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

Survey Questionnaire Templates – Associations/Unions

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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.”

The Survey of Trade Associations and Labor Unions

The third part of the project is a survey of officials of trade associations and labor unions representing firms and workers in *the same cross-section of industries* we sample in each nation. We will select approximately 30 individual industry associations and unions in each country, focusing on those organizations with memberships that include the largest proportions of selected firms and workers in our survey. In-depth telephone interviews will be conducted (by participating scholars and RAs) with the highest-ranking officials from these organizations that are willing to participate in the survey. The initial survey questionnaire will be administered by telephone. This will be followed with a self-administered questionnaire, mailed to respondents shortly after the conclusion of each telephone interview.

Here the focus of the survey questions will be on assessing the policy positions taken by these groups in debates over trade and other policy issues, the mechanisms by which these groups aggregate the preferences of their member firms and workers, and how they deal with conflicting opinions within their memberships. We are particularly interested in learning whether consolidation among labor unions across industry lines has posed significant problems for union leaders in terms of aggregating the preferences of members. Questions will be aimed at gathering data on the political activities undertaken by these groups when attempting to influence government policies, including how often they communicate with legislators about different policy issues, and whether (and how) they coordinate actions through “peak” associations and political parties. One line of questions will ask whether labor unions have cooperated with employers to lobby jointly to affect policy in any issue areas. The survey will also ask officials of these organizations about the types of information they supply to their members about the policy issues and the political process.

Telephone Interview

Estimated Survey Duration:

20 minutes

SECTION 1: PRE-LOADED VARIABLES

From Sample: Organization name
From Sample: Industry name (s)
From Sample: SIC 4-digit code (s)
From Sample: Telephone number
From Sample: Name

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 NO name, say:] the most senior officer in your organization who would be involved with international business and policy issues?

[IF CONNECTED, JUMP INTRO]

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

[IF NAME NO LONGER WITH ORGANIZATION, ASK TO SPEAK WITH REPLACEMENT]

[IF REFUSAL] I realize that [you are/**(name from sample)** is] very busy. Could you please refer me to a high-level person in your organization who would be involved with international business and policy issues who could help us with the study?

[IF YES, RECORD NAME AND TELEPHONE NUMBER] If you have access to the letter from Harvard University, perhaps you could pass it along to this person so that they know a little bit about the nature of our study. Thank you for your help, and have a nice (day/afternoon). [CALL NEW NUMBER AND RESET]

[INTRODUCTION: When qualified respondent is reached, continue:] Hello, my name is _____, and I am with the Harvard Globalization Project. Recently, we sent you/**(organization name from sample)** 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 important role **[organization name from sample]** plays in the American **[industry name(s) from sample]** industry(ies). 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]

Before we begin, I would like you to know that all respondents remain anonymous and the answers you give to any of the questions will be held in strict confidence. The general results of the study, compiling data for all the organizations contacted across a range of industries, will be sent to each participant. But no individuals or organizations will be identified without their formal permission.

[DO NOT READ] Record Gender

Male
Female

SECTION 3: POLICY

▪ Has the organization generally favored or opposed policies aimed at increasing trade with other nations? (BASE)

Favored
Opposed
DK/R

▪ Has the organization generally favored or opposed placing more restrictions on investment in the United States by foreign firms that establish manufacturing facilities here? (BASE)

Favored
Opposed
DK/R

▪ Has the organization generally favored or opposed placing more restrictions on immigration into the United States? (BASE)

Favored
Opposed
DK/R

▪ How much of a competitive threat do members of your organization face from foreign imports?

A large threat
A small threat
No threat at all
DK/R

▪ How much of a threat are foreign firms producing in the American market?

A large threat
A small threat
No threat at all
DK/R

▪ Do you think that increased trade with other nations generally helps or hurts members of your organization, or does it have no clear effect?

Helps
Hurts
No clear effect

DK/R

SECTION 4: MEMBERSHIP

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

In favor
Opposed
Evenly divided
Unsure
DK/R

▪ Which types of members are generally the strongest supporters of policies aimed at increasing trade with other nations?

_____ [ENTER]

▪ Which types of members are generally the strongest opponents of policies aimed at increasing trade with other nations?

_____ [ENTER]

SECTION 5: LOBBYING AND LEGISLATION

▪ What percentage of staff time is spent dealing with government officials?

_____ [ENTER #]

▪ How much influence does your organization have when a new law or regulation is being discussed by [INSERT ATTRIBUTE]:

A great deal of influence
Some influence
Not much influence
No influence
DK/R

1 The White House
2 Congress
3 Federal agencies

▪ In terms of its efforts to have a say about new laws and regulations, how important for the organization are the following types of political activities [INSERT]?

Very important
Somewhat important
Not important
DK/R

1 Making contributions to support an individual political campaign
2 Making contributions to support a political party
3 Contacting members of Congress directly about a political issue or problem

[IF YES TO 3] You mentioned that your organization has contacted members of Congress 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

Mailed Self-Administered Questionnaire

- Approximately how many firms/workers are members or the association/union [MATCH TYPE]?

- Has membership increased, decreased, or remained about the same over the last 12 months?

Increased
Decreased
Remained about the same