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

### **Questions Asked in Prominent Surveys**

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#### **Panel #2: Distributional Effects of Globalization**

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##### **FIRMS:**

- (WBES) How problematic are the following regulations for the operation and growth of your business?

No obstacle

Minor obstacle

Moderate obstacle

Major obstacle

- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Customs/foreign trade regulations |
| 2 | Labor regulations                 |
| 3 | Foreign currency regulations      |
| 4 | Environmental regulations         |
| 5 | Tax regulations                   |
| 6 | High taxes                        |

- (WBES) How serious are the following practices of competitors for your firm?

No obstacle

Minor obstacle

Moderate obstacle

Major obstacle

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | Avoid trade duties or regulations                 |
| 2 | Foreign producers sell below international prices |
| 3 | Domestic producers unfairly sell below my prices  |
| 4 | Violate my copyrights                             |
| 5 | Receive subsidies from national/local government  |

- (WBES) From which of the following does your company face the greatest competitive threat?

Domestic small and medium sized enterprise

Domestic large private enterprise

Foreign firm producing in the domestic market

State-owned enterprise

Legal imports

Smuggled goods

No effective competitors

##### **INDIVIDUALS:**

- (CCFR-04) Do you believe that globalization, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for the United States?

Mostly good  
Mostly bad

- (CCFR-02) Overall, do you think globalization is good or bad for [INSERT ATTRIBUTE]?  
[RANDOMIZE]

Good  
Bad

- 1 The American economy
- 2 American companies
- 3 Consumers
- 4 Providing jobs and strengthening the economy in poor countries
- 5 Creating jobs in America
- 6 The environment
- 7 Job security for American workers
- 8 Maintaining cultural diversity in the world
- 9 Democracy and human rights abroad
- 10 Your own standard of living

- (CCFR-02) Overall, with regard to further globalization, do you think that it should be a goal of the U.S. to try to actively promote it, simply allow it to continue, try to slow it down, or try to stop or reverse it?

Actively promote it  
Allow it to continue  
Try to slow it down  
Try to stop or reverse it

- (PEW) What do you think about the growing trade and business ties between [survey country] and other countries – do you think it is a very good thing, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or a very bad thing for our country?

Very good  
Somewhat good  
Somewhat bad  
Very bad

- (PEW) What about the way movies, TV, and music from different parts of the world are now available in [survey country] – do you think this is a very good thing, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or a very bad thing for our country?

Very good  
Somewhat good  
Somewhat bad  
Very bad

- (PEW) And what about the different products that are now available from different parts of the world – do you think this is a very good thing, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or a very bad thing for our country?

Very good  
Somewhat good  
Somewhat bad  
Very bad

- (PEW) All in all, how do you feel about the world becoming more connected through greater trade and faster communication – do you think it is a very good thing, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or a very bad thing for our country?

Very good  
Somewhat good  
Somewhat bad  
Very bad

- (PEW) There has been a lot of talk about globalization these days. Do you think that globalization is a very good thing, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or a very bad thing for our country?
  - Very good
  - Somewhat good
  - Somewhat bad
  - Very bad
- (CCFR-04) Which of the following three positions comes closest to your point of view about lowering trade barriers such as tariffs?
  - 1 I favor agreements to lower trade barriers provided the government has programs to help workers who lose their jobs
  - 2 I favor agreements to lower trade barriers, but I oppose government programs to help workers who lose their jobs
  - 3 I oppose agreements to lower trade barriers
- (NES) Some people have suggested placing new limits on imports in order to protect American jobs. Others say that such limits would raise consumer prices and hurt American exports. Do you favor or oppose new limits on imports?
  - Favor
  - Oppose
- (ISSP-N) How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: [respondent's country] should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy.
  - Agree strongly
  - Agree
  - Neither agree nor disagree
  - Disagree
  - Disagree strongly
- (WVS) Do you think it is better if:
  - Goods made in other countries can be imported and sold here if people want to buy them
  - There should be stricter limits on selling foreign goods here, to protect the jobs of people in this country
- (WVS) How about people from other countries coming here to work? Which one of the following do you think the government should do:
  - Let anyone come who wants to
  - Let people come as long as there are jobs available
  - Place strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come here
  - Prohibit people coming here from other countries
- (CCFR-04/NES) Should legal immigration into the United States be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased?
  - Kept at present level
  - Increased
  - Decreased
- (TESS) The government can provide financial assistance to workers who lose their jobs because of increased trade with other nations so that these workers can get new training and find new jobs. Do you favor or oppose this type of assistance?
  - Favor
  - Oppose
- (ESS/ISSP-N) There are different opinions about immigrants from other countries living in America. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
  - Strongly agree

Mostly agree  
Neither  
Mostly disagree  
Strongly disagree

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | Immigrants increase crime rates                                |
| 2 | Immigrants are generally good for America's economy            |
| 3 | Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in America |
| 4 | Immigrants make American more open to new ideas and cultures   |

- (ESS) Please tell me how important you think each of these things should be in deciding whether someone from outside [country] should be able to come and live here.

Extremely important  
Important  
Unimportant  
Extremely unimportant

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | Have good educational qualifications           |
| 2 | Have close family living here                  |
| 3 | Be able to speak [country's official language] |
| 4 | Have work skills that [country] needs          |
| 5 | Be wealthy                                     |
| 6 | Be white                                       |
| 7 | Come from a Christian background               |
| 8 | Be committed to the way of life in [country]   |

- (ESS) Most people who come to live here work and pay taxes. They also use health and welfare services. On balance, do you think people who come here take out more than they put in or put in more than they take out?

Generally take out more  
Generally put in more

- (ESS) To what extent do you think [country] should allow people from [INSERT ATTRIBUTE] to come and live here?

Allow many to come  
Allow some  
Allow a few  
Allow none

- |   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1 | Richer countries in Europe      |
| 2 | Poorer countries in Europe      |
| 3 | Richer countries outside Europe |
| 4 | Poorer countries outside Europe |

- (ISSP-W) 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

- (ESS) How difficult or easy would it be for you:

Extremely difficult  
Extremely easy

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | To get a similar or better job with another employer if you wanted to |
| 2 | To start your own business if you wanted to                           |

- (NES) 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

- (TESS) 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

- (TESS) Do you feel it took a great deal of training, some training, or a little training to learn the specialized skills for your current/last job?

Great deal of training  
Some training  
A little training

### **LABOR UNION LEADERS:**

- (TUSC) We would like to know how strongly do you support the incorporation of core labor standards into international trade agreements. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means weak support and 5 means strong support?

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

- (TUSC) Where would you place the views of your union's members on this same scale?

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

- (TUSC) And where would you place the views of the employers you deal with?

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

- (TUSC) There are several ways in which compliance with core labor standards might be enforced. On a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means weak support and 5 means strong support, how strongly would you say you support [INSERT]

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

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | Strengthening the ILO complaints system                   |
| 2 | Increasing "on-the-ground" monitoring by the ILO          |
| 3 | Making ILO aid conditional upon compliance                |
| 4 | Eliminating tariff preferences in cases of non-compliance |
| 5 | Denying market access to an incriminating product         |
| 6 | Reducing development aid in cases of non-compliance       |

- (TUSC) Some people contend that incorporating core labor standards into international trade agreements is really only a form of protectionism by "western" countries. On a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means weak support and 5 means strong support, how strongly would you say you agree with this view?

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

### **LEGISLATORS:**

- (TGP) Do you think that globalization is very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad for our country?

Very good  
Somewhat good  
Somewhat bad

Very bad

- (TGP) Is this change very good for our country, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad for our country:

Very good

Somewhat good

Somewhat bad

Very bad

- 1 The increased exchange of ideas and information between people of our country and people in other countries
- 2 The greater opening of our markets, trade and business with other countries
- 3 The greater availability of movies, TV, and music from different parts of the world here in our country
- 4 The greater availability of products and goods from different parts of the world in our country
- 5 The establishment of foreign businesses and manufacturing companies that sell products in our country

- (CCFR-02) I am going to read you a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please tell me if you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all.

Critical threat

Important but not critical

Not important

- 1 Economic competition from Japan
- 2 Economic competition from Europe
- 3 The development of China as a world power
- 4 Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the U.S.
- 5 Economic competition from low-wage countries
- 6 Financial crises in other countries
- 7 Globalization

- (CCFR-02) I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please say whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important goal, or not an important goal at all.

Very important

Somewhat important

Not important

- 1 Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries
- 2 Protecting the jobs of American workers
- 3 Promoting market economies abroad
- 4 Controlling and reducing illegal immigration
- 5 Helping to improve the standard of living of less developed nations
- 6 Improving the global environment
- 7 Safeguarding against global financial instability
- 8 Protecting the interests of American business abroad
- 9 Strengthening international law and institutions

- (ACS) The number of migrants allowed into Australia at the present time:

Has gone much too far

Has gone too far

Is about right

Has not gone far enough

Has not gone nearly far enough

- (ACS) Do you think the number of immigrants allowed into Australia nowadays should be increased or reduced?

Increased a lot  
Increased  
Stay about the same  
Reduced  
Reduced a lot

- (ACS) Do you think the government should accept more or less of the following groups of migrants?

A lot more  
Some more  
Stay about the same  
Some less  
A lot less

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | Migrants who have relatives in Australia           |
| 2 | Migrants who are well educated                     |
| 3 | Migrants who are Asian                             |
| 4 | Migrants who have skilled trade                    |
| 5 | Migrants who could be useful to this country       |
| 6 | Migrants who are British                           |
| 7 | Migrants who do the work no Australian wants to do |
| 8 | Migrants from the Middle East                      |