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

Questions Asked in Prominent Surveys

Below we have reproduced a variety of questions related to globalization issues that have been included in the most prominent surveys used by political economists. We have tried to perform an exhaustive search of the leading surveys that have generated data relevant to our focus on globalization, and the preferences and behaviors of firms, workers, industry associations and labor unions, and policy makers.

This catalog of questions serves at least two useful purposes here:

- the well-designed questions provide examples of the types of questions we can include in the new surveys
- the poorly-crafted questions, and the complete absence of *any* questions addressing some major issues, indicate the severe limitations of the currently available survey data

We have just collected a range of questions addressing political attitudes and behaviors that seem relevant to our discussions of the political economy of globalization. Since they are more straightforward, we have not included any examples of standard economic questions used in panel studies of individual income and employment (e.g., the *National Longitudinal Surveys* and the *Panel Study of Income Dynamics*) or from official surveys of firms and businesses that focus on production and investment (e.g. the *Annual Survey of Manufactures*). Similarly, we have not reproduced any of the standard socio-demographic questions included in almost identical form in all the leading (academically-designed) surveys.

All the questions are direct reproductions from the leading (academic-designed) surveys, referenced by letter codes (shown in Table 1 below).

TABLE 1: Prominent Surveys and Codes

| Code | Survey |
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| ACS | AUSTRALIAN CANDIDATE STUDIES, 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 2001. Survey of approximately 500 parliamentary candidates in Australian elections. Self-administered questionnaires. Focus on electoral campaigns. http://assda.anu.edu.au/studies/D1049.html |
| BCS | BRITISH CANDIDATE STUDIES, 1992 AND 1997 (BRITISH REPRESENTATION STUDY). Survey of around 1,300 parliamentary candidates in British elections. Self-administered questionnaires. Focus on election campaigns. http://www.data-archive.ac.uk/findingData/snDescription.asp?sn=3287 |
| CCFR-02 | CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS: American public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy, 2002. Two-part survey of 397 opinion leaders and 3,262 individuals in the United States. Telephone interviews in 2002. Opinion leaders include members of Congress, university officials and academics, journalists, civil servants, religious leaders, executives from Fortune 1000 companies, labor union leaders, heads of special interest groups. Focus on foreign policy. http://www.c CFR.org/globalviews2004/sub/pdf/2002_US_Report.pdf |

- CCFR-04 CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS: GLOBAL VIEWS, 2004. Two-part survey of 450 opinion leaders and 1,195 individuals in the United States. Telephone interviews (leaders) and internet poll (general public) via Knowledge Networks in 2004. Opinion leaders include members of Congress, university officials and academics, journalists, civil servants, religious leaders, executives from Fortune 1000 companies, labor union leaders, heads of special interest groups. Focus on foreign policy. <http://www.ccf.org/globalviews2004/index.htm>
- ESS THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY, 2003. The survey covers 22 European countries and some 42,000 respondents, with an average country sample of about 2,000 respondents. Face-to-face interviews and self-administered questionnaires (picked up or mailed in). Focus on politics, media, values, and immigration. <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>
- ISSP-G INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SURVEY PROGRAM: GOVERNMENT, 1996. Survey of approximately 30,000 respondents from 23 countries, including the United States, Canada, Japan, many Western and Eastern European countries, and the Philippines. In 10 countries written questionnaires were mailed to survey households; in 13 countries surveys were administered by telephone. Focus on the role of the government. http://www.gesis.org/en/data_service/issp/data/1996_Role_of_Government_III.htm
- ISSP-N INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SURVEY PROGRAM: NATIONAL IDENTITY, 1995. Survey of approximately 30,000 respondents from 23 countries, including the United States, Canada, Japan, many Western and Eastern European countries, and the Philippines. In 10 countries written questionnaires were mailed to survey households; in 13 countries surveys were administered by telephone. Focus on nationalism and national identity issues. http://www.gesis.org/en/data_service/issp/data/1995_National_Identity.htm
- ISSP-W INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SURVEY PROGRAM: WORK ORIENTATIONS, 1997. Survey of approximately 30,000 respondents from 23 countries, including the United States, Canada, Japan, many Western and Eastern European countries, and the Philippines. In 10 countries written questionnaires were mailed to survey households; in 13 countries surveys were administered by telephone. Focus on employment conditions and the workplace. http://www.gesis.org/en/data_service/issp/data/1997_Work_Orientations_II.htm
- NES NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, and 2002. National survey of approximately 1,800 individuals in the United States. Telephone and face-to-face interviews (from 2002 entirely by telephone). Focus on elections and national political issues. <http://www.umich.edu/~nes/studyres/download/nesdatacenter.htm>
- PEW THE PEW GLOBAL ATTITUDES PROJECT. Survey of 38,300 individuals in 44 nations in 2002. Telephone interviews in some nations and face-to-face interviews in others. Released November 20, 2003. <http://people-press.org/pgap/>
- TESS TIME-SHARING EXPERIMENTS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: HISCOX MODULE, 2003. Survey of 1,610 individuals in the United States in 2003. Telephone interviews. Focus on trade and related issues. <http://www.experimentcentral.org/>
- TGP THE GLOBAL POLL: MULTINATIONAL SURVEY OF OPINION LEADERS, 2002. World Bank survey of opinion leaders in 48 countries and two multilateral organizations. Leaders in high-level; positions in government, media, civil-society organizations, academia, private sector, and labor unions. Telephone and face-to-face interviews in 2002 and 2003. Focus on development issues, globalization, and role of the World Bank. <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/NEWS/Resources/globalpoll.pdf>
- TUCSC TRADE UNIONS AND THE SOCIAL CLAUSE, 2002. Survey of approximately 740

representatives of labor unions (national delegates to international conferences) from some 65 nations in 2001 and 2002. Self-administered questionnaires. Focus on linking labor standards and trade. http://www.fu-berlin.de/iira2003/papers/track_3/Plenary_Track_3_Griffin.pdf

- WBES THE WORLD BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT SURVEY, 2003. World Bank survey of over 10,000 firms in 80 countries. Face-to-face interviews with firm managers and owners in 1999 and 2000. Focuses on firm-state interactions, lobbying, corruption, and investment climate. <http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wbes/>
- WEF WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM: EXECUTIVE OPINION SURVEY, annual. Survey of approximately 7,500 business executives in 104 countries.[No details on methodology yet]. Focus on competitiveness. <http://www.weforum.org/>
- WVS WORLD VALUES SURVEY, 1981-1984, 1990-1993, and 1995-1997. The third wave of the WVS, carried out between 1995 and 1997, surveyed some 68,500 respondents from 54 countries. Telephone interviews. Focus on identity issues and values. <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>
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We have grouped the questions in a very general way according to their relevance to the topics addressed on each panel, but there is obviously plenty of overlap. In each case we have also indicated whether the questions were posed to firm owners/managers, individuals, labor union leaders, or legislators (we found no surveys of representatives of trade associations).