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**The Political Economy of Globalization:  
How Firms, Workers, and Policymakers Are Responding to Global Economic Integration**

*Survey Questionnaire Templates – Legislators*

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April 2005

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General Notes:

The project has five core components that, while coordinated, will be administered separately. We have drafted templates for the survey questionnaires for each of the five components. These are only meant as preliminary, structural designs for the questionnaires we aim to develop and field test in the summer and fall of 2005. The actual questions we will include in the surveys will be carefully designed in consultation with participating scholars and survey experts during the next 6-8 months. For now, we have included some basic questions in the templates for illustrative purposes only.

Questions that are examples of baseline or benchmark questions, posed in identical fashion to all types of respondents (firm managers, workers, officials of trade associations and labor unions, and policy makers) are identified by the code “BASE.” With few exceptions, the questions will be stated in identical fashion in all the countries targeted for inclusion in the multi-country project, so references to the United States in the examples below will simply be replaced with the appropriate home country name. We do expect to pose some questions that will be specific to particular countries or sets of countries, to pursue particular types of data relevant to key scholarly and policy debates. Examples of such questions here, specific to the US version of the surveys, are identified by the code “US.”

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**The Survey of Legislators**

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The final part of the project is a survey of legislators in each country. We will choose a sample of approximately 100 legislators, targeting those in *electoral districts in which selected firms/industries are heavily concentrated*. This will enable us to match data about the political preferences and activities of firms, workers, trade associations, and labor unions, with information about how policymakers perceive and respond to various types of constituent demands in each case. We will also gather information from legislators about the impact of party organization and partisan competition in policy debates concerning trade, investment, and immigration. Participating scholars (and RAs) will conduct in-depth interviews with selected legislators. The main survey questionnaire will be administered in telephone interviews. This will be supplemented with a self-administered questionnaire, mailed to the legislator’s staff shortly after the conclusion of each telephone interview.

Survey questions ask policymakers to define their positions on various policy issues, how these positions reflect the concerns raised by firms and workers in their electoral districts, and what role partisanship plays in policy debates. The survey will ask legislators about the frequency with which they communicate with firms, trade associations, and labor unions about different policy issues. Questions will also be aimed at gathering data on financial contributions made to legislators (or their parties) from different sources, the importance of various policy issues in electoral campaigns, and the sources of information about policies upon which legislators rely.

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Telephone Interview

Estimated Survey Duration:

30 minutes

SECTION 1: PRE-LOADED VARIABLES

From Sample: Senate/House  
From Sample: State  
From Sample: Congressional district  
From Sample: Party  
From Sample: Committee assignment(s)  
From Sample: Telephone number  
From Sample: Name  
From Sample: Gender  
From Sample: Age

SECTION 2: SCREENING

Hello, this is \_\_\_\_\_, and I am with the Harvard Globalization Project. Recently, we sent **(name from sample)** a letter requesting participation in a very important survey about globalization, American business, and foreign policy that we are conducting. I would like to make an appointment to interview **(name from sample)**.] Could I please speak to [him/her]?

[IF CONNECTED, JUMP INTRO]

[IF NOT AVAILABLE, MAKE APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK BEFORE TARGET DATE]

[INTRODUCTION: When respondent is reached, continue:] Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_, and I am with the Harvard Globalization Project. Recently, we sent you a letter outlining a survey about globalization, American business, and foreign policy that we are conducting. You were selected for the leadership portion of the study, because of the role you have played in the policy discussions in the Senate/House. Do you have about twenty minutes right now to participate in the study, or would you like to arrange an appointment?

[IF NO: RECORD NUMBER AND TIME TO CALL BACK BEFORE TARGET DATE]

SECTION 3: POLICY

- In general do you favor or oppose policies aimed at increasing trade with other nations? (BASE)

Favor  
Oppose  
DK/R

- In general do favor or oppose placing more restrictions on investment in the United States by foreign firms that establish manufacturing facilities here? (BASE)

Favor  
Oppose  
DK/R

- In general do you favor or oppose placing more restrictions on immigration into the United States? (BASE)

Favor  
Oppose  
DK/R

- 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  
Should not be required  
DK/R

- 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?

Should be required  
Should not be required

#### SECTION 4: PARTY AND CONSTITUENCY

- In politics, people often talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means left and 10 means right?

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER #]  
DK/R

- Where would you place the political views of your constituency on the same scale left-right scale?

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER #]  
DK/R

- Where would you place the views of your party?

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER #]  
DK/R

- When did you first become a member of your party?

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER YEAR]

- Have you ever been a member of another political party?

Yes  
No

- Roughly how many hours do you usually devote to the following activities in the average week when Congress is in session:

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER #]  
1 Dealing with constituency casework

- 2 Attending debates on the floor of the [HOUSE/SENATE]
- 3 Working in congressional committees
- 4 Informal meetings with other members of Congress
- 5 Informal meetings with lobbyists
- 6 Informal meetings with the media

SECTION 5: LOBBYING AND LEGISLATION

▪ Thinking back over the past year, about how many letters and phone calls would you estimate you get from constituents in an average week?

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER #]

▪ Roughly what proportion of these letters and phone calls raise concerns about trade with foreign nations or outsourcing?

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER #]

▪ What proportion of them raise concerns about immigration?

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER #]

▪ On the issue of increasing trade with other countries, what position would you say is held by the majority of your constituents? Are they generally in favor of trade, generally opposed, evenly divided, or are you unsure?

- In favor
- Opposed
- Evenly divided
- Unsure
- DK/R

▪ Which industries and groups in your constituency are generally the strongest supporters of policies aimed at increasing trade with other nations?

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER]

▪ Which industries and groups in your constituency are generally the strongest opponents of policies aimed at increasing trade with other nations?

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER]

Mailed Self-Administered Questionnaire

▪ Thinking back over the past year, about how many letters does Senator/Representative [**name from sample**] receive from constituents in an average week?

\_\_\_\_\_

▪ About how many phone calls from constituents in an average week?

\_\_\_\_\_

▪ Apart from during election campaigns, how many staff do you usually employ?

\_\_\_\_\_ [ENTER #]