, but we should not put these large corporations on permanent welfare.

	National	Farm
Position A.....	11%*	12
Position B.....	40	31
(No answer).....	2	5

[PRESENT ONLY TO RESPONDENTS WHO GET Q40-1a] ...

Q41-1: So now, having considered these arguments, do you favor or oppose the US government giving subsidies to large farming businesses:

[Note: This question is essentially the same as Q40 above. However, this sample was asked after hearing the arguments for and against subsidies.]

	National	Farm
Only in bad years	40%*	33
On a regular annual basis.....	10	7
(No answer).....	3	7

[1/3 SAMPLE B,D,H,J]

Q53. 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.

	National	Farm	10/99
Agree.....	83%	85	88
Disagree	11	9	9
(No answer).....	6	7	3

[1/3 SAMPLE A,C,F,K]

Q54. Some people say that the federal government should invest more in worker

* All numbers are a percentage of full sample

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?

	National	Farm	10/99
Government should invest more ...	51%	44	66
Big programs that don't work	43	49	31
(No answer).....	6	7	3

[1/3 SAMPLE E,G,I,L]

Q55: Is it your impression that over the last few years the amount of money that the US government spends to retrain, and in other ways help, workers who have lost their jobs due to globalization and the growth of international trade has:

	National	Farm
Increased	28%	26
Decreased.....	26	25
Stayed about the same.....	40	41
(No answer).....	5	8

[1/3 SAMPLE A,B,D,F]

Q56. 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.

	National	10/99
0.....	3%	
1.....	1	
2.....	1	
3.....	2	
4.....	1	
5.....	6	
6.....	3	
7.....	7	
8.....	13	
9.....	10	
10.....	53	
(No answer).....	2	
Not much (0-4).....	8	4
Moderate amount (5).....	6	6
Much (6-10)	86	90
(No answer).....	2	0

Mean	8.41	8.73
Median	10	10

[SAME 1/3 SAMPLE AS Q56: A,B,D,F]

Q57. 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?

	National	10/99
Yes, should be more concerned	71%	73
No, should not be	25	23
(No answer).....	4	4

[ONE-THIRD G,J,K,I]

Q58. 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.

	National	10/99
0.....	5%	
1.....	3	
2.....	3	
3.....	4	
4.....	5	
5.....	15	
6.....	6	
7.....	9	
8.....	12	
9.....	7	
10.....	30	
(No answer).....	1	
Not much (0-4).....	20	11
Moderate amount (5).....	15	13
Much (6-10)	64	75
(No answer).....	1	1
Mean	6.78	7.59
Median	7	8

[SAME 1/3 SAMPLE AS Q58: G,J,K,I]

Q59. 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?

	National	Farm	10/99
Increased	53%	57	56
Decreased.....	10	7	10
Has had no effect	32	32	27
(No answer).....	6	4	6

[1/3 SAMPLE C,E,H,L]

Q60. 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.

	National	10/99
0.....	8%	
1.....	2	
2.....	2	
3.....	4	
4.....	4	
5.....	22	
6.....	8	
7.....	8	
8.....	13	
9.....	6	
10.....	21	
(No answer).....	3	
Not much (0-4).....	19	12
Moderate amount (5).....	22	11
Much (6-10)	56	76
(No answer).....	3	1
Mean	6.33	7.59
Median	6	8

[SAME 1/3 SAMPLE AS Q57: A,B,D,F]

Q61. 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.

	National	10/99
0.....	3%	
1.....	1	
2.....	2	
3.....	2	

4.....	4	
5.....	14	
6.....	5	
7.....	6	
8.....	15	
9.....	8	
10.....	41	
(No answer).....	1	
Not much (0-4).....	11	12
Moderate amount (5).....	14	9
Much (6-10)	75	79
(No answer).....	1	0
Mean	7.72	7.96
Median	8	9

[SAME 1/3 SAMPLE AS Q60: C,E,H,L]

Q62. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:
While we cannot expect workers in foreign countries to make the same wages as in the US, we should expect other countries to permit wages to rise by allowing workers to organize into unions and by putting a stop to child labor.

	National	10/99
Agree.....	81%	82
Disagree	15	15
(No answer).....	4	3

[TWO-THIRDS SAMPLE B,C,D,E,F,H,I,K]

Q63. 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?

	National	Farm	10/99
Should agree.....	67%	62	64
Should not agree	24	26	29
(No answer).....	9	12	7

[SUBSAMPLE: IF “SHOULD AGREE” IN Q63]

Q63a. Here are two statements: Tell me which one you most agree with:
[RANDOM REVERSE ORDER]

	National	Farm	10/99
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	16%*	14	18
The US should only lower its barriers if other countries do, because that is the only way to pressure them to open their markets.....	50	46	44
(No answer).....	1	2	2

[1/3 SAMPLE A,G,J,L]

Q64. 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?

	National	Farm	6/98
Agree.....	43%	41	43
Not agree.....	47	49	48
(No answer).....	9	11	9

[HALF SAMPLE A,B,E,G,J,L]

Q65. The World Trade Organization was established to rule on disputes over trade treaties. If another country files a complaint with the World Trade Organization and it rules against the US, as a general rule, should the US comply with that decision?

	National	Farm	10/99
Yes	67%	67	65
No.....	26	22	24
Depends.....	4**	5	6
(No answer).....	3	5	6

[HALF SAMPLE C,D,F,H,I,K]

Q66: As you may know, in early 2002 President Bush raised tariffs on steel imports. In response to challenges by other countries the World Trade Organization ruled that these increases were in violation of international trade rules. President Bush subsequently lowered the steel tariffs. What is your position on this decision?

* All numbers are a percentage of full sample

** Respondent skipped initial question and was given third option, "depends."

National

He was right to raise them
in the first place, and he
was right to lower them in
response to the WTO ruling..... 30%

It was a mistake for him to
raise them in the first place32

He was right to raise them
in the first place and he
should not have lowered them24

(No answer).....14

[1/2 SAMPLE A,C,D,E,I,J]

Q67. Do you think the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA, has been good or bad for the United States?

	National	Farm	10/99
Good.....	47%	40	44
Bad	39	42	30
Neither.....	6*	9	7
(No answer).....	7	9	19

[1/2 SAMPLE B,F,G,H,K,L]

Q68: How do you feel that the effects of the Northern American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, have been as compared to how US government officials said they would be? Please answer on a scale with 0 meaning they have been about the same as US government officials said, +5 meaning they have been much more positive, and -5 meaning they have been much less positive than they said.

	National	Farm
5.....	2%	0
4.....	1	1
3.....	2	2
2.....	4	5
1.....	3	4
0.....	30	32
-1	5	5
-2	10	8
-3	10	11

* Respondent skipped initial question and was given third option, "neither."

-4	4	3
-5	15	18
(No answer).....	14	12
More positive (1 to 5)	12	13
The same (0)	30	32
Less positive (-5 to -1)	44	44
(No answer).....	14	12
Mean	-1.34	-1.43
Median	-1	0

[1/3 SAMPLE A,C,G,K]

Q69. Who should have the responsibility to retrain workers who have lost their jobs due to globalization and increased international trade?

National

The US government	8%
Corporations that benefit from international trade.....	27
Both.....	61
(No answer).....	5

[1/3 SAMPLE D,H,J,L]

Q71. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement.
As one of the world's rich nations, the United States has a moral responsibility toward poor nations to help them develop economically and improve their people's lives. Would that be strongly or somewhat (agree/disagree)?

	National	Farm	10/99
Strongly agree	15%	13	31
Somewhat agree	49	45	37
Somewhat disagree	22	23	16
Strongly disagree	11	15	14
(No answer).....	4	4	3

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: Next are a series of questions on farm subsidies that ask for your impression of some things that you may or may not know. Please just indicate your impression, whether or not you are very confident that it is correct.

Q72: Is it your impression that farmers receive subsidies:

	National	Farm
Only for bad years.....	46%	48
On a regular annual basis, whether or not it's a bad year.....	50	48
(No answer).....	4	4

Q73: What percentage of farm subsidies do you think go to small farmers working farms less than 500 acres--and how much do you think goes to large agricultural businesses, including farms over 500 acres and other large companies that provide equipment and services to farmers? [respondent gives two percentages that are required to add to 100%]

	National	Farm
Small farmers		
None.....	0%	0
1 to 9%	2	1
10 to 19%	8	9
20 to 29%	20	23
30 to 39%	16	13
40 to 49%	10	11
50 to 59%	15	15
60 to 69%	6	6
70 to 79%	9	7
80 to 89%	4	3
90 to 99%	3	4
100%	2	2
(No answer).....	5	5
Mean	42.49	41.13
Median	40	40

Large agricultural businesses

None.....	1%	1
1 to 9%	1	1
10 to 19%	3	3
20 to 29%	9	7
30 to 39%	5	4
40 to 49%	6	6
50 to 59%	16	16
60 to 69%	13	11
70 to 79%	22	20

80 to 89%	12	17
90 to 99%	8	8
100%	1	1
(No answer).....	6	5
Mean	58.12	59.61
Median	60	65

Q74: What do you think the percentages should be? [respondent gives two percentages that are required to add to 100%]

	National	Farm
Small farmers		
None	1%	2
1 to 9%	0	1
10 to 19%	0	1
20 to 29%	3	3
30 to 39%	3	3
40 to 49%	6	5
50 to 59%	26	26
60 to 69%	14	12
70 to 79%	20	18
80 to 89%	11	11
90 to 99%	7	9
100%	6	6
(No answer).....	4	5
Mean	63.50	62.73
Median	60	60

Large agricultural businesses		
None	5%	5
1 to 9%	2	3
10 to 19%	6	7
20 to 29%	21	21
30 to 39%	10	8
40 to 49%	13	11
50 to 59%	26	25
60 to 69%	6	5
70 to 79%	4	3
80 to 89%	1	2
90 to 99%	0	1
100%	0	1
(No answer).....	7	7

Mean	36.64	36.45
Median	40	40

[1/3 SAMPLE D,F,G,J]

Q75: Do you think that small farmers get a higher percentage of their income from subsidies, that large farming businesses get a higher percentage, or that they get about the same percentage?

	National	Farm
Small farmers get a higher percentage	26%	21
Large farming businesses get a higher percentage	45	51
They get about the same percentage	22	21
(No answer).....	8	7

[1/3 SAMPLE B,C,H,K]

Q76: Is it your impression that the European Union provides farm subsidies that are:

	National	Farm
More than the US provides	24%	27
Less than the US provides.....	26	27
About the same	32	30
(No answer).....	17	17

[1/3 SAMPLE A,E,I,L]

Q77: Do you think that the US government

	National	Farm
Favors small farmers.....	6%	6
Favors large farming businesses	79	77
Treats them equally	12	12
(No answer).....	3	5

[1/3 SAMPLE C,E,F,H]

Q78: Is it your impression that farm subsidies in the US do or do not contribute to poverty in poor countries?

	National	Farm
Do.....	27%	23
Do not.....	63	66
(No answer).....	10	12

[1/3 SAMPLE B,D,I,L]

Q79: Do you favor or oppose the US government providing subsidies to help farmers grow tobacco?

	National	Farm
Favor	23%	27
Oppose	73	65
(No answer).....	4	8

[1/3 SAMPLE A,G,J,K]

Q80: As you may know, the US government also provides subsidies to agricultural businesses that do not farm, but provide farmers with equipment and services. Do you favor or oppose providing subsidies to these businesses?

	National	Farm
Favor	36%	31
Oppose	57	59
(No answer).....	7	10

[1/3 SAMPLE B,D,E,J]

Q81. Under the current rules of international trade, countries are not allowed to restrict imports based on how they are produced. So, if a factory overseas generates excessive levels of pollution, the United States can't impose trade restrictions on the factory's products. Now, tell me which of the following statements you agree with most:

[RANDOM REVERSE ORDER]

	National	Farm	10/99
Countries should be able to restrict the import of products if they are produced in a way that damages the environment, because protecting the environment is at least as important as trade.....	71%	62	74

If countries can put up trade barriers against a product any time they can come up with something

they do not like about how it is produced, pretty soon they will be putting barriers up right and left	21	24	22
(No answer).....	9	14	4

[1/3 SAMPLE C,F,H,I]

Q82. Some factories in countries that produce clothing for the American market place their workers in harsh and unsafe conditions, sometimes called sweatshops, to keep their costs low. Presently there is a proposal to have an international organization that would check the conditions in a factory and, if acceptable, give them the right to label their products as not made in a sweatshop. However, this may mean that the price of those products will be higher than those made in sweatshops. If you had to choose between buying a piece of clothing that costs \$20 and you are not sure how it was made, and one that is certified as not made in a sweatshop, but costs \$25, which one would you buy?

	National	10/99
Unsure how it is made for \$20.....	33%	20
Not made in a sweatshop for \$25...61		76
(No answer).....	7	4

[1/3 SAMPLE A,G,K,L]

Q83. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:
When the World Trade Organization makes decisions, it tends to think about what's best for business, but not about what's best for the world as a whole.

	National	10/99
Agree.....	69%	65
Disagree	23	24
(No answer).....	8	11

[1/3 SAMPLE B,E,G,L]

Q84. In general, what is your opinion of American popular culture, such as music, television and films? Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of American popular culture?

	National	10/99
Very favorable	11%	21
Somewhat favorable.....	44	39
Somewhat unfavorable.....	32	25
Very unfavorable	11	14
(No answer).....	3	2

[1/3 SAMPLE C,F,H,I]

Q85: Thinking about how globalization has resulted in new ideas and cultural influences coming into the US from other countries, on balance do you regard this as

	National
Very positive.....	16%
Somewhat positive.....	52
Somewhat negative.....	18
Very negative.....	7
(No answer).....	7

[1/3 SAMPLE A,D,J,K]

Q86. As you may know with freer trade, jobs are often lost due to imports from other countries, while new jobs are created when the US exports more products to other countries. I'd like you to imagine in one industry some jobs are lost because of foreign competition, while in a different industry an equal number are created, but these new jobs pay higher wages. Which of the following statements about this do you agree with most? [RANDOM REVERSE ORDER]

	National	Farm	10/99
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.....	59%	58	56
It is better to have the higher paying jobs, and the people who lost their jobs can eventually find new ones	32	33	40
(No answer).....	9	9	4

[1/3 SAMPLE G,I,J,L]

Q87. Overall, would you say that American companies that operate in other countries should be expected to abide by US environmental standards? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

	National	10/99
Yes, strongly.....	50%	67
Yes, somewhat.....	37	21
No, somewhat.....	6	6
No, strongly.....	5	5

(No answer).....2 1

[1/3 SAMPLE B,C,E,K]

Q88. Which position is closest to yours?

National

I support the growth of international trade in principle and I approve of the way the US is going about expanding international trade..... 20%

I support the growth of international trade in principle, but I am not satisfied with the way the US government is dealing with the effects of trade on American jobs, the poor in other countries and the environment53

I do not support the growth of international trade because I think the costs will inevitably outweigh the benefits18

(No answer).....9

[1/3 SAMPLE A,D,F,H]

Q89. Overall, would you say that American companies that operate in other countries should be expected to abide by US health and safety standards for workers? Do you feel that way strongly or somewhat?

	National	10/99
Yes, strongly	61%	69
Yes, somewhat	28	17
No, somewhat	4	7
No, strongly.....	2	6
(No answer).....	4	1

[1/3 SAMPLE C,G,H,J]

Q90. Some people say that if people in other countries are making products that we use, this creates a moral obligation for us to make efforts to ensure that they do not have to work in harsh or unsafe conditions. Others say that it is not for us to judge what the

working conditions should be in another country. Do you feel that we do or do not have a moral obligation to make efforts to ensure that workers in other countries who make products we use are not required to work in harsh or unsafe conditions?

	National	10/99
Yes, have moral obligation	74%	74
No, don't have moral obligation.....	20	23
(No answer).....	6	3

[1/3 SAMPLE A,D,E,F]

Q91: Some people say that the government should provide wage insurance for people who lose their jobs as a result of the growth of international trade. This means when the person finds a new job that pays less than their old job, the government will cover half the difference. Do you favor or oppose this idea?

	National	Farm
Favor	35%	29
Oppose	59	65
(No answer).....	6	6

[SAME 1/3 SAMPLE AS Q91: A,D,E,F]

Q92: If the government did have such a wage insurance program for people who lose their jobs as a result of international trade, would you:

	National	Farm
Feel more supportive of the growth of international trade.....	34%	25
Not feel more supportive of the growth of international trade.....	58	66
(No answer).....	8	9

[1/2 SAMPLE A,B,C,D,E,G]

Q93: Do you know someone who you think has lost a job or seen their business suffer due to globalization and the growth of international trade?

	National	Farm
Yes	39%	35
No.....	59	63
(No answer).....	3	3

[SAME 1/2 SAMPLE AS Q93: A,B,C,D,E,G]

Q94: Do you know someone who you think has gained a job or seen their business improve due to globalization and the growth of international trade?

	National	Farm
Yes	17%	17
No.....	80	80
(No answer).....	4	4

[1/2 SAMPLE F,H,I,J,K,L]

Q95: Have you been laid off, lost a job, or had to shut down a business over the last four years?

	National	Farm
Yes	24%	21
No.....	75	77
(No answer).....	1	2

[If yes to Q95:]

Q95a: Do you think this was due to globalization and the growth of international trade?

	National	Farm
Not at all.....	12%*	15
A little	5	1
Some	4	1
A lot	3	4
(No answer).....	0	0

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q96: On balance, how do you think globalization and the growth of international trade have affected the security of the job or jobs of people in your household? Please answer on a scale with +5 meaning that it has had a very positive effect, -5 meaning it has had a very negative effect, and 0 meaning that, on balance, it has had no effect.

	National	Farm
5.....	2%	2
4.....	1	1
3.....	3	2
2.....	4	3
1.....	3	2
0.....	49	55
-1	6	6
-2	6	5

* All numbers are a percentage of full sample

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-3	8	8
-4	3	3
-5	9	8
(No answer).....	6	5
Positive effect (1 to 5).....	13	10
No effect either way (0)	49	55
Negative effect (-5 to -1).....	32	30
Mean	-0.71	-0.70
Median	0	0

[1/3 SAMPLE B,I,K,L]

Q97: How do you think the way that President Bush has dealt with international trade issues will affect whether you vote for him? Please answer on a scale of +5 to -5, with +5 meaning that it will greatly increase the likelihood you will vote for him, -5 meaning that it will greatly decrease the likelihood you will vote for him, and 0 meaning that it will have no effect either way.

	National	Farm
5.....	5%	6
4.....	3	3
3.....	5	3
2.....	6	5
1.....	3	4
0.....	37	39
-1	4	6
-2	6	4
-3	5	4
-4	2	2
-5	19	19
(No answer).....	6	6
Increase likelihood (1 to 5)	21	21
No effect either way (0)	37	39
Decrease likelihood (-5 to -1)	37	34
(No answer).....	6	6
Mean	-0.79	-0.65
Median	0	0

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q98. If the upcoming election for president were held today and the candidates were Republican George W. Bush and the Democratic nominee for President -- for whom would you vote -- Republican George W. Bush or the Democratic nominee for President?

	National	Farm
Vote for President George Bush ...	44%	52
Vote for Democratic nominee for President	47	40
(No answer).....	10	8

[ONLY TO THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWER THE ABOVE QUESTION]

Q98a: How sure are you that you will vote this way?

	National	Farm
Vote for Bush		
Very.....	30%*	39
Somewhat	10	10
Not very	3	3
Vote for Democratic Nominee		
Very.....	33	29
Somewhat	11	9
Not very	3	1
(No answer).....	10	8

Demographic questions:

D1a. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

	National	Farm
Strongly Republican.....	14%	18
Leaning toward Republican	17	18
Leaning toward Democrat.....	15	13
Strongly Democrat	21	17
Independent.....	23	22
Other	8	9
(No answer).....	3	3

* All numbers are a percentage of full sample

[ONLY TO THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ANSWERED “DEMOCRAT” ON D1a OR “VOTE FOR DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE” ON Q98 ABOVE]

D1aa. Who would you most like to see the Democratic Party nominate as its presidential candidate in 2004?

[ARO EACH CANDIDATE LISTED BELOW]

	National	Farm
Howard Dean	25%	20
John Kerry.....	8	9
Richard Gephardt.....	9	16
Joe Lieberman.....	9	5
Wesley Clark.....	12	13
Dennis Kucinich.....	4	6
Carol Moseley-Braun.....	5	4
Al Sharpton	6	4
John Edwards	5	6
(No answer).....	18	17

D1. What kind of job do you have?

	National	Farm
Education, training or research	12%	12
Technical, such as computer, architecture or engineering	7	7
Administrative, such as business, civil servant, or police or social services	13	13
Health care	9	10
Legal	2	1
Manufacturing, construction, or maintenance	18	19
Retail.....	10	10
Military	1	2
Farming, fishing, or forestry services	2	3

(No answer).....26 24

D2. How would you characterize where you live? Would you characterize it as

	National	Farm
An urban area or part of a city	35%	31
A suburban area or bedroom community just outside of a city	26	20
A small town or rural area	38	47

D3. Did you vote for a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate in the election in November 2002?

	National	Farm
Yes	55%	58
No.....	42	38

D4. Age (calculated from birth date)

18-29	22%
30-44	31
45-59	26
60+	22

D5. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	16%
High School Graduate.....	32
Some College	28
College Graduate	24

D6. Race/Ethnicity

White, non-Hispanic	73%
Black	12
Hispanic	11
Other	5

D7. Gender

Male 48%
Female.....52

D8. Region

Northeast..... 19%
Midwest.....23
South36
West23