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.”

The Survey of Workers

The second part of the project is a survey of workers in the same cross-section of industries as the firms we have sampled. We will select a sample of 2000 individuals who are likely to be full- or part-time employees in the selected firms/industries. We will draw the sample from telephone lists in locations in which the selected firms/industries are concentrated, enabling us to “match” a large proportion of these workers with the firms in our survey. Telephone interviews will be conducted to administer the survey questionnaire.

Questions will be aimed at assessing workers’ views about key policy issues and at gathering information about their job security and benefits, employment history, skills and training, and the estimated costs associated with retraining and relocation. We will also ask for information about union representation and the information workers receive about policy issues from their unions.
Questions will ask individuals to relate preferences over trade policy with preferences over investment and immigration regulations, and elements of the welfare state (including employment protections). And the survey will ask respondents whether debates about these policies affect their participation and voting decisions in elections.

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**Telephone Interview**

**Estimated Survey Duration:** 25 minutes

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**SECTION 1: PRE-LOADED VARIABLES**

- From Sample: State
- From Sample: Census area
- From Sample: Congressional district
- From Sample: Telephone number

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**SECTION 2: SCREENING**

Hello, my name is ___________, from ___________. We are conducting an important study on behalf of the Harvard Globalization Project on topics that interest Americans and would like to include your opinions. Please let me assure you that your opinions will remain confidential and we are not trying to sell you anything.

May I please speak with the person living in your household who is 18 or older, and has the next/last birthday?

[CORRECT RESPONDENT NOT AVAILABLE]

When can he/she be reached? (INT: ENTER BEST TIME TO BE CALLED BACK)

[CORRECT RESPONDENT NOT AVAILABLE]

What is his/her name? (INT: ENTER CONTACT NAME; RECORD TELEPHONE NUMBER)

[DO NOT READ] Record Gender

- Male
- Female

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**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 2: EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

What is your employment status? Are you … [READ LIST] [SINGLE RESPONSE]
Employed full time
Employed part time
Self-employed
Not employed, but looking for work
Not employed and not looking for work
Retired
Student
Homemaker
DK/R

What is/was your occupation? [CLARIFY IF NEEDED: What kind of work do/did you do? What are/were your most important duties or activities?] _______ [ENTER OCCUPATION CODE]

What kind of business do/did you work for? [CLARIFY IF NEEDED: What kind of product does the company make or what type of service does it provide?] _______ [ENTER INDUSTRY CODE]

What is the name of the company?
________ [ENTER NAME]

How many times have you changed jobs in the last 10 years?
________ [ENTER #]

[IF >0] Have you worked for other kinds of business in that time? [CLARIFY IF NEEDED: Companies making other kinds of products]
Yes
No
DK/R

[IF YES] What other kinds of business did you work for?
________ [ENTER INDUSTRY CODE(S)]
• [IF EMPLOYED] If you lost your current job, do you think it would be very easy, somewhat easy, somewhat difficult, or very difficult for you to find a new job that you would be happy with?
  Very easy
  Somewhat easy
  Somewhat difficult
  Very difficult
  DK/R

• [IF EMPLOYED] How worried are you about losing your job in the near future: a lot, somewhat, or not much at all?
  A lot
  Somewhat
  Not much at all
  DK/R/R

• [IF EMPLOYED] Do you think that increased trade with other nations makes your own job more secure, less secure, or does it have no clear effect?
  More secure
  Less secure
  No clear effect?
  DK/R

• [IF EMPLOYED] How worried are you that your company might move some or all of its production facilities to other countries?
  Very worried
  Somewhat worried
  Not worried at all
  DK/R

• About how many hours do/did you work on your job in the average week?
  ________ [ENTER #]
  DK/R

• For your current (last) job, did you require a great deal of specialized training, some training, or very little training?
  Great deal of training
  Some training
  A little training
  DK/R

• Where did you get most of the specialized training you needed for your job? [RANDOMIZE]
  Technical or vocational school
  College or university
  Firm’s own training program
  On-the-job training

• About how many hours did you spend undergoing training for your job in the last 12 months?
  ________ [ENTER #]
  DK/R

• What proportion of the costs of this training did you have to pay for yourself?
  ________ [ENTER #]
  DK/R

4
Thinking about the training for your job in the past 12 months, to what extent could you use these new skills if you got a job at another company?
   Not at all
   In limited ways
   For the most part
   Completely
   DK/R

Would you be willing to move to another town or city if it meant you could improve your current salary by [INSERT NUMBER]? [RANDOMIZE]
   Yes
   No
   DK/R
   1 10 percent
   2 25 percent
   3 50 percent

Would you be willing to take change occupations if it meant you could improve your current salary by [INSERT NUMBER]? [RANDOMIZE]
   Yes
   No
   DK/R
   1 10 percent
   2 25 percent
   3 50 percent

[IF YES] Changing professions typically requires some new professional education or retraining. Would you be willing to take college or other types of training courses part-time for a year if it meant you could change jobs and improve your current salary by [INSERT NUMBER]? [RANDOMIZE]
   Yes
   No
   DK/R
   4 10 percent
   5 25 percent
   6 50 percent

SECTION 3: POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Some people are quite active in politics, while others prefer not to take an active part. I would like to know if, during the last three to four years, you have [INSERT]?
   Yes
   No
   DK/R
   1 Voted in a presidential election
   2 Made a contribution to support a political campaign
   3 Worked for a political party or candidate
   4 Written or spoken to a public official about some political issue or problem

[IF YES TO 4] You mentioned that you have written or spoken to an elected official about a political issue. Did any of these issues concern trade with foreign nations or outsourcing?
   Yes
   No
   DK/R
Did any of these issues concern immigration?
Yes
No
DK/R

• 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

• Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

Republican
Democrat
Independent
Other
DK/R

• What position has your local congressional Representative taken on increasing trade with other countries? Is he or she generally in favor of trade, generally opposed, or are you unsure?

In favor
Opposed
Unsure
DK/R

• Do you belong to a labor union?

Yes
No
DK/R

[IF YES] Which labor union?

_______ (ENTER NAME)

• [IF A MEMBER OF A UNION] How difficult or easy is it to have a say in the actions taken by the labor union?

Very easy
Very difficult
DK/R

• [IF A MEMBER OF A UNION] Have you written or spoken to a union representative about political issues?

Yes
No
DK/R

• [IF A MEMBER OF A UNION] What position has the union taken on increasing trade with other countries? Is it generally in favor of trade, generally opposed, or are you unsure?

In favor
Opposed
Unsure
DK/R

SECTION 4: KNOWLEDGE
* Do you happen to know what job or political office Dick Cheney now holds?  
  
  Vice President of the United States  
  Other position  
  DK/R  

* Do you happen to know which party has the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington?  
  
  Republican Party  
  Democratic Party  
  Other  

### SECTION 5: DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Next, I have some additional questions for classification purposes. We don’t mean to pry, but we need to know some things about you in order to compare your opinions with others.

* What is the last grade of school you completed? Just stop me when I get to the category that best describes you: [READ LIST]  
  
  8th grade or less  
  Some high school  
  High school graduate  
  Some college  
  College graduate  
  Postgraduate study (Masters or Doctoral degree)  
  DK/R  

* What is your marital status, are you currently married, widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never been married?  
  [SINGLE RESPONSE]  
  Married  
  Widowed  
  Divorced  
  Separated  
  Never married  
  DK/R  

* How many children under the age of 18 currently live in your household?  
  [ENTER #]  
  DK/R  

* How old are you?  
  [ENTER # in years]  
  DK/R  

* Which of the following income categories best describes your total 2005 household income?  
  
  $14,999 or less  
  $15,000 - $24,999  
  $25,000 - $34,999  
  $35,000 - $49,999  
  $50,000 - $74,999  
  $75,000 - $99,999  
  $100,000 - $124,999
$125,000 - $149,999
$150,000 - $199,999
$200,000 - $249,999
$250,000 or more
DK/R

- Do you consider yourself White, Black or African American, Asian or Pacific Islander, Native American or Alaskan native, or some other race?
  - White
  - Black
  - African American
  - Asian or Pacific Islander
  - Native American or Alaskan native
  - Some other race
  - DK/R

- Were both your parents born in this country?
  - Yes
  - No
  - DK/R

- Were you born here in the United States?
  - Yes
  - No
  - DK/R

- Are you a citizen of the United States?
  - Yes
  - No
  - DK/R