

# AEI STUDIES IN PUBLIC OPINION

## POLLS ON NAFTA AND FREE TRADE

(updated June 26, 2008)

*Twenty-one years ago, in December 1987, Congressman Richard Gephardt, then making his first run for president, was assailed by his Democratic rivals as a protectionist. Senator Al Gore referred to Gephardt's trade legislation as "nonsense." Senator Gary Hart, also seeking the nomination, called the protectionism embodied in Gephardt's trade proposals "the worst old idea I've heard in this campaign." Governor Bruce Babbitt said protectionism represented a "pessimistic fear that America can't compete." During the primaries, Governor Michael Dukakis, the eventual nominee, defended free trade.*

*In the 1992 campaign, candidate Bill Clinton helped to cement his image as a New Democrat by championing free trade. And a little more than a year after his election, in December 1993, he signed into law the North American Free Trade Agreement. Clinton called the NAFTA vote a "defining moment for our nation."<sup>1</sup>*

*Today, the center of gravity of the Democratic Party on trade has shifted. During the 2008 primaries nearly all of the Democratic candidates, including presumptive nominee Barack Obama, stood if not shoulder to shoulder with Gephardt, very close to him on the issue. In the Des Moines Register December 13, 2007 debate, he said, "There's no doubt that NAFTA needs to be amended." On the Republican side, John McCain champions free trade in general and NAFTA in particular. In a speech to the Economic Club of Toronto on June 20, 2008, he said, "Demanding unilateral changes and threatening to abrogate an agreement that has increased trade and prosperity is nothing more than retreating behind protectionist walls."*

*Has public opinion shifted? This collection of polls attempts to answer that question. It includes general questions on trade, surveys taken before the vote on NAFTA and shortly after its passage. It also includes contemporary questions. What does it show?*

*First, the long-standing American ambivalence about trade is much in evidence in the polls. This is borne out by questions asked long ago and questions asked recently. Two questions from 1993 illustrate this two-mindedness. A March 1993 Yankelovich, Time, CNN question found 76 percent agreeing that past international trade agreements had caused a loss of jobs in the United States. Another question posed by Princeton Survey Research Associates and Newsweek interviewers in the summer of 1993 found an identical 76 percent saying that international trade is a good thing for the U.S. More recently, in a CBS News/New York Times poll conducted in March and April 2008, a solid 58 percent (down from 67 percent in March 1993) said trade with other countries was good for the United States. At the same time, as the*

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<sup>1</sup>William J. Clinton, "Remarks by the President in NAFTA Bill Signing Ceremony," Dec. 8, 1993, <<http://www.clintonfoundation.org/legacy/120893-speech-by-president-in-nafta-bill-signing-ceremony.html>>

second question in this collection from the Los Angeles Times suggests, larger majorities consistently say that it is important to restrict imports to protect American jobs.

Complicating the assessment of the public's views, the data here suggest that Americans may be feeling a bit more comfortable with globalization. A survey by the Pew Research Center in 2002 found that most people in the United States thought "growing business ties between the United States and other countries" were good for them and their families (79 percent) and good for the United States (78 percent). The findings were especially impressive because 55 percent of those surveyed thought that the availability of good paying jobs had gotten worse over the last five years in the United States. Additionally, a Pew Research Center poll conducted in 2007 found that 70 percent agreed (25 percent strongly and 45 percent mostly) that "most people are better off in a free market economy, even though some people are rich and some people are poor."

What about NAFTA in particular? In this Public Opinion study, we look first at opinion about NAFTA before its passage, and then at opinion after passage. We also include a summary trend that lists all the questions we could find about NAFTA chronologically. The wording of these questions differs, but the summary trend is still a useful gauge of opinion.

During the debate on NAFTA, large numbers of Americans said they didn't have strong feelings about it. When pollsters gave people the option of replying "haven't heard enough to have an opinion" between one-third and half of those surveyed gave that response. In seven iterations of an NBC News/Wall Street Journal question asked between September 1992 and October 1993, for example, more than 35 percent responded that they had not heard enough about the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico to have an opinion. In four Los Angeles Times polls between September and June 1993, about half said they had not heard enough about the free trade agreement between Mexico and the United States to venture an opinion.

After President Clinton signed the legislation on December 8, 1993, substantial numbers of people have said that they didn't know enough about NAFTA to say whether it is good or bad for the country. In questions asked by NBC News/Wall Street Journal interviewers in 1997 and in 2003, around 45 percent said they were either not sure of NAFTA's impact or didn't think it had had much of an impact. In two Zogby International questions from 1997 and 2003, more than a quarter said they were not sure whether NAFTA had created or lost jobs for the U.S. This consistently large bloc of undecided Americans may indicate our limited attention to trade issues. It may also reflect the fact that NAFTA has not directly touched the lives of most Americans at their own jobs or as consumers. It also underscores the deep ambivalence many Americans have about trade. Nationally, in questions asked in the first few years after passage, only small numbers of Americans wanted to scrap NAFTA. Seventeen percent of those surveyed nationally in a 1997 EPIC-MRA poll said we should pull out of the agreement. In March 2003, 12 percent gave that response. At the other end of the spectrum, 30 percent in 1997 and around 20 percent today say it should be continued as is. Opinion bulks in the middle category "continue with changes." Although the question isn't asked often, around 15 percent tell the pollsters their job is threatened by foreign competition.

So what accounts for the rhetoric from most of the Democratic candidates? One factor may be the views of activists who are likely to participate in caucuses and primaries. Almost three-fourths of those surveyed in the Democratic primary in Wisconsin (the exit poll was conducted by the consortium of the five networks and the AP) believed that trade with other countries loses American jobs. Sixty-three percent of those polled in the Democratic primary in Rhode Island agreed, as did 58 percent of those in both Texas and Vermont. The question was not asked in many primary states.

## NAFTA Questions from Various Pollsters

NOTE: Question wording varied by asking.

Jul. 8-9, 1992	CNN/Time	45 F	39 Op	16 DK
Aug. 19-20, 1992	CNN/Time	45 F	38 Op	17 DK
Sep. 11-15, 1992	CNN/USA Today	33 F	57 Op	10 DK
Sep. 12-15, 1992	NBC	27 F	34 Op	36 HHE
Oct. 20-21, 1992	NBC	21 F	46 Op	43 HHE/DK
Sep. 12-15, 1992+	NBC/WSJ	27 F	34 Op	36 HHE
Jan. 23-26, 1993	NBC/WSJ	28 F	31 Op	36 HHE
Apr. 17-20, 1993	NBC	27 F	25 Op	48 HHE/DK
May 26-27, 1993	CNN/Time	34 F	43 Op	23 DK
Jun. 17-21, 1993	CNN/Time/Yankelovich	35 F	46 Op	19 DK
Jul. 24-27, 1993	NBC/WSJ	31 F	29 Op	40 HHE/DK
Aug. 2-3, 1993	CBS	35 F	46 Op	19 DK
Aug. 9-10, 1993	CNN/USA Today	41 F	44 Op	5 DK
Sep. 8-9, 1993	CNN/Time	41 F	42 Op	17 DK
Sep. 10-12, 1993	Gallup	35 F	41 Op	20 DK
Sep. 10-13, 1993	NBC/WSJ	25 F	36 Op	39 HHE/DK
Sep. 16-19, 1993	CBS/NYT	33 F	40 Op	27 DK
Oct. 22-26, 1993	NBC/WSJ	29 F	33 Op	38 HHE/DK
Nov. 2-4, 1993	Gallup	38 F	46 Op	13 DK
Nov. 11, 1993	CNN/Time/Yankelovich	41 F	39 Op	20 DK
Nov. 11-14, 1993	CBS/NYT	37 F	41 Op	22 DK
Nov. 14-15, 1993	NBC/WSJ	36 F	31 Op	33 HHE/DK
Nov. 15-16, 1993	Gallup	38 F	31 Op	11 DK
Nov. 19-21, 1993	Gallup	43 F	41 Op	16 DK
Dec. 11-14, 1993	NBC/WSJ	53 RD	33 WD	14 DK
Dec. 20-26, 1993	Harris	51 F	41 Op	8 DK
Jan. 15-17, 1994	Gallup	53 S	38 Op	9 DK
Jul. 23-26, 1994	NBC/WSJ	28 PI	35 NI	21 DK
Mar. 22-26, 1995	Princeton	43 F	38 Op	19 DK
Mar. 22-26, 1995	PSRA/Times Mirror	43 F	38 Op	19 DK
Apr. 16-20, 1995	Harris	48 F	39 Op	13 DK
Apr. 16-20, 1995	Harris	23 B	30 H	12 DK
Feb. 23-25, 1996	Gallup	52 MG	38 MB	11 DK
Mar. 1-5, 1996	NBC/WSJ	21 PI	48 NI	24 DK
Aug. 3-5, 1996+	CBS/NYT	32 F	21 Op	45 HHE
Oct. 4-8, 1996	AP	20 F	25 Op	54 HHE
Oct. 23-27, 1996	CBS	30 F	17 Op	50 HHE
Oct. 23-27, 1996	CBS	33 S	28 F	35 DK
Feb. 1-May 25, 1996	NORC	28 B	20 NB	52 DK
Apr. 26-28, 1997	NBC/WSJ	28 P	43 N	21 DK
Aug. 22-25, 1997	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37 G	47 B	16 DK
Sep. 6-9, 1997	LAT	39 GT	39 BT	9 DK
Jul. 7-Sep. 23, 1997	PSRA/Pew	47 GT	30 BT	23 DK
Nov. 12-16, 1997	PSRA/Pew	45 GT	34 BT	21 DK
Jun. 30-Aug. 30, 1999	WP/Kaiser/Harvard	24 G	20 B	51 DK
Aug. 20-25, 1999	WP/Kaiser/Harvard	16 G	23 B	58 DK
May 18-21, 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA/Today	47 GT	39 BT	14 DK
Sep. 2001	PSRA/Pew	49 GT	29 BT	22 DK
Nov. 18-Dec. 1, 2003	PSRA/Pew	34 GT	33 BT	33 DK
Jan. 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	38 GT	46 BT	16 DK
Mar. 17-21, 2004	PSRA/Pew	44 GT	37 BT	19 DK
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew	47 GT	34 BT	19 DK
Dec. 2004	PSRA/Pew	47 GT	34 BT	19 DK
Oct. 2005	PSRA/Pew	44 GT	34 BT	22 DK
Dec. 2006	PSRA/Pew	44 GT	35 BT	21 DK
Nov. 2007	PSRA/Pew	40 GT	40 BT	20 DK
Apr. 2008	PSRA/Pew	35 GT	48 BT	17 DK

NOTE: + Asked of registered voters. F/OP = Favor/Oppose, RD/WD = Right Direction/Wrong Direction, S/Op = Support/Oppose, PI/NI = Positive Impact/Negative Impact, MG/MB = Mostly Good/Mostly Bad, B/H = Benefit/Harm, B/NB = Benefits/Doesn't Benefit, P/N = Positive/Negative, G/B = Good/Bad, GT/BT = Good Thing/Bad Thing, DK=Don't Know, HHE= Haven't Heard Enough.

## Trade Generally

● On balance, do you think trade with other countries—both buying and selling products—is good for the U.S. economy, or is it bad for the U.S. economy, or does it have no effect?

		Good	Bad	No Effect	Don't Know/ No Answer (Vol.)
Nov. 11-14, 1993	CBS/NYT	67	20	6	7
Oct. 1996	CBS/NYT	69	17	7	7
Jan. 20-25, 2006	CBS/NYT	67	20	7	6
Feb. 2007	CBS/NYT	65	23	7	5
Mar.-Apr. 2008	CBS/NYT	58	32	6	4

● Do you think it should be the policy of the United States to restrict foreign imports into this country in order to protect American industry and American jobs, or do you think there should be no restrictions on the sale of foreign products in the United States in order to permit the widest choice and the lowest prices for the American consumer?

		Restrict Imports To protect American Industry And Jobs	No Restrictions On sale Of foreign Products	Not Sure (Vol.)/Refused
Jul. 4-8, 1982	LAT	72	22	6
May 8-12, 1983	LAT	68	26	6
Feb. 4-9, 1984	LAT	67	26	7
Apr. 28-May 3, 1984*	LAT	65	25	10
Sep. 21-26, 1985	LAT	65	27	8
Oct. 28-Nov. 2, 1987	LAT	69	21	10
Jul. 5-10, 1988	LAT	72	21	7
Sep. 23-25, 1988+	LAT	71	19	10
Sep. 25-26, 1988^	LAT	66	26	8
Sep. 29, 1988^	LAT	68	21	11
Oct. 11-13, 1988#	LAT	71	21	8
Oct. 13-15, 1988%	LAT	73	18	9
Jan. 8-12, 1991	LAT	67	25	8
Jan. 31-Feb. 3, 1992	LAT	70	23	7
Jun. 12-14, 1993	LAT	68	24	8
Aug. 3-6, 1996	LAT	63	28	9
Sep. 6-9, 1997	LAT	67	24	9

NOTE: \*Asked of registered voters. +Asked of registered voters who said they planned to watch the Sep. 25, 1988 presidential debate. ^Reinterviews of registered voters who were originally interviewed Sep. 23-25, 1988 and who watched the Sep. 25, 1988 presidential debate. #Asked of registered voters who said they planned to watch the Oct. 13, 1988 presidential debate. %Asked of registered voters who watched the Oct. 13, 1988 presidential debate.

● What do you think foreign trade means for America? Do you see foreign trade more as an opportunity for economic growth through increased U.S. exports or a threat to the economy from foreign imports?

		Opportunity For Growth	Threat To Economy	No Opinion (Vol.)
Sep. 11-15, 1992	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	48	5
Nov. 28-29, 1994	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	53	38	4
Jan. 13-16, 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	54	35	6

May 18-21, 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	36	3
Feb. 1-4, 2001	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	51	37	3
Feb. 4-6, 2002	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	39	2
Nov. 14-16, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	49	41	5
Jun. 24-26, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	44	48	3
Dec. 9-11, 2005	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	45	46	5
Feb. 6-9, 2006	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	48	5
Oct. 12-14, 2007	CNN/ORC	46	45	5

- In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA, (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and the WTO (World Trade Organization), have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

		-----Agreements like NAFTA-----		
		Good Thing	Bad Thing	Don't Know/Refused (Vol.)
Jul. 7-Sep. 23, 1997	PSRA/Pew	47	30	23
Nov. 12-16, 1997	PSRA/Pew	45	34	21
Sep. 2001	PSRA/Pew	49	29	22
Nov. 18-Dec. 1, 2003	PSRA/Pew	34	33	33
Mar. 17-21, 2004	PSRA/Pew	44	37	19
July 8-18, 2004	PSRA/Pew	47	34	19
Dec. 2004	PSRA/Pew	47	34	19
Oct. 2005	PSRA/Pew	44	34	22
Dec. 2006	PSRA/Pew	44	35	21
Nov. 2007	PSRA/Pew	40	40	20
Apr. 2008	PSRA/Pew	35	48	17

- How much do you feel you know about the issue of trade...are you very or fairly knowledgeable about trade, or only knowledgeable a little, or not knowledgeable?

		Very/Fairly Knowledgeable	A Little/Not Knowledgeable
Apr. 27-May 1, 1998	EPIC-MRA	38	62
1999	EPIC-MRA	39	61
2000	EPIC-MRA	37	62
Oct. 6-8, 2001	EPIC-MRA	38	60
Mar. 2003	EPIC-MRA	44	55

- Overall, do you approve or disapprove of free trade agreements with other countries?

		Approve	Disapprove	Undecided (Vol.)
1997	EPIC-MRA	61	24	15
Apr. 27-May 1, 1998	EPIC-MRA	59	26	15
1999	EPIC-MRA	60	26	14
2000	EPIC-MRA	57	24	19
Oct. 6-8, 2001	EPIC-MRA	57	24	19
Mar. 2003	EPIC-MRA	63	26	11

- In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the United States and foreign countries have helped the United States, have hurt the United States, or have not made much of a difference either way?

		Have helped	Have hurt	Not much difference
Oct. 1999	NBC/WSJ	35	32	24
Dec. 1999	NBC/WSJ	39	30	24
Mar. 2007	NBC/WSJ	28	46	16

● Do you think the fact that the American economy has become increasingly global is good because it has opened up new markets for American products and resulted in more jobs, or bad because it has subjected American companies and employees to unfair competition and cheap labor?

		Good	Bad
Jun. 1997	NBC/WSJ	42	48
Dec. 2007	NBC/WSJ	28	57
Mar. 2008	NBC/WSJ	25	58

● Overall do you feel past international trade agreements have mostly lost jobs for this country, mostly gained jobs, or done both about equally?

		-----Past Trade Agreements-----		
		Lost Jobs	Gained Jobs	Both Equally
Mar. 18, 1993	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	50	4	40
Apr. 16-17, 1997	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	42	7	41

● Do you think that importing goods and services from other countries takes jobs away from American workers, or don't you think this is the case?

		Yes	No
Oct. 11-12, 1994	Yankelovich/CNN/Time	72	23
Feb. 21-22, 1996	Yankelovich/CNN/Time	65	32

● I am going to read you two statements about foreign trade, and I would like you to tell me which statement best reflects your views on the issue. Statement A: Foreign trade has been good for the U.S. economy, because demand for U.S. products abroad has resulted in economic growth and jobs for Americans here at home. Statement B: Foreign trade has been bad for the U.S. economy, because cheap imports from abroad have hurt wages and cost jobs here at home.

		Foreign Trade Has Been Good for U.S. Economy	Foreign Trade Has Been Bad for U.S. Economy	Some of Both (Vol.)
Dec. 3-6, 1998	NBC/WSJ	32	58	6
Apr. 29- May 1, 2000	NBC/WSJ	34	48	12

● Now moving on to the topic of foreign trade...In recent years, the federal government has expanded the policy of free trade with other nations. As a result, trade has greatly increased with countries such as China, Mexico, Singapore, etc. Generally speaking do you think free trade between the U.S. and other countries is good or bad for the U.S. economy, or do you think that it makes no difference?

		Good	Bad	No Difference
May 8-13, 2002	TIPP/IBD/CSM	52	25	14
Oct. 6-10, 2003	TIPP/IBD/CSM	45	34	13

● Overall would you say U.S. trade with other countries: creates more jobs for the U.S., loses more jobs for the U.S., has no effect on U.S. jobs?

		-----Trade-----		
		Creates Jobs	Loses Jobs	No Effect
Nov. 3, 1992	VRS	43	41	5

NOTE: Exit poll.

●U.S. trade with other countries...

2008 CNN Exit Poll

Primary	Democratic Primary Voters		
	Creates Jobs	Loses Jobs	No Effect
Wisconsin	17	72	9
Rhode Island	16	63	15
Texas	24	58	12
Vermont	17	58	18

NOTE: Exit Poll for Democratic Primaries.

●Do you think that it is better for the United States to respond to economic uncertainties by opening up trade with foreign countries, or by restricting trade with foreign countries?

		Opening Trade	Restricting Trade	Depends (Vol.)	Not Sure
Sep. 1988	NBC/WSJ	55	30	7	8

●Which of the following two statements comes closer to your view about the impact of trade on American jobs: We should restrict or ban imports of foreign-made goods in order to protect certain American jobs, or permanent import barriers artificially prolong the death of certain types of outmoded jobs; those workers should compete for work in the open global marketplace?

		Protect American Jobs	Workers Should Compete	Don't Know
Apr. 27-May 1, 1988	EPIC/MRA	47	45	8

●Would you say trade with other countries has hurt your job, helped your job, or had no effect one way or the other?

		Hurt Your Job	Helped your Job	Had No Effect	Don't Know
Apr. 27-May 1, 1988	EPIC/MRA	15	12	67	6

●Has NAFTA had a positive impact on the American economy, a negative impact, or would you say NAFTA has not really had an impact on the American economy one way or the other?

		Positive Impact	Negative Impact	Not Really Had an Impact	Don't Know
Apr. 27-May 1, 1988	EPIC/MRA	31	25	26	18

●From what you know, do you think that free trade agreements between the United States and other countries help to create more jobs in the U.S., or do you think they cost the U.S. jobs?

		Create Jobs	Cost Jobs	Depends (Vol.)	Not Sure
Jan. 1996	NBC/WSJ	21	62	3	14
Mar. 1996	NBC/WSJ	25	59	4	12

●Which is the more important goal—restricting imports to save jobs, or expanding exports to create jobs?

		Restricting Imports to Save Jobs	Expanding Imports to Create Jobs
Mar. 1995	WSJ	23	72
Mar. 1996	NBC/WSJ	19	72

● Do you feel past international trade agreements have caused a loss of jobs in this country?

		International Trade	
		-----Caused Loss of Jobs-----	
		Yes	No
Mar. 18, 1993	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	76	15

- On balance, do you think international trade is a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

		-----International Trade-----	
		Good Thing	Bad Thing
Jun. 30-Jul. 1, 1993	PSRA/Newsweek	76	15

- Which of the following statements comes closer to your own view about free trade—free trade would be good for the United States because it would help the U.S. economy by expanding exports, or free trade would be bad for the U.S. because it would end up costing the U.S. jobs?

		Good For U.S.	Bad For U.S.	Neither/Don't Know (Vol.)
Feb. 23-25, 1996	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	52	38	11
Apr. 7-9, 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	45	12

- (Generally speaking, do you think each of the following is good or bad for the nation's economy, or don't you think it makes much difference?)...Trade agreements between the United States and other countries.

		Good	Bad	Doesn't Make Much Difference	Don't Know/No Opinion (Vol.)
Jul. 22- Aug. 2, 1996	WP/Kaiser/Harvard	55	28	14	2

- Suppose the election for Congress in your district were between (A) candidate who says that free trade with other countries will mainly be positive for America because it will create many high-skill, high-technology jobs that pay good wages, and (B) a candidate who says that free trade with other countries will be mainly negative for America because it will cause the loss of U.S. jobs to other countries, which will hurt wages and jobs here. Which of these candidates would you be more likely to support?

		Free Trade Will Be Positive	Free Trade Will Be Negative	Depends/Not Sure (Vol.)
Sep. 11-15, 1997	NBC/WSJ	44	45	11

- I am going to read you two statements about foreign trade, and I would like you to tell me which statement best reflects your views on the issue. Statement A: Imports from abroad are, on the whole, good for the U.S. because they make available more and cheaper goods for American consumers. Statement B: Imports from abroad are, on the whole, bad for the U.S. because they take away American jobs and hurt the wages of American workers.

		Imports Are Good	Imports Are Bad	Some of Both/Neither (Vol.)
Sep. 11-15, 1997	NBC/WSJ	33	55	10

- Please tell me which of the following two statements comes closer to your point of view. Free trade is a good idea, because it can lead to lower prices and the long term growth of the economy. Free trade is a bad idea, because it can lead to lower wages and people losing their jobs.

		Good Idea	Bad Idea	Don't Know (Vol.)
Oct. 21-29, 1999	PIPA	51	44	4

- Do you think that trade agreements between the United States and other countries have generally been good for the U.S. economy, generally been bad for the U.S., or haven't they made much of a difference?

		Good	Bad	Haven't Made Much Difference	Don't Know (Vol.)
Dec. 10-15, 1999	Washington Post	28	22	28	21



- In general, do you think that free trade with other countries is good or bad for the United States?

		Good	Bad	Don't Know (Vol.)
Feb. 9-14, 2000	PSRA/Pew	64	27	9
Mar. 8-12, 2006	PSRA/Pew	66	23	11

- For each item on this list, tell me if you think it is happening a lot more, somewhat more, only a little more or not more these days than five years ago . . . trade and business ties between the United States and other countries?

		A Lot More	Somewhat More	Only A Little More	Not More	Don't Know (Vol.)
Aug. 19-Sep. 8, 2002	PSRA/Pew	39	28	16	9	8

- What do you think about the growing trade and business ties between the United States 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	Don't Know (Vol.)
Aug. 19-Sep. 8, 2002	PSRA/Pew	21	57	14	4	4

- All in all, how do you feel about the world becoming more connected through greater economic trade and faster communication – 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	Don't Know (Vol.)
Aug. 19-Sep. 8, 2002	PSRA/Pew	36	52	7	2	3

- I am going to read you two statements, and I'd like you to tell me which one you feel comes closer to your view. Statement A: The United States needs to focus on keeping American jobs for American workers. Each time an American corporation agrees to send work outside the country, the company also gives away jobs. In the end, even if some new business is created for American exporters, free trade is not worth it because local jobs are lost. Statement B: Today large companies that intend to sell their products to worldwide customers must also operate worldwide. Just as American companies build plants in foreign countries where they sell their products, foreign companies build plants in the United States so they can sell their products here. In the end, free trade is worth it because foreign companies and our exports create jobs here.

		Statement A/ Keep American Jobs	Statement B/Free Trade's Worth It
Sep. 20-22, 2003	NBC/WSJ	54	35

- Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right. I want a President who will negotiate treaties, like NAFTA, to expand trade, or I want a President who will oppose treaties like NAFTA that hurt our economy?

		President Who Negotiates Treaties Like NAFTA	President Who Opposes Treaties Like NAFTA
Oct. 14-19, 2003	Democracy Corps (Dem.)	49	39

- I'd like to know how positive or negative you think this process of globalization is, overall. Please answer on a scale from 0 to 10, with 0 being completely negative, 10 being completely positive, and 5 being equally positive and negative.

		Mean
Oct. 21-29, 1999	PIPA	6.04
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	5.62

● As you may know, international trade has increased substantially in recent years. I would like to know how positive or negative you think the growth of international trade is overall. Please answer on a scale from 0 to 10, with 0 being completely negative, 10 being completely positive, and 5 being equally positive and negative.

		Mean
Oct. 21-29, 1999	PIPA	5.51
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	5.31

● Now, on the same scale, on the same scale, I'm going to ask you to rate how positive or negative international trade is for certain groups or people. Remember, 0 is completely negative, 10 is completely positive, and 5 is equally positive and negative.

You personally

		Mean
Oct. 21-29, 1999	PIPA	5.05
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	5.15

American consumers

Oct. 21-29, 1999	PIPA	6.08
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	6.08

People in poor countries

Oct. 21-29, 1999	PIPA	4.74
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	5.72

American business

Oct. 21-29, 1999	PIPA	6.14
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	5.92

American workers

Oct. 21-29, 1999	PIPA	4.53
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	4.24

● As you may know, the U.S. and some countries and some countries of Central America have negotiated a treaty called the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) that is similar to what the U.S. now have with Mexico and Canada in NAFTA. Would you favor or oppose Congress approving such a new agreement?

		Favor	Oppose	No Answer (Vol.)
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	49	42	10

● There's been some discussion recently about "outsourcing" – meaning when American businesses hire workers in other parts of the world in order to save money. Which comes closer to your view on this issue? Outsourcing is bad for the American economy because it sends good jobs overseas. Outsourcing is good for the American economy because it keeps the cost of goods and services down.

		Outsourcing is bad	Outsourcing is good
Mar. 2005	PSRA/Pew Research Center	69	22
Mar. 2006	PSRA/Pew Research Center	71	20

● Lately, there has been some talk about investors from other countries owning companies in the U.S. In general, do you think this is a good thing or a bad thing for the U.S.?

		Good thing	Bad thing
Jan. 1989	PSRA/Pew Research Center	18	70
Mar. 2006	PSRA/Pew Research Center	33	53

- Do you believe increased trade between the United States and other countries mostly helps or mostly hurts—American workers?

		Mostly helps	Mostly hurts
Nov. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	59
Apr. 2006	Gallup/USA Today	30	65

- Do you believe increased trade between the United States and other countries mostly helps or mostly hurts—American companies?

		Mostly helps	Mostly hurts
Nov. 1999	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	56	39
Apr. 2006	Gallup/USA Today	44	50

- I'm going to mention several groups of people. For each one, please tell me whether you believe that group is benefitting from today's global economy or being harmed by today's global economy. If you think that the global economy has had no impact on that group one way or the other, please just say so.

	Benefitting	Harmed	No impact
You personally	27	31	36
The people in your community	25	40	24
Your children	21	30	34

- Thinking about the benefits of international trade, do you think for the most part the United States benefits more than other countries, or that other countries benefit more than the United States or are you unsure who benefits?

		U.S. benefits more	Others more	Unsure
Mar. 2007	Public Agenda	17	31	50
Sep. 2007	Public Agenda	15	34	49

## Opinion Before Passage of NAFTA

- Do you favor or oppose the free trade agreement between the United States and Mexico that would eliminate all trade barriers between those two countries?

		Favor	Oppose	Not Sure (Vol.)
Jul. 8-9, 1992	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	45	39	16
Aug. 19-20, 1992	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	45	38	17
May 26-27, 1993	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	34	43	23
Jun. 17-21, 1993	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	35	46	19
Sep. 8-9, 1993	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	41	42	17
Nov. 11, 1993	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	41	39	20

- On another subject, as you may know, Mexico and the United States have negotiated a free trade agreement that, if agreed to, will loosen many of the restrictions, laws and controls that now govern commerce between the two countries. Do you favor or oppose the free trade agreement between Mexico and the United States, or haven't you heard enough about the proposal to say? Is that favor/oppose strongly or favor/oppose somewhat?

		Strongly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Don't Know Enough
Sep. 13, 1992	LAT	14	15	9	21	41
Sep. 10-13, 1993	LAT	14	15	10	22	39
Oct. 16-19, 1993	LAT	14	16	9	24	37

NOTE: Asked of California registered voters.

- In general, do you think a North American Free Trade zone consisting of Canada, the United States and Mexico would be mostly good for the United States, or mostly bad for the United States?

		Mostly Good	Mostly Bad	Don't Know (Vol.)/ No Answer
Jun. 21-24, 1993	CBS/NYT	46	31	21
Sep. 16-19, 1993	CBS/NYT	37	40	19
Nov. 11-14, 1993	CBS/NYT	46	38	13

- How closely have you followed news about the North American Free Trade Agreement, sometimes known as NAFTA: very closely, somewhat closely, not too closely, or not at all?

		Very Closely	Somewhat Closely	Not Too Closely	Not At All
Aug. 8-10, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	11	31	34	24
Sep. 10-12, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	15	29	28	28
Nov. 2-4, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	39	31	17
Nov. 15-16, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	20	45	25	10
Nov. 19-21, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	24	44	23	8

- Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organization this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?...The debate about the free trade agreement between the U.S., Canada and Mexico?

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not Too Closely	Not At All Closely
Sep. 10-13, 1992*	PSRA/Times Mirror	13	27	29	30
Oct. 21-24, 1993	PSRA/Times Mirror	21	26	28	23
Sep. 9-15, 1993	PSRA/Times Mirror	15	28	26	30
Sep. 24-27, 1993	PSRA/Times Mirror	21	29	26	23
Dec. 2-5, 1993+	PSRA/Times Mirror	39	34	15	11

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "...debate and discussion about the free trade agreement between the U.S., Mexico and Canada?" +Question wording was, "...the passage of a North American free trade agreement between the U.S., Canada, and Mexico?"

- All things considered, are you generally in favor of or opposed to a North American Free Trade Agreement involving the United States, Canada, and Mexico?

		Generally In Favor	Generally Opposed	Don't Know (Vol.)
Dec. 1991	RoperASW	47	12	25
Oct. 1992	RoperASW	36	23	23

- Do you favor or oppose NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States, Mexico and Canada? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so.

		Favor	Oppose	Haven't Heard Enough
Sep. 12-15, 1992*+	NBC/WSJ	27	34	36
Oct. 20-21, 1992*	NBC/WSJ	21	36	39
Jan. 23-26, 1993	NBC/WSJ	28	31	36
Apr. 17-20, 1993	NBC/WSJ	27	25	44
Jul. 24-27, 1993	NBC/WSJ	31	29	36
Sep. 10-13, 1993	NBC/WSJ	25	36	34
Oct. 22-26, 1993	NBC/WSJ	29	33	34

NOTE: \*Question wording was, "The Bush Administration has negotiated a North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico to eliminate nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States and

Mexico. Do you favor or oppose the trade agreement with Mexico? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so. " +Asked of registered voters.

- Do you favor or oppose NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States, Mexico and Canada? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so. Would you say you are strongly in favor of/opposed to NAFTA or moderately in favor of/opposed to NAFTA?

		Strongly Favor	Moderately Favor	Moderately Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Haven't Heard Enough
Nov. 14-15, 1993	NBC/WSJ	16	20	14	17	26

- Some people say a Free Trade Agreement with Mexico would be good for the United States because it would help the U.S. economy by expanding exports. Others say it will be bad for the U.S. because it will end up costing the U.S. jobs. Do you favor or oppose the Free Trade Agreement with Mexico?

			Favor	Oppose	Don't Know (Vol.)/ Refused
Sep. 11-15, 1992	Gallup/CNN/USA Today		33	57	10
Mar. 29-31, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today		31	63	6
Jul. 9-11, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today		28	65	7
Aug. 8-10, 1993*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today		26	64	10

NOTE: \*Asked of half sample.

- Do you favor or oppose the proposed free trade agreement between the United States and Mexico?

Aug. 18-10, 1993*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	41	44	5
Sep. 10-12, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	35	40	20
Nov. 2-4, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	38	46	16
Nov. 15-16, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	38	41	21
Nov. 19-21, 1993	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	43	41	16

NOTE: \*Asked of half sample.

- Do you favor or oppose the proposed free trade agreement between the United States and Mexico? Do you favor/oppose it strongly or moderately?

		Strongly Favor	Moderately Favor	Moderately Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Don't Know (Vol.)/Refused
Nov. 8, 1993*	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	13	20	16	22	29
Nov. 9, 1993+	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	25	32	15	21	7

NOTE: \*Asked of those who said they planned to watch the Nov. 9 debate between Al Gore and Ross Perot debate on NAFTA. +Re-interview of those who said they had watched the Gore/Perot debate.

- Do you favor or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement – called NAFTA – with Mexico and Canada that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports and business investment between the United States, Mexico and Canada?

			Favor	Oppose	Don't Know (Vol.)
Jun. 21-24, 1993*	CBS/NYT		43	45	12
Aug. 2-3, 1993	CBS		35	46	19

NOTE: \*Asked of those who had heard of NAFTA (51 percent).

● Now, on another subject, do you favor or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada – called NAFTA – that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports and business investment between the United States, Mexico and Canada? Would you say you favor/oppose NAFTA strongly or not so strongly?

		Strongly Favor	Moderately Favor	Moderately Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Don't Know (Vol.)
Sep. 16-19, 1993	CBS/NYT	16	17	15	24	27
Nov. 11-14, 1993	CBS/NYT	18	19	17	24	22

● How do you feel about NAFTA the free trade agreement between the US, Mexico and Canada? Do you favor or oppose this treaty?

			Favor	Oppose	Don't Know (Vol.)
Sep. 24-27, 1993*	PSRA/Times Mirror		42	37	21
Dec. 2-5, 1993*	PSRA/Times Mirror		52	33	15
Mar. 22-26, 1995	PSRA/Times Mirror		43	38	19

NOTE: Question wording varied slightly. \*Asked of those who said they were following NAFTA very or fairly closely in the past month, which was 50 percent of respondents in September 1993 and 73 percent of respondents in December 1993.

● As you may know, Mexico and the United States have negotiated a free trade agreement that, if agreed to, will loosen many of the restrictions, laws and controls that now govern commerce between the two countries. Do you favor or oppose the free trade agreement between Mexico and the United States, or haven't you heard enough about the proposal to say?

		Favor	Oppose	Haven't Heard Enough
Sep. 21-25, 1991	LAT	29	16	55
Oct. 2-5, 1992	LAT	23	24	53
Jan. 14-17, 1993	LAT	22	25	53
Jun. 12-14, 1993	LAT	22	33	45
Sep. 25-28, 1993	LAT	26	31	37

● On another subject, as you may know, Congress has passed the North American Free Trade Agreement, known as NAFTA. This free trade agreement between Mexico, Canada and the United States will loosen many of the restrictions, laws and controls that now govern commerce between the three countries. Do you favor or oppose the free trade agreement between Mexico, Canada and the United States, or haven't you heard enough about it to say? Is that favor/oppose strongly or favor/oppose somewhat?

		Strongly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Don't Know Enough
Dec. 4-7, 1993	LAT	20	22	11	16	25

## Opinion After Passage of NAFTA

● Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling; zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that person or organization, please say so...NAFTA–The North American Free Trade Agreement?

Democracy Corps (Dem.)

Date	Mean
Sep. 2001	48.3
Nov. 2002	47.1
Jan. 2003	46.3
May 2003	47.2
Sep. 2003	44.2
Jan. 2004	42.9
Apr. 2004	43.8
Jul. 2004	44.9
Nov. 2004*	42.5

Jun. 2005	52.0
Jul. 2005	44.3
Sep. 2005	42.7
Dec. 2005	42.2
Nov. 2005	43.2
Mar. 2006	42.2
May 2006	52.4
Sep. 2006	43.2
Feb. 2007	43.2
Apr. 2007	41.4
Jul. 2007	42.7
Oct. 2007	39.6
Mar. 2008	40.6
May 2008	37.7

Note: \*Asked of a half sample

- Do you favor or oppose NAFTA?

		Favor	Oppose	Don't Know (Vol.)
Dec. 20-26, 1993	Harris	51	41	8

- Do you favor or oppose NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement signed by Canada, Mexico, and the United States?

		Favor	Oppose	Don't Know (Vol.)
Apr. 16-20, 1995	Harris	48	39	13
Sep. 3-7, 1997	Harris/Business Week	42	36	22

- I'm going to read you a list of things that the Clinton Administration did in 1993. For each one, please tell me whether you support or oppose it. The North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico – also known as NAFTA?

		Support	Oppose	Don't Know (Vol.)
Jan. 15-17, 1994	Gallup	53	38	9

- The U.S. and most countries in North, Central and South America have been discussing the possibility of having a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas similar to what the U.S. now has with Mexico and Canada in NAFTA, do you favor or oppose this idea?

		Favor	Oppose
July 6-12, 2004	Chicago Council Foreign Relations	59	30

- Do you favor or oppose the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada that eliminates nearly all restrictions on imports, exports, and business investment between the United States, Mexico, and Canada? If you feel you have not heard enough about this issue yet to have an opinion, please just say so.

		Favor	Oppose	Don't Know Enough
Oct. 4-8, 1996	AP	20	25	54

- Do you favor or oppose NAFTA – the North American Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, Canada, and the U.S., or don't you know enough about NAFTA to say?

		Favor	Oppose	Don't Know Enough
Aug. 3-5, 1996*	CBS/NYT	32	21	45
Oct. 23-27, 1996	CBS	30	17	50

NOTE: \*Asked of registered voters.

- Do you favor or oppose each of the following..Withdrawing the United States from the North American Free Trade Agreement, which reduces trade barriers between the United States, Mexico, and Canada?

		Favor	Oppose	Not Sure (Vol.)
Feb. 21-22, 1996	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	34	48	18
Mar. 6-7, 1996	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	34	51	15

- After observing how NAFTA has worked between the United States, Mexico, and Canada over the past several years, do you think America should continue the NAFTA agreement, should America pull out of NAFTA, or, should it be continued with changes?

		Continue As Is	Continue With Changes	Pull Out
1997	EPIC-MRA	30	30	17
Apr. 27-May 1, 1998	EPIC-MRA	23	47	16
1999	EPIC-MRA	24	40	18
2000	EPIC-MRA	23	42	15
Oct. 6-8, 2001	EPIC-MRA	28	37	14
Mar. 2003	EPIC-MRA	21	57	12

NOTE: \*Asked of half sample.

- Do you think that NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico and Canada, is a good thing or a bad thing from a US point of view?

		Good From US Point Of View	Bad From US Point Of View	Don't Know (Vol.)
Nov. 12-16, 1997*	PSRA/Pew	50	35	15

NOTE: \*Asked of half sample.

- Generally speaking, would you say that America benefits or does not benefit from being a member of NAFTA?

		Benefits	Doesn't Benefit	Don't Know (Vol.)
Feb. 1-May 25, 1996	NORC	28	20	52

- I am going to read you several laws that were passed in 1993. For each one I read, please tell me if you think this law is a step in the right direction or a step in the wrong direction . . . NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico?

		Right Direction	Wrong Direction	Don't Know (Vol.)
Dec. 11-14, 1993	NBC/WSJ	53	33	14

- Here are a few laws Congress passed last year. For each one, please tell me whether you think it will make things significantly better in this country, somewhat better, somewhat worse, or significantly worse. . . The North American Free Trade Agreement, also known as NAFTA?

		Significantly Better	Somewhat Better	Somewhat Worse	Significantly Worse	Don't Know (Vol.)
Jan. 17-18, 1994	Yankelovich	18	33	15	18	15

- Thinking about the North American Free Trade Agreement between the United States and Mexico – also known as NAFTA – overall, do you think NAFTA has been good for the U.S. or bad for the U.S.?

		Good For U.S.	Bad For U.S.	Don't Know (Vol.)
Oct. 8-11, 1992*	Gallup/Newsweek	46	32	22
Oct. 7-25, 1994+	Gallup/CCFR	50	31	19
Aug. 22-25, 1997	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	37	47	16



May 18-21, 2000	Gallup/CNN/USA/Today	47	39	14
Jan. 9-11, 2004	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	38	46	16

NOTE: \*Asked of registered voters who planned to watch the October 11<sup>th</sup> presidential debates in a pre-debate interview. Question wording was, "From what you have heard or read about the North American Free Trade Agreement among the United States, Canada and Mexico, do you think it will be good for the US or bad for the US?" +Question wording was, "As you may know, last year the United States and Mexico signed a North American Free Trade Agreement called NAFTA. Do you think this trade agreement with Mexico is mostly good for the US economy, or mostly bad?"

- Do you believe NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing?

		Good	Bad	Don't Know (Vol.)
Sep. 1997	Zogby	45	30	26

NOTE: Asked of likely voters who said they were familiar with NAFTA (56 percent).

- In 1993 Congress approved the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, which substantially reduced trade barriers between Mexico, Canada and the United States. On balance, do you think the NAFTA treaty has been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

		Good For U.S.	Bad For U.S.	Don't Know (Vol.)
Sep. 6-9, 1997	LAT	39	39	15

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

		Good For U.S.	Bad For U.S.	Don't Know (Vol.)
Apr. 8-13, 1999	Harris	39	35	25

- In 1993, Congress approved the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, which reduced trade barriers between Mexico, Canada, and the United States. Do you think the NAFTA treaty has been good or bad, or haven't you heard enough to say?

		Good	Bad	Don't Know/ Enough
Jun. 30-Aug. 30, 1999	WP/Kaiser/Harvard	24	20	51
Aug. 20-25, 1999	WP/Kaiser/Harvard	16	23	58

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

		Good For U.S.	Bad For U.S.	Neither (Vol.)	Don't Know/ No Answer (Vol.)
Oct. 21-29, 1999	PIPA	44	30	7	18
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	47	39	6	7

- Do you think . . . the United States . . . has benefitted from, been harmed by, or has not been much affected by NAFTA?

		Benefitted US	Not Affected US	Harmed US	Don't Know (Vol.)
Apr. 16-20, 1995	Harris	23	35	30	12

NOTE: When asked about Mexico, 50 percent of respondents said that country had benefitted, 22 percent not affected, and 13 percent harmed. When asked about Canada, the figures were 29, 40, and 8 percent, respectively.

- As you know, last year Congress passed NAFTA, the free trade agreement with Mexico. So far, would you say NAFTA has had more of a positive impact on the United States or more of a negative impact on the United States?

		Positive For US	Negative For US	No Impact (Vol.)	Don't Know (Vol.)
Jul. 23-26, 1994	NBC/WSJ	28	35	16	21
Mar. 1-5, 1996	NBC/WSJ	21	48	7	24
Apr. 26-28, 1997	NBC/WSJ	28	43	8	21
Jul. 26-28, 1997	NBC/WSJ	32	42	7	19

NOTE: The preface to the question varied to reflect the timing of the question.

- NAFTA has been in effect now for ten years. Do you believe NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing for the U.S.?

		Good	Bad	Not Sure/ No Opinion (Vol.)
Sep. 5-9, 2003	Zogby International	37	33	29
Aug. 12-14, 2004	Zogby International	48	32	20

NOTE: Asked of likely voters.

- Overall, do you think the North American Free Trade Agreement, also known as NAFTA is good or bad for...?

July 6-12, 2004	Chicago Council Foreign Relations	Good	Bad	Not Sure
	The U.S. economy	42	43	15
	American companies	50	36	14
	Consumers like you	55	30	14
	The Mexican economy	69	16	15
	Creating jobs in the U.S.	31	56	14
	The environment	34	48	17
	Job security for American workers	25	60	14
	Your own standard of living	51	33	16
	Creating jobs in Mexico	69	17	14

- As you may know, about ten years ago Congress passed NAFTA, the free trade agreement with Mexico and Canada. So far, would you say that NAFTA has had more of a positive impact on the nation's economy, more of a negative impact on the nation's economy, or hasn't it had much of an impact?

		More of a Positive Impact	More of a Negative Impact	Hasn't Had Much of an Impact	Not Sure (Vol.)
Sep. 11-15, 1997	NBC/WSJ	23	29	32	15
Sep. 20-22, 2003	NBC/WSJ	18	35	27	19

NOTE: The preface to the question varied to reflect the timing of the question.

- Do you believe NAFTA has created more jobs or that it has led to a net loss of jobs for the U.S.?

		Created Jobs	Lost Jobs	Not Sure (Vol.)
Sep. 1997*	Zogby International	28	44	28
Sep. 5-9, 2003	Zogby International	19	55	26
Aug. 12-14, 2004	Zogby International	18	63	19

NOTE: Asked of likely voters. \*Asked of those who said they were familiar with NAFTA (58 percent).

- Four years ago, the North American Free Trade Agreement eliminated most trade barriers between Mexico, Canada and the U.S. On balance how would you rate NAFTA, would you say it has been a success or a failure?

		Success	Failure	Don't Know (Vol.)
Oct. 23-27, 1996	CBS	33	28	35

- Thinking back over the last number of years, do you think that this agreement has benefitted, hurt, or hasn't had any impact one way or the other on the United States?

		Benefitted US	Not Affected US	Harmed US	Don't Know (Vol.)
Nov. 2002	Ipsos-Reid	34	23	32	12

## Recent Public Opinion

- Do free trade agreements make the price of products sold in the U.S. higher, lower, or not make a difference?

		Higher	Lower	No difference
Dec. 2006	PSRA/Pew Research Center	30	32	23
Apr. 2008	PSRA/Pew Research Center	39	29	18

- Do free trade agreements make wages of American workers higher, lower, or not make a difference?

		Higher	Lower	No difference
Dec. 2006	PSRA/Pew Research Center	11	44	30
Apr. 2008	PSRA/Pew Research Center	8	56	22

- Do free trade agreements create jobs in the U.S., lead to job losses, or not make a difference?

		Create jobs	Leads to losses	No difference
Dec. 2006	PSRA/Pew Research Center	12	48	25
Apr. 2008	PSRA/Pew Research Center	9	61	18

- Do free trade agreements make the American economy grow, slow the economy down, or not make a difference?

		Grow	Slow	No difference
Dec. 2006	PSRA/Pew Research Center	28	34	21
Apr. 2008	PSRA/Pew Research Center	19	50	17

- Are free trade agreements good for people in developing countries, bad for people of developing countries, or don't they make a difference?

		Good	Bad	No difference
Dec. 2006	PSRA/Pew Research Center	57	9	19
Apr. 2008	PSRA/Pew Research Center	58	12	19

- Generally speaking, do you believe that free international trade has helped or hurt the economy, or hasn't it made a difference to the economy one way or another?

		Helped	Hurt	No difference
Jan. 2007	LA Times/Bloomberg	28	41	17

- Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, please tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right. 1) Globalization is mostly good for the U.S. OR 2) Globalization is mostly bad for the U.S.

		Globalization is good	Globalization is bad
Mar. 2006	EPI/GQR	43	41

- On balance, do you think trade with other countries—both buying and selling products—is good for the U.S. economy, or is it bad for the U.S. economy, or does it have no effect?

		Good	Bad
Feb. 2007	CBS News/NYT	65	23
Mar.-Apr. 2008	CBS News/NYT	58	32

- Globalization is the increase of trade, communication, travel, and other things among countries around the world. In general, has the United States gained more or lost more because of globalization?

		Gained	Lost
Feb. 2007	CBS News/NYT	36	51

- Do you believe that the United States is benefitting from the global economy, is being harmed by the global economy, or do you think the global economy has had no impact on the United States one way or the other?

		Benefitting	Harmed	No impact
Mar. 2007	NBC/WSJ	25	48	14

## Personal Effects

- If that agreement [NAFTA] were approved, do you think that would directly cause you or anyone in your household to lose their job?

		Yes	No	Not Sure (Vol.)
Sep. 8-9, 1993	Yankelovich/Time/CNN	11	78	8

- One argument against NAFTA is that some people might lose their jobs as a result. Are you or someone else in your household likely to lose their job as a result?

		Likely	Not Likely	Don't Know/ No Answer (Vol.)
Nov. 11-14, 1993	CBS/NYT	8	88	4

- Please tell me if the following statements about working applies to you...My job is threatened by foreign competition?

		My Job Is Threatened	My Job Is Not Threatened
Jan. 18-21, 1992	PSRA/US News	15	84

- Thinking in terms of the employment situation for you and your family, would you say U.S. trade with other countries has helped, has hurt, or has not had any effect on you personally?

		Has Helped	Has Hurt	Has Not	Has Any Effect	Not Sure
Mar. 1996	NBC/WSJ	16	19	60		5

- Do you think you have personally benefitted from, been harmed by, or not been much affected by NAFTA?

		Benefitted	Harmed	Not Affected	Don't Know (Vol.)
Sep. 3-7, 1997	Harris/Business Week	7	12	71	10

- Now thinking about you and your family – do you think the growing trade and business ties between our country and other countries are very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad for you and your family?

		Very Good	Somewhat Good	Somewhat Bad	Very Bad	Don't Know (Vol.)
Aug. 19-Sep. 8, 2002	PSRA/Pew	20	59	11	4	7

- Next, please indicate whether you are worried or not worried about each of the following happening to you, personally, in the near future. How about...that your company will move jobs to countries overseas?

		Worried	Not Worried
Aug. 4-6, 2003	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	9	89

- Thinking about the financial situation of you and your family...Do you think these free trade agreements (like NAFTA and the WTO) have definitely helped, probably helped, probably hurt, or definitely hurt the financial situation of you and your family?

		Helped	Hurt	Don't Know/Refused (Vol.)
Nov. 18-Dec. 1, 2003	PSRA/Pew	26	45	16
July 8 -18, 2004	PSRA/Pew	34	41	25
Dec. 2006	PSRA/Pew	35	36	18
Apr. 2008	PSRA/Pew	27	48	13

NOTE: Asked of Democrats and Independents who leaned Democrat. Results combined.

- Have you been laid off, lost a job, or had to shut down a business over the last four years?

		Yes	No	No Answer (Vol.)
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	24	75	1

(Asked of those who said they had been laid off, lost a job, or had to shut down a business over the last four years) Do you think this was due to globalization and growth of international trade - not at all, a little, some, or a lot?

		Not At All	A Little	Some	A Lot
Dec. 19, 2003-Jan. 5, 2004	PIPA	12	5	4	3

- Have U.S. free trade agreements with other countries directly impacted you or your family?

		Yes	No	Not Sure
June 16, 2008	Rasmussen Reports	39	39	22

(Asked of those who said U.S. free trade agreements with other countries had directly impacted them or their family) Was the impact of a free trade agreement on your family good or bad?

		Good	Bad	Not Sure
June 16, 2008	Rasmussen Reports	14	73	13

● Next, please indicate whether you are worried about each of the following happening to you, personally, in the near future. How about...?

Gallup

That you will be laid off

	Worried	Not Worried
1997	20	80
2003	19	81
2004	20	79

That your hours at work will be cut back

	Worried	Not Worried
1997	15	85
2003	15	84
2004	14	86

That your wages will be reduced

	Worried	Not Worried
1997	17	83
2003	17	82
2004	17	83

That your benefits will be reduced

	Worried	Not Worried
1997	34	66
2003	31	67
2004	28	69

That your company will move jobs to countries overseas

	Worried	Not Worried
2003	9	89
2004	11	89

NOTE: Harris Interactive also asked questions of Mexico City residents in 2004.

**Fast-Track**

● As you know, President Clinton has asked Congress to give him “fast-track” authority to negotiate free trade agreements. The fast-track authority would mean that once the negotiations are completed, Congress would take an up-or-down vote on an agreement as a whole, but could not vote to make any amendments or changes to the agreement. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose having Congress grant the President fast-track authority to negotiate new free trade agreements?

		Favor	Oppose	Don't Know
Apr. 27-May1, 1988	EPIC/MRA	41	49	10
Jul., 1997*	Hart/Teeter	32	61	7
Sep., 1997*	Hart/Teeter	37	56	7

NOTE: Results combined. \* Question wording varied slightly

●Presidents since 1974 have had negotiating authority known as fast-track, which means that trade agreements the President negotiated are considered in Congress within 90 days and put to a simple yes or no vote without any additions that could upset the agreements. The authority to do this expired in 1994, and President Clinton no longer has such authority. Do you strongly support renewing President Clinton’s fast track trade authority, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose it?

		Favor	Oppose	Don’t Know
Apr. 27-May 1, 1988	EPIC/MRA	48	41	11
Oct. 21-29, 1999	Program on International Policy Attitudes	43	55	2

NOTE: Results combined

**Key:**

- EPI/GQR = Economic Policy Institute/Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research
- Greenberg Quinlan Rosner (Dem.) = Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research (Democratic polling firm)
- PSRA = Princeton Survey Research Associates
- TIPP/IBD/CSM = The TechnoMetrica Institute of Policy and Politics/Investor’s Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor
- NORC = The National Opinion Research Center
- PIPA = Program on International Policy Attitudes

Many pollsters in the United States regularly supply us with their data. This report could not have been done without their assistance, and we thank them for it. The data in this report come from the archive of public opinion polls at the American Enterprise Institute and from The Roper Center’s archive at the University of Connecticut in Storrs, Connecticut. The Roper Center is the oldest and largest archive of public opinion data in the world. To learn more about the Roper Center, visit <http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/>.

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