

APPENDIX B

HOW THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED

To prepare this study, PIPA conducted a nationwide poll, focus groups, interviews, and a review of previous polls on foreign aid conducted by other organizations.

THE POLL

The poll was conducted on January 12-15, 1995, with a sample of 801 American adults. Respondents were interviewed by telephone by Communications Center, Inc., (CCI) in Washington, DC, on a CATI system using a survey designed by PIPA. Each interview lasted an average of twenty minutes. Respondents were chosen from all households in the continental United States by a random digit dialing sample generated by the Genesys System and provided by Marketing Systems Group. Interviewers observed gender quotas.

Questions that were asked of the entire sample have a margin of error of plus or minus 3.5%. Some questions were asked of three-quarters of the sample and have a margin of error of 4%. The poll also included questions that were only asked when respondents answered a particular way to a previous question; consequently, the number of respondents varied on these questions.

The order and placement of some questions were varied to reduce any biases that might derive from question order or from respondents falling into patterns of responses.

FOCUS GROUPS

PIPA used focus groups to help craft questions for the poll so that they reflected how people talk and think about foreign aid. Focus groups provide citizens with the opportunity to think about various issues and topics over the course of a discussion, to talk about their views and feelings in their own

words, and to describe the underlying assumptions behind their views.

PIPA conducted two focus groups -- one in Baltimore, Maryland and the other in Portland, Oregon. Both groups were held on the evening of December 22, 1994. Each discussion lasted about two hours and a total of twenty-four citizens participated.

Citizens were recruited by PIPA from a sample of random households in the Baltimore and Portland areas provided by Metromail in Lincoln, Nebraska. A strong effort was made by PIPA to recruit a mix of citizens to ensure that a range of perspectives and views were heard. The demographic makeup of each group was designed to roughly mirror society in general. Thus, there was a mix of men and women; white, black or other minorities; income levels; ages; education levels; and employment status.

INTERVIEWS

Telephone interviews were conducted by PIPA staff members both before and after the poll. In the *before* interviews, respondents were administered a draft of the questionnaire and then asked to elaborate on their answers in greater depth. This supplied qualitative data, and helped to refine individual questions and test early drafts of the poll. Those citizens interviewed were selected randomly from households around the country pulled from the sample provided by Metromail. The *after* interviews were held with individuals who actually participated in the PIPA poll to probe deeper into their responses to specific questions. Respondents were chosen based on how they answered specific poll questions that were of interest to PIPA. A total of seventeen interviews were conducted between January 3-26, 1995. Interviews lasted between fifteen and forty-five minutes.

REVIEW OF POLLS BY OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A comprehensive review of publicly released polls on foreign aid-related issues was conducted, going back to 1990. The primary source was the Public Opinion Location Library (POLL) database of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut.

APPENDIX D QUESTIONNAIRE AND RESULTS

Hello, my name is _____ and I am calling for the Program on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland. We are conducting a survey of Americans' opinions on a number of current issues. May I please speak with a member of your household who is 18 years of age or older and at home right now?

1. What is your feeling about how things are going with the economy in the US? Overall, would you say the economy:

Is getting better	26.6%
Is getting worse	27.5%
Is staying about the same	43.4%
(Don't know/Refused)	2.5%

2. I would like to ask your views on foreign aid, the assistance that the United States gives to other countries. How would you say you feel toward foreign aid on a scale of 1-10, with 1 being very bad and 10 being very good?
[1-10]

Median = 5
Mean = 4.3

3. Do you feel the amount the US spends on foreign aid is too much, too little, or about right?

Too much	75.0%
Too little	4.2%
About the right amount	17.4%
(Don't know/Refused)	3.4%

[those who respond "too much" hear 4; other responses skip to 6]

4. Does this mean you want to cut foreign aid?

Yes	84.9%
(equals 63.7% of total sample)	

No	12.6%
(equals 9.5% of total sample)	

(Don't know/Refused)	2.5%
(equals 1.2% of total sample)	

[those who responded "yes" in 4 hear 5; others skip to 6]

5. Would you like to cut foreign aid:

A little	14.1%
(equals 9.0% of total sample)	

Somewhat	36.3%
(equals 23.1% of total sample)	

A lot	37.1%
(equals 23.6% of total sample)	

Eliminate it entirely	12.2%
(equals 7.8% of total sample)	

(Don't know/Refused)	.4%
(equals .25% of total sample)	

6. Just based on what you know, please tell me your hunch about what percentage of the federal budget goes to foreign aid. You can answer in fractions of percentage points as well as whole percentage points.

Median = 15.0
Mean = 18.1

7. What do you think would be an appropriate percentage of the federal budget to go to foreign aid, if any?

Median = 5.4%
Mean = 8.4%

8. Now imagine that you found out that the percentage of the federal budget for foreign aid is higher than that. At what percentage would you feel that this is starting to be too much?

Median = 12.7%
Mean = 16.4%

9. Now imagine that you found out that the percentage of the federal budget for foreign

aid is lower than that. At what point would you feel that this is starting to be too little?

Median = 2.9%
Mean = 5.7%

10. Now imagine that you found out that the US spends 1% of the federal budget on foreign aid. Would you feel that this is too little, too much, or about right?

Way too little	15.5%
A bit too little	17.6%
About right	45.5%
A bit too much	8.9%
Way too much	8.6%
(Don't know/Refused)	3.8%

Statement:

Okay, now I am going to read you a number of arguments that have been made on the subject of foreign aid. As I read each one please say whether you agree or disagree with it (strongly or somewhat).

Here's the first one--

[Randomly select from questions 11 through 25. Each question presented to 3/4 sample.]

11. The United States should be willing to share at least a small portion of its wealth with those in the world who are in great need.

Pro

Agree Strongly	38.1%
Agree Somewhat	42.2%
Disagree Somewhat	7.8%
Disagree Strongly	10.6%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.3%

12. Helping people in foreign countries is not the proper role for the US government. This should be strictly a private matter taken care of by individuals giving donations through private organizations.

Con

Agree Strongly	16.5%
Agree Somewhat	22.1%
Disagree Somewhat	32.2%
Disagree Strongly	26.2%
(Don't know/Refused)	2.9%

13. Giving foreign aid to countries who are strategically positioned in the world is a good

idea because it ensures that they will stay friendly to us.

Pro

Agree Strongly	15.0%
Agree Somewhat	30.1%
Disagree Somewhat	26.8%
Disagree Strongly	24.6%
(Don't know/Refused)	3.5%

14. Taking care of problems at home is more important than giving aid to foreign countries.

Con

Agree Strongly	64.3%
Agree Somewhat	21.6%
Disagree Somewhat	7.8%
Disagree Strongly	3.5%
(Don't know/Refused)	2.8%

15. The world economy is so interconnected today that, in the long run, helping Third World countries to develop is in the economic interest of the US. Many of these countries will become trading partners that buy our exports, so eventually our aid will pay off economically.

Pro

Agree Strongly	24.0%
Agree Somewhat	38.9%
Disagree Somewhat	13.6%
Disagree Strongly	20.4%
(Don't know/Refused)	3.1%

16. Now that the Cold War is over, it should no longer be necessary for the US to give money to other countries to make sure that they stay friendly to us or let us base our troops on their territory primarily to defend them.

Con

Agree Strongly	22.9%
Agree Somewhat	25.2%
Disagree Somewhat	26.8%
Disagree Strongly	20.8%
(Don't know/Refused)	4.4%

17. As one of the world's rich nations, the United States has a moral responsibility toward poor nations to help them develop economically and improve their people's lives.

Pro

Agree Strongly	26.0%
Agree Somewhat	40.5%
Disagree Somewhat	16.4%

Disagree Strongly	16.0%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.0%

18. Too much US foreign aid goes to governments that are not very democratic and have poor human rights records. This is not consistent with American principles.

Con

Agree Strongly	49.3%
Agree Somewhat	30.2%
Disagree Somewhat	10.9%
Disagree Strongly	4.9%
(Don't know/Refused)	4.7%

19. We should send aid to starving people irrespective of whether it will promote the national interest.

Pro

Agree Strongly	40.4%
Agree Somewhat	35.9%
Disagree Somewhat	10.6%
Disagree Strongly	10.6%
(Don't know/Refused)	2.5%

20. We should only make commitments to send aid to parts of the world where we have security interests. These include the former Soviet republics and Eastern Europe where we want to prevent the reemergence of the Russian empire, and the Middle East where we want to ensure access to oil. We should not send aid to other parts of the world, such as Africa, Asia or Latin America because we do not really have vital security interests there.

Con

Agree Strongly	11.1%
Agree Somewhat	11.2%
Disagree Somewhat	28.8%
Disagree Strongly	47.8%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.1%

21. Giving aid to countries that used to be part of the Soviet Union or under its influence helps reduce the chances that they will once again be dominated by Russia.

Pro

Agree Strongly	15.3%
Agree Somewhat	30.4%
Disagree Somewhat	30.2%
Disagree Strongly	19.2%
(Don't know/Refused)	5.0%

22. There is so much waste and corruption in the process of giving foreign aid that very little aid actually reaches the people who really need it.

Con

Agree Strongly	59.1%
Agree Somewhat	23.8%
Disagree Somewhat	9.3%
Disagree Strongly	2.9%
(Don't know/Refused)	4.8%

23. Foreign aid to newly democratic countries is a good investment for America. Democracies are more stable, have better human rights, and are more likely to be friends with the US. Foreign aid improves these new democracies' chances of success.

Pro

Agree Strongly	22.9%
Agree Somewhat	44.3%
Disagree Somewhat	17.3%
Disagree Strongly	12.7%
(Don't know/Refused)	2.9%

24. Until we have resolved our problems at home, we should not give a penny of aid to other countries.

Con

Agree Strongly	22.0%
Agree Somewhat	12.9%
Disagree Somewhat	33.6%
Disagree Strongly	30.8%
(Don't know/Refused)	.7%

25. Americans are a generous people so it is natural for them to provide relief when people are suffering from a disaster such as a famine. But the really intelligent thing to do is to help poor countries develop so that their economies are strong enough to cope with such adversities.

Pro

Agree Strongly	57.0%
Agree Somewhat	28.5%
Disagree Somewhat	6.6%
Disagree Strongly	6.5%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.4%

[3/4 sample]

26. If you think about the amount of aid that the US gives to less developed countries, as a percentage of gross national product, how do

you think this compares with the percentage that the other industrialized countries give?
Do you think the US gives:

More	81.1%
Less	5.3%
About the same as other industrialized countries	9.4%
(Don't know/Refused)	4.1%

[3/4 sample]

27. Do you think that the amount of foreign aid that the US gives to less developed countries, as a percentage of its gross national product, should be:

More	12.7%
Less	15.6%
About the same as other industrialized countries	67.5%
(Don't know/Refused)	4.1%

Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following...

[3/4 sample]

28. I prefer to give a hand up rather than a handout. Simply giving money and goods to poor countries can make them dependent. Whenever possible, I prefer to give them training and access to credit and other resources so that they can become self-reliant, and I would be willing to pay more in taxes to that end. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

Agree	65.2%
Disagree	31.9%
(Don't know/Refused)	2.9%

[3/4 sample]

29. When we give countries foreign aid, we have a right to expect them to follow our lead and not do things like vote against us in the UN.

Agree	52.4%
Disagree	44.2%
(Don't know/Refused)	3.4%

[Those who answered "agree" to 29 hear:]

30. Do you think foreign aid has been successful in this regard?

Yes	32.1%	(equals 16.8% of total sample)
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No	56.4%	(equals 29.6% of total sample)
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(Don't know/Refused)	11.5%	(equals 6.0% of total sample)
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[3/4 sample]

31. In the years after the Korean War, the US gave billions of dollars in aid to South Korea. Some people feel that this is a good example of how we contributed to developing a country that is now an ally and a trading partner. Others feel that this aid helped South Korea take away our markets by selling low cost goods, and therefore was a mistake. Do you think it was a mistake to have given aid to South Korea?

Yes	32.7%
No	60.1%
(Don't know/Refused)	7.2%

[half sample]

32. When you hear that children are hungry in some part of the US, how much does that trouble you? Please answer on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being not at all and 10 being very much.

[1-10]

Median = 10

Mean = 8.6

[half sample that did not hear 32]

33. When you hear that children are hungry in some part of the world OUTSIDE of the US, how much does that trouble you?

[1-10]

Median = 8

Mean = 7.2

3/4 sample

34. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following: If I knew that most foreign aid was going to the poor people who really need it, rather than to wasteful bureaucracies and corrupt governments, I would be willing to pay more in taxes for foreign aid.

Agree	57.6%
Disagree	40.5%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.9%

35. Imagine that the UN called a conference of leading scientists and experts to develop a plan and determine how much it would cost the developed countries, working together with the poor countries, to virtually eliminate hunger in the world in 5 years. If you were confident that this plan probably could work and that people in other countries, as well as the US, would pay their fair share, would you personally be willing to pay [half sample hears \$50 / other half hears \$100] each year for the next five years to virtually eliminate hunger?

<u>\$50.00</u>	
Yes	77.8%
No	18.1%
(Don't know/Refused)	4.1%

<u>\$100.00</u>	
Yes	74.9%
No	20.5%
(Don't know/Refused)	4.7%

[3/4 sample]

36. Please tell me which of the following two statements is closest to what you think about giving aid to Russia:

[alternately reverse order of Statements 1 and 2]

Statement 1

After spending trillions of dollars defending against the Soviet threat, it would be foolish to not help the Russians make the transition to democracy and capitalism. If they go back to totalitarianism, we will be really sorry we did not try harder to help.

Statement 2

After having threatened the rest of the world for several decades, the Russians do not deserve our help. Besides, if we help them get back on their feet they might turn around and threaten us again.

Statement 1	59.2%
Statement 2	36.0%
(Don't know/Refused)	4.8%

37. Okay, now I'm going to tell you how much the US DOES spend on foreign aid. In fact,

the US spends approximately 1% of the federal budget on foreign aid. This means the average American taxpayer spends about \$28 per year on foreign aid. Your own amount may be somewhat higher or lower, depending on your income. Assuming that any change in spending would also increase or decrease your own taxes accordingly, I would like to know if you would favor increasing this spending a lot, increasing it somewhat, increasing it slightly, keeping it the same, cutting it slightly, cutting it somewhat or cutting it a lot.

Increase a lot	2.5%
Increase somewhat	12.1%
Increase slightly	10.5%
Keep the same	37.2%
Cut slightly	7.1%
Cut somewhat	13.6%
Cut a lot	14.7%
(Don't know/Refused)	2.2%

Statement:

OK, now I am going to break down how much is spent on different types of foreign aid.

[Randomize questions 38-43 and present to 3/4 sample each]

38. For military aid, which provides weapons and other military capabilities to countries that are friendly to the United States. For this, the US spends about 3.6 billion dollars, which is about \$6.80 for the average taxpayer. For military aid, would you favor increasing spending, cutting spending or keeping it the same? (If increase or cut) Would that be slightly, somewhat, or a lot?

Increase a lot	1.2%
Increase somewhat	2.8%
Increase slightly	2.3%
Keep the same	40.6%
Cut slightly	12.2%
Cut somewhat	19.0%
Cut a lot	21.0%
(Don't know/Refused)	.9%

39. For humanitarian relief, which is for caring for people who urgently need food, medical care, or shelter because they are refugees or victims of a disaster like a famine, a flood or a

war, the US spends about 1.3 billion dollars, which is about \$2.45 for the average taxpayer. For humanitarian relief aid, would you favor increasing spending, cutting spending or keeping it the same? (If increase or cut) Would that be slightly, somewhat, or a lot?

Increase a lot	10.4%
Increase somewhat	21.5%
Increase slightly	9.1%
Keep the same	46.2%
Cut slightly	1.9%
Cut somewhat	4.0%
Cut a lot	5.9%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.1%

40. For assistance to poor countries to help them improve their food production, their basic health care, their schools, their private enterprises and so on, the US spends about 4.6 billion dollars, which is about \$8.70 for the average taxpayer. For assistance to poor countries, would you favor increasing spending, cutting spending or keeping it the same? (If increase or cut) Would that be slightly, somewhat, or a lot?

Increase a lot	6.8%
Increase somewhat	11.9%
Increase slightly	10.6%
Keep the same	46.0%
Cut slightly	7.6%
Cut somewhat	6.8%
Cut a lot	9.2%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.3%

41. For aid to Israel and Egypt, which includes military and economic aid, the US spends 5.2 billion dollars, which is about \$9.83 for the average taxpayer. For aid to Israel and Egypt, would you favor increasing spending, cutting spending or keeping it the same? (If increase or cut) Would that be slightly, somewhat, or a lot?

Increase a lot	.7%
Increase somewhat	2.6%
Increase slightly	1.1%
Keep the same	38.0%
Cut slightly	10.7%
Cut somewhat	16.6%
Cut a lot	28.4%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.8%

42. For aid to countries in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe making the transition from socialism to democracy and capitalism, the US spends 1.2 billion dollars, about \$2.27 for the average taxpayer. For this would you favor increasing spending, cutting spending or keeping it the same? (If increase or cut) Would that be slightly, somewhat, or a lot?

Increase a lot	3.7%
Increase somewhat	9.2%
Increase slightly	7.0%
Keep the same	51.9%
Cut slightly	9.3%
Cut somewhat	9.5%
Cut a lot	9.0%
(Don't know/Refused)	.4%

43. For aid to Turkey and Greece, which allow us to put military bases on their territory, the US makes loans of about 600 million dollars plus about 100 million dollars in grants to Turkey, about \$1.23 for the average taxpayer. For aid to Greece and Turkey would you favor increasing spending, cutting spending or keeping it the same? (If increase or cut) Would that be slightly, somewhat, or a lot?

Increase a lot	1.4%
Increase somewhat	3.0%
Increase slightly	1.8%
Keep the same	54.7%
Cut slightly	9.9%
Cut somewhat	13.1%
Cut a lot	15.2%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.0%

Statement:

Okay, now I am going to ask you about how you feel about some smaller aid programs that may be included in some of the programs you have already heard described.

[Randomize questions 44-47, 3/4 sample hears each question]

44. The Peace Corps. For this, the US spends 220 million dollars, about 42 cents for the average taxpayer. For the Peace Corps, would you favor increasing spending, cutting spending or keeping it the same? (If increase or cut) Would that be slightly, somewhat, or a lot?

Increase a lot	16.2%
Increase somewhat	21.0%
Increase slightly	9.8%
Keep the same	43.1%
Cut slightly	2.1%
Cut somewhat	2.7%
Cut a lot	4.6%
(Don't know/Refused)	.5%

45. For environmental aid to poor countries to help them preserve their environment and to reduce pollution, especially pollution that may contribute to global warming. For this the US spends 740 million dollars, about \$1.40 for the average taxpayer. For environmental aid, would you favor increasing spending, cutting spending or keeping it the same? (If increase or cut) Would that be slightly, somewhat, or a lot?

Increase a lot	13.4%
Increase somewhat	14.7%
Increase slightly	9.4%
Keep the same	41.4%
Cut slightly	4.5%
Cut somewhat	6.1%
Cut a lot	9.5%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.0%

46. For family planning, to help poor countries limit the growth of their population, the US spends 450 million dollars, about 86 cents for the average taxpayer. For family planning, would you favor increasing spending, cutting spending or keeping it the same? (If increase or cut) Would that be slightly, somewhat, or a lot?

Increase a lot	14.6%
Increase somewhat	13.7%
Increase slightly	7.4%
Keep the same	38.3%
Cut slightly	5.8%
Cut somewhat	5.2%
Cut a lot	13.5%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.6%

47. For child survival programs, which help feed poor children, combat childhood diseases and provide prenatal care, the US spends about 380 million dollars, about 72 cents for the average taxpayer. For child survival programs, would you favor increasing

spending, cutting spending or keeping it the same? (If increase or cut) Would that be slightly, somewhat, or a lot?

Increase a lot	21.3%
Increase somewhat	23.5%
Increase slightly	10.7%
Keep the same	35.4%
Cut slightly	2.2%
Cut somewhat	1.6%
Cut a lot	4.2%
(Don't know/Refused)	1.1%

Statement: Now I would like you to consider an idea for how the US could better help poor countries, but in a way that would not cost any additional tax dollars.

[half sample]

48. At present, the US limits the import of goods from countries because they compete with American-manufactured products. Some of these countries are poor and some of them receive US foreign aid. Some people argue that we can help these poor countries by allowing in more of their products, and this may even help some get to the point that they will not need foreign aid. Others say that if we do this it may take away some American jobs. Do you favor or oppose trying to help poor countries by allowing more of their products into the US?

Favor	42.9%
Oppose	49.1%
(Don't know/Refused)	8.0%

(half sample that did not hear AL-1)

49. At present, the US limits the import of goods from countries by giving countries a limited number of quotas, which give them the right to sell a certain number of products in the US. At present, most of these quotas go to countries that are not poor. Some people say that we should give more of these quotas to poor countries, especially those that presently receive US foreign aid, because this would help their economies and may even help some foreign aid recipients get to the point that they will not need aid. Others argue that this is not a good idea because we may have

to take quotas away from the wealthier countries that presently have them, and this could be politically sensitive. Do you favor or oppose the idea of giving poor countries more of such quotas?

Favor	68.5%
Oppose	22.0%
(Don't know/Refused)	9.5%

DEMOGRAPHICS

STATEMENT: In closing, I would like to ask a few questions about you. This is for statistical analysis only.

50. What is your age?

18 to 29	18.4%
30 to 45	40.0%
46 to 65	28.3%
Over 65	12.6%
Refused	.7%

51. Registered Voter

Yes	87.5%
No	12.2%
Don't know/Refused	.2%

52. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

Strongly Republican	23.1%
Leaning Towards Republican	15.5%
Strongly Democrat	14.7%
Leaning Towards Democrat	9.6%
Independent	31.5%
Other	1.6%
(Don't Know/Refused)	4.0%

53. What is the highest level of education that you have had:

Some High School	6.4%
High School Graduate	27.7%
Some College	29.2%
4 Year College Degree	21.3%
Advanced Degree (Master's Plus)	14.7%

Refused	.6%
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54. What is your ethnic affiliation?
(Don't read, let them answer)

White/Caucasian	81.0%
Black/African American	7.7%
Other	9.4%
Refused	1.9%

55. Please tell me if, over the last year, you have expressed your views publicly in any of the following ways:

Calling in to a talk show	4.6%
Calling or writing a member of Congress	26.1%
Speaking at a town hall meeting	8.2%
None of the above	67.0%

56. How closely would you say that you follow current affairs? Would you say you follow them:

Very closely	27.5%
Somewhat closely	57.6%
Not very closely	12.1%
Not at all	2.5%
(Don't know/Refused)	.4%

57. Did you get a chance to vote last November or did something keep you from voting in that election?

Yes, voted	71.7%
No, did not vote	27.7%
(Don't know/Refused)	.6%

[If respondent answered "yes" to 57:]

58. For your Congressional representative did you vote Republican, Democratic or something else?

Republican	53.7%
Democratic	36.4%
Something else	3.1%
Refused	6.8%

59. Here is a range of household incomes. Just stop me when I read an amount that is MORE than the correct category for your household.

\$15,000	12.4%
\$25,000	19.2%
\$45,000	30.1%
\$70,000	20.1%
\$100,000	7.5%
More Than \$100,000	5.6%
Refused	5.1%

60. Last question, if we were to contact you as a follow-up to this survey, for the purpose of elaborating on some of your answers, would you be willing to participate?

Yes	78.8%
No	20.3%
Refused	.9%

61. Determine if respondent is male or female and select appropriate answer; do not ask respondent their gender.

Female	47.9%
Male	52.1%