



PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC CONSULTATION
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

Americans on Globalization and Trade

*Updated November 2018
with additional polling data from other sources*

Methodology

Probability-based, representative sample of Americans recruited and fielded by **Nielsen-Scarborough**

Recruited by phone and mail from a random sample of households. The survey itself was conducted online.

Fielding Dates: Dec. 6-21, 2016 and Aug. 28-Sept. 7, 2017

Sample: Wave 1, 2016 – 1633 respondents; MoE: 2.4%
Wave 2, 2017 – 2745 respondents; MoE: 1.9%

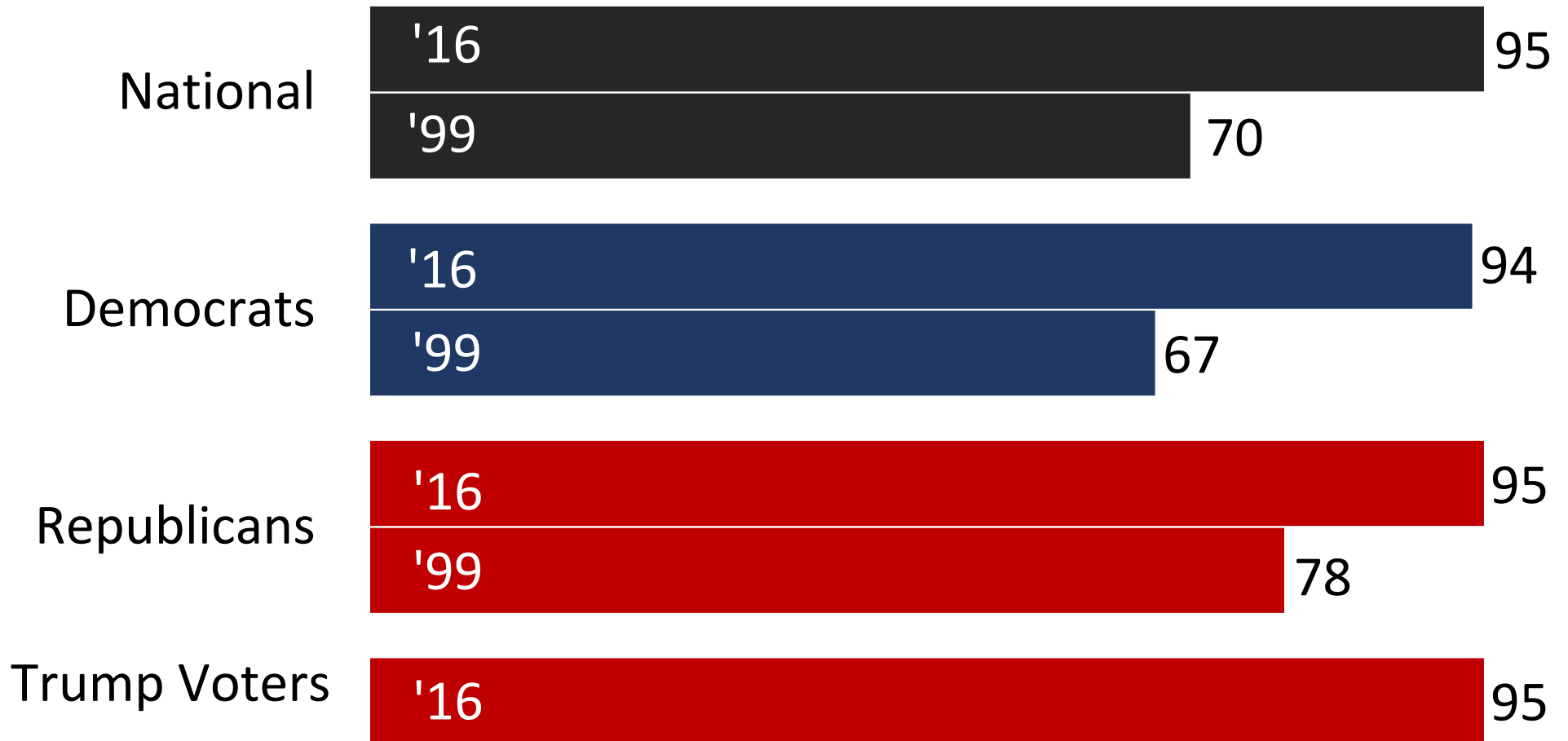
Weighting: Responses weighted by age, income, gender, education, race, partisan affiliation and geographic region. Benchmarks obtained from US Census' Current Population Survey.

- * Some questions were half sampled, so that only about 816 respondents received the question for a margin of error of 3.4%
- ** Some questions were half sampled, so that only about 1370 respondents received the question for a margin of error of 2.6%

Globalization

**Growing awareness of
globalization as a concept,
now nearly universal**

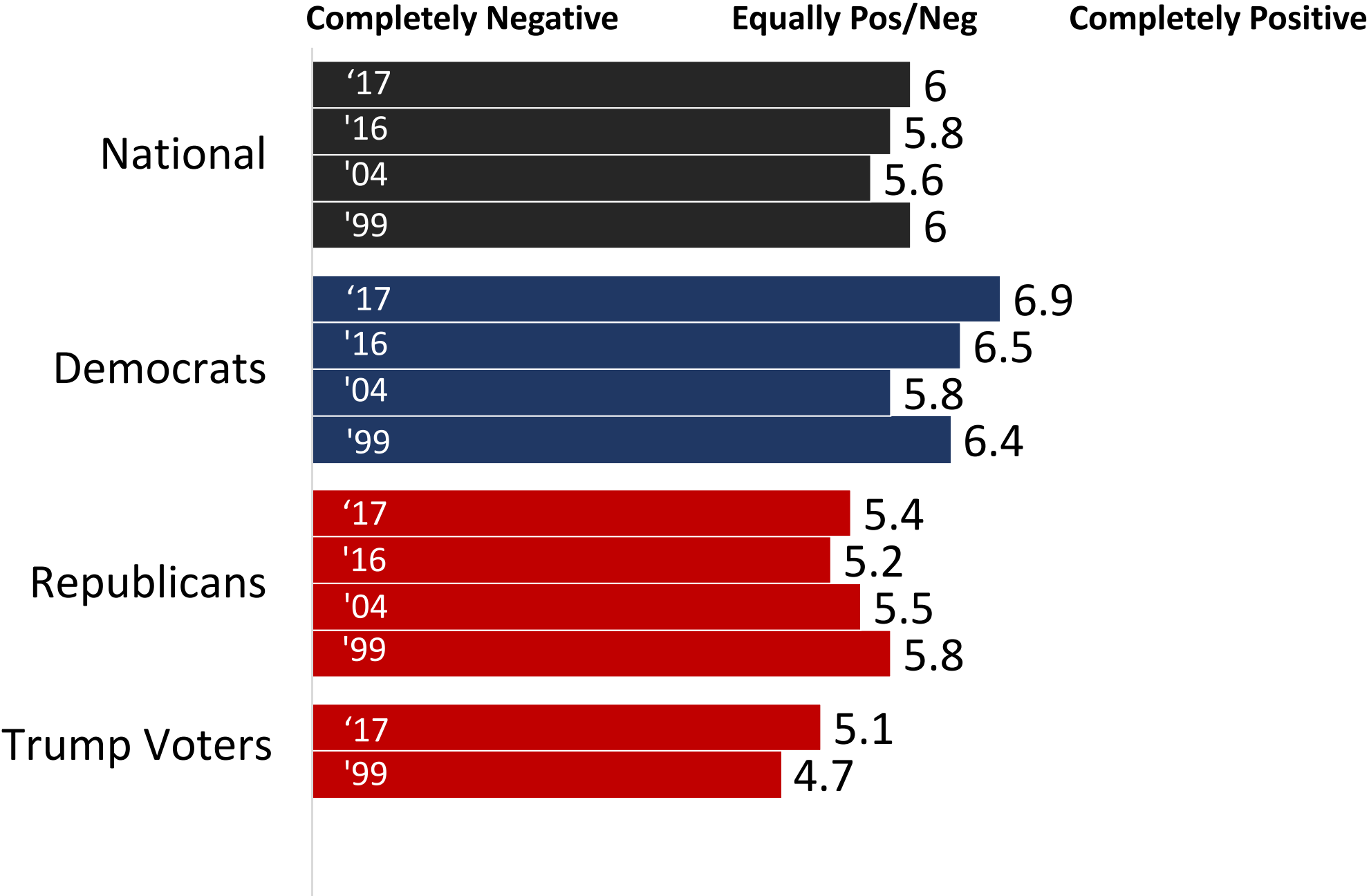
Have heard the term “globalization” before



Views of Globalization

- Overall, continue to lean positive
- Among Republicans neutral
- Trump voter leans slightly negative

Evaluation of Globalization - Overall

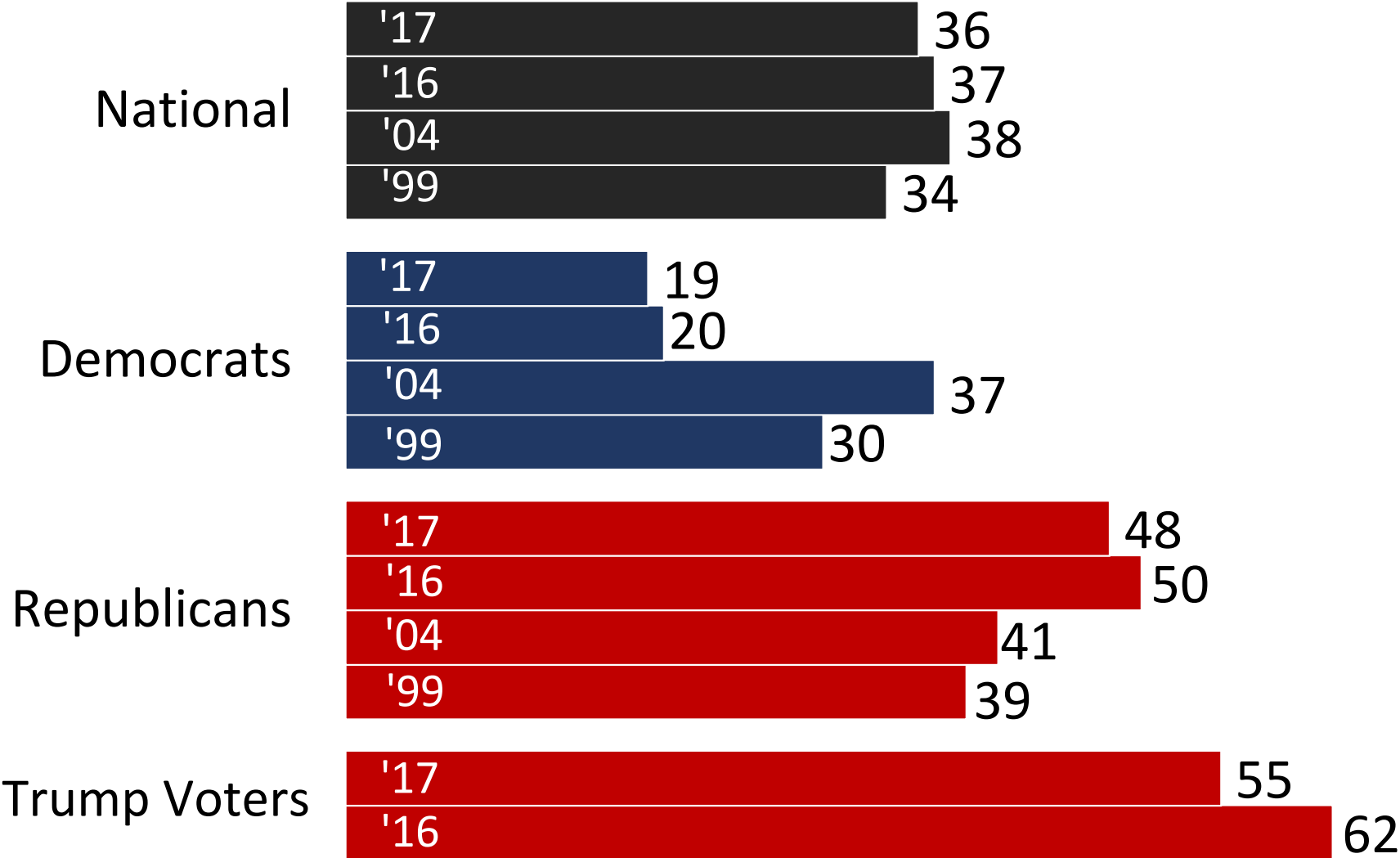


Favor Slowing or Stopping Globalization

- Still a minority position
- Declining and now very low among Dems
- But rising to half among Republicans
- More than six in ten among Trump voters

Overall, with regard to further globalization, do you think that it should be a goal of the US to:

Slow It Down/Reverse It

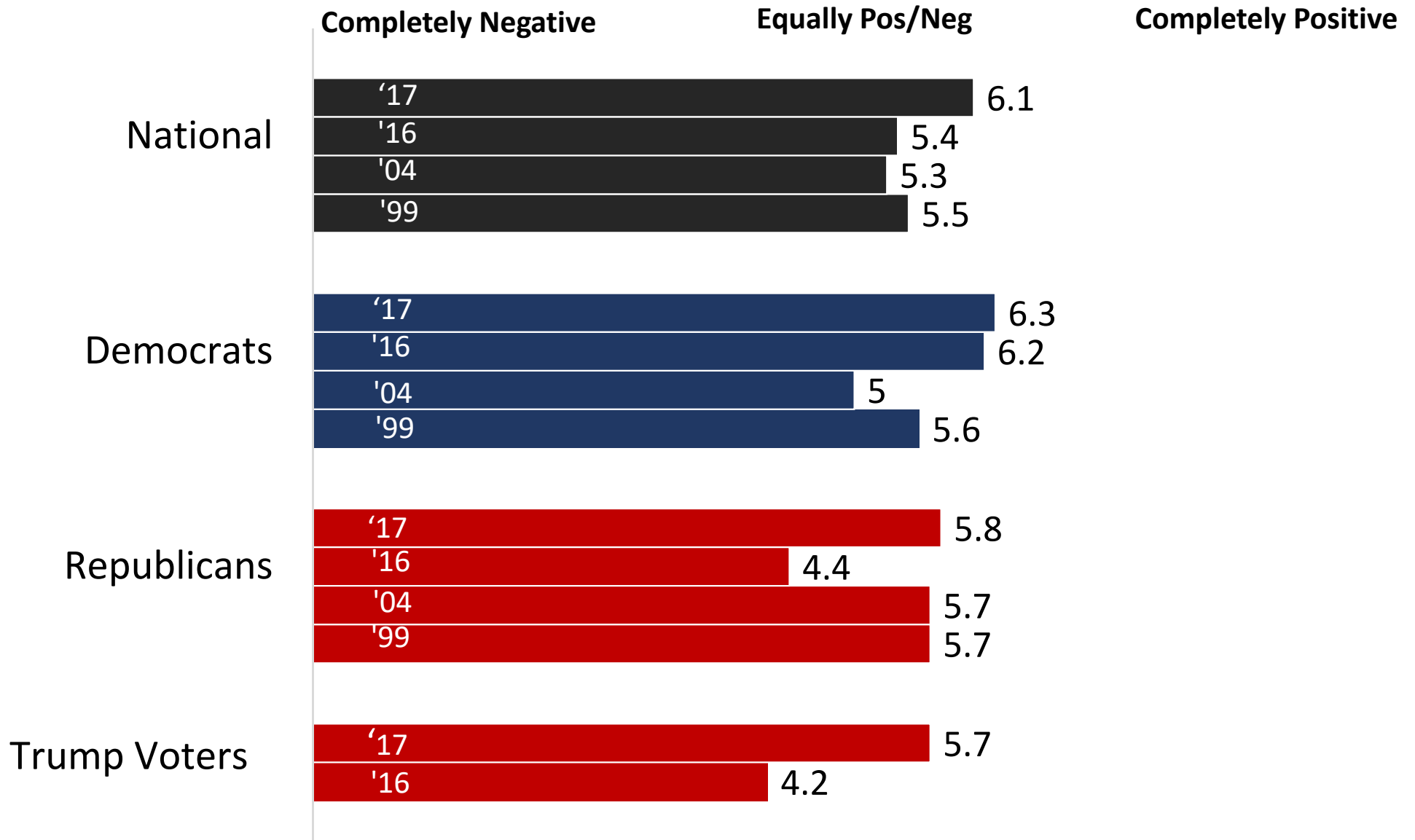


International Trade

Views of International Trade Per Se

- Still lean slightly positive, though less than for globalization

As you may know, international trade has increased substantially in recent years. How positive do you think the growth of international trade is, overall?

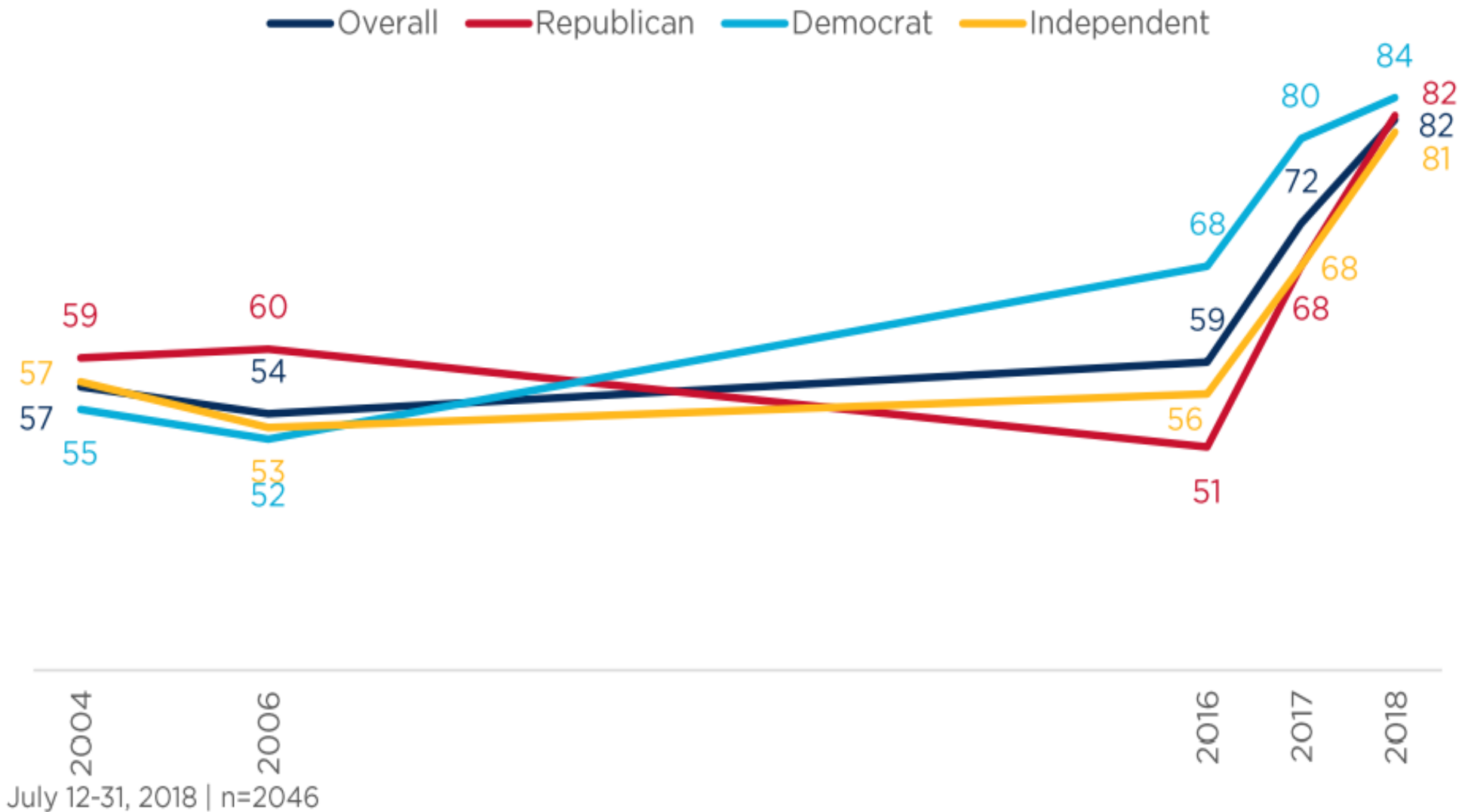


Views of International Trade Per Se

- More recently growing positive attitude
- Possibly as a reaction to Trump's potential trade war

International Trade and the U.S. Economy

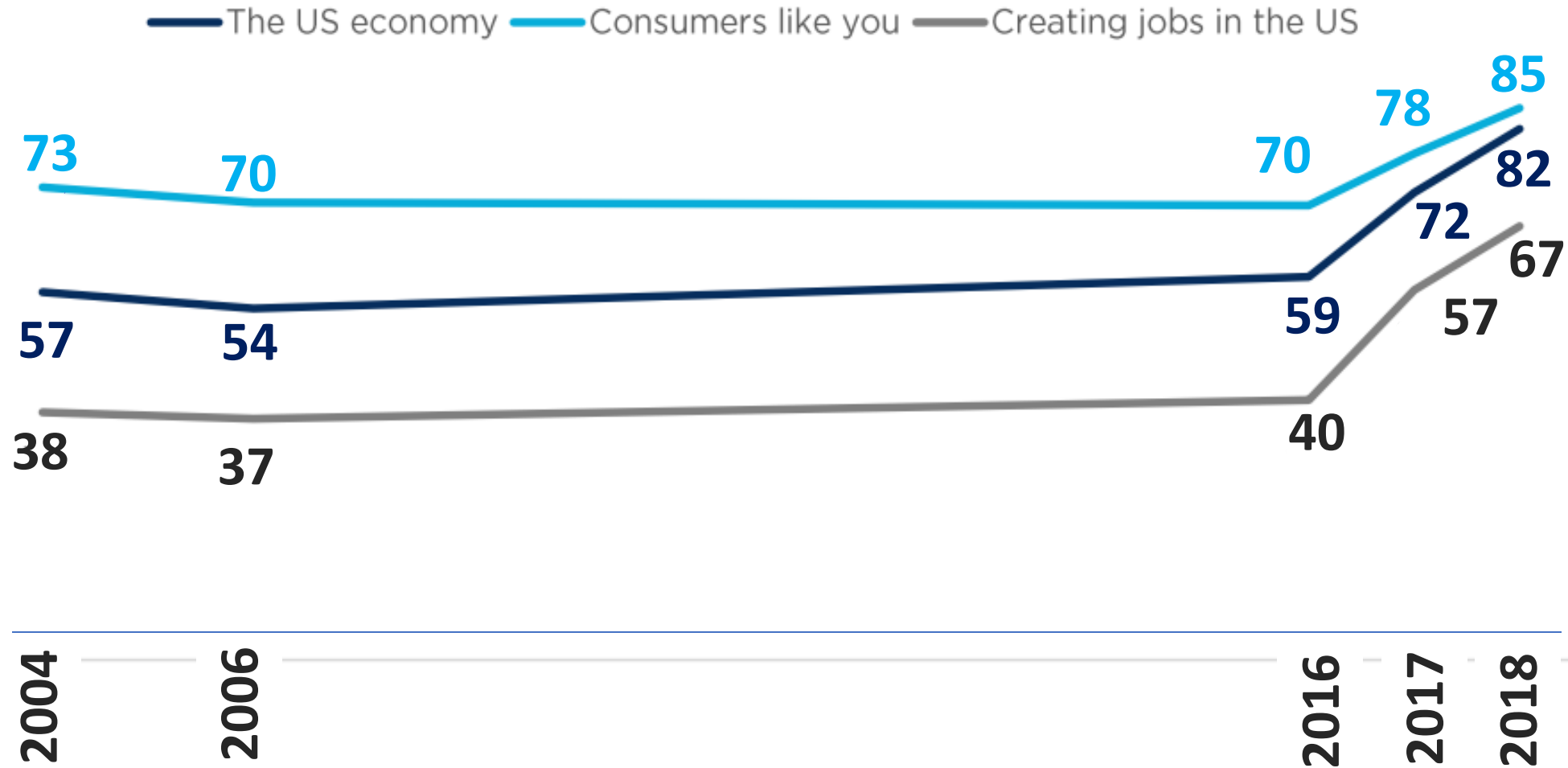
Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for the US economy? (% good)



Source: The Chicago Council on Global Affairs

International Trade

Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for: (% good)



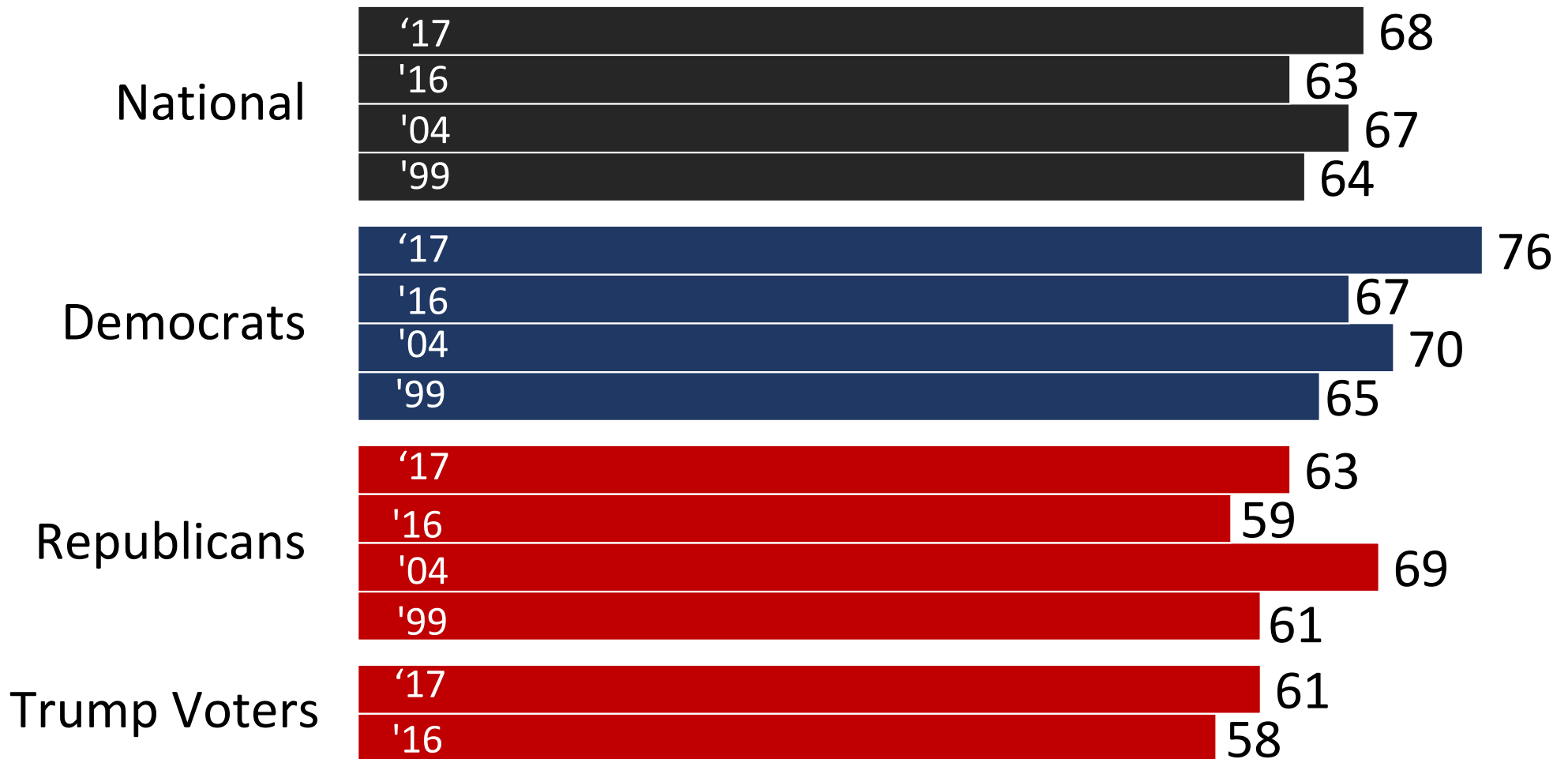
July 12-31, 2018 | n=2046

Strongest Source of Support for International Trade:

- Principle of Reciprocal
- Removal of Trade Barriers

In general, if another country is willing to lower its barriers to products from the US if we will lower our barriers to their products, should the US agree or not agree to this?

Should Agree

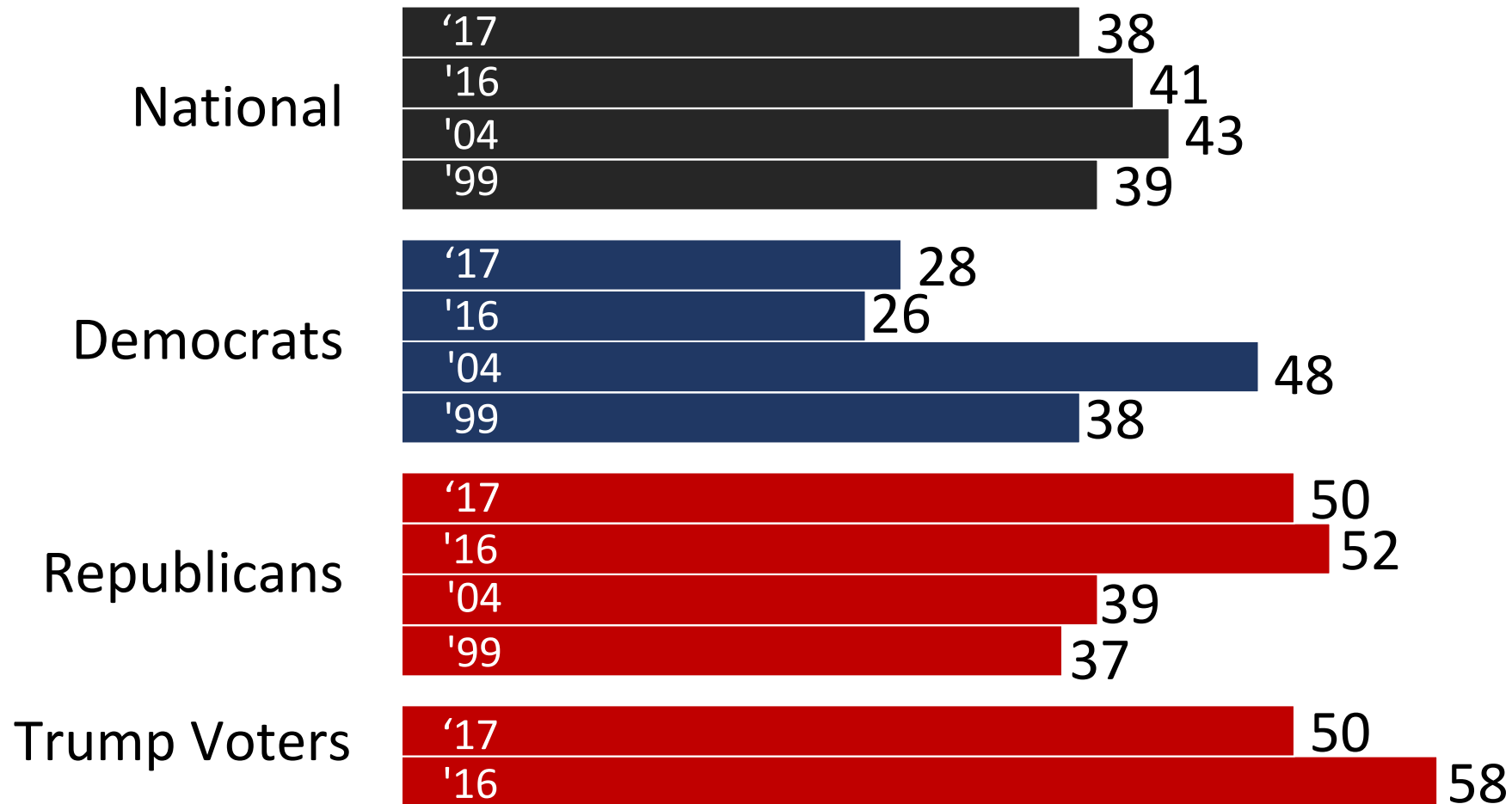


What Should Be Done About Trade?

- Increasing partisan division
- Slight majority of Republicans now favor slowing growth of trade, six in ten Trump supporters
- Only one in four Democrats

Overall, with regard to international trade, what do you think should be a goal of the US?

Slow It Down/Reverse It

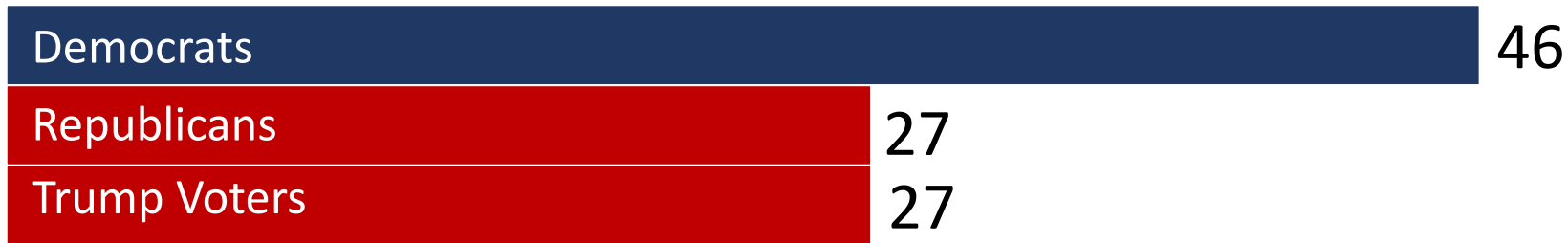


General Approach to Trade Barriers

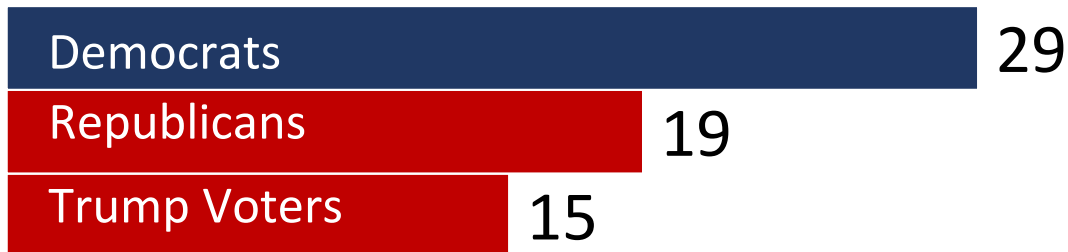
Keep up trade barriers.



Lower barriers gradually.



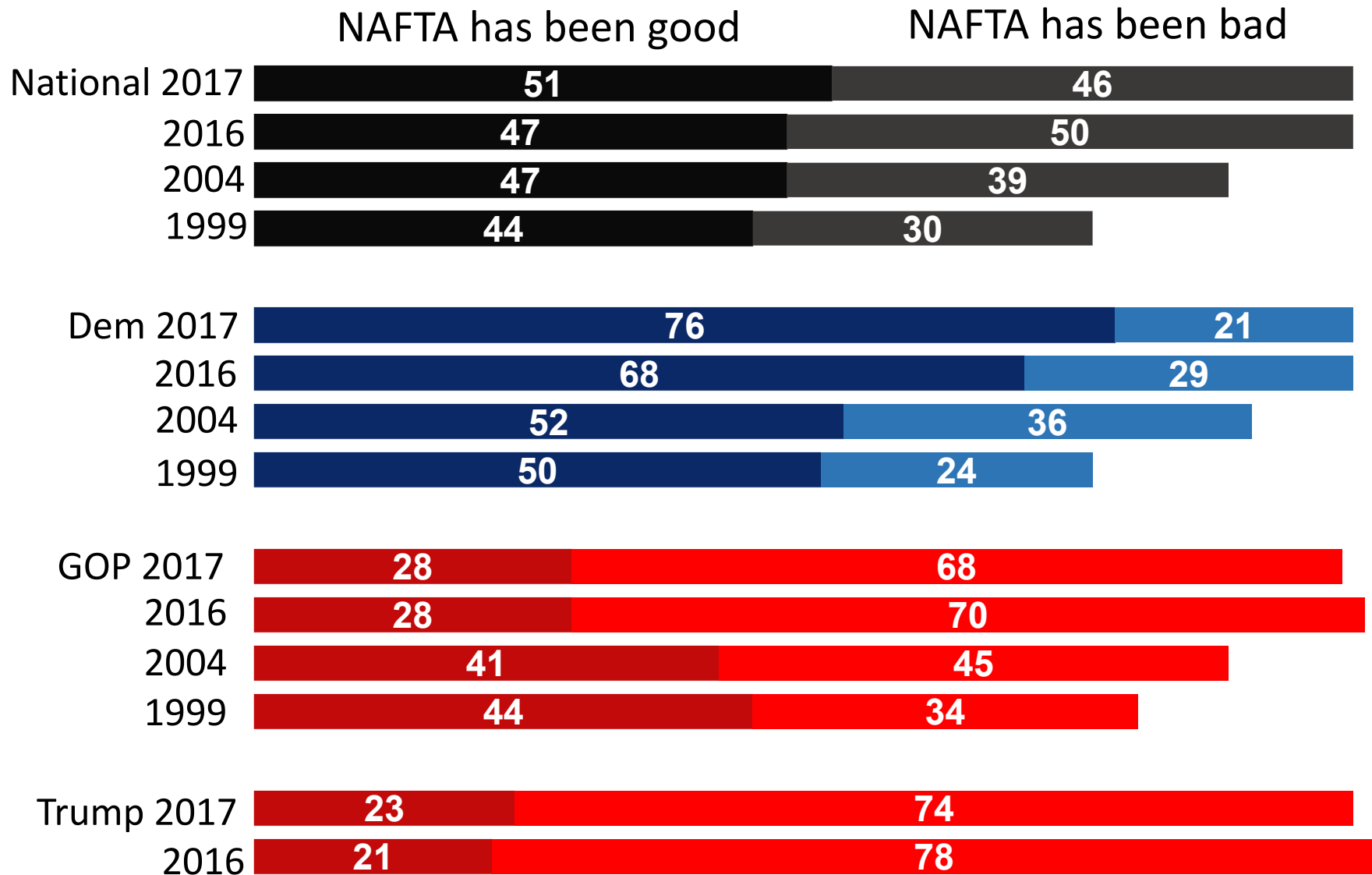
Remove trade barriers now.



NAFTA

- Sharply growing partisan division
- Seven in ten Republicans see as negative
- Seven in ten Democrats see as positive

Do you think the North American Free Trade Agreement, NAFTA, has been good or bad for the United States?

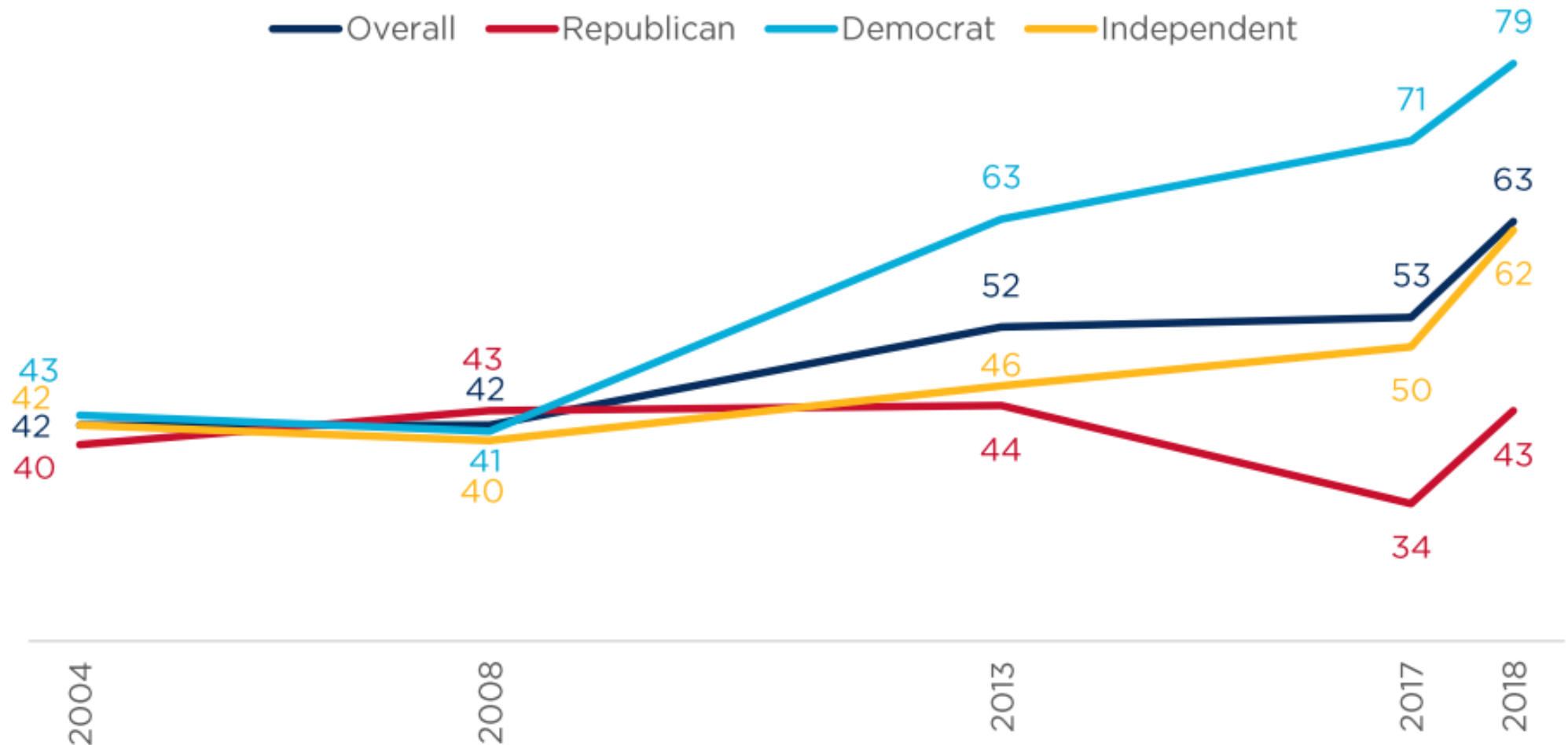


NAFTA

- But newer data show warming even among Republicans

NAFTA

Overall, do you think the North American Free Trade Agreement, also known as NAFTA, is good or bad for the US economy? (% good)



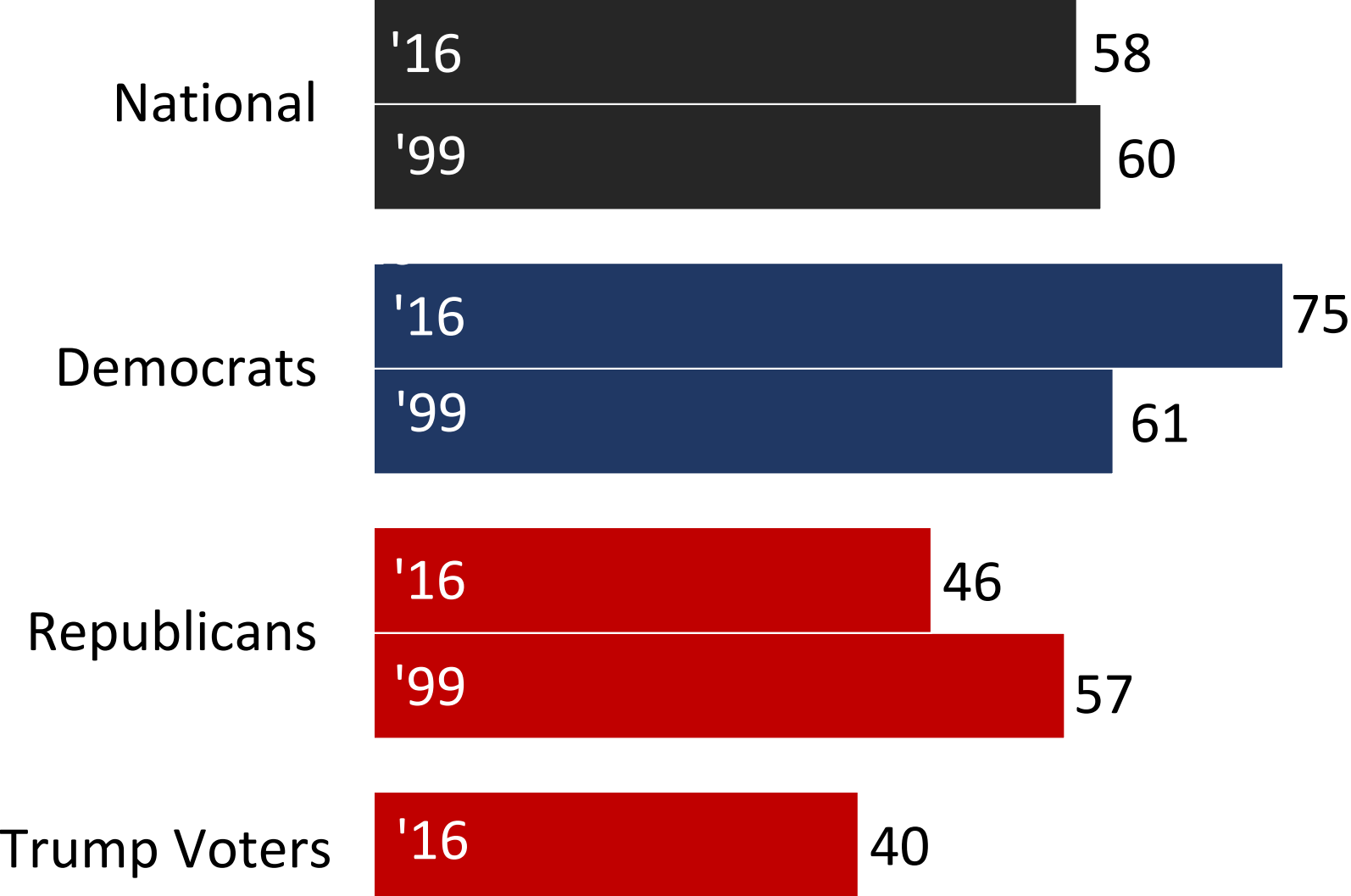
July 12-31, 2018 | n=2046

Source: The Chicago Council on Global Affairs

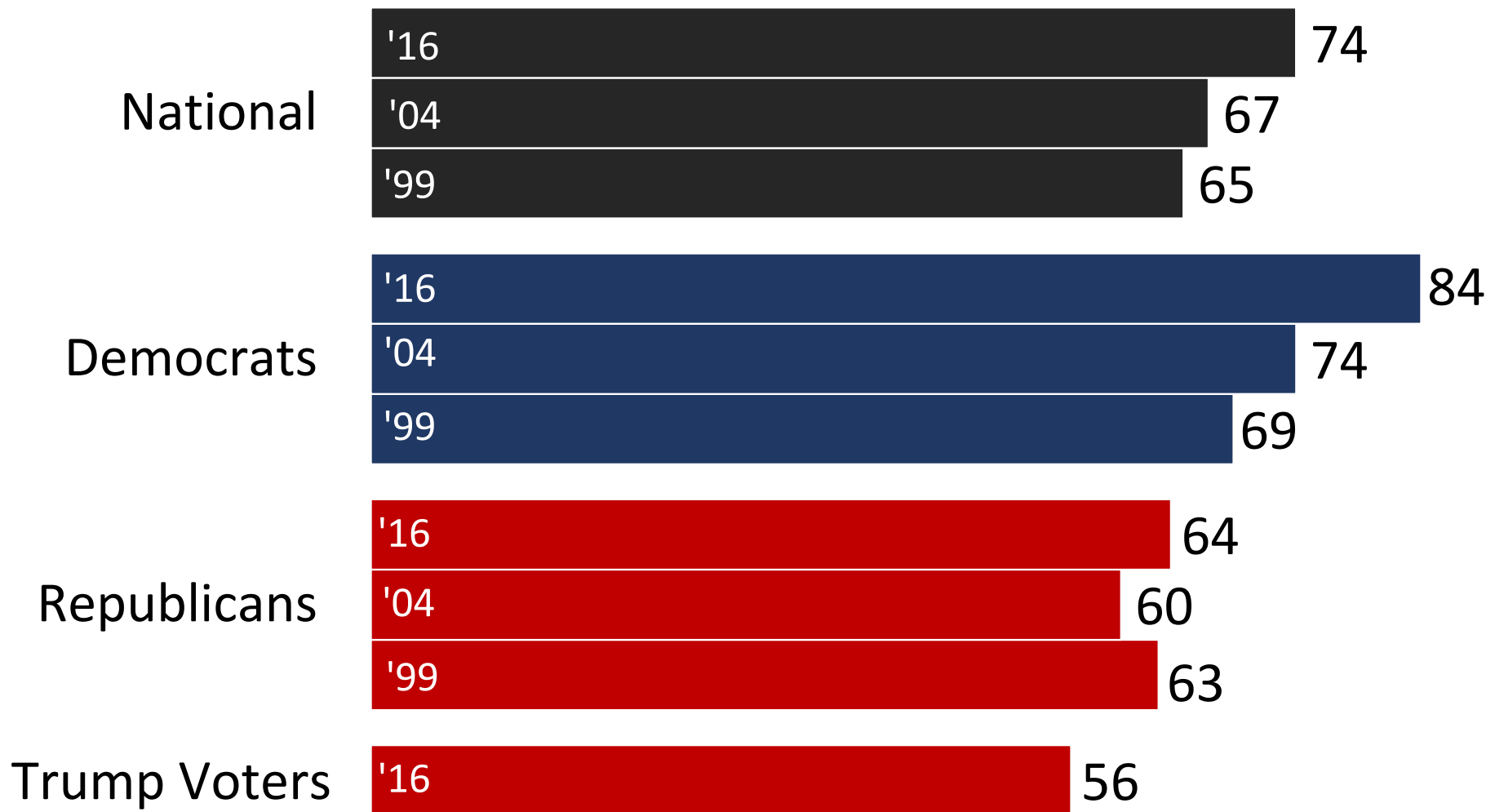
US Participation in International Trade Regime

- Growing partisan division

Support for Strengthening the WTO



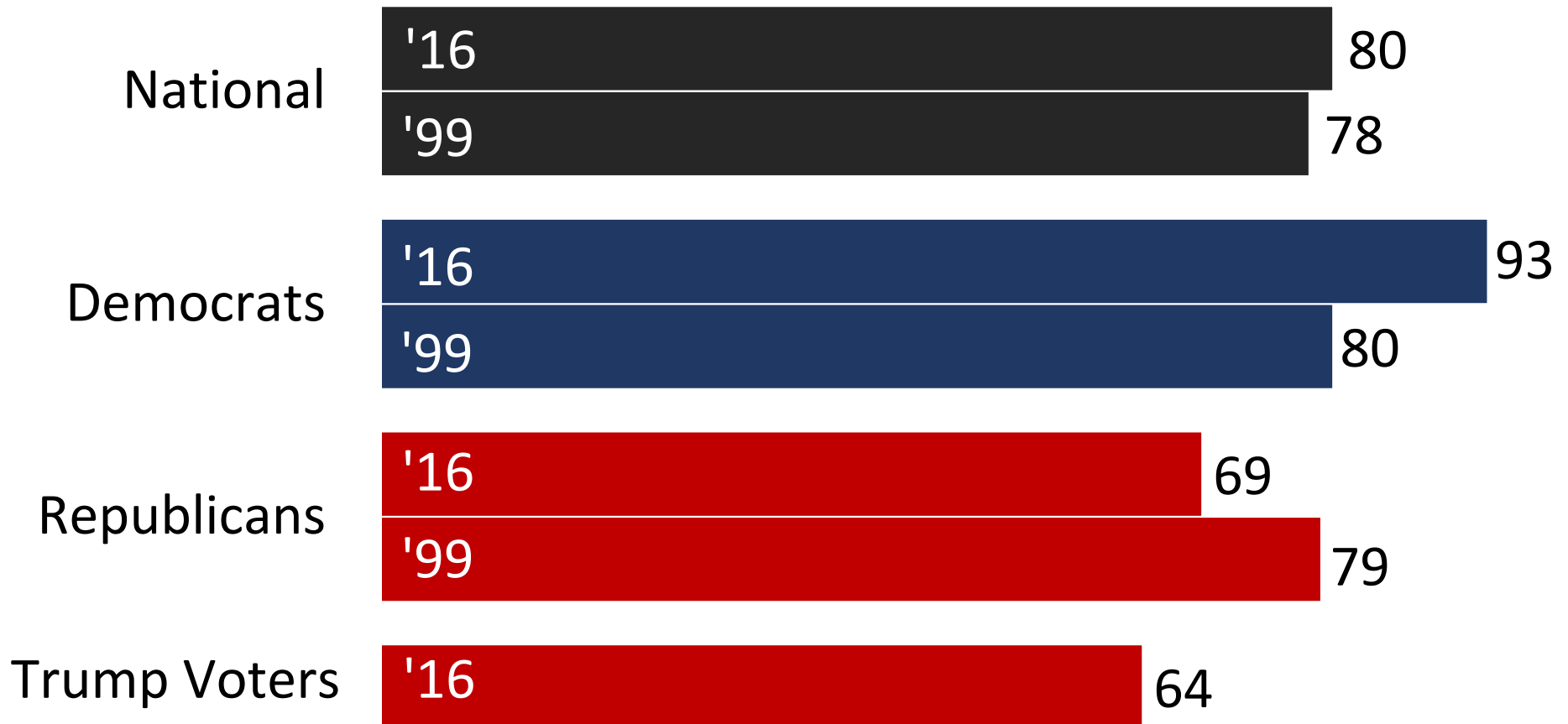
The World Trade Organization was established to rule on disputes over trade treaties. If another country files a complaint with the World Trade Organization and it rules against the US, as a general rule, the US should comply with that decision.



Argument in Favor US Participation in Promoting International Order

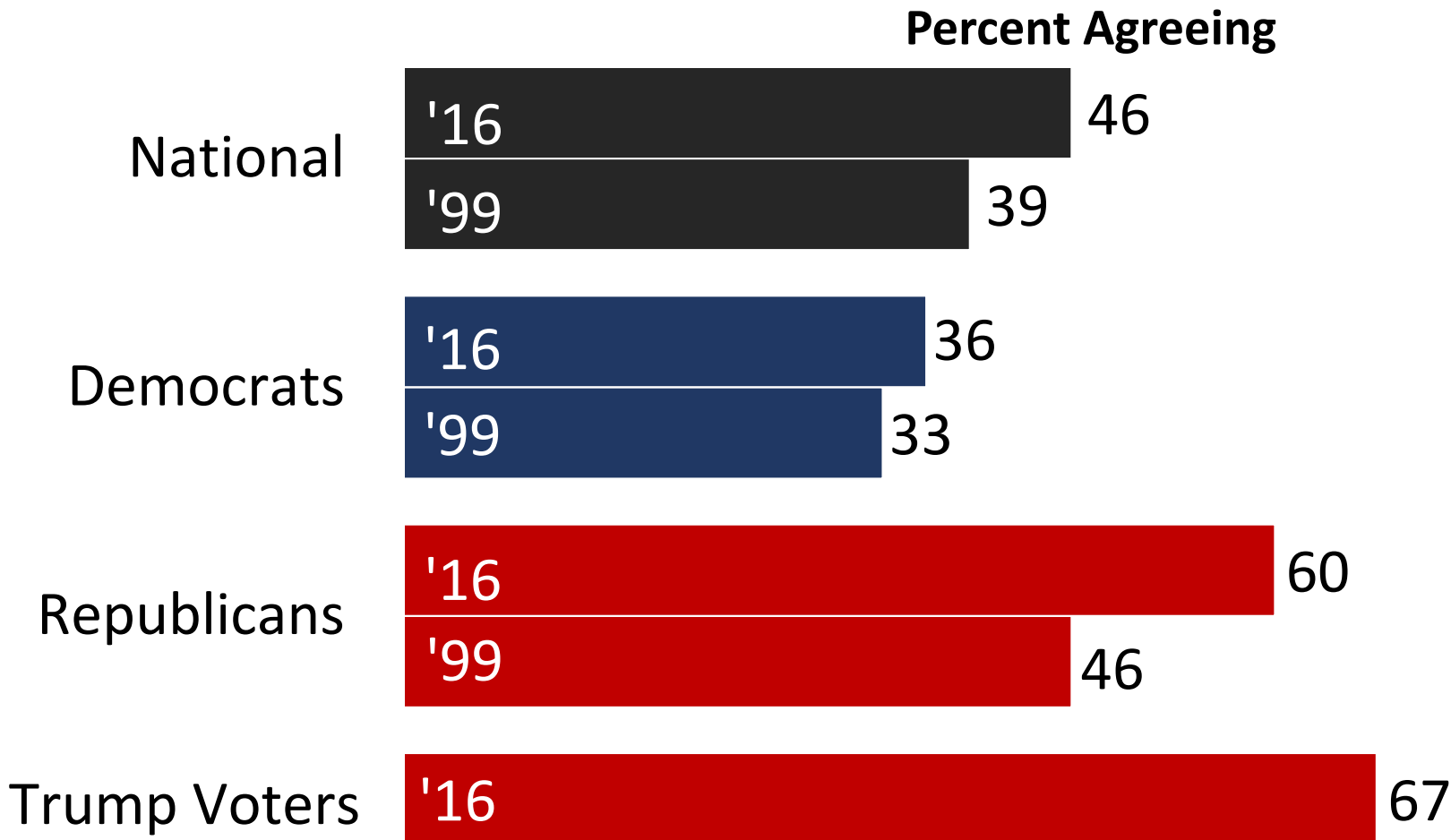
Because the world is so interconnected today, the US should participate in efforts to maintain peace, protect human rights, and promote economic development. Such efforts serve U.S. interests because they help to create a more stable world that is less apt to have wars and is better for the growth of trade and other U.S. goals.

Percent Agreeing



Argument Against US Participation in Promoting International Order

It is nice to think that joining in international efforts makes a more stable world. But in fact, the world is so big and complex that such efforts only make a minimal difference with little benefit to the US. Therefore, it is not really in the US interest to participate in them.

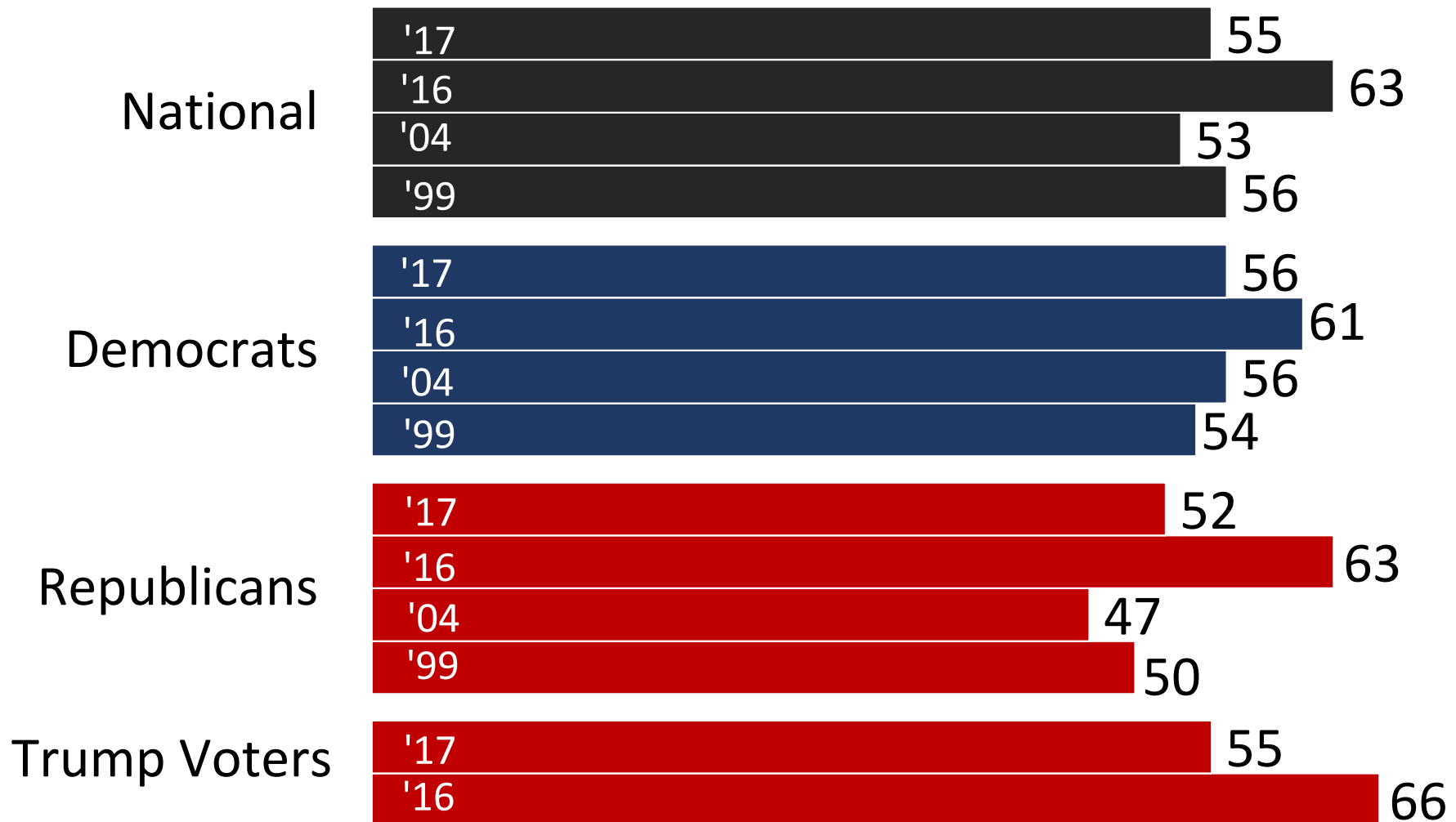


**What are the roots of
negativity about trade?**

1. Trade seen as serving wealthy, contributing to inequality; trade policy not seen as serving the people

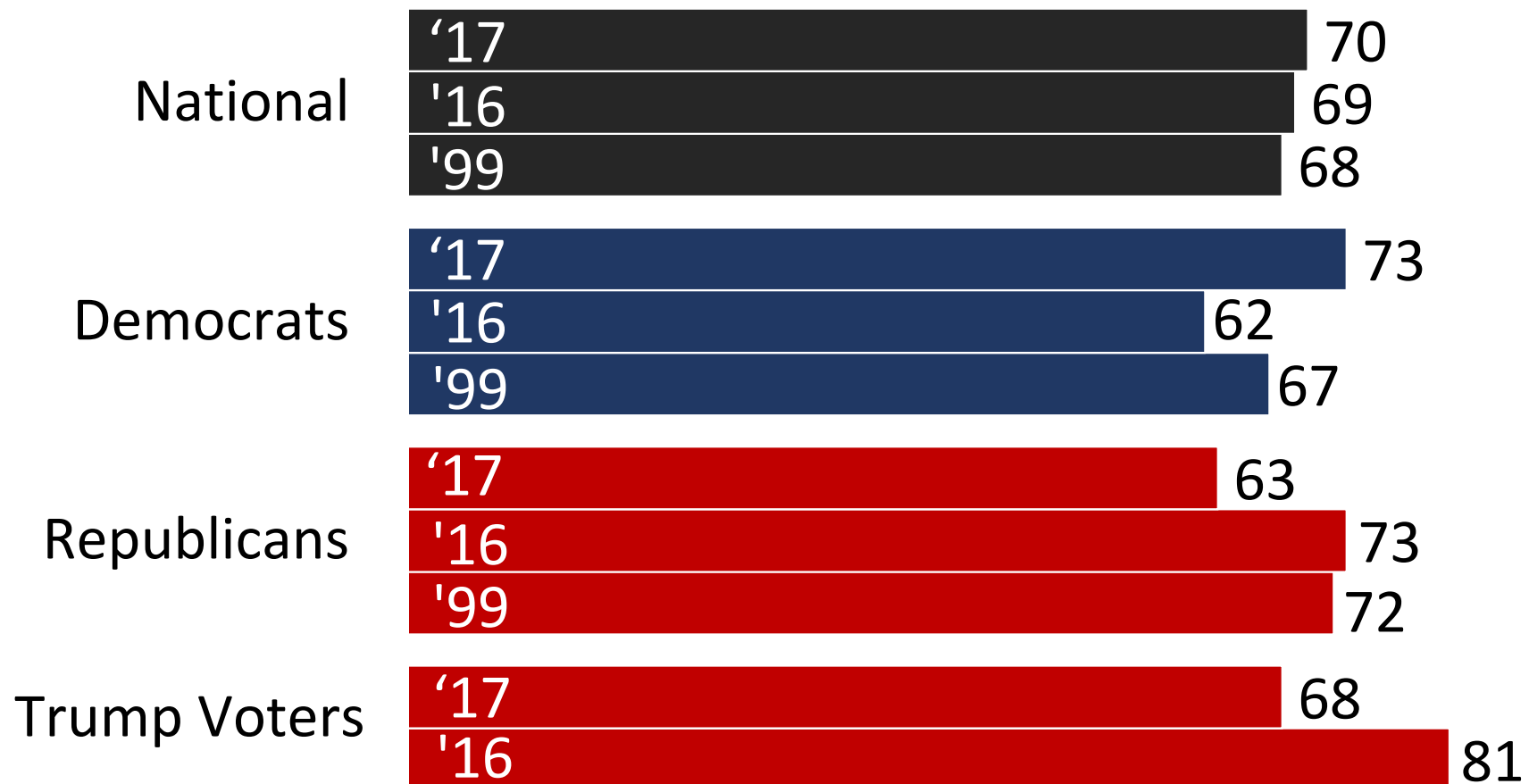
Do you think that the growth of international trade has increased or decreased the gap between rich and poor in this country?

Increased



How much do US officials making international trade policy consider **the concerns of the general American public**?

Too Little

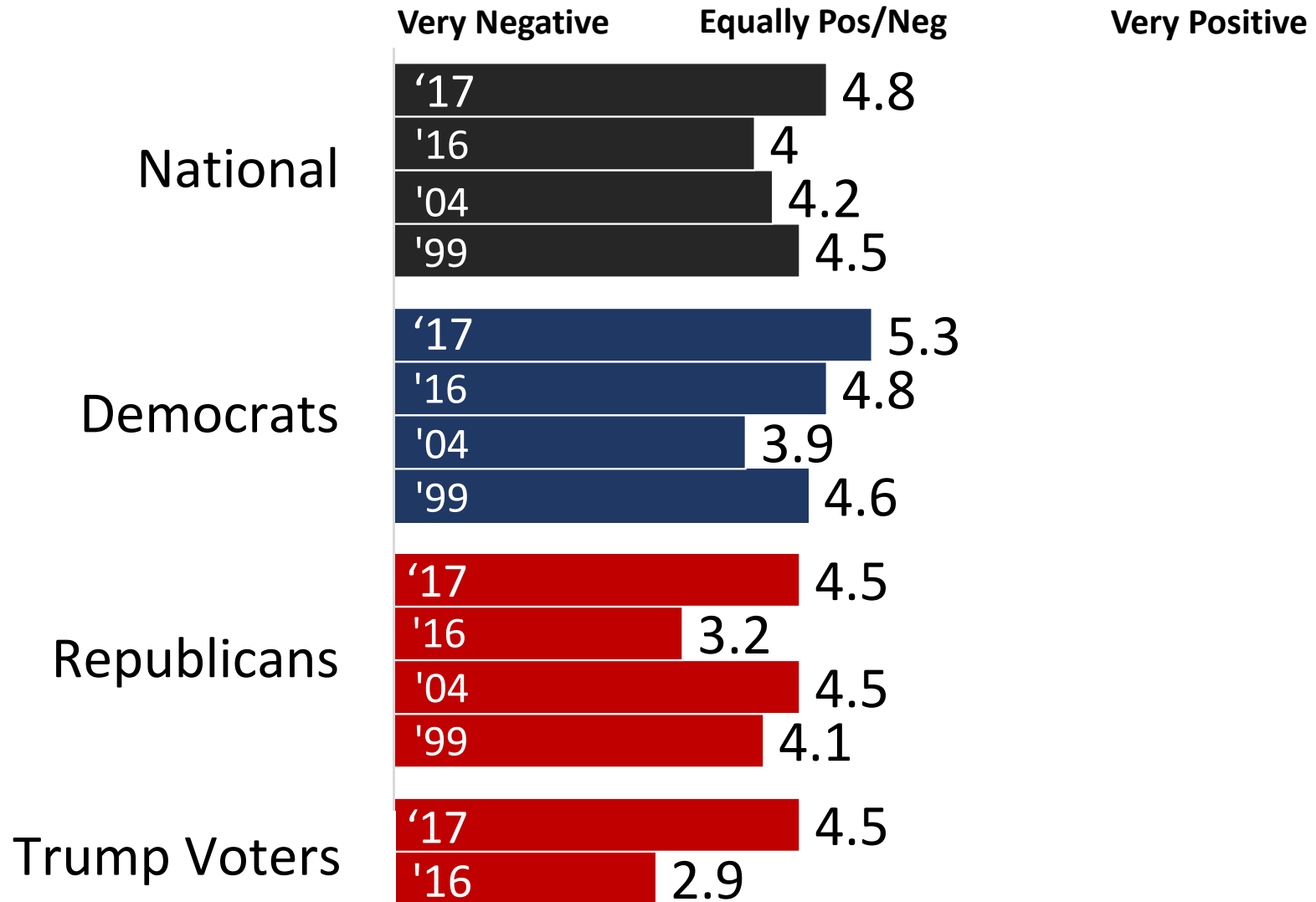


2. Trade seen as being:

- neutral to negative for American workers,
- increasingly negative for jobs

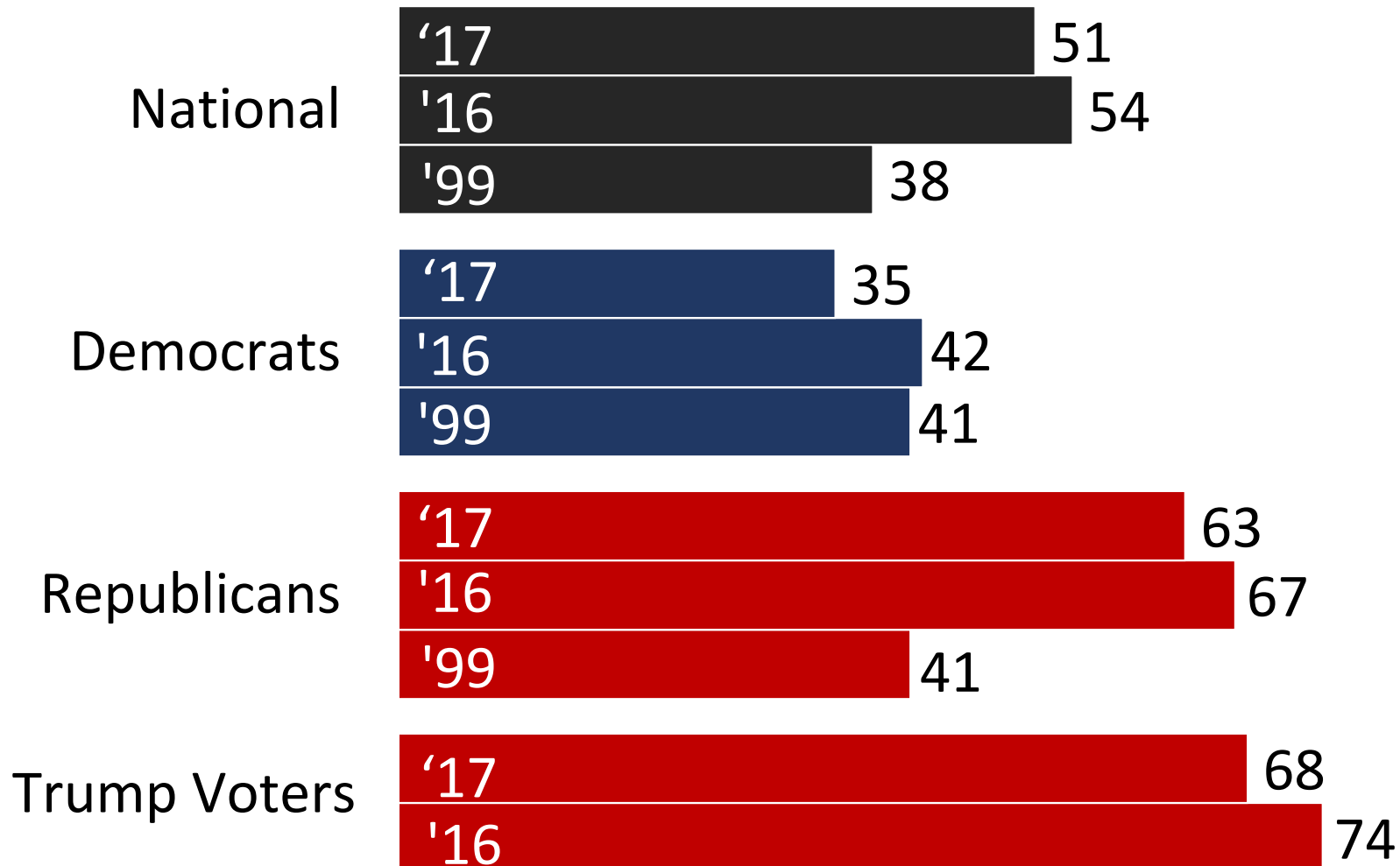
Policymakers seen as having little concern.

Evaluation of International Trade for American workers

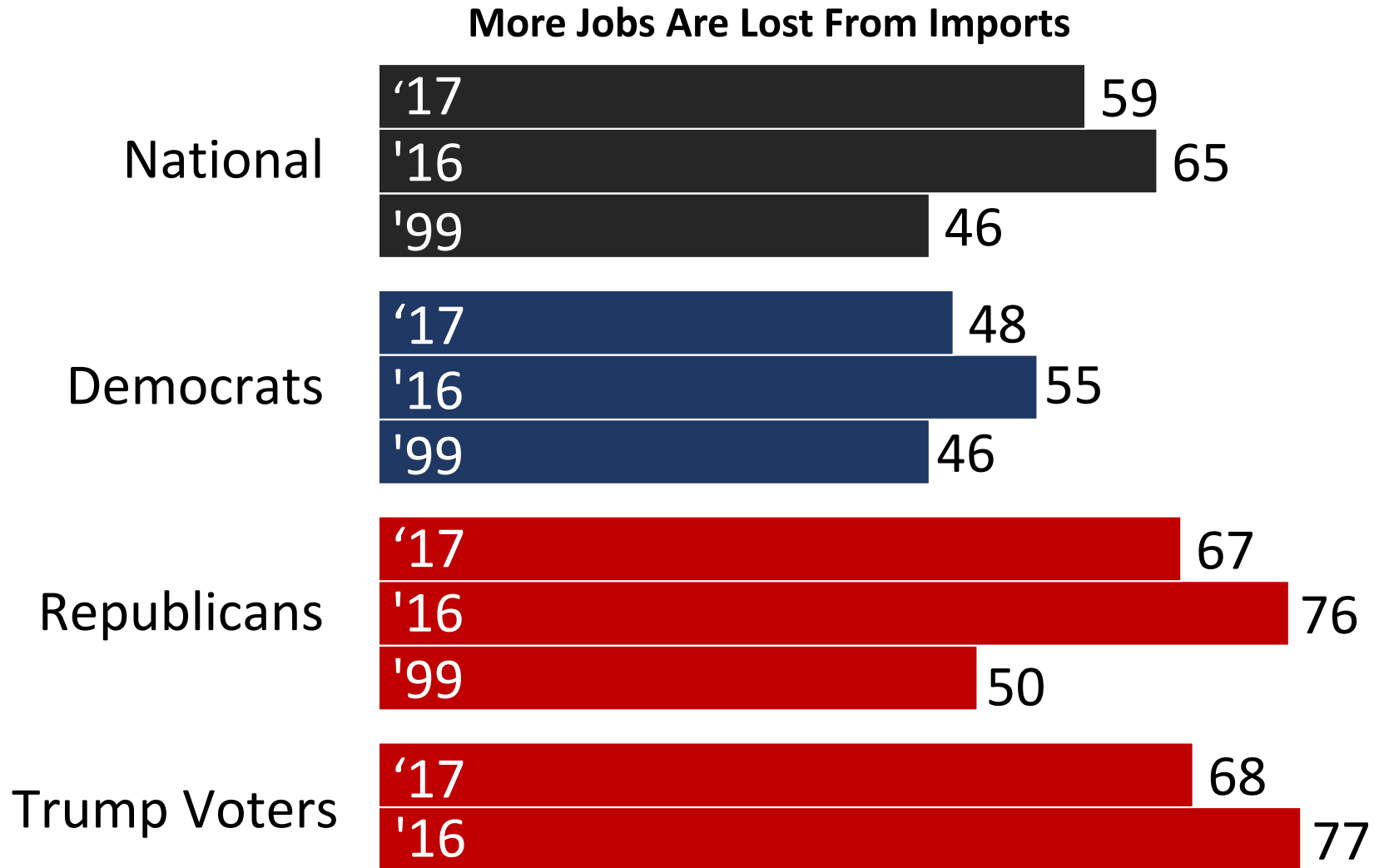


Do you think that importing foreign products means the loss of: many jobs in the country, only a few jobs, no jobs?

Many Jobs

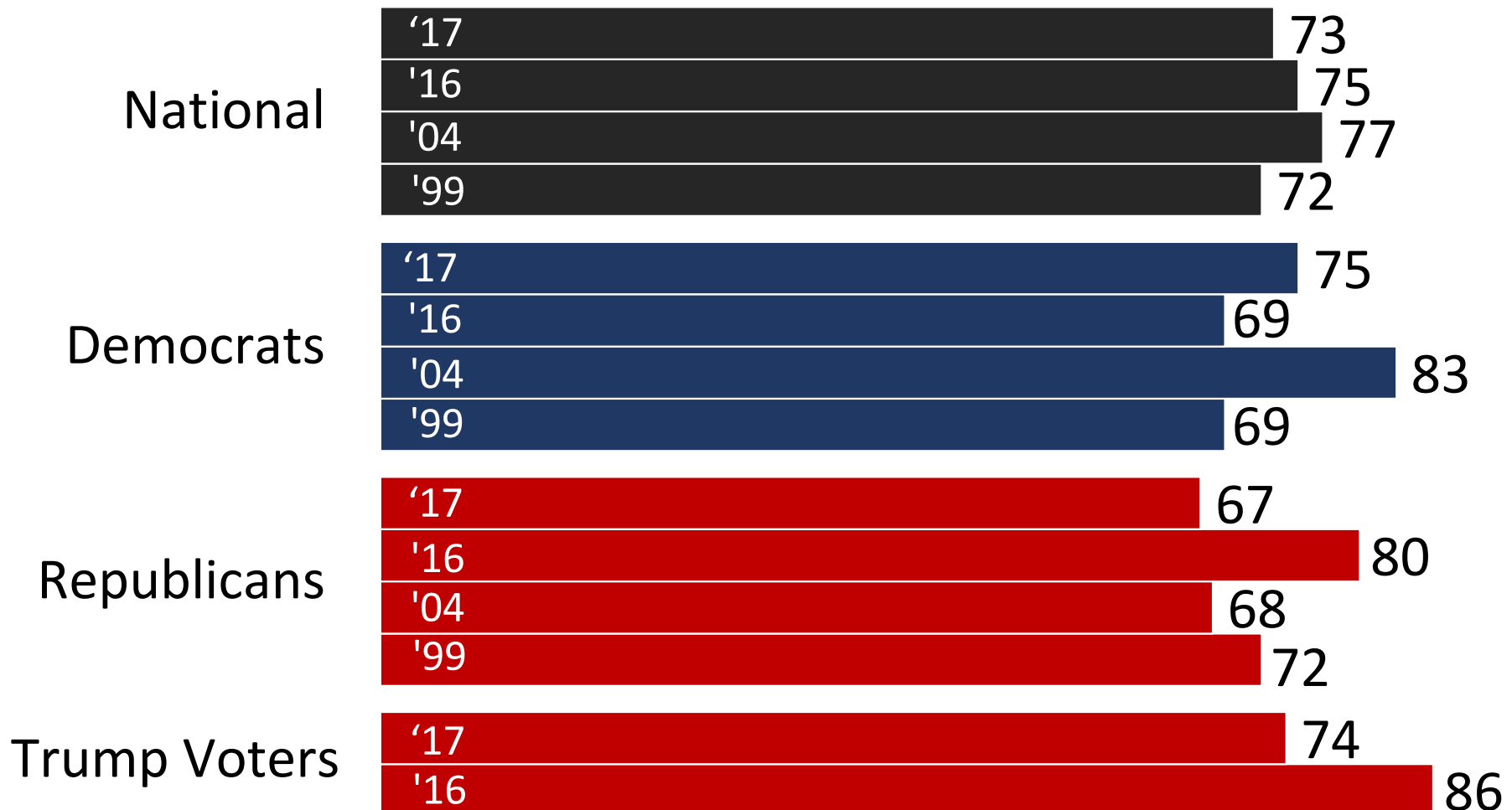


On balance, do you think that more jobs are lost from imports or more jobs are gained from exports?



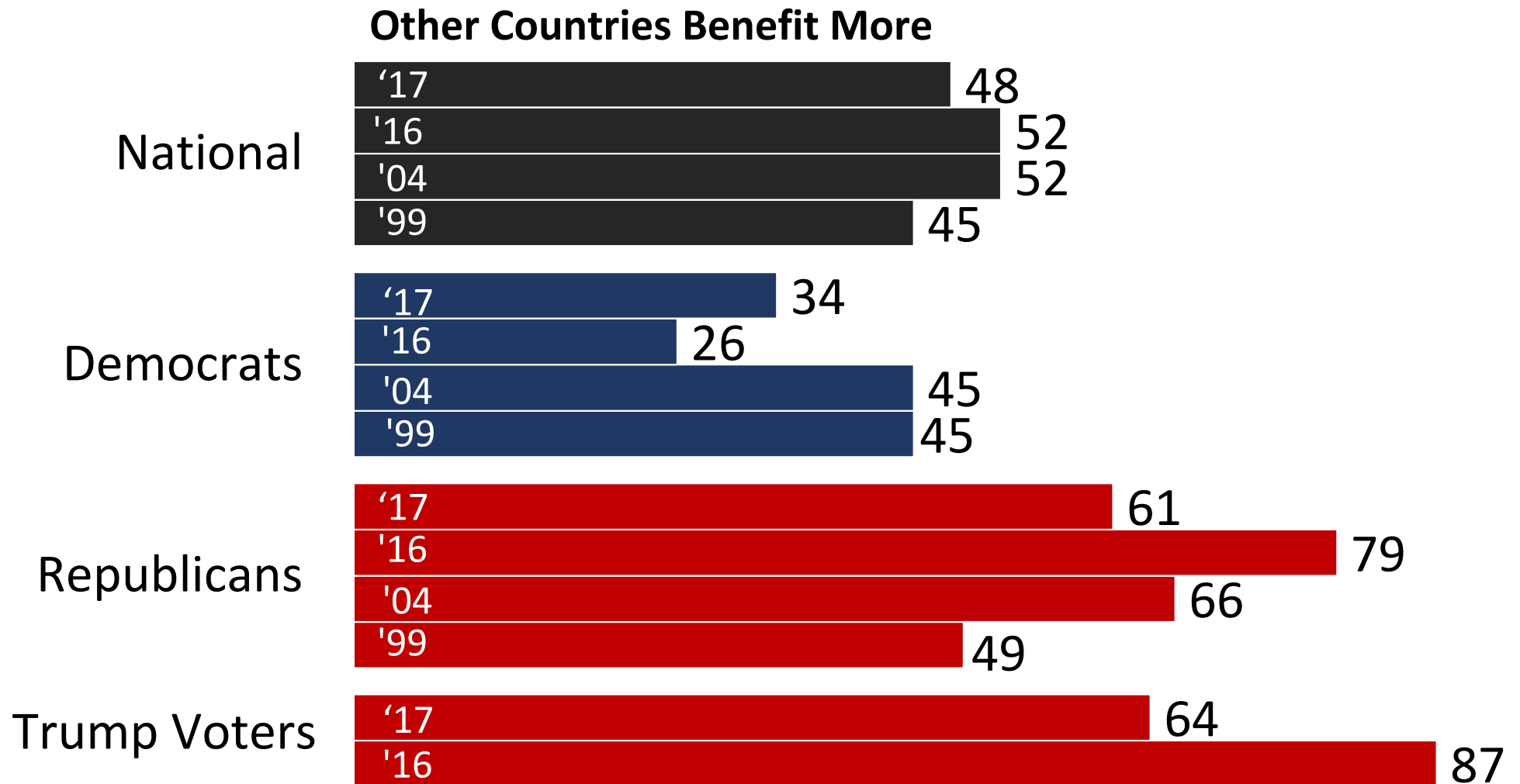
How much do US officials making international trade policy consider **the concerns of working Americans?**

Too Little



3. Republicans' belief other countries benefit more from trade

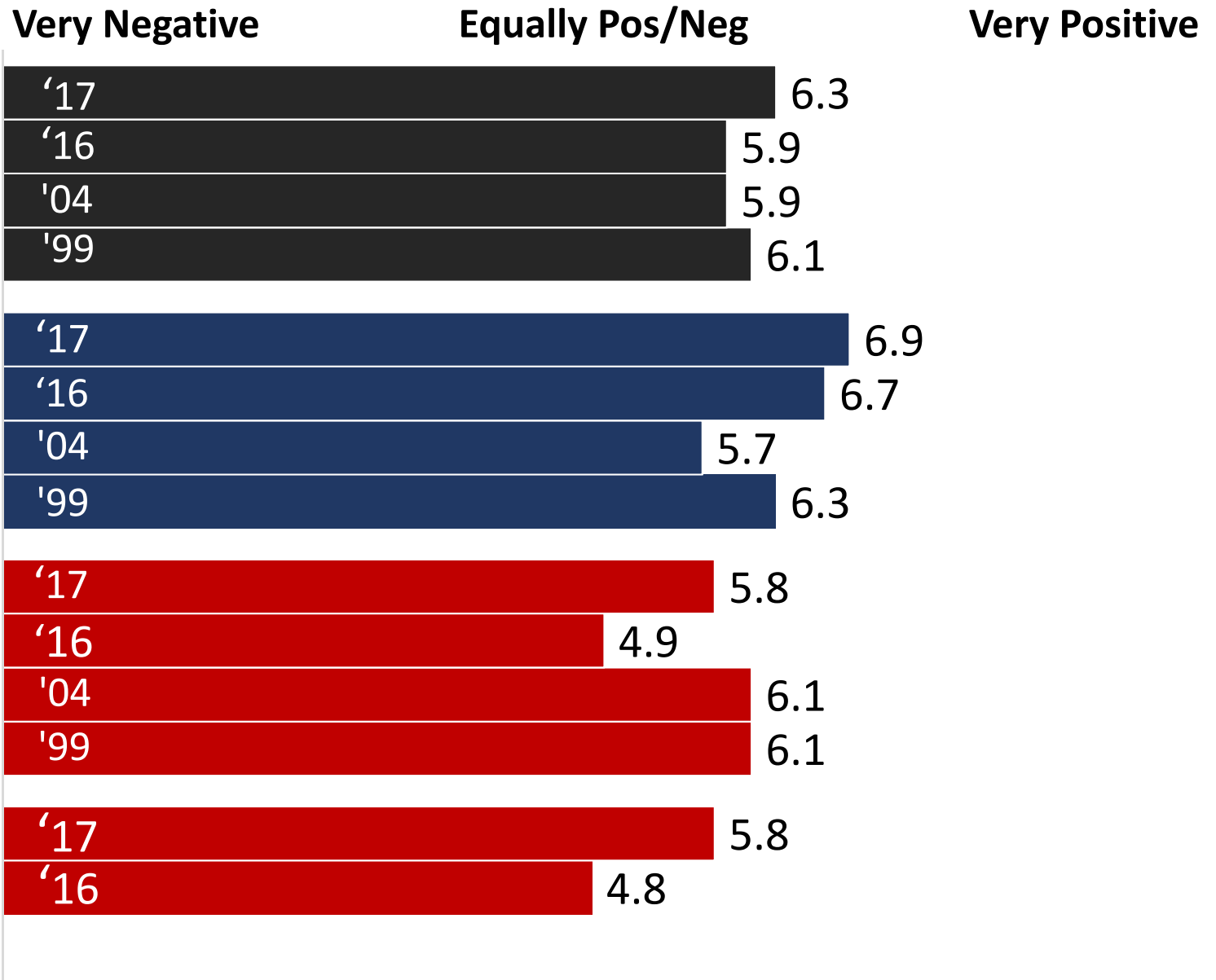
Who benefits more from international trade? the U.S., other countries, or it's about equal



4. Even benefits to American business are seen as questionable for Republicans

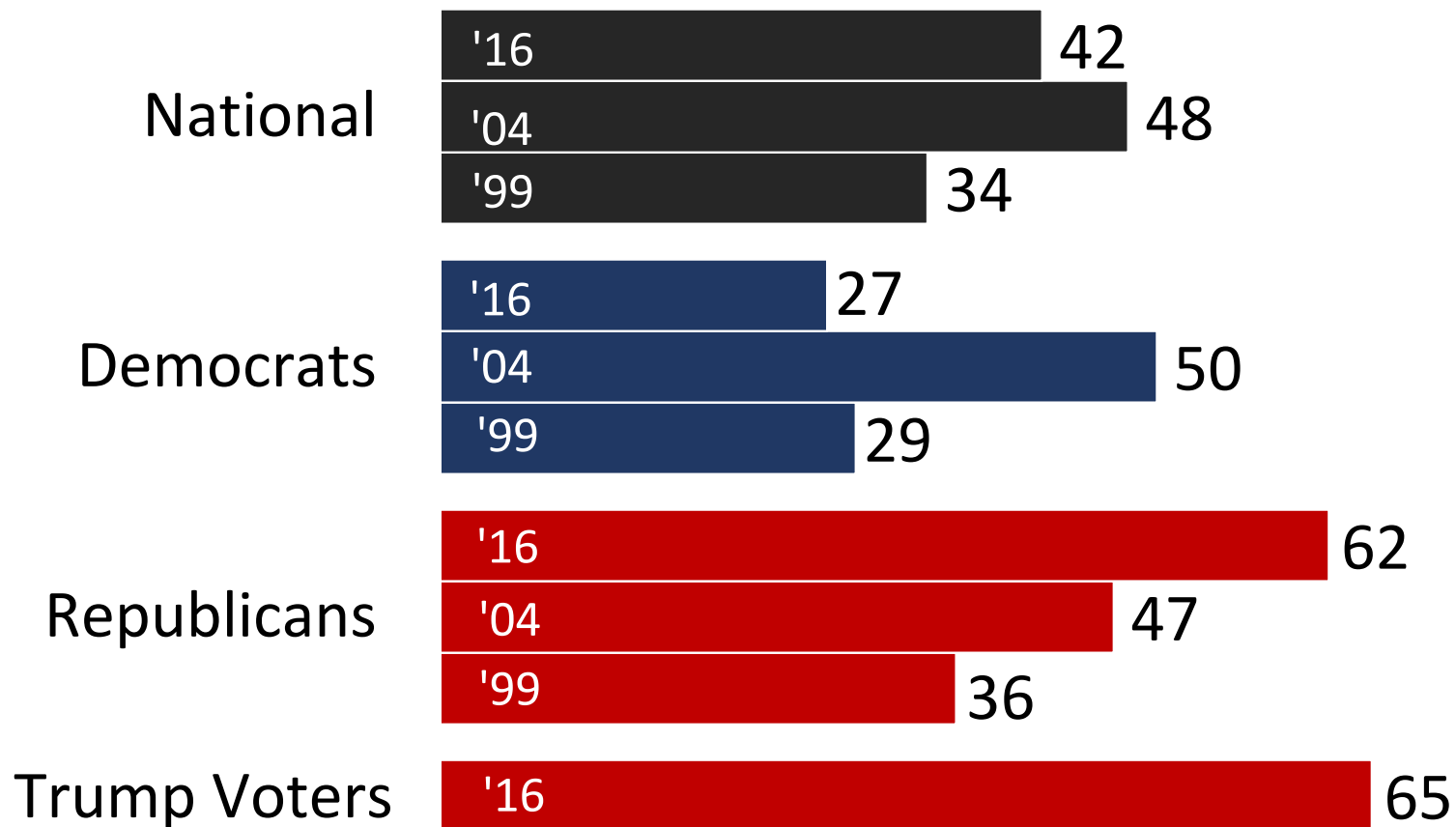
- Continuing consensus that multinational corporations' interests are shaping policy

Evaluation of international trade for American business



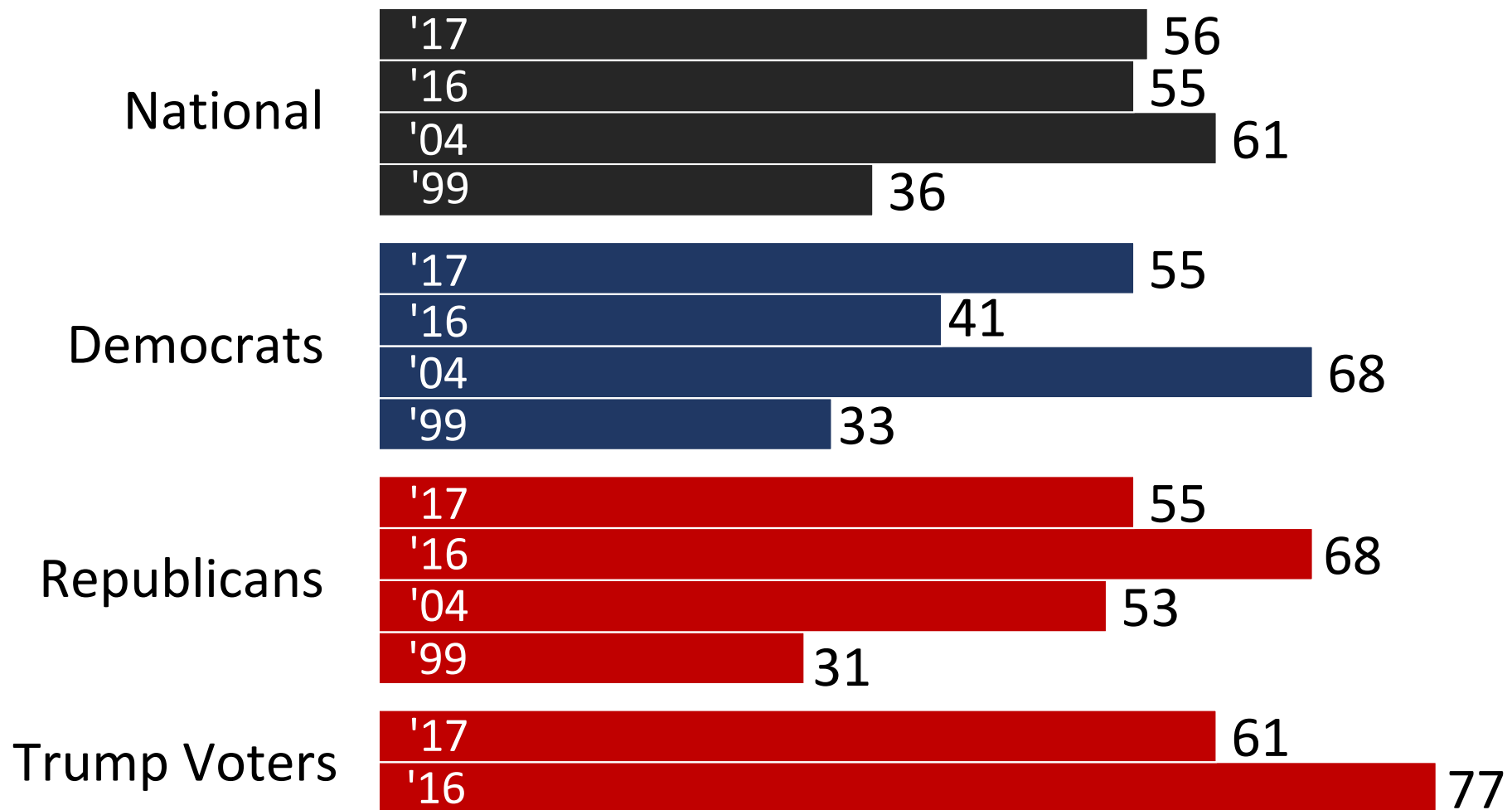
How much do US officials making international trade policy consider the concerns of American business?

Too Little

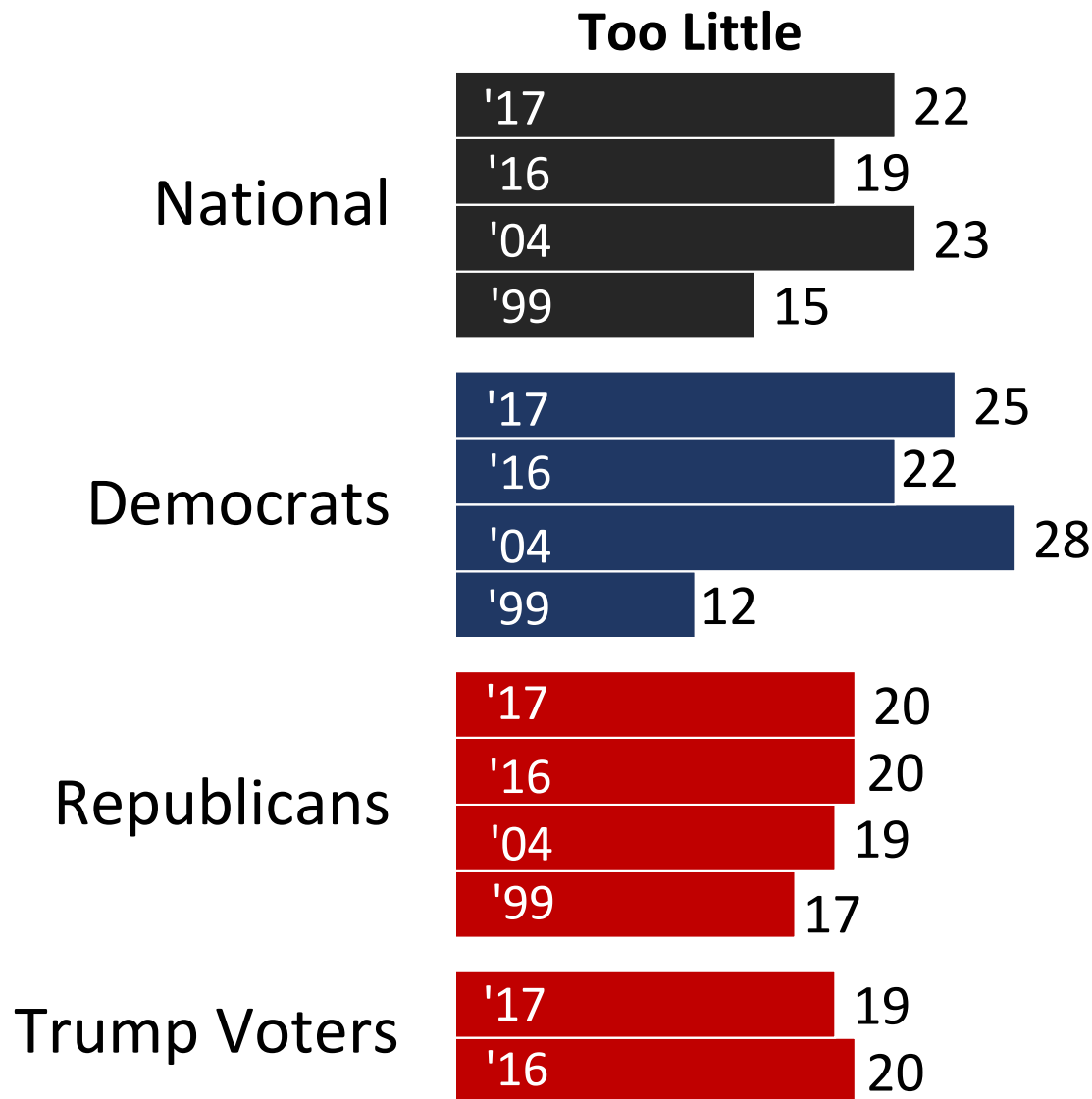


How much do US officials making international trade policy consider the overall American economy?

Too Little



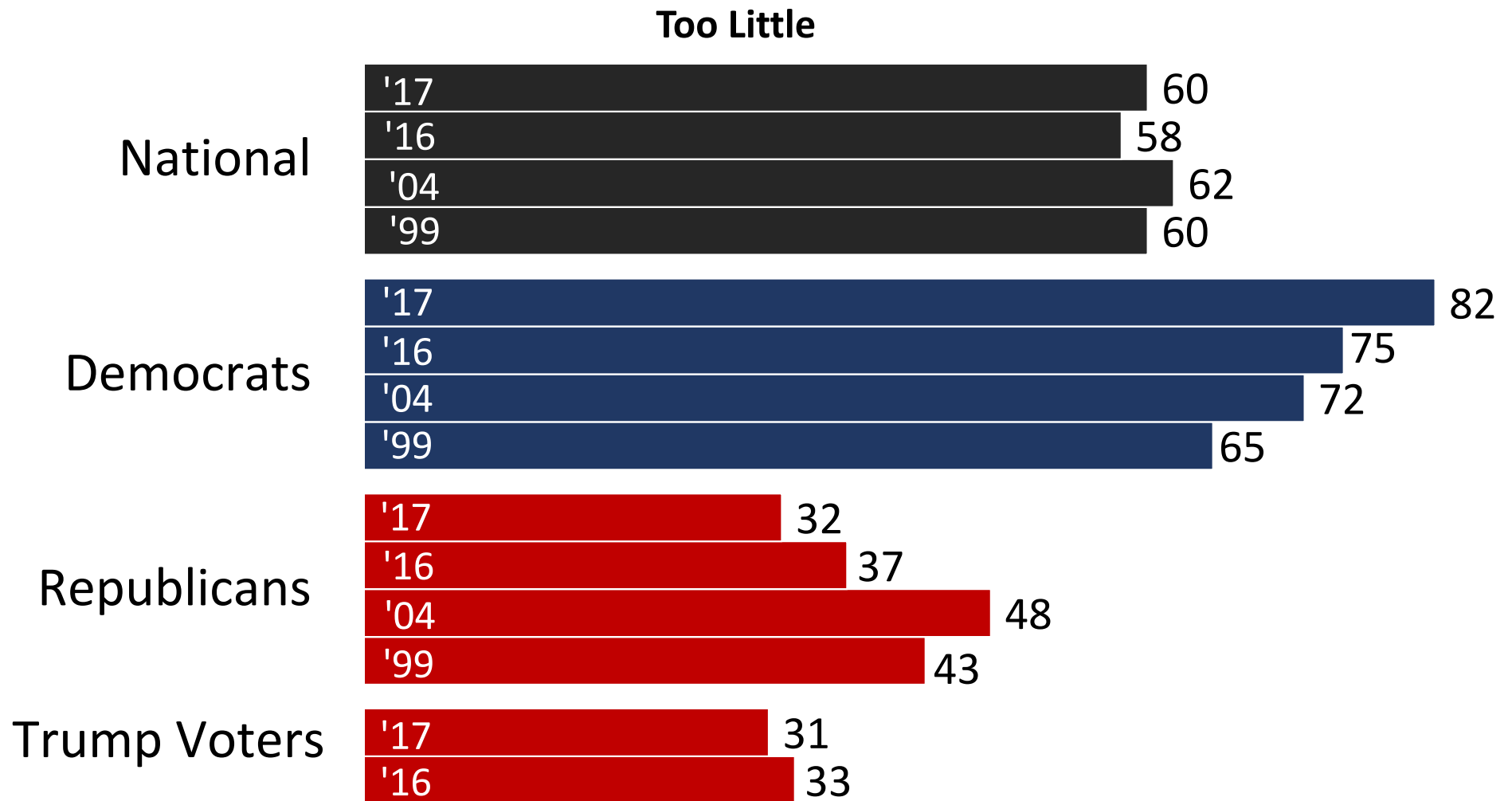
How much do US officials making international trade policy consider the concerns of multinational corporations?



5. High concern that US trade policymakers not considering impact on environment, driven by Democrats

Evaluation of US officials making international trade policy...

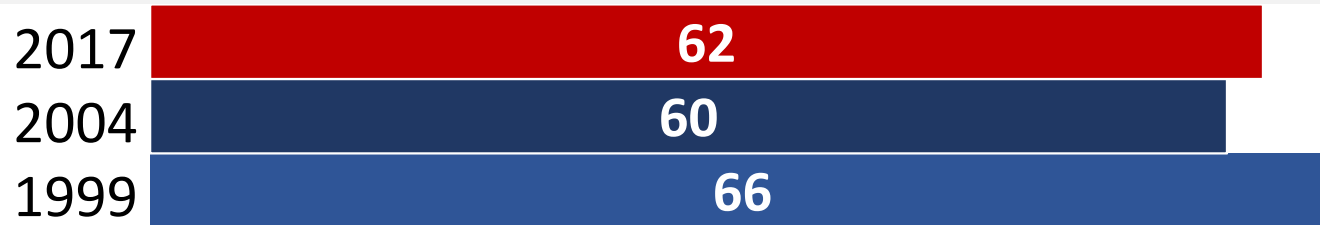
How much do you think that they consider the impact on the environment?



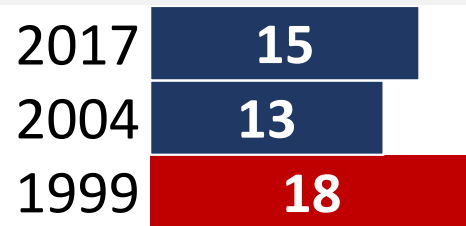
**Possible Mitigation:
Trade Adjustment Assistance**

National

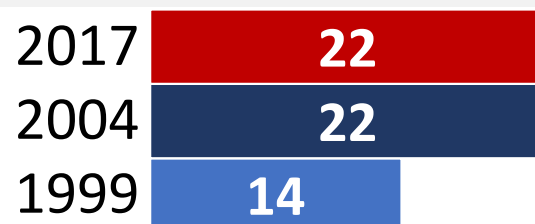
I favor free trade, and I believe that it IS necessary for the government to have programs to help workers who lose their jobs.



I favor free trade, and I believe it is NOT necessary for the government to have programs to help workers who lose their jobs.

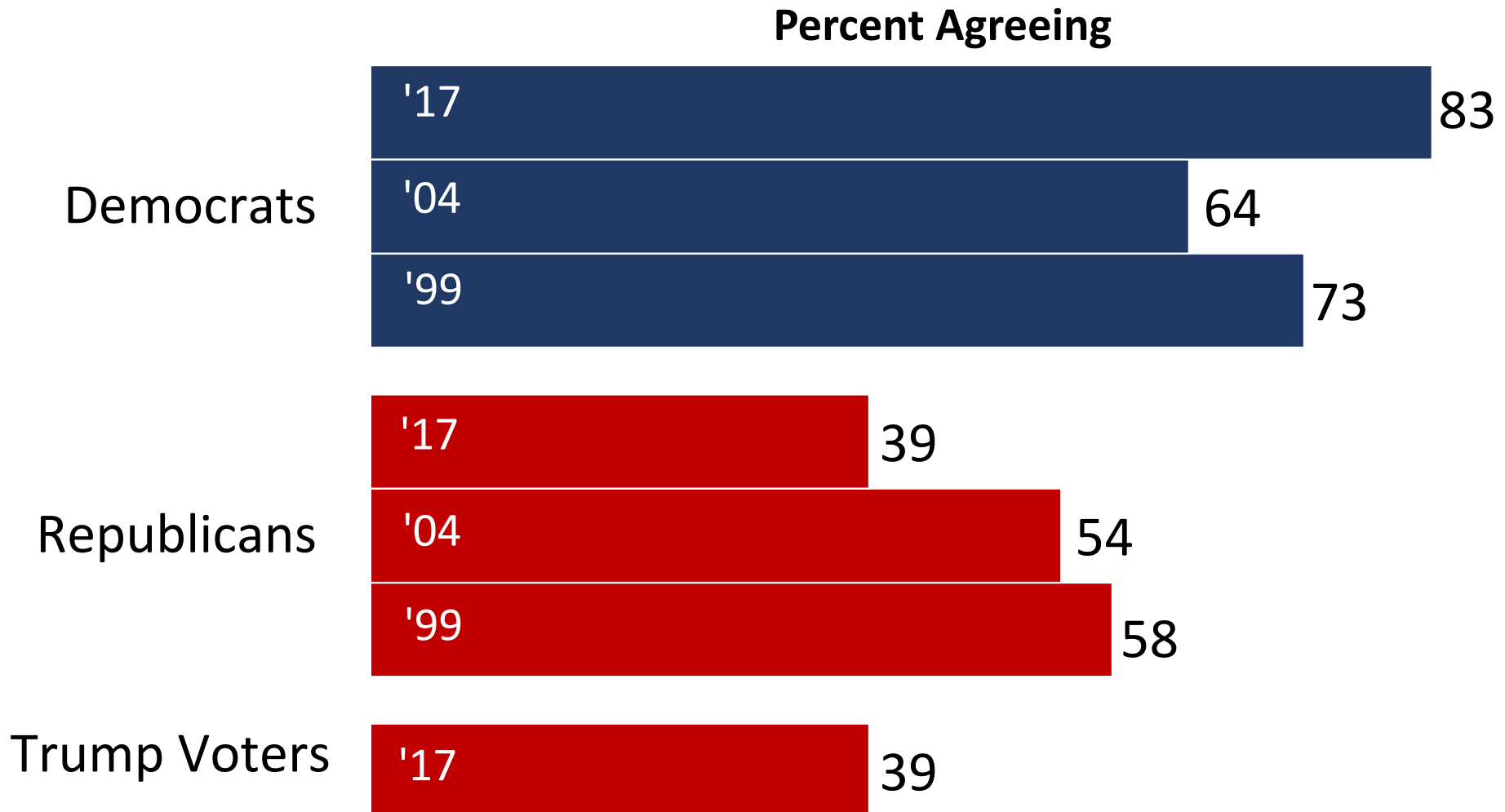


I do not favor free trade.



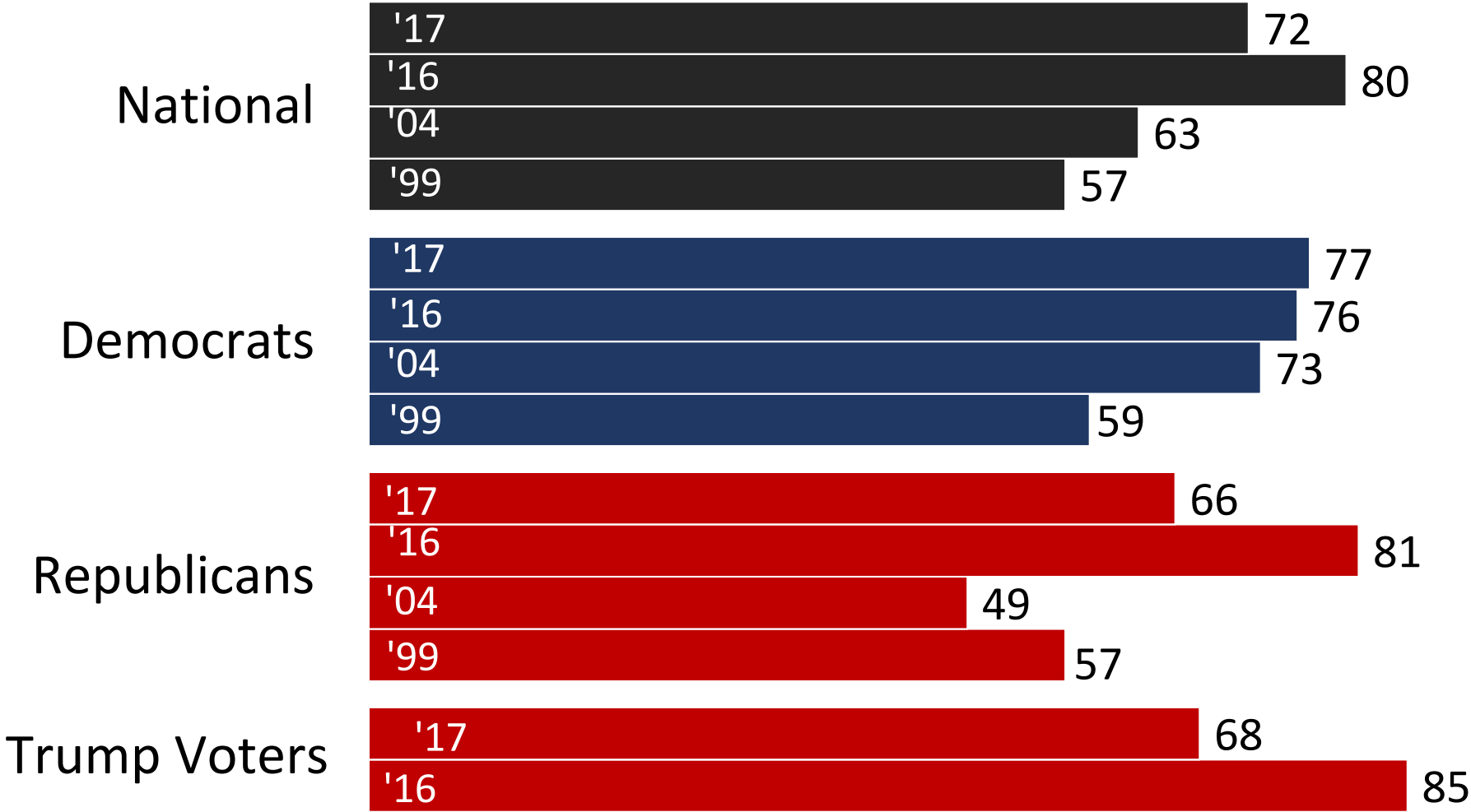
Statement #1:

I favor free trade, and I believe that it IS necessary for the government to have programs to help workers who lose their jobs



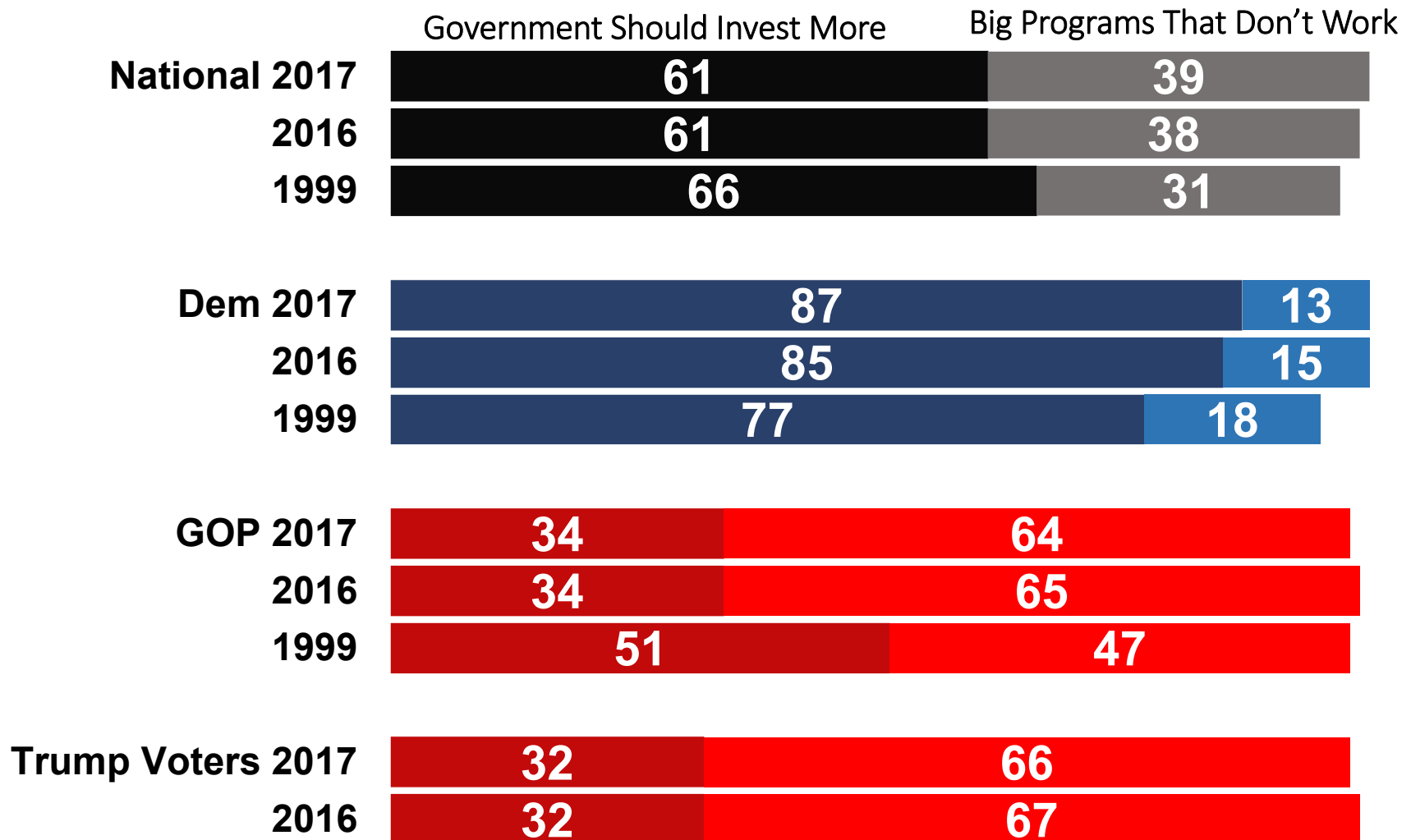
What is your impression of government efforts to help retrain workers who have lost jobs due to international trade?

Not Adequate



Some people say that the federal government should invest more in worker retraining and education to help workers adapt to changes in the economy.

Others say that such efforts just create big government programs that do not work very well.



Possible Mitigation: Labor Standards in Trade Agreements

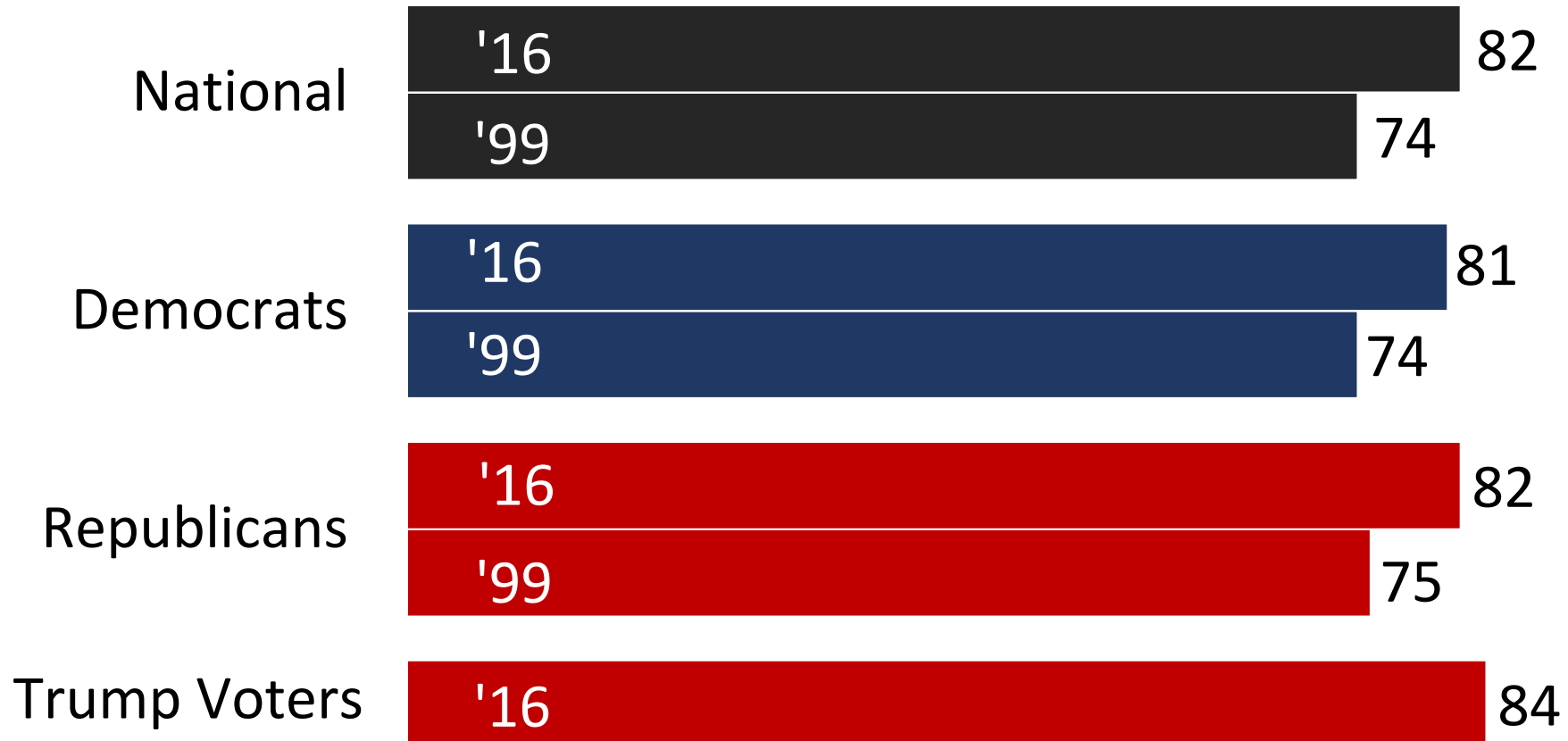
- Very high bipartisan consensus in support

Argument #1

In favor of including labor standards in trade agreements

Countries who do not maintain minimum standards have an unfair advantage because they can exploit workers and produce goods for less. This threatens jobs for American workers.

Percent Convincing

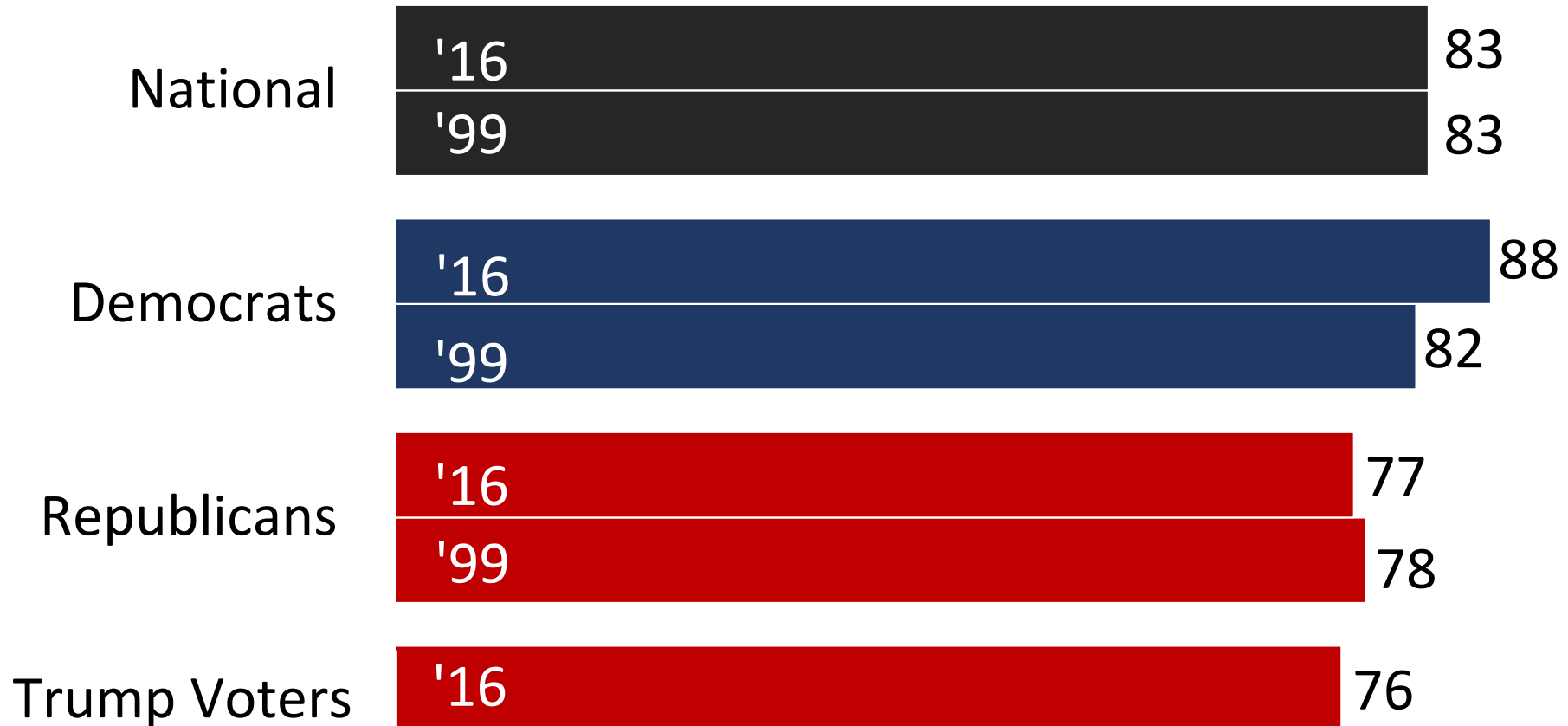


Argument #2:

In favor of including labor standards in trade agreements

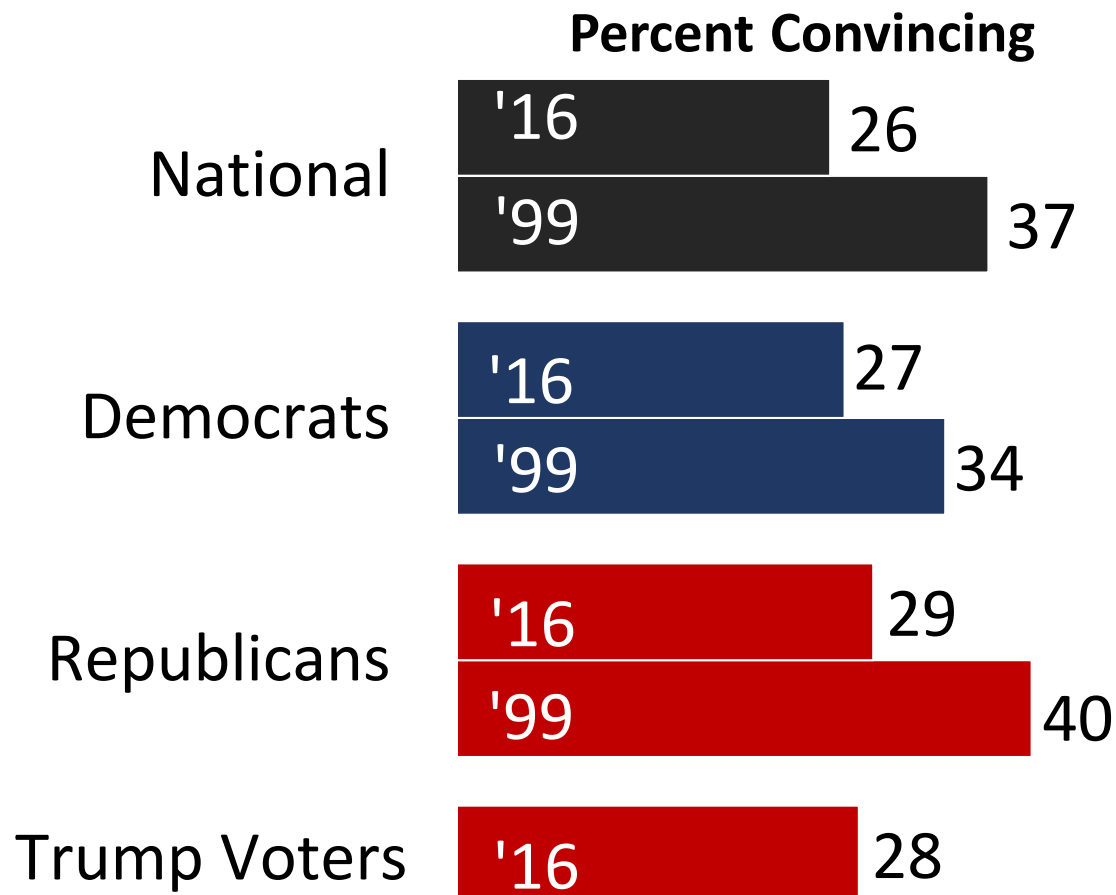
Countries should be required to meet minimum standards because it is immoral for workers to be subject to harsh and unsafe conditions in the workplace.

Percent Convincing



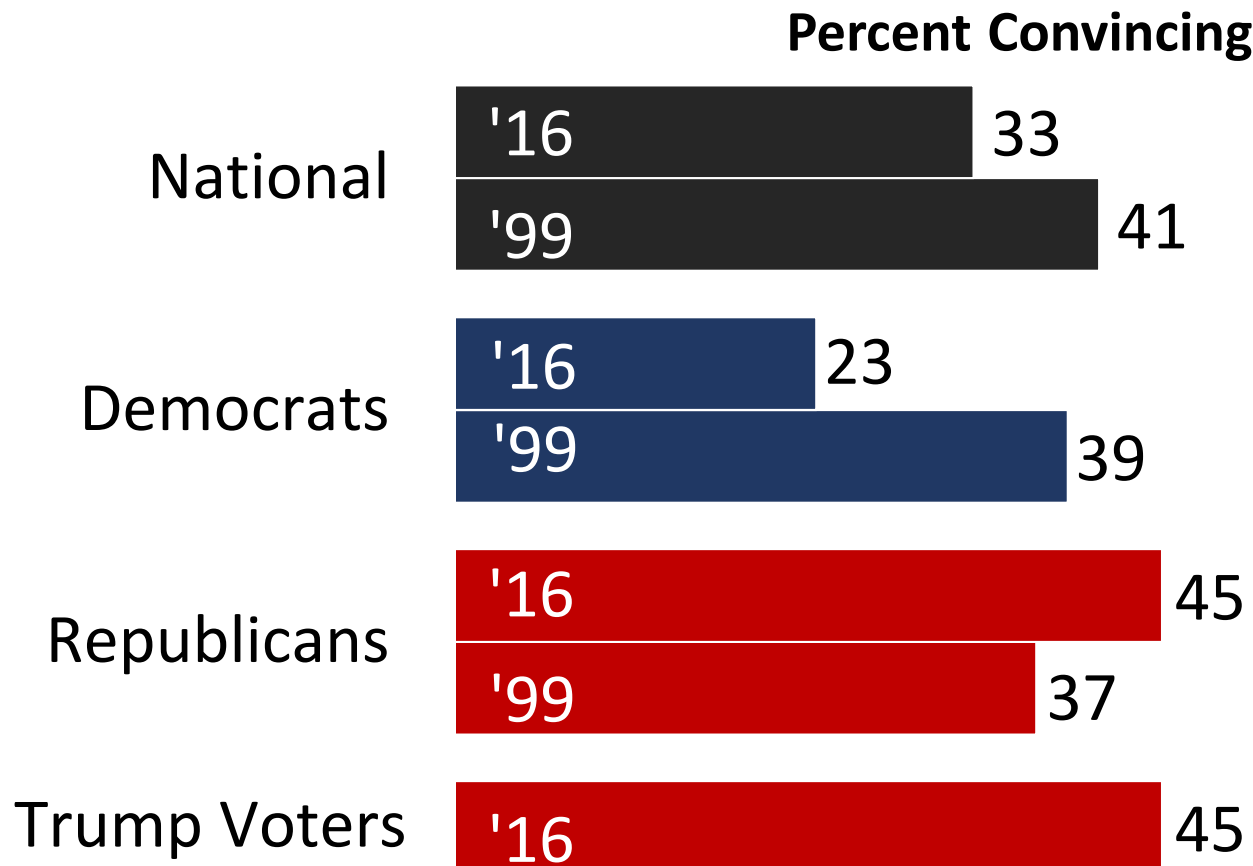
Argument #1: Against including labor standards in trade agreements

If countries are required to raise their standards this will force some companies to eliminate the jobs of poor people who desperately need work.



Argument #2: Against including labor standards in trade agreements

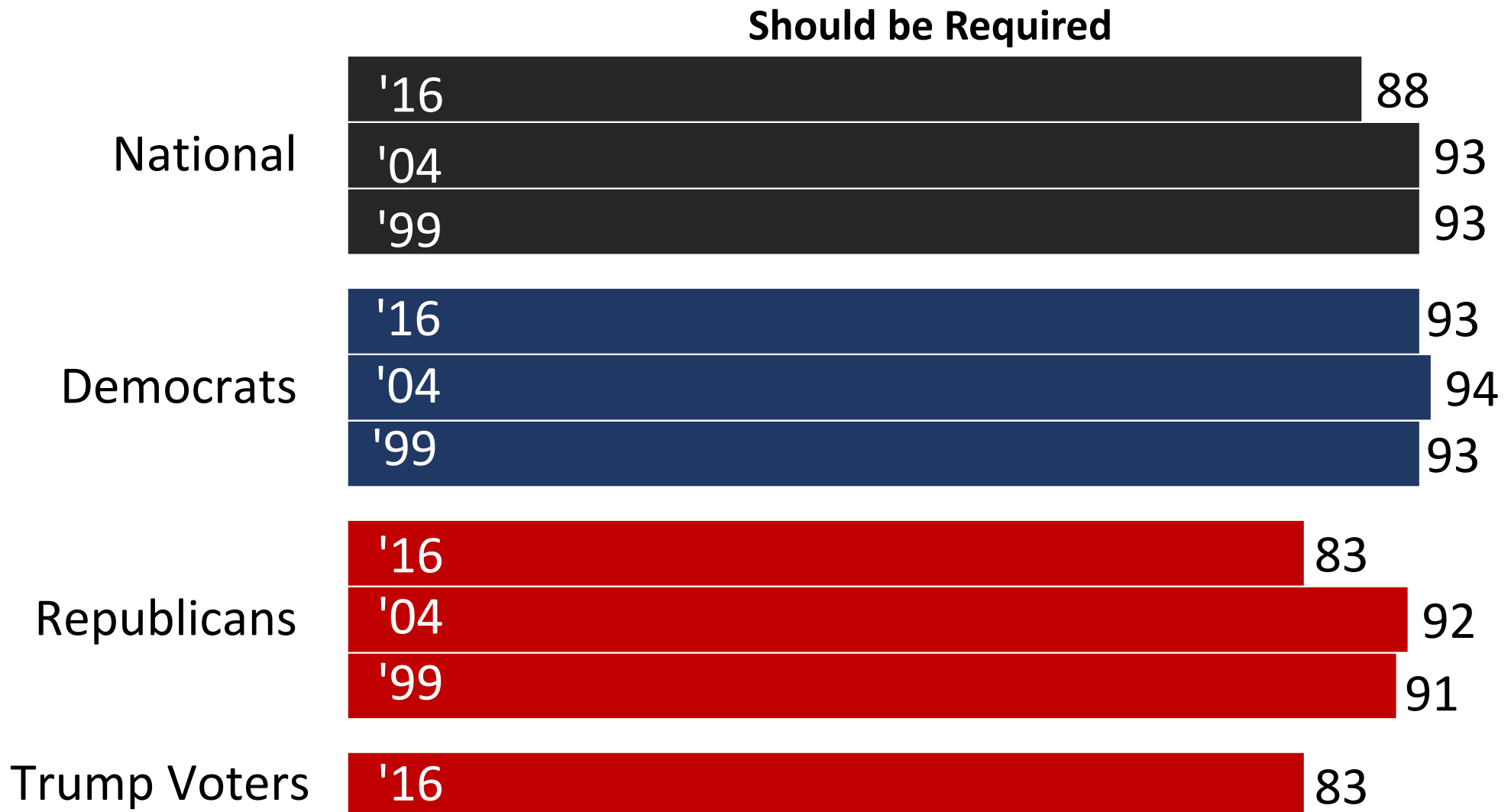
It is up to each country to set its own labor standards. The international community should not intrude by trying to dictate what each country should do within its borders.



Conclusion:

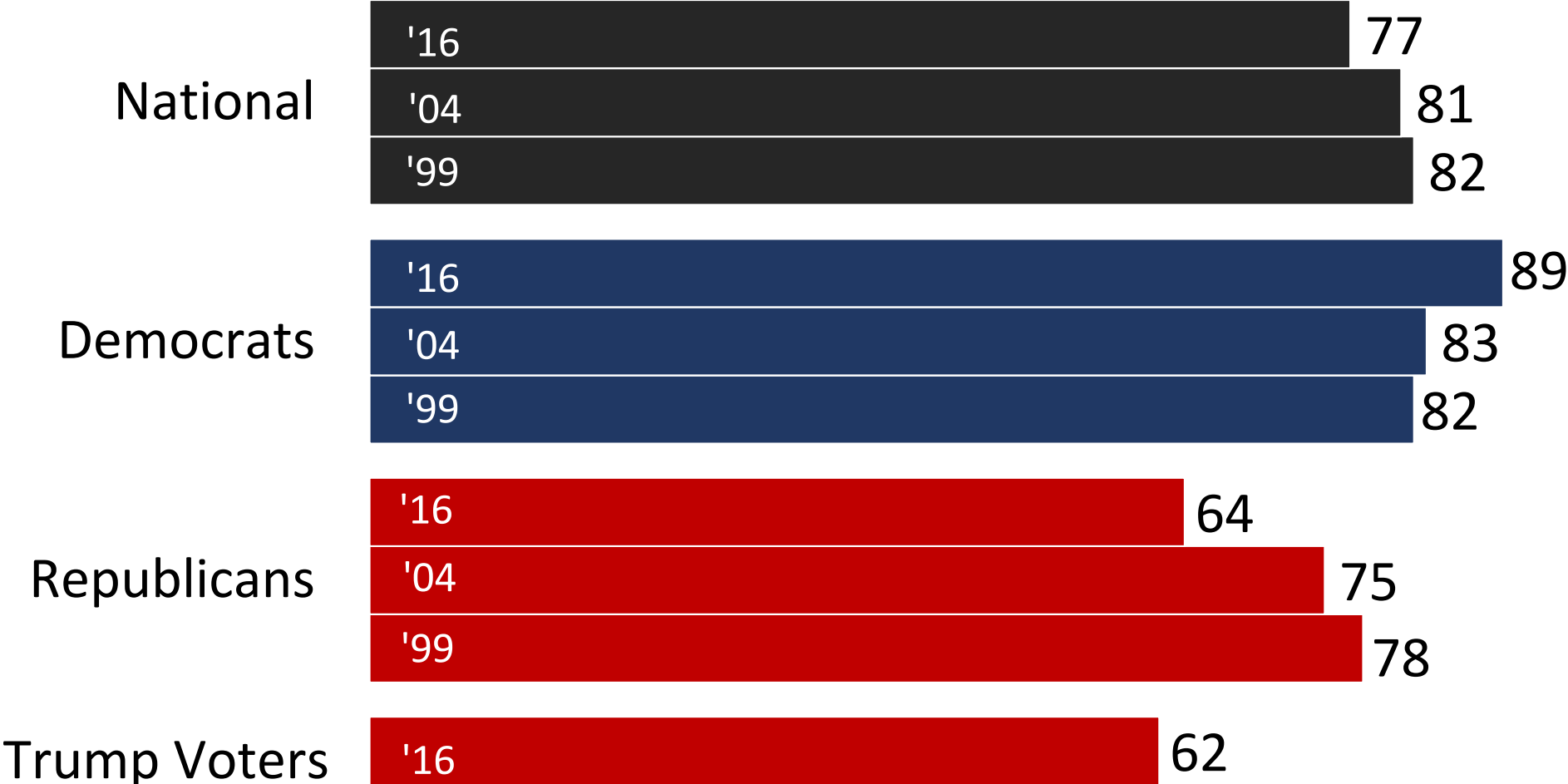
Including labor standards in trade agreements

So, 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?



While we cannot expect workers in foreign countries to make the same wages as in the US, we should expect other countries to permit wages to rise by allowing workers to organize into unions and by putting a stop to child labor.

Percent Agree



Restricting Imports from Countries Violating International Labor Standards

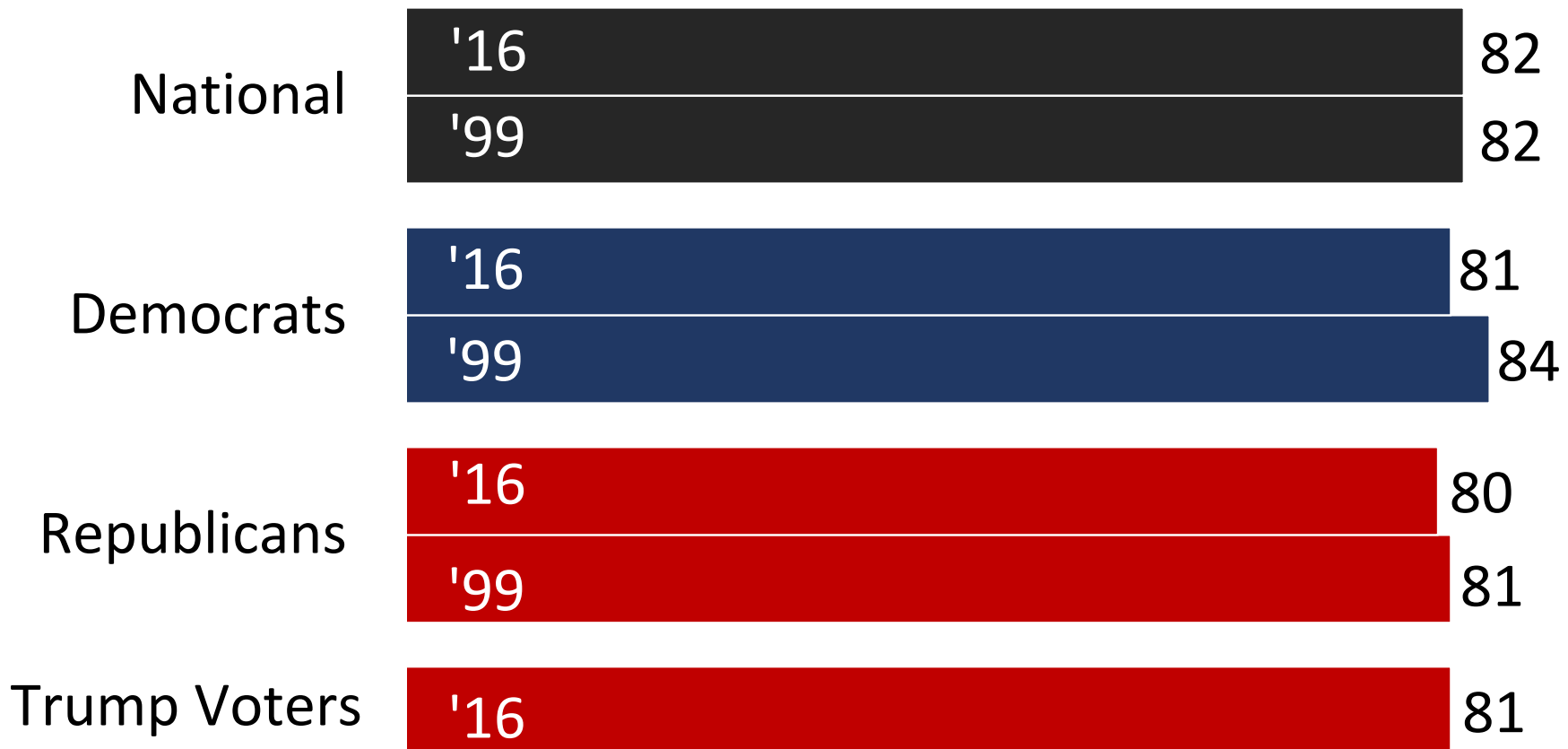
Some people feel that the United States should not allow products to be imported when they have been made under conditions that are in violation of international labor standards.

Other people feel that it is up to each country to set its own labor standards, and the U.S. should not get involved in judging what goes on in these countries, especially when they are poor countries.

Here are some cases. Select whether you think the U.S. should refuse to allow products to be imported in those cases.

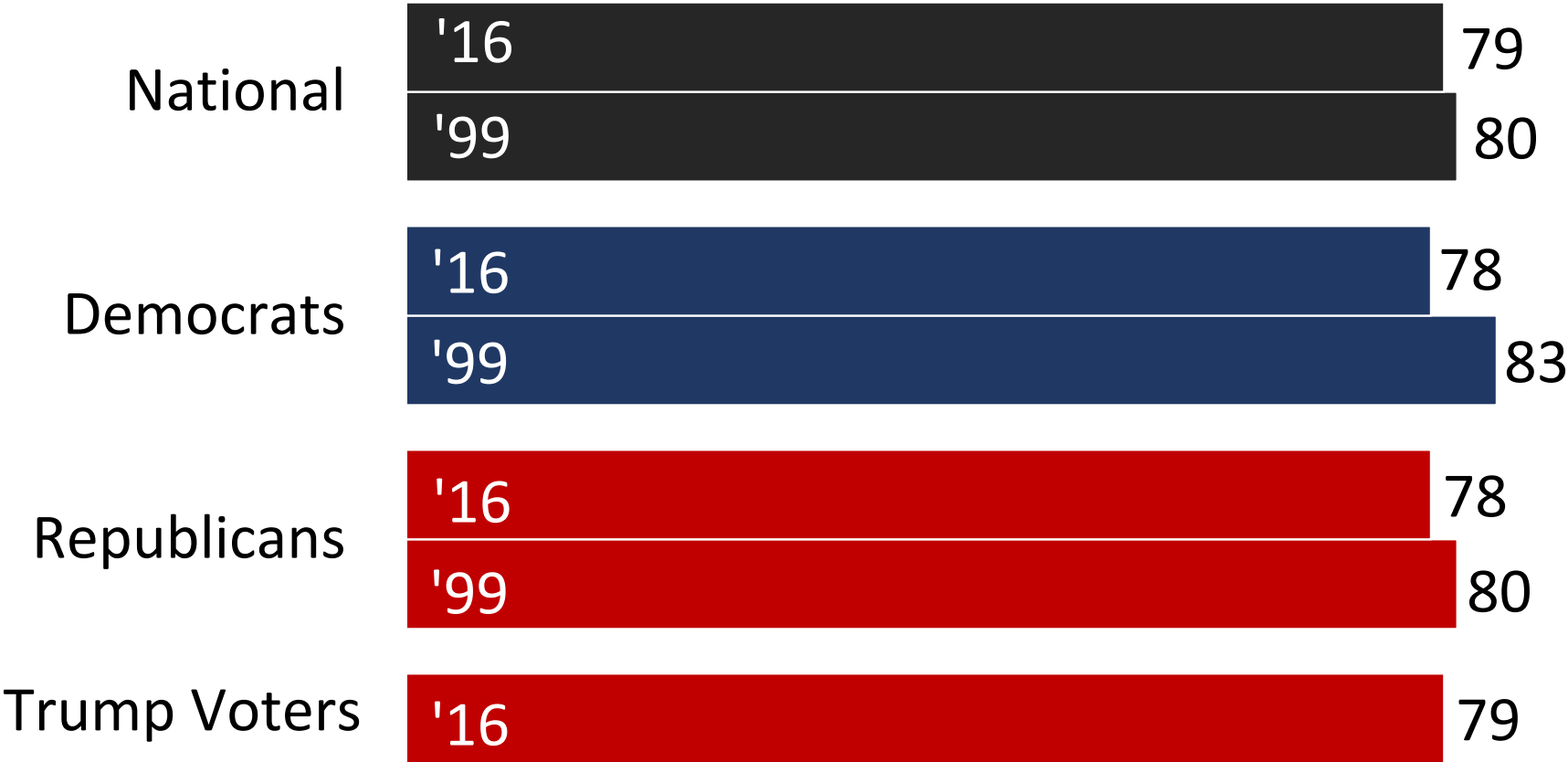
When the products are made by children under 15 who are forced to work under threat of punishment.

Percent saying yes, should refuse



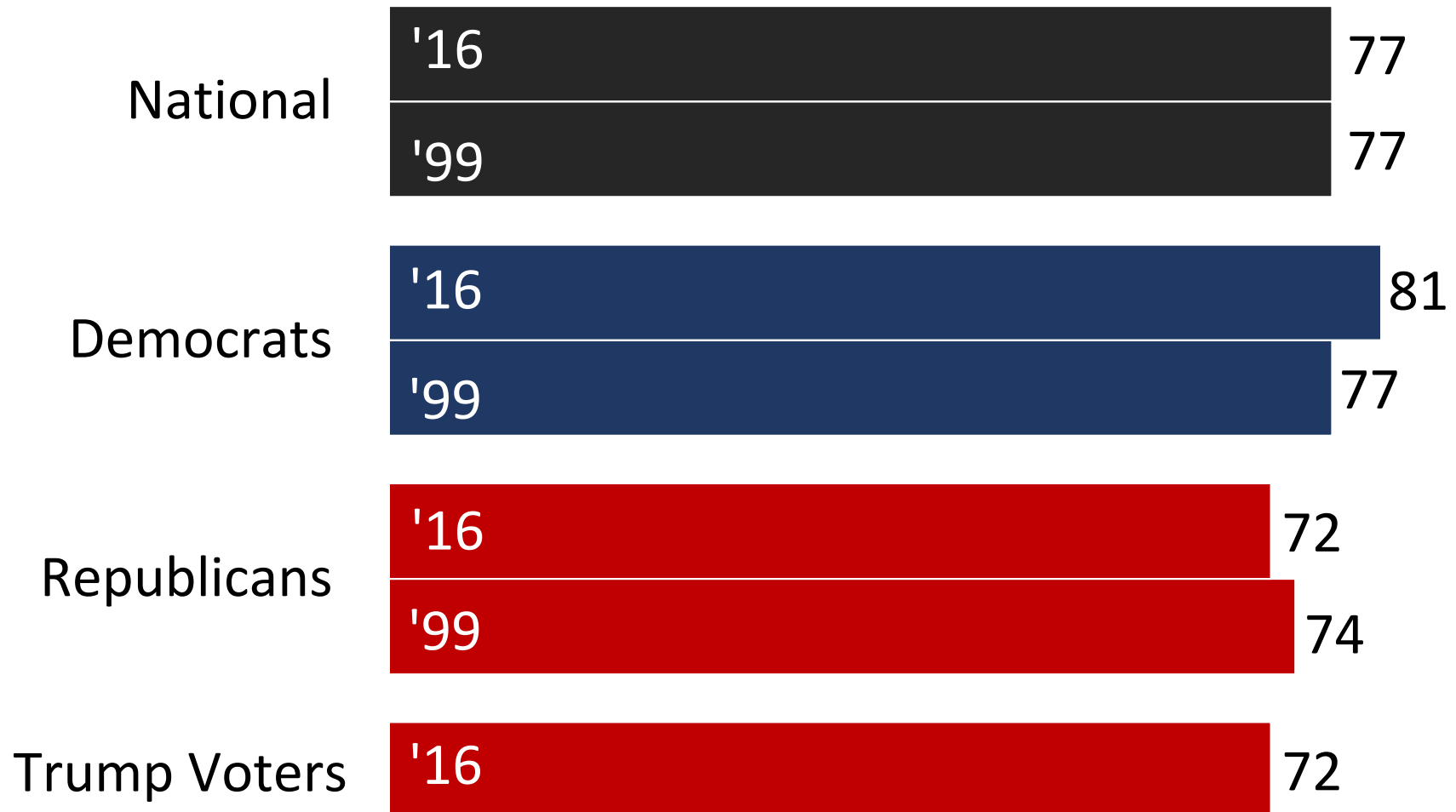
When the products are made by children under the age of 15 who are required to work so many hours that they cannot go to school

Percent saying yes, should refuse

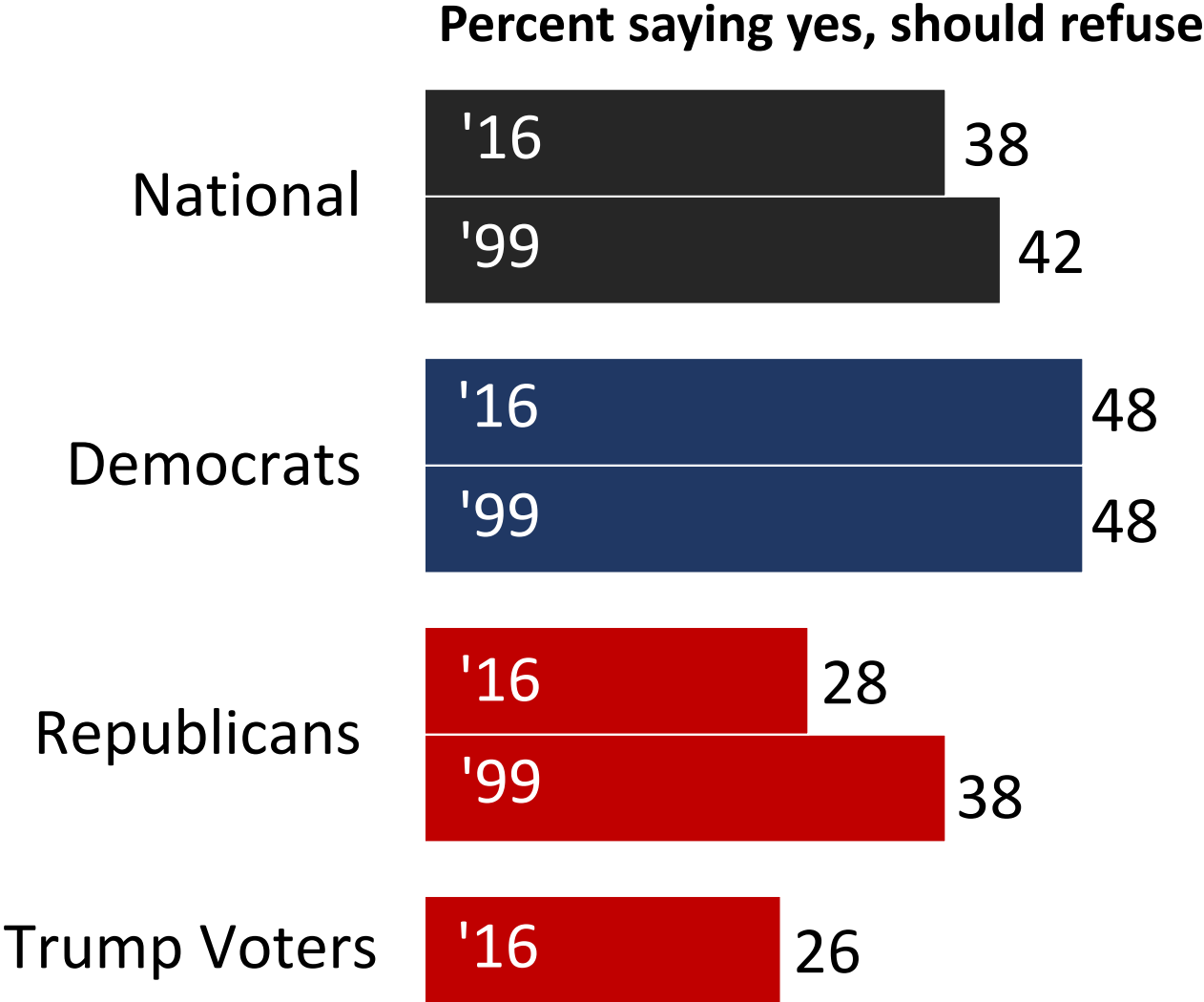


When the products are made by workers in factories that are unsafe or unhealthy

Percent saying yes, should refuse



When the products are made by workers, who are not allowed to organize into unions.

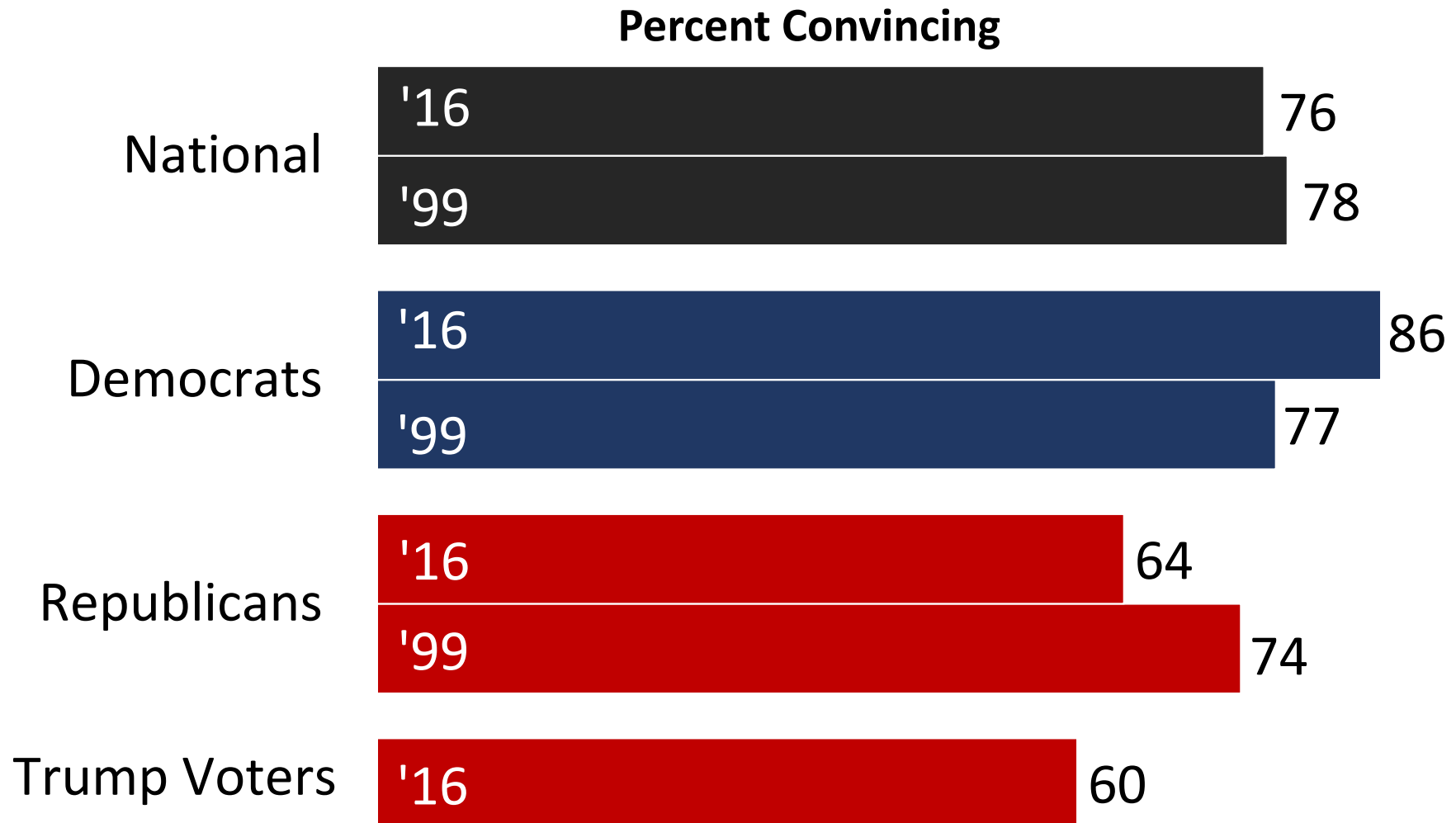


Possible Mitigation: International Environmental Standards

- Very high bipartisan consensus in support

Argument 1: In favor of international agreements on environmental standards:

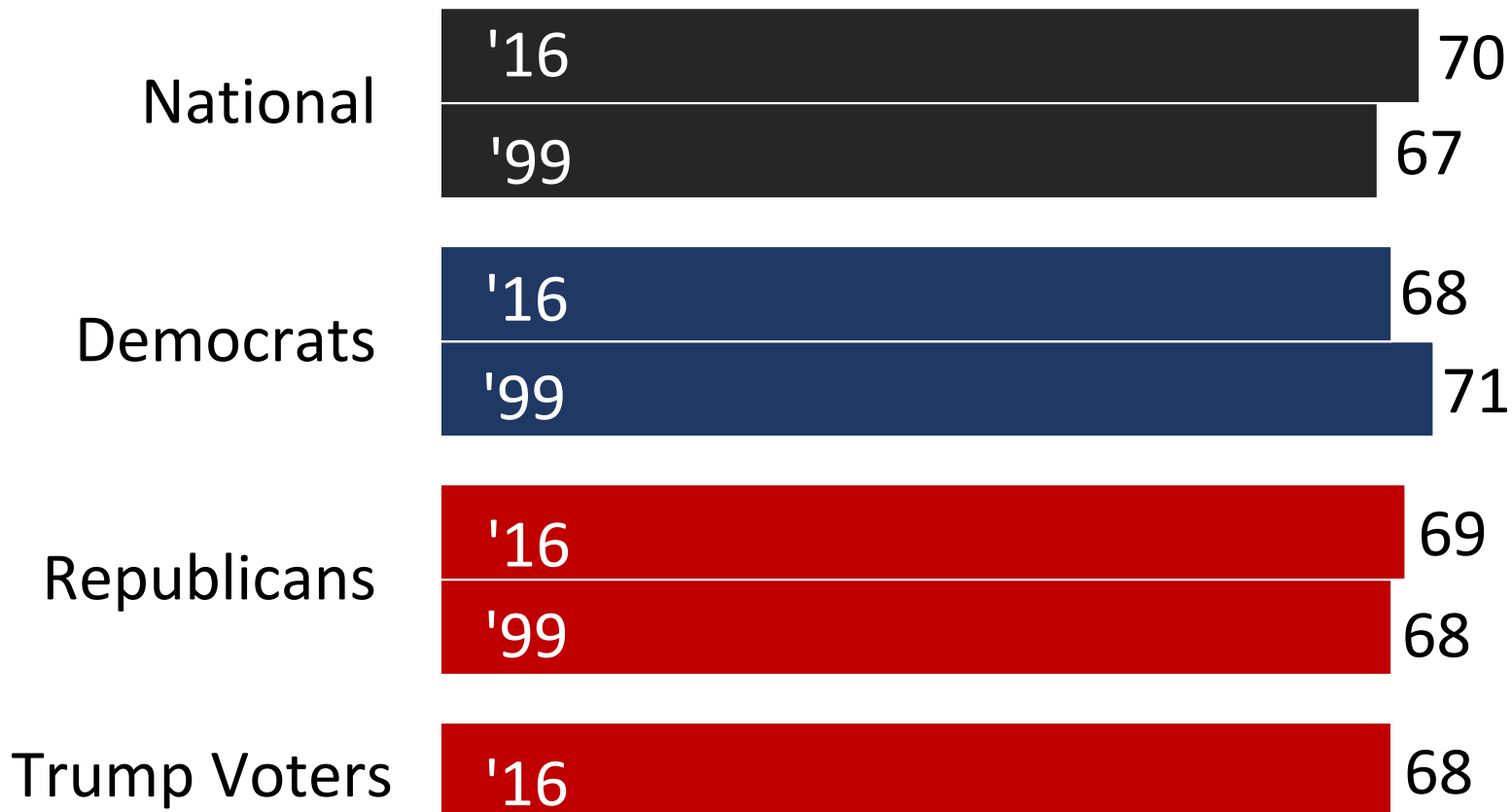
Many environmental problems are global in nature. Therefore, the only way to solve them is to get all countries involved in addressing the problems.



Argument 2: In favor of international agreements on environmental standards:

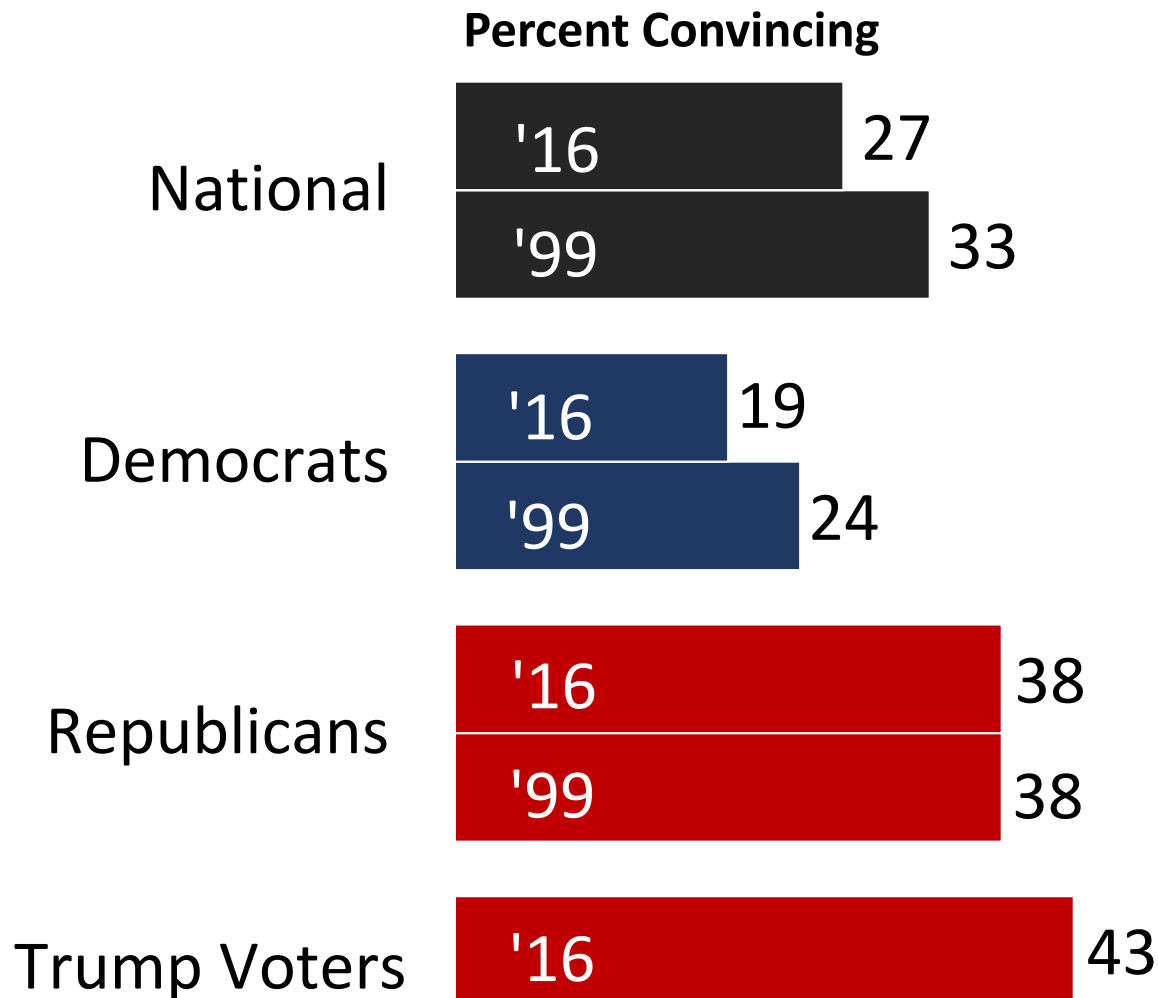
If some countries have lower environmental standards than others, then companies that want to avoid the costs of high standards will relocate to countries with low standards. This will be bad for the environment and will take jobs away from countries with high standards.

Percent Convincing



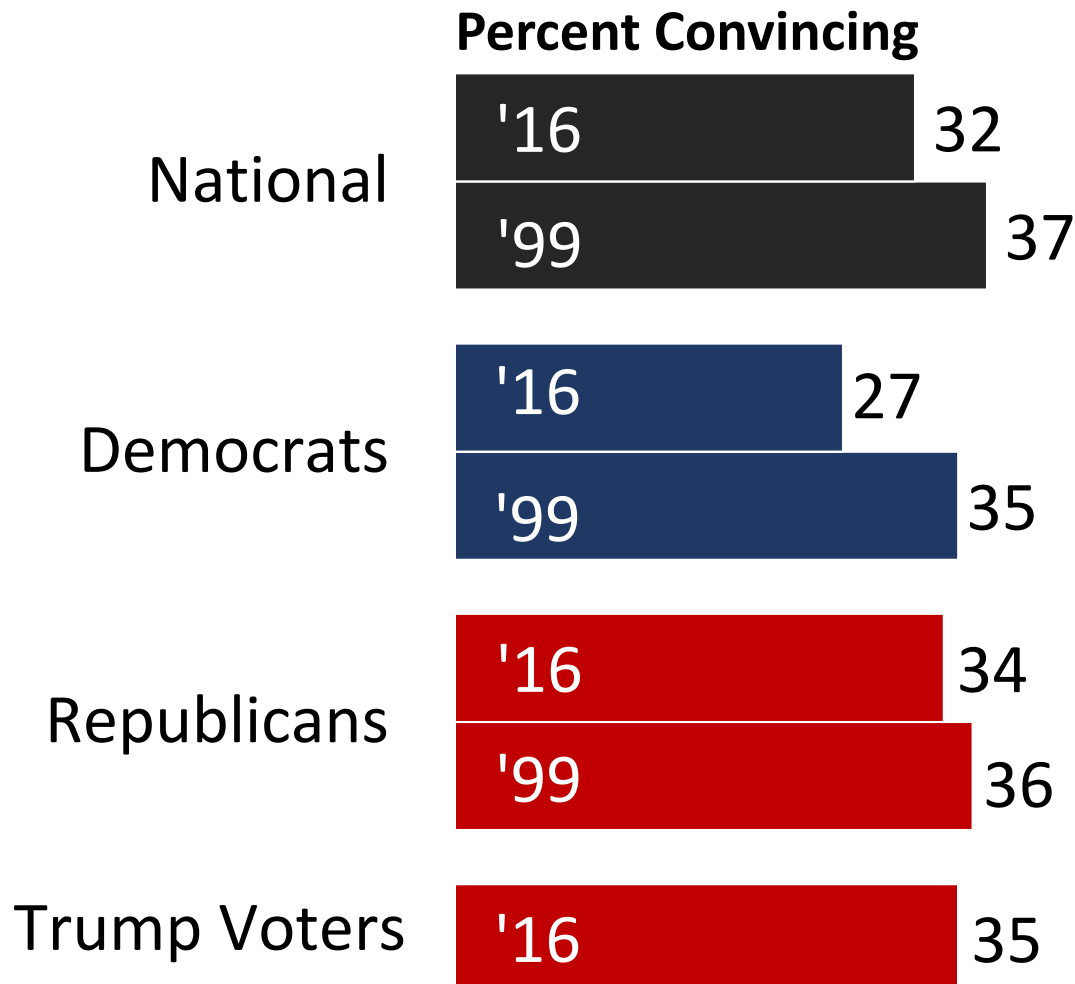
Argument 1: Against international agreements on environmental standards:

It should be up to each country how it deals with its environment. There should not be international bodies that tell countries what to do.



Argument 2: Against international agreements on environmental standards:

For some countries, raising their environmental standards will be much more costly than it will be for other countries. Creating international agreements will lead to pressures to make all countries abide by the same standards. This would not be fair.

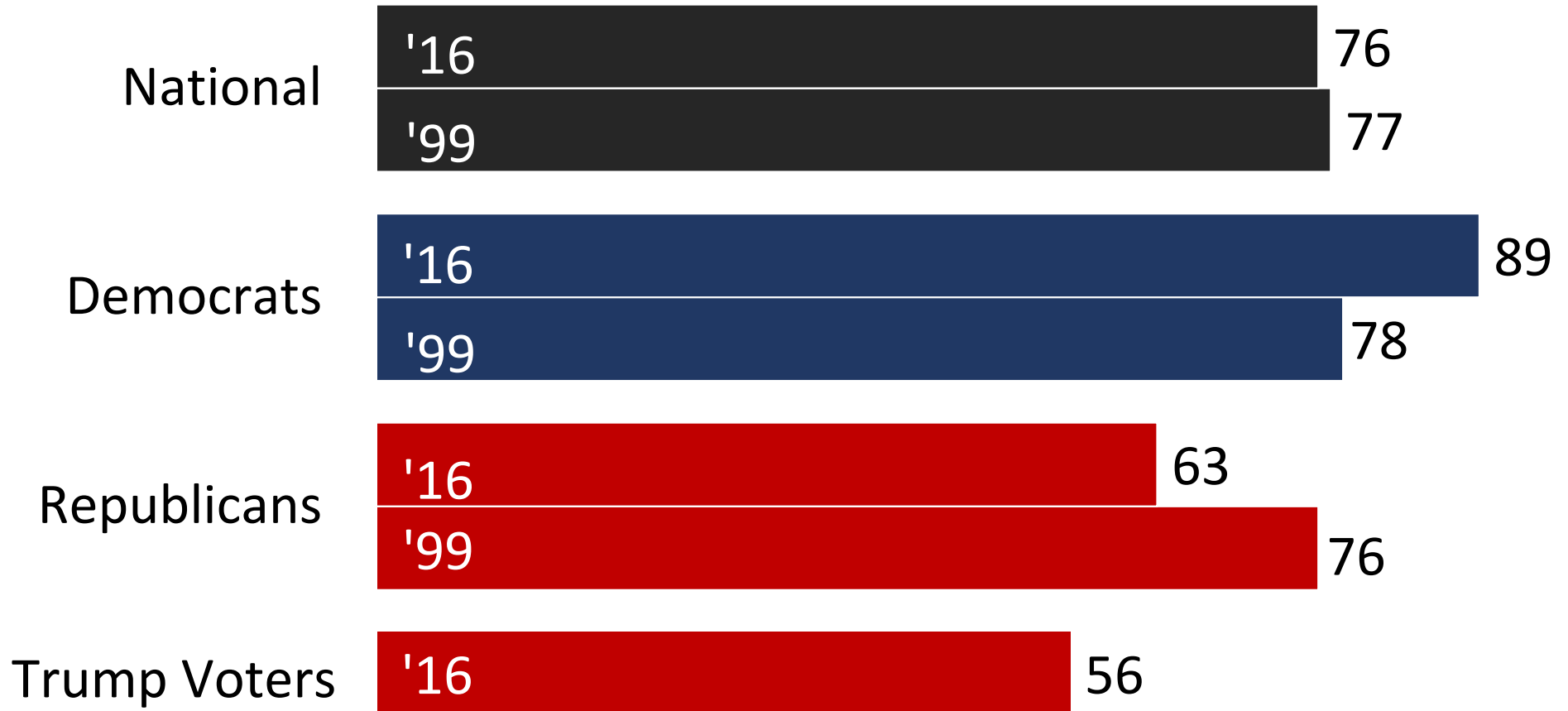


Conclusion:

International agreements on environmental standards

So now, on balance, would you say you favor or oppose the idea of making more international agreements on environmental standards?

Favor

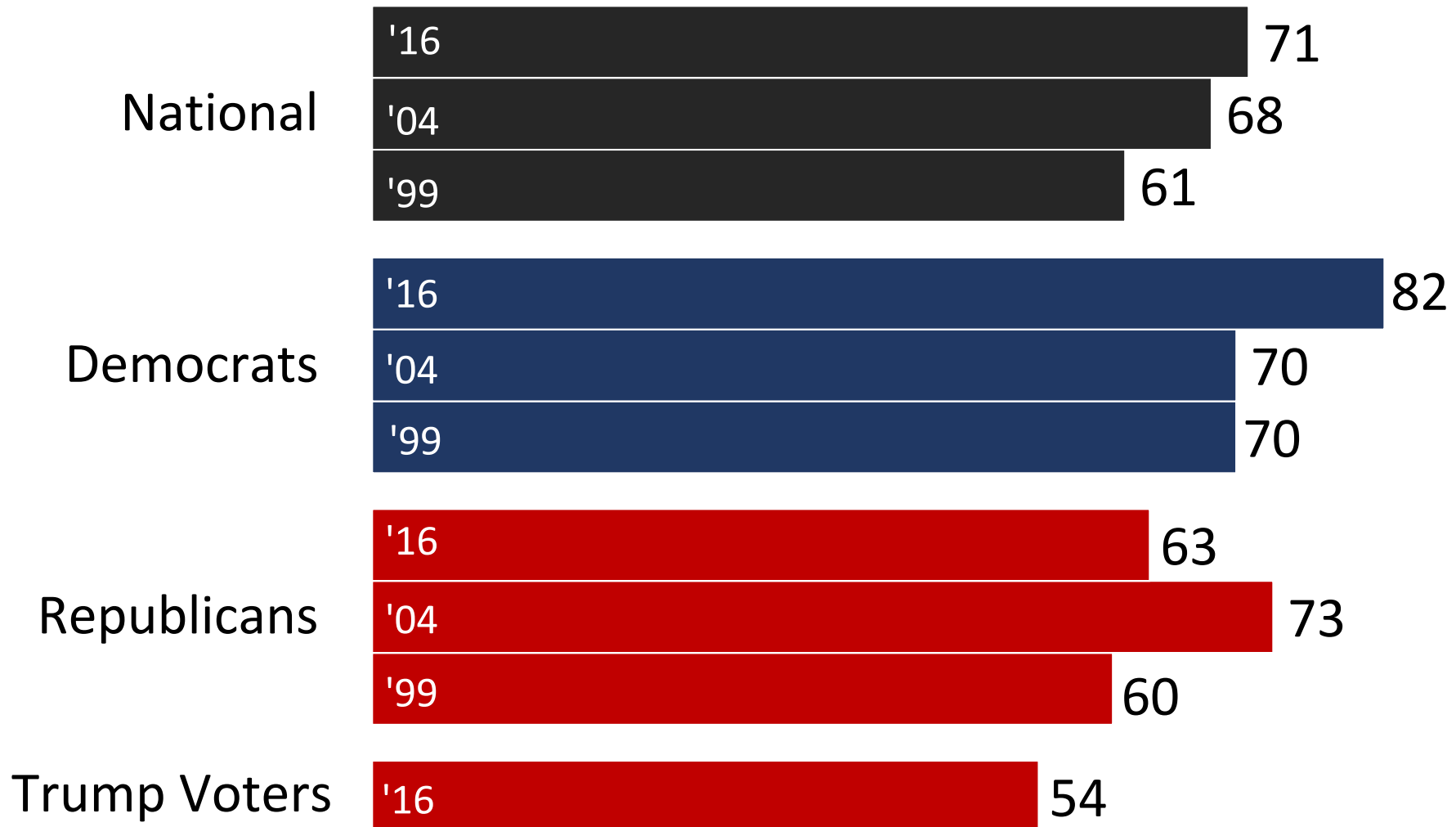


Of the following statements, which comes closer to your view?

1. To deal with global problems such as terrorism and environmental dangers, it will be increasingly necessary for international institutions to get countries to change what they do inside their borders.
2. What countries do inside their borders is their own business. International institutions should not try to tell countries what they should do.

Statement 1:

It will be increasingly necessary for international institutions to get countries to change what they do inside their borders.

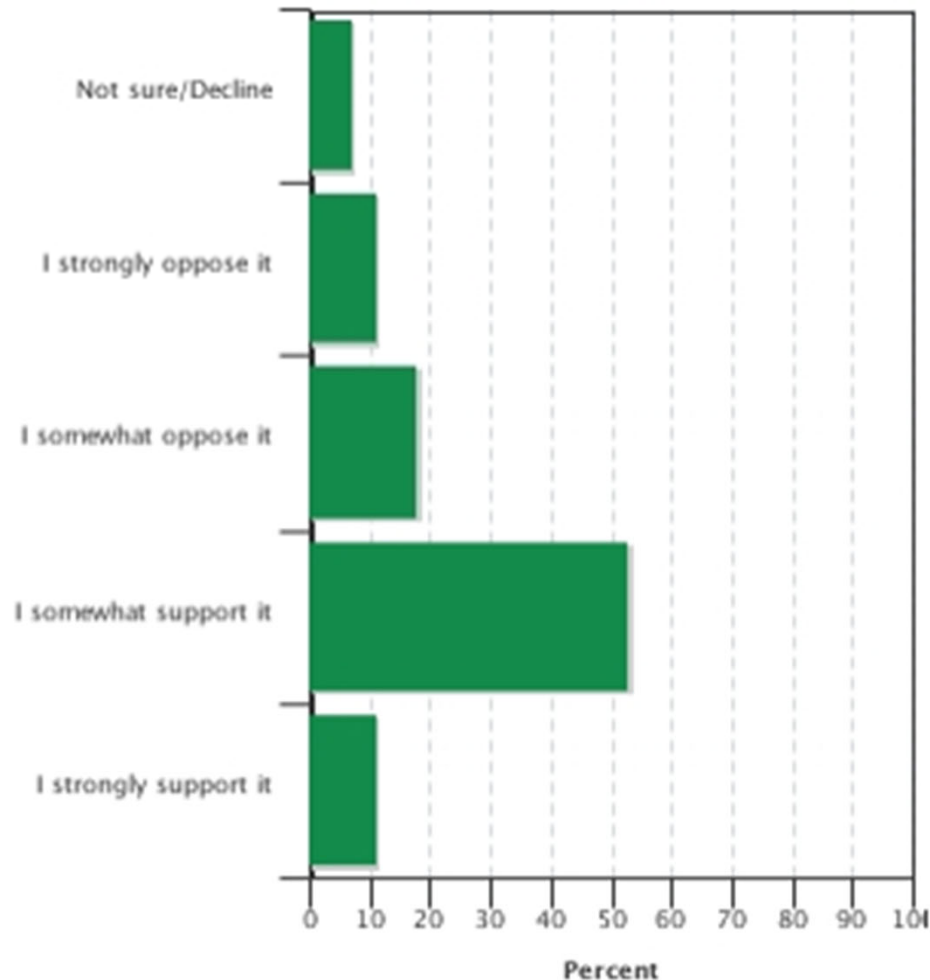


Recent Polling on Trump Trade Policies

Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)

Based on what you know, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this free trade agreement [TPP]?

- 11% I strongly support it
- 53% I somewhat support it
- 18% I somewhat oppose it
- 11% I strongly oppose it
- 7% Not sure/Decline



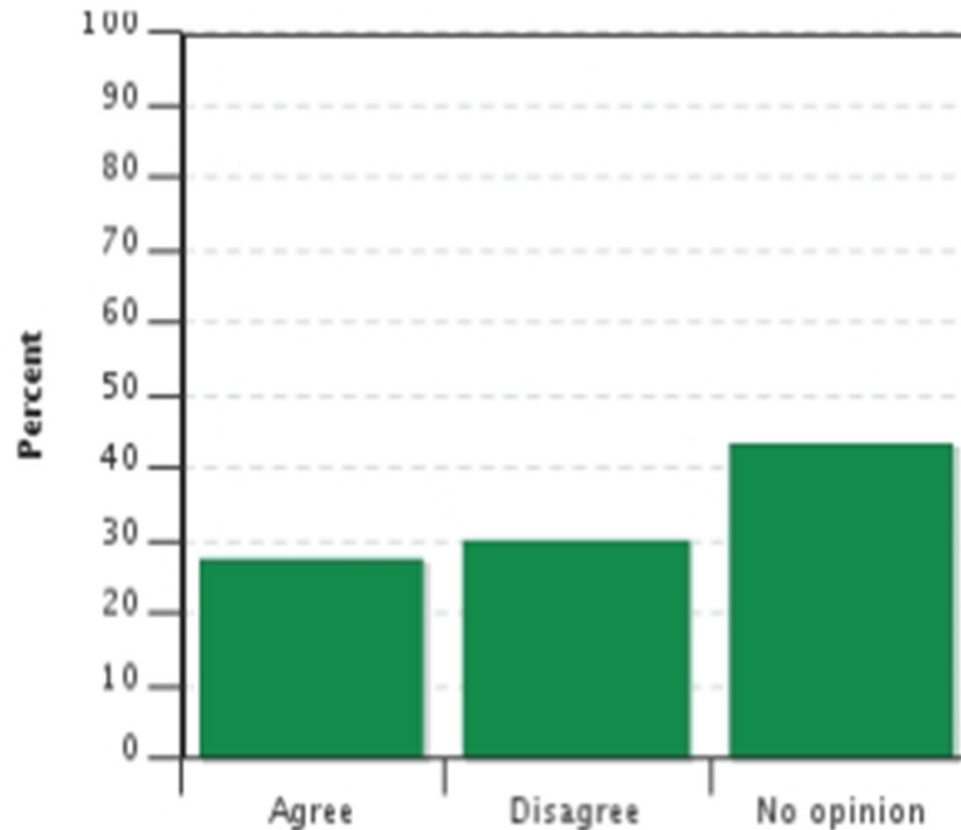
End U.S. Participation in TPP?

Whether to end US participation in the Trans-Pacific Trade Partnership (TPP):

27% Agree

30% Disagree

43% No opinion



Source: Gallup Poll, March 2017

Tariffs: Family Financial Situation

(In the long term, do you think these new tariffs - between the US and China - will make things better, not make much difference, or make things worse for each of the following?)

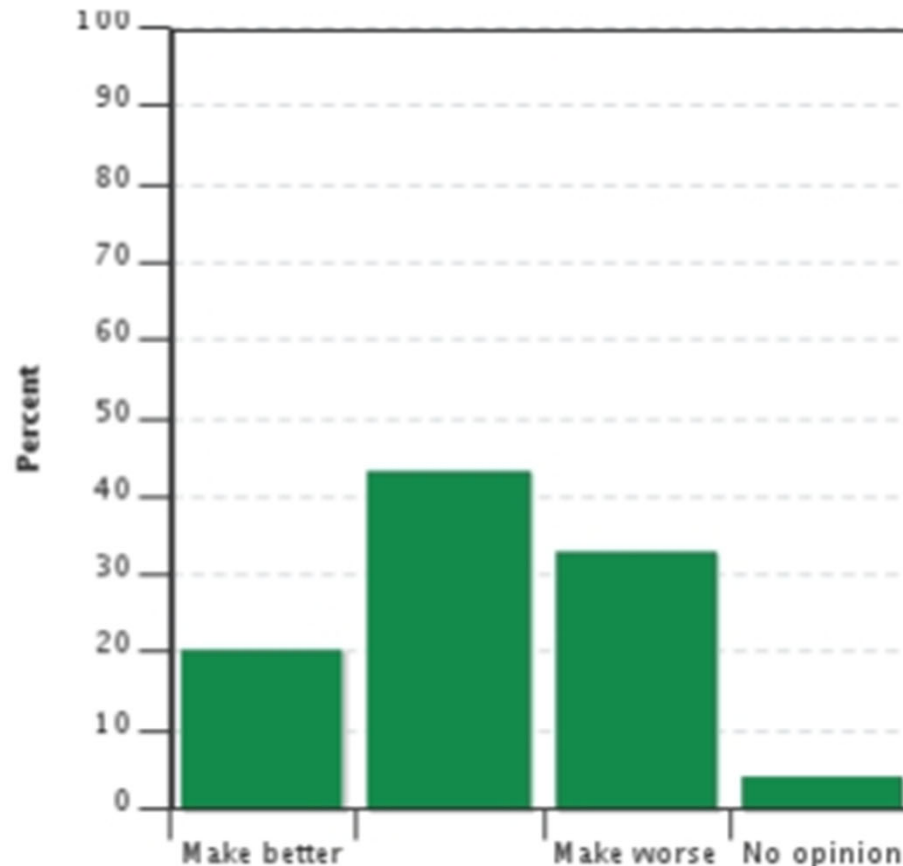
How about... your family's financial situation?

20% Make better

43% Not much difference

33% Make worse

4% No opinion



Tariffs: U.S. Economy

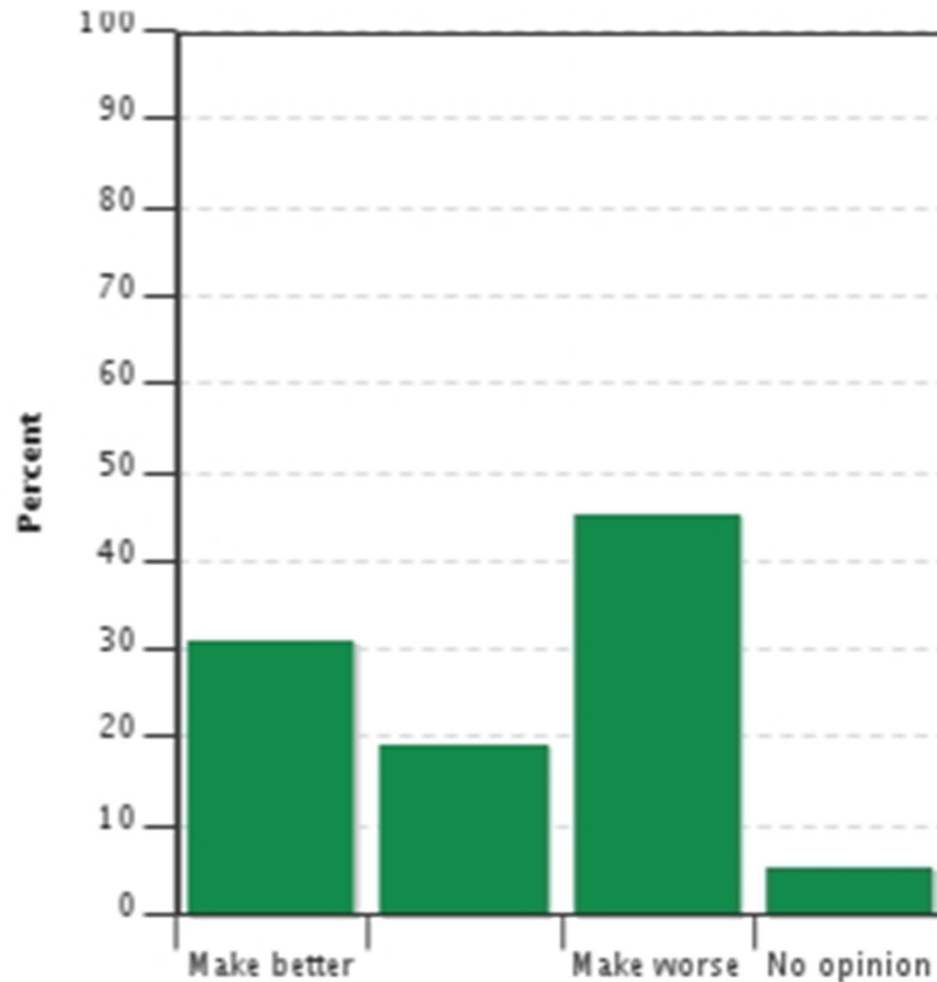
How about... the US economy?

31% Make better

19% Not much difference

45% Make worse

5% No opinion



Tariffs: Price of Consumer Goods in U.S.

Regardless of what you personally support, do you think the tariffs put in place by President (Donald) Trump will increase or decrease, or have no effect on... the price of consumer goods in the US?

21% Increase a lot

52% Increase somewhat

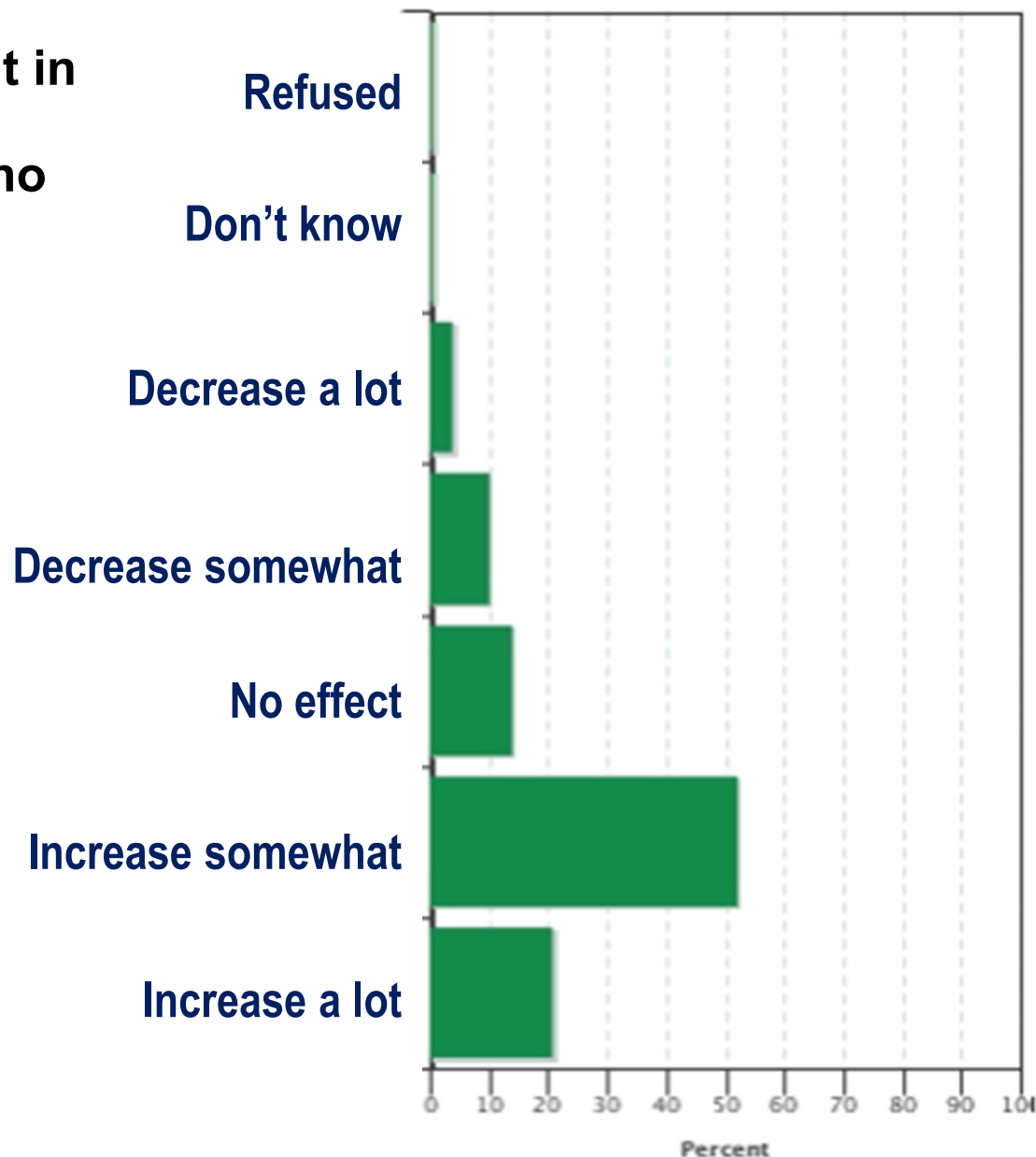
14% No effect

10% Decrease somewhat

4% Decrease a lot

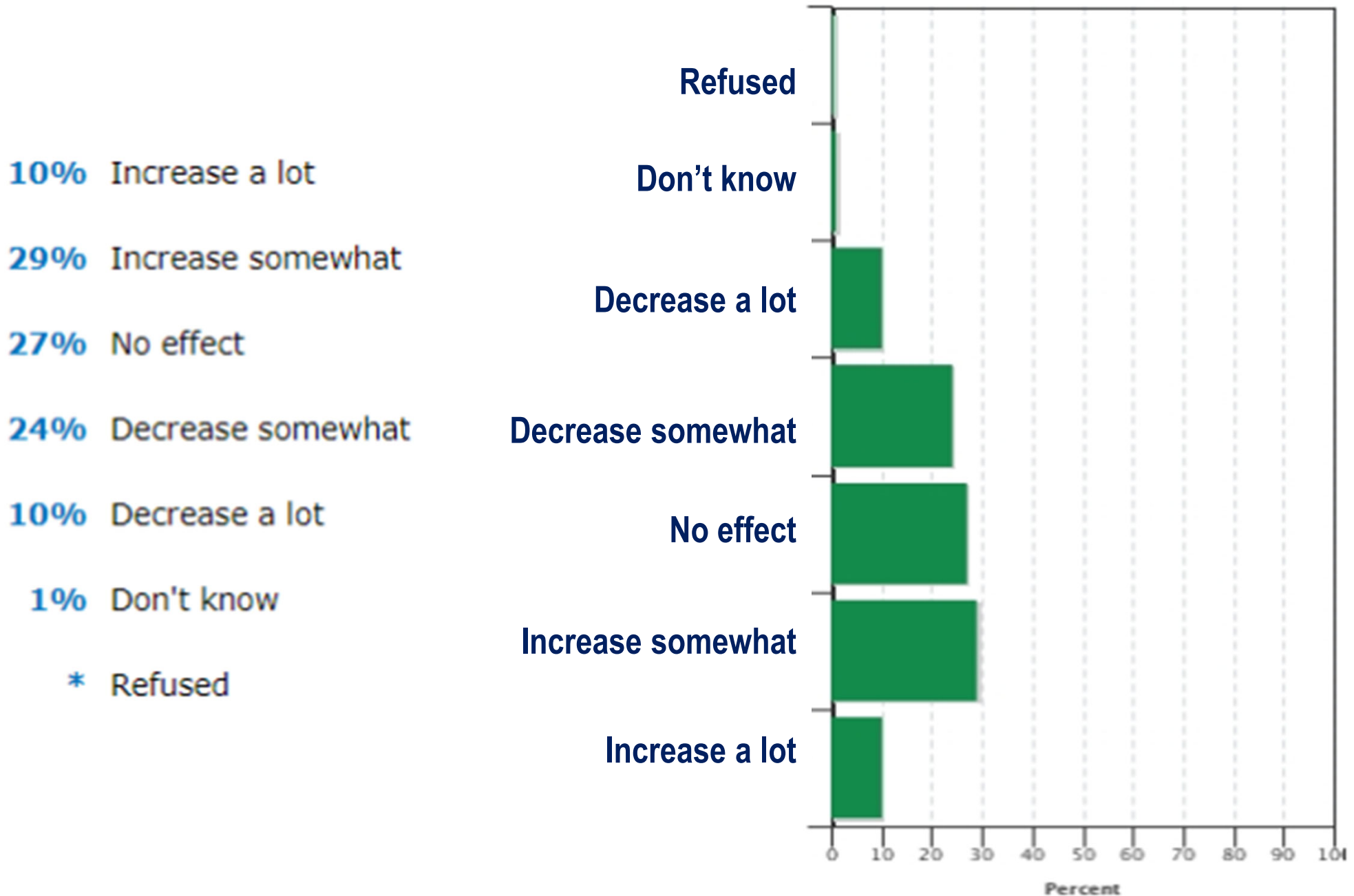
* Don't know

* Refused



Source: Associated Press-NORC Survey, August 2018

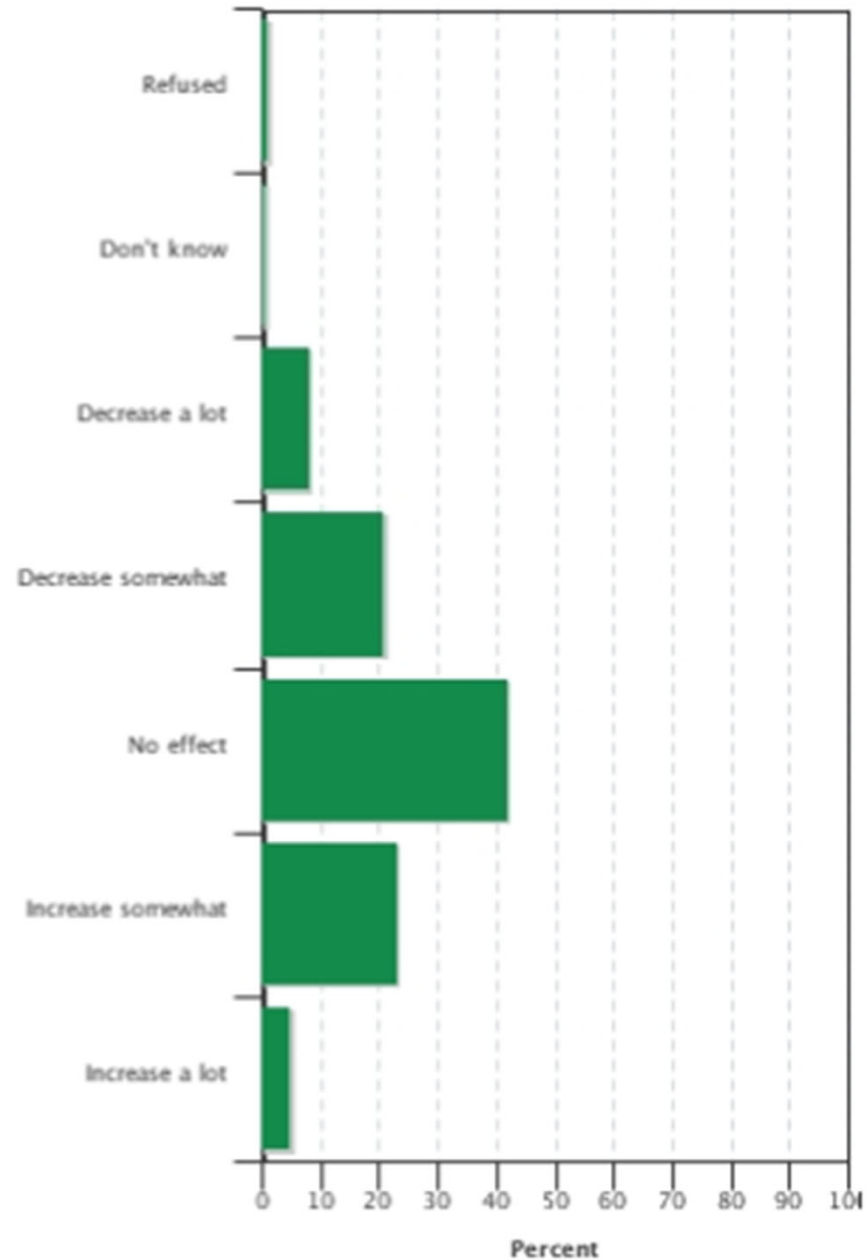
Tariffs: Jobs in the U.S.



Source: Associated Press-NORC Survey, August 2018

Tariffs: Wages for American Workers

- 5% Increase a lot
- 23% Increase somewhat
- 42% No effect
- 21% Decrease somewhat
- 8% Decrease a lot
- * Don't know
- 1% Refused

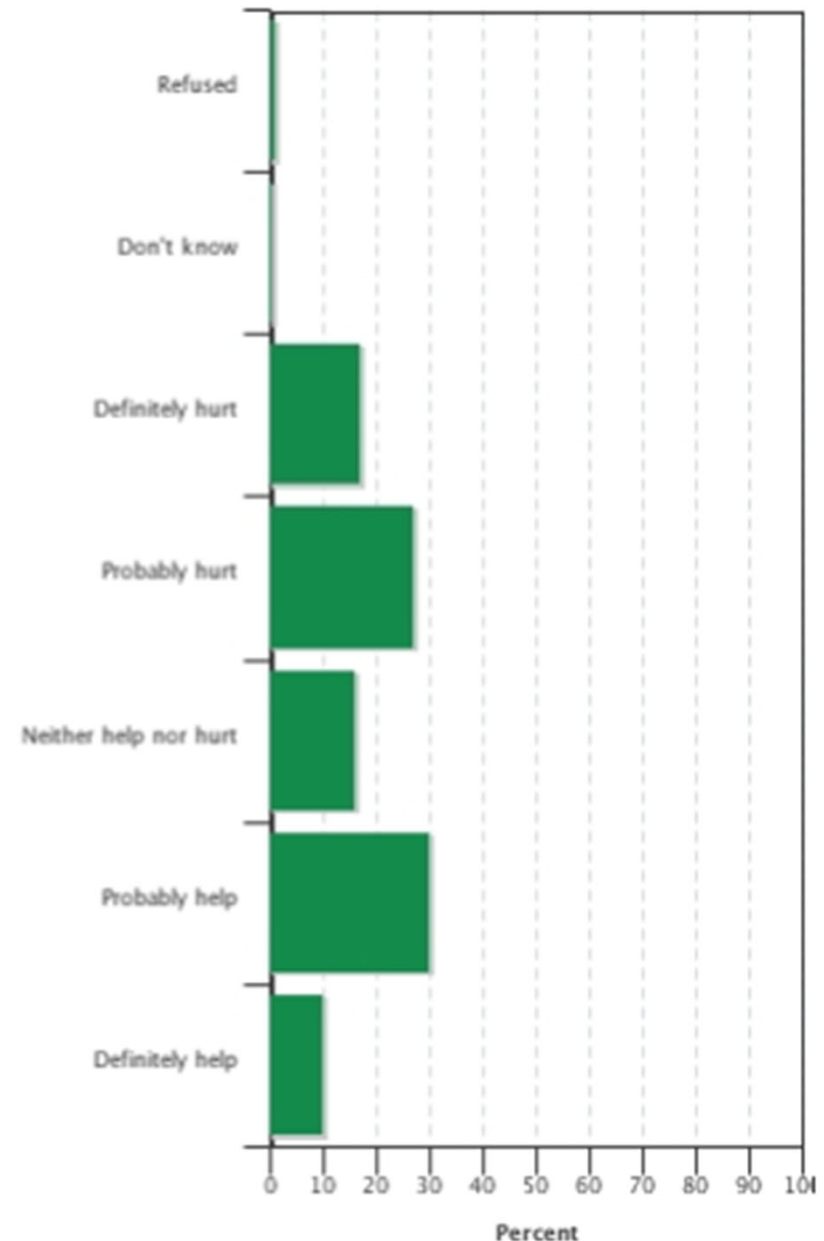


Will Tariffs Help or Hurt U.S. Economy?

(Overall, do you think the tariffs put in place by President (Donald) Trump will definitely:

- help
 - probably help
 - neither help nor hurt
 - probably hurt
 - definitely hurt
- the national economy?

10% Definitely help
30% Probably help
16% Neither help nor hurt
27% Probably hurt
17% Definitely hurt
* Don't know
1% Refused





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*Updated November 2018
with additional polling data from other sources*