

To: Interested Parties
From: Pete Brodnitz/NDN
Date: November 6, 2007

Re: National Poll - Americans' Views of the Present and Future Economy: Anxiety and

Opportunity

NDN, a progressive think tank and advocacy organization, completed a national survey on the economy and globalization on October 15th. This memo is the <u>second of two memos</u> outlining key findings and analysis from the poll.

For more information on NDN's Globalization Initiative, a multi-year effort to understand globalization and ensure that all Americans can succeed in the era of globalization, see www.ndn.org/advocacy/globalization.

Seven Years of Failed Economic Leadership That Has Not Addressed the Economic Circumstances Americans Face Is Taking a Toll on Perceptions of the Economy

President Bush's decision to focus his Presidency on terrorism and Iraq and his decision to limit his economic vision to tax cuts is taking a clear toll on American's perceptions of the health of the economy. At a time when many Americans are facing rising health care, education and energy costs, the President offers no compelling economic strategy and fails to even acknowledge the hard economic realities facing American families during his Presidency. As a result, there is an opportunity, and even a demand, for others to fill the vacuum his abdication on economic hardships has caused. The results of our survey and focus group research show that leaders who recognize both the challenges we face in today's economy and a strategy for growing our economy will be filling a void that is particularly acute on the subject of globalization – a change in our economy that is widely perceived as both a significant concern and as unavoidable. It is also clear that the American electorate is looking for leaders who recognize the need to both soften the impact of globalization and harness Americans' greatest economic strength - the creativity and freedom of our society – to ensure that ultimately we succeed in the global economy.

There are many economic indicators that say the American people are not doing as well economically as they did before the Bush Presidency began – especially the absence of wage and income gains. But the level of discontent and pessimism evident today among Americans reflects both these factors and a broad understanding among Americans that the U.S. economy faces new and unique challenges today – namely the challenges of globalization that permeate our economy and the dramatic economic rise of China. These conclusions are based on the

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results of eight focus groups (in Ohio, Colorado, California and Virginia) and a nationwide survey in which we explored in depth people's attitudes toward the economy and different economic strategies. Some of the conclusions:

- Americans believe globalization is having a strong impact on the U.S. economy (in terms of job threats, opportunities, and downward pressure on prices) and on American society (in terms of the impact it has on product choice and the flow of information, products and people);
- Few Americans believe globalization can be stopped, but the public is divided almost evenly between those who believe our economic strategy ought to focus on softening the impact and those who prefer a strategy that focuses on finding ways to make sure we succeed;
 - However, Independents and those undecided on the Congressional ballot are more likely to support a strategy focusing on ensuring that America's economy is designed to prosper under globalization.
- Most see the impact of globalization as negative this is the where the lack of leadership from the White House is having an impact on attitudes – even though most say that it is in fact not inevitable that we lose ground under globalization;
- China is now seen as our dominant economic competitor;
- To the extent that Americans are optimistic about the country's future when it comes to meeting the challenges of globalization and China, their optimism rests on the view that America is a free society where ideas and capital are encouraged and allowed to flow freely, and therefore our economy is uniquely able to adapt to economic challenges by developing new products and businesses. In this sense, America's key economic strength and the key to our economic future is dependent on our support for economic and market freedom that allows new ideas and innovations to flourish;
- Americans also support the view that businesses which develop new ideas should be
 able to profit from those ideas (most Americans strongly support the profit motive as
 a positive force in our economy when it comes to innovation). For this reason, most
 also believe it is critical that American trade agreements treat the need to protect
 intellectual property as a priority on par with the need to protect the physical assets
 of American companies;

<u>Implications and Recommendations</u>

The Bush Administration has left a vacuum when it comes to providing economic leadership and voters are clearly asking for leaders to fill that vacuum.

In the 2006 elections that saw Democrats garner a majority in both the House and the Senate, most (perhaps all) of the successful Democratic challengers had a strong economic critique, as well as a position on the need to change the direction in Iraq and the need to change the political culture in Washington. The economic messages tended to focus on the real excesses of

the Bush policies – policies that appeared to voters to be designed to benefit economic special interests, often at the expense of taxpayers and families, who were left literally paying the price when it came to gasoline, health care, college costs, and jobs going overseas.

• Despite this debate over the problems in the economy, the partisan vote among voters who said their family financial situation is getting worse did not change between 2004 and 2006 (in both cases, the vote was 77% Democratic and 20% Republican). However, between these elections, Democrats made gains among those who said their situation is not changing (it went from +1% Democratic in 2004 to +14%) or getting better (where the margin went from +54% Republican to +43% Republican).

However, looking forward, it is time to recognize that the Bush Administration is coming to a close which means that leaders who focus on ending the unpopular excesses of the Bush Administration will soon find that the public expects something more: a plan to improve the economy for middle-class Americans.

Due to the fact that the President's strategy for Iraq has left Congress with few options and little actual directional control on that issue, the public appetite for economic solutions and a strategy for success, as opposed to an economic critique and approaches that focus on mitigating the damage done by the Bush Administration, will be particularly large.

Central to this economic narrative must be an explanation of how leaders view the challenge posed by globalization, the rise of China (and others), and continued upward pressure on everyday expenses and downward pressure on salaries - the economy most Americans are experiencing. But our findings clearly show that it is not enough to just understand these challenges. To address the needs and concerns of a majority of Americans, leaders must show how they can ensure that America succeeds despite them. Some recommendations for how to do this:

- Recognize that America cannot hide from globalization nor should we. It's critical to recognize that globalization itself is not the enemy or the problem: the problem is that public policy has not addressed the new challenges and opportunities brought about by globalization. Voters are looking for answers that not only soften the impact of globalization something they feel Democrats are particularly good at but also policies that ensure we succeed in the new economy. On the latter point, two things are particularly important: first, among independents and undecided voters, this is more important than simply softening the impact of globalization; and second, Republicans have a significant advantage on this trait.
- Communicate that America will succeed if we support the freedom of ideas and capital that makes our economy the most adaptable in the country, the profit motive that drives the development of new ideas and innovations, and the public investments to ensure that the economy works well for all American families.

More specifically:

- Focus on bringing to bear the unique assets America has when it comes to this effort

 we will succeed if we make the necessary investments in our people and draw on
 our fundamental strength the creativity of the American people and the freedom of
 both ideas and capital in our society that will allow us to adapt and overcome
 economic challenges;
- These investments must be designed to modernize our economy so we can succeed, as well as soften the impact of globalization;
- An economic strategy for growth includes:
 - Making health care more affordable (as it is both a burden on individuals and American companies);
 - Creating incentives for the development of alternative energy sources and energy-efficient technologies, which can free the U.S. from dependence on foreign oil and create American jobs;
 - Reducing the deficit (although investing in health care, education, and innovation are more important priorities than deficit reduction to most Americans);
 - Increasing the availability of vocational training for students not wishing to attend college;
 - College affordability is rightly been a major focus of our nation's
 economic strategy for the past 40 years, but we cannot neglect the reality
 that nearly one-third of students will not be college bound and need to be
 trained in practical skills that are also in demand skills that are often
 filled today by non-citizens;
 - o Protecting the ideas and innovations of American companies from theft, as our ability to innovate is one of our greatest economic strengths and IP protection will protect and even create American jobs. For instance, most Americans now feel that trade is important for our economy but that trade agreements are not working for American workers, so a successful message about trade should address both the need for better protections for workers and the need to ensure that American ideas are protected since if our ideas go overseas our jobs will follow.

Americans and the Current Economy: Many Feel the Ship is Sailing Off Course

Two-thirds of Americans (67%) rate today's economy negatively – including almost half (45%) of Republicans and 67% of voters who do not have a preference for one party or the other on a generic Congressional ballot (as reported in Friday's memo on attitudes toward the political parties).

How would you rate the condition of America's									
economy today?									
		Cong.	P	arty l	D				
O19	All	Undc *	D	I	R				
EXCELLENT/GOOD	32	33	17	29	54				
Excellent	6	5	1	6	9				
Good	27	28	16	23	45				
FAIR/POOR	67	67	82	71	45				
Fair	39	39	41	40	34				
Poor	28	28	41	31	11				
DON'T KNOW	1	0	1	0	1				

In the near term, more than half of Americans feel the economy is getting worse, and another 29% feel it is unchanging. These numbers are almost identical to the perceptions of Independent voters and undecided voters, and even nearly one-third (31%) of Republicans believe the economy is worsening.

Do you think America's economy is										
getting?										
All Cong. Party ID										
Q22	AII	Undc*	D	Ι	R					
Better	17	20	6	18	29					
Worse	51	48	67	53	31					
Not	29	20	26	25	20					
Changing	_ <u> </u>	28	26	23	38					
Don't Know	2	4	2	3	2					

People are less negative about their own place in the economy than about the economy as a whole. For instance, while about the same number say the economy is getting better (17%) as say that they are personally getting head (18%), far more say that the overall economy is declining than say that their personal economic situation is worsening. Specifically, 51% say the economy is getting worse, but (a still considerable) 28% say they are personally falling behind. Nearly four in ten (38%) of Democrats say they are falling behind, as do one in four Independents (27%) and one in five Republicans (18%).

Which of the following is closest to how you feel									
about your place in the economy?									
O20 All Cong. Party Undc* D I									
Q20	AII	Undc*	D	I	R				
You are getting ahead	18	14	12	16	28				
You are staying about the	53	60	19	57	53				

same					
You are falling behind	28	26	38	27	18
Don't know	1	0	1	0	1

This sense that people are falling behind economically is also evident in attitudes toward American wages – 42% feel that after taking into account the cost-of-living, American wages are on the decline, and another 33% feel that wages are stagnant. This division is nearly identical among undecided Congressional voters and Independent voters.

If you take into account the cost of living, are American wages on											
average?											
	All Cong. Party ID										
Q21	AII	Undc*	D	Ι	R						
Increasing	20	20	15	20	27						
Decreasing	42	43	55	41	28						
Staying the	33	30	27	33	41						
same	same										
Don't know	4	6	3	6	4						

Economic Stresses are Evident

NDN believes that this troubling picture of the American economy is consistent with the real economic conditions of the past seven years. Since President Bush took office in 2001, there has been good news - GDP, productivity, corporate profits, and the stock market all have been strong. But, at the same time, people are struggling more to get ahead. Using inflation-adjusted median income as a guide, a typical family makes \$1,000 less today than when Bush took office, compared to gains of more than \$7,000 in the Clinton era. Under President Bush, wages and salaries have fallen to their lowest share of national income since 1929. Real wages have been stagnant, the number of people without health insurance, in poverty or in personal bankruptcy all have risen, and new jobs have been created at half the rate of the last two recoveries. While overall inflation has been low, the prices of critical items that are felt deeply in everyday life energy, health care, and education - have risen dramatically. Please visit http://www.ndn.org/advocacy/globalization/NDN Report The Bush Economic Record.pdf for more data and analysis demonstrating the difficult economic situation facing American families today.

All of these data point to an economic squeeze on middle-class families. That is why the 2006 exit polls showed that concern about the economy was practically a consensus issue among voters – shared by even more people than concern about Iraq or corruption and ethics in government.

2006 National Exit Polling: Importance of Issue to Vote									
	Corrup n and Economy Iraq Ethic								
IMPORTANT	82	67	74						
Extremely									
Important	39	35	41						
Very Important	43	32	33						
NOT IMPORTANT	16	31	25						
Somewhat									
Important	14	21	18						
Not At All									
Important	2	10	7						

(source: CNN 2006 exit polling data,

http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2006/pages/results/states/US/H/00/epolls.0.htm l)

The Future Economy: Brighter, But Shades Not Needed

As previously noted, Americans are not confident about the economy's immediate future, with more than half feeling the economy is growing worse. However, they are slightly more optimistic about the long-term economic outlook, especially about their own family's future.

In 20 years, do you think America's economy will be?										
	All	Cong.	P	Party ID						
Q23	AII	Undc*	D	I	R					
Better	35	34	34	35	38					
Worse	33	30	36	34	28					
Not Changing	18	15	17	16	20					
Don't Know	14	20	14	15	14					

When asked to think about the U.S. economy 20 years out, voters are decidedly more optimistic but are effectively split over whether it will be better or worse, 35% better to 33% worse. This belief is nearly constant across demographic groups.

Voters are even more optimistic about their place in the economy in the future – 45% believe it will be better for their family, compared to 20% who believe it will be worse. This 25-point margin is basically consistent across demographic groups.

In 20 years, do you think the average American family's economic situation will be...? // In 20 years, do you think you and your family's economic situation will be ...?

	Average Family					Your I	amil	y		
		Cong.	P	arty I	D		Cong.		arty I	D
Q24, Q25	All	Undc *	D	I	R	All	Undc *	D	I	R
Better	27	28	26	27	29	45	42	40	42	56
Worse	37	34	40	43	27	20	18	25	22	12
Not Changing	26	22	25	21	33	25	26	26	25	24
Don't Know	10	15	9	9	10	10	14	9	11	9

However, when asked to consider the future of the U.S. economy for the <u>average American</u> <u>family</u>, their assessment once again becomes more bleak: 37% believe the situation will be worse for the average family, compared to 27% who believe it will be better. This gulf is largest not among Democrats (40% worse to 26% better), but among Independents (43% worse to 27% better).

This tempered optimism may be restrained, in part, by people's views of the growing power of globalization and the role of American companies and workers in the global economy. Americans are very aware of growing international competition with the U.S. economy, including a broad consensus that China is America's greatest competitor in the global economy.

Which of the following is the biggest economic competitor to the United States?									
		Cong.	P	Party ID					
Q61	All	Undc *	D	I	R				
China	70	62	65	69	76				
Japan	14	17	16	13	12				
India	3	5	4	3	2				
The European Union	7	5	8	8	4				
Don't know	6	12	6	6	6				

Building the Economy of the Future on the Strengths and Investments of Today

Even though Americans are for the most part proud of the American work ethic and the quality of our products, they see our ability to innovate as our biggest economic strength. As noted earlier, this is because this ability gives us a unique capability to overcome economic challenges by adapting. It is unique in the sense that no country is seen as having as much freedom of thought or capital as we do in the United States (and the contrast is of course seen as particularly acute when comparing the American and Chinese economies).

Which of the following is the biggest strength of the American										
economy? Q60 Cong. Party ID										
Q60	A11	Cong.	Pa	irty i	ע					
Ranked by "All"	1111	Undc*	D	I	R					
Our ability to generate new ideas and innovation	34	31	26	34	42					
The work ethic of American workers	23	28	25	23	21					
The quality of the products we produce	15	15	14	17	15					
Our highly educated workforce	14	12	20	12	10					
Our infrastructure	10	7	10	10	8					
Don't know	4	7	5	3	4					

There is overwhelming support for the belief that not only is innovation the bedrock of our economy, but also that innovation stems from America's fundamental tenets of freedom and individuality, and is a key American competitive advantage over other nations (such as China).

- America's innovation and new ideas are **one of our greatest economic advantages** when competing with the rest of the world? Do you ... with this statement?
- ➤ The United States is well positioned to be innovative and adaptive because we are a free society with a culture that stresses individuality and problem solving. Do you ... with this statement?

	"Competitive Advantages"					"Free S	ociet	y"		
		Cong.	P	arty I	D		Cong.	Pá	Party ID	
Q81, Q82	All	Undc *	D	I	R	All	Undc *	D	I	R
AGREE	90	91	86	89	95	86	82	83	83	93
Strongly agree	56	50	51	56	62	46	48	39	45	54
Somewhat agree	34	41	35	34	33	40	34	43	38	39
DISAGREE	7	5	10	7	4	11	15	13	14	6
Somewhat	4	3	6	5	2	7	8	9	7	3
disagree										
Strongly	2	2	4	1	2	5	6	4	6	3
disagree										
DON'T KNOW	3	4	4	4	1	3	4	4	3	1

Americans' view of innovation as a strong economic asset dovetails with the real-world investments made by U.S. firms across the economy. Since the mid-1990s, U.S. companies have invested as much in intangibles – the formal intellectual property of patents and trademarks, as well as databases, branding, organizational changes and the training or human capital to use these ideas – as in all physical assets. These intangibles also have become the most important

factor determining a business's market value. In 1984, the "book value" of the top 150 U.S. public companies - what their physical assets could be sold for, on the open market - accounted for 75 percent of the total market value of their stocks. By 2004, the book value of the top 150 corporations accounted for just 36 percent of the total value of their shares. Today, nearly two-thirds of the value of large companies comes from their intangible assets – what they know and the ideas and relationships they own.

Moving forward, Americans are evenly-divided between those who believe that we must grow America's traditional employment base of factory jobs in the manufacturing sector and those who say we must grow jobs based on new ideas in the so-called "Innovation Industries" such as computers, medicines and entertainment (although those voters who are undecided between the parties in the battle for Congress tend to favor an innovation-industries approach).

Which of the following is more important to future health and strength of the American economy?								
		Cong.	P	arty I	D			
Q26	All	Undc *	D	I	R			
Protecting and growing our manufacturing industries like cars, steel and other fields that generally make their products in factories.	47	39	49	48	44			
Growing our industries that rely on the creation of products that rely on new ideas like computer hardware and software, medicine and movies and music.	46	49	46	44	49			
Don't know	7	12	5	9	7			

As previously noted, voters recognize that wages have been slumping. However, across the board, creating American jobs is voters' most-important economic priority, well ahead of increasing current wages.

Which is more important to you?							
		Cong.	P	arty I	D		
Q27	All	Undc *	D	I	R		
Creating more American jobs	43	47	40	44	44		
Increasing the wages of jobs that already exist	19	13	25	15	17		
Increasing people's economic opportunities	35	37	32	35	38		
Don't know	3	2	3	5	2		

Strategies for a Strong Economy - Health Care, Alternative Energy, and Innovation

To meet their expectations of expanding American jobs, increasing economic opportunity, and helping to grow the "Innovation Industries," while at the same time preserving existing jobs in manufacturing, American voters support a broad array of strategies. Health care costs are seen as a significant burden for both American workers and American companies. Voters realize that the U.S. economy will not flourish as long as health care costs are out of control, squeezing middle class families (and costing American jobs by encouraging companies to send jobs overseas where they do not face expensive health care costs). As a result, making health care more affordable and accessible is the top priority for strengthening the American economy, with three out of four voters considering it a very important component of an economic strategy.

Increasing incentives for developing alternative forms of energy is also seen as a top economic strategy, as it can both create new jobs through innovation and reduce the high energy costs faced by American families and businesses. 74% believe that developing alternative energy sources is a very important part of America's strategy for economic success.

The American public realizes that the strength of the economy is significantly based on our ability to generate new ideas and innovation and strongly values strategies that will encourage and foster innovation. Nearly 7 in 10 voters considers protecting American ideas from theft to be a very important economic strategy, including 66% of Democrats, 69% of Independents, and 70% of Republicans.

Is this a part of a strategy to strengthen America's economy?					
Q42-59	% "Very Important"				"
Sorted by All "Very Important"		Cong.	P	arty I	D
Q Text	All	Undc *	D	I	R
Make affordable health care available to all American workers	74	77	88	75	57
Increase incentives to produce alternative forms of energy to promote this as a new industry that will create new jobs	74	66	83	74	62
Reduce the Federal budget deficit so the American government does not have to borrow money to run day to day operations	73	71	74	76	67
Help American companies protect their ideas and innovations from theft by foreign companies and foreign governments	69	64	66	69	70
Increase the availability of vocational and skills training for those students who do not want to attend college	68	71	68	74	59
Lower the cost of college to make it more widely available	64	66	73	68	49
Increase the pay for teachers in k thru 12 schools to attract higher quality teachers	64	70	78	64	48
Prepare students for the new global economy by emphasizing problem solving skills, innovation, and mastery of technology over the traditional teaching of facts	64	64	68	67	57
Eliminate incentives that American companies have to send American jobs overseas	62	69	70	64	49
Place the federal government on a pay as you go basis so it cannot spend more than it takes in	62	60	67	63	56
Close the gap between the pay received by CEOs and average workers	60	51	72	58	52
Reduce the cost of health care for businesses	56	56	58	55	55
Reduce the cost of energy to reduce the cost it poses to American businesses	55	48	51	55	60
Strengthen international laws that protect the ideas and innovations that American companies produce from theft by foreign companies and foreign governments	53	52	53	52	56
Provide universal health care coverage by expanding Medicare to cover all citizens	52	48	70	55	29
Instead of the current system that puts an emphasis on getting health care through a place of employment, switch to a new approach in which individuals would purchase their	48	53	52	50	42

own insurance. Low-income individuals would be able to buy private insurance at a lower rate based on what they can afford					
Require all uninsured adults to purchase health insurance and provide subsidies for those people cannot afford to purchase the insurance	46	44	56	45	37
Create incentives such as government-funded cash prizes to encourage the development of scientific ideas that can lead to new products and industries	31	29	35	29	30

Despite the desire for action on the deficit, it is actually a lower priority than investing in areas such as public education and healthcare needs – at least in the short-term.

Which is closer to your view?						
		Cong.	g. Party ID			
	All	Undc	D	ī	R	
Q63		*		_		
We should reduce the budget deficit , even						
if it means postponing investments in other	25	20	17	27	32	
areas such as education or health care.						
Reducing the deficit is an important goal,						
but right now it is more important to invest	69	72	78	66	63	
in areas such as public education and	09	12	70	00	03	
health care needs.						
Don't know	6	8	5	7	4	

Globalization and the Need for a Response

Despite people's widespread concerns about globalization, when asked to describe it, their answers often focus on its impact on borders and information flow, rather than on its negative effects. This is consistent with what we found in focus groups, where it was clear that this information sharing impact is not seen as particularly negative. However, almost one in four say that they primarily associate globalization with jobs going overseas.

Which is closest to what the word globalization means to you?							
	A11	Cong.	Pá	arty l	D		
Q66	AII	Undc*	D	I	R		
Technology has made information sharing							
possible so borders no longer stop the flow of	23	27	22	24	22		
information, ideas, or culture.							
Sending jobs overseas.	22	18	25	19	23		
Consumers have access to lower-cost products	15	12	13	18	14		
and a greater variety of goods.	13	12	13	10	17		
Companies have an opportunity to expand into	14	12	12	14	17		

new markets.					
Products can be conceived in one country and assembled around the world.	11	10	11	11	9
All of the above	7	8	7	8	6
None of these	2	3	3	2	2
Don't know	6	10	7	5	7

Americans attribute part of the economy's ailments to the effects of globalization. 47% of Americans, including more than half of Independents and a plurality of both Republicans and Democrats, feel that globalization is having a negative effect on the economy.

In your view, is globalization having a							
on the U.S. economy?							
	All	Cong.	Pa	Party ID			
Q65	AII	Undc*	D	Ι	R		
Positive	30	30	34	26	31		
effect							
Negative	47	43	45	52	44		
effect							
No effect	12	10	11	13	11		
Don't know	11	16	10	9	14		

Americans are evenly divided over the long term prospects of globalization. 48% believe that globalization will always have a negative impact and 47% argue that globalization will ultimately benefit the American economy (27% say it is hurting the economy now but will be a positive in the future, and 20% say it is already benefiting thing American economy). While it is interesting that Americans are divided over the effects of globalization, the more important question is how to respond to the reality of it.

Which is closest to your view of globalization?						
	All	Cong.	Pa	arty]	ID	
Q69	AII	Undc*	D	I	R	
It is hurting the U.S. economy now and will continue to hurt our	48	46	51	49	42	
economy by depressing wages and sending American jobs overseas.	40	46	31	49	42	
It is hurting the U.S. economy now, but in the long run, it will be						
beneficial to our economy because it will open up new markets for	27	24	24	27	29	
American products such as computer technology, medicine and	27	24	24	21	29	
movies and music.						
It is currently helping the U.S. economy by opening new markets for						
American companies to expand into and giving consumers access to	20	21	19	18	22	
lower-cost products.						
Don't know	6	9	6	6	6	

Americans believe that U.S. businesses have done a better job adapting to the increasingly global economy than has the Federal government. While 60% say businesses have adapted well, 46% say the government has adapted well (and 48% say the government has not adapted well).

In your view, how well have American businesses/the Federal government adapted its policies to respond to globalization...?

Q68	American Businesse s	The Federal Government
WELL	60	46
Very well	12	5
Somewhat well	48	41
NOT WELL	34	48
Somewhat not well	23	32
Not at all	11	17
Don't Know	6	6

Softening the Impact of Globalization is Not Enough - Help the Economy Grow and Prosper

Despite widespread concern about globalization and support for measures that soften its impact, a majority says that it is more important that we acknowledge globalization is here to stay and focus on ensuring that we can prosper under globalization, than to focus on softening its impact. Majorities in both parties, and especially Congressional ballot undecideds, express the view that globalization is unavoidable and that working to make sure we do everything possible to have a successful economy under globalization is more important than softening the harmful impact it is having on American workers and communities.

Which is closer to your view of the approach the U.S. government should be taking							
toward globalization?							
	All	Cong.	Pá	arty I	D		
Q70	AII	Undc*	D	I	R		
Acknowledging that globalization is here to stay and							
ensuring that America's economy is designed to prosper	55	60	54	54	59		
under globalization							
Softening the impact that globalization has on Americans							
by increasing protections for jobs and restrictions on the	39	21	41	41	35		
ability of foreign companies to undercut American	39	31	41	41	33		
products							
Difference	+16	+29	+13	+13	+24		

		1			1
Don't know	5	10	5	5	6

When the choice is posed in traditional populist terms, of fighting companies that send jobs overseas versus a growth policy that emphasizes freedom of ideas and enterprise, the public divides evenly with 47% preferring each position. In this case, Democrats break 55% to 39% in favor of softening the impact – the same margin as on the previous formulation of this question (in the table above). However, Independents shift narrowly in favor of a focus on creating jobs through an emphasis on ideas and innovations.

Which is closer to your view of the approach the U.S. government should be taking						
toward globalization?						
	All	Cong.	Pa	rty Il	D	
Q71	AII	Undc*	D	I	R	
Making sure that our economy allows freedom of ideas and						
free enterprise because the way we will create new jobs	47	42	39	49		
under globalization is by promoting the start of new	41				33	
businesses and development of new ideas.						
Softening the impact that globalization has on American						
workers by fighting back against American companies that	47	49	55	43	42	
send jobs overseas and foreign companies that undercut	41	49	33	43	42	
American industries.						
Difference	0	-5	-16	+6	+9	
Don't know	7	9	7	7	6	

Talking About Globalization

Comparing votes' perceptions of the parties in Washington, Democrats have an edge when it comes to softening the impact of globalization, while Republicans have an edge when it comes to making sure we are successful in an era of globalization.

Does this apply more to Democrats or Republicans in Washington?								
	% Applies to Democrats /							
	%	Applies	s to Rep	ublicans	s			
Q32 & Q40	Cong. Party ID							
	All	Undc	D	I	R			
Is working to soften the impact								
globalization has on the American	42/26	30/23	57/27	41/20	24/33			
economy								
Is working to make sure the American								
economy is successful in an era of	34/40	27/28	54/19	32/38	19/61			
globalization								

Participants were presented with two potential candidate messages about globalization, as follows:

Candidate A says the middle class is under siege and people are working harder than ever to make ends meet. Candidate A says we need to protect the middle class by including pro-worker provisions in new trade deals, holding trade partners to their commitments and investing more in dislocated workers and communities.

Candidate B says we need a strategy for success in today's global economy. That means we must ensure trade agreements benefit workers but that will not be enough if we do not create new jobs. To do this, we must encourage the development of new ideas and new products, lower health care and energy costs, and invest in education.

Both messages have strong appeal – clearly globalization is not seen as a challenge that can be met with an exclusive focus on either softening the impact or making sure that we can growth the economy under globalization.

However, support for the **Candidate B** position is stronger. Democrats consider both messages equally appealing, but undecided voters, Independents and Republicans all somewhat prefer the **Candidate B** message.

Do you this can	didate	e's point	of vi	ew?						
	Candidate A					Candidate B				
		Cong.	P	arty I	D		Cong.	Pa	arty I	D
OT0 T0	All	Undc	D	I	R	All	Undc	D	I	R
Q72, 73		*					*			
AGREE	77	68	86	76	69	87	83	89	86	85
Strongly agree	35	31	49	35	21	43	44	50	45	33
Somewhat agree	42	37	37	41	48	44	40	40	41	52
DISAGREE	20	26	11	21	28	10	12	8	10	13
Somewhat	15	18	7	16	23	6	8	4	6	9
disagree										
Strongly	4	8	3	5	5	4	3	4	4	4
disagree										
DON'T KNOW	3	6	4	3	3	3	5	2	4	2

When voters are asked to choose between the two messages, Candidate B wins by a 48% to 44% margin. Candidate B holds a 1% lead among Congressionally-undecided voters, a 6% lead among Independents and a 9% lead among Republicans. Only Democrats jump ship on Candidate B, giving a 4% edge to Candidate A.

Given what you've just heard, would you be more likely to support

Candidate A, who says we need to protect American workers in new trade deals, or Candidate B, who says we need create new jobs through development of new ideas and products?							
Cong. Party ID							
Q74	All	Undc *	D	I	R		
Candidate B advantage over Candidate	+4	+1	-4	+6	+9		
A							
CANDIDATE A	44	44	48	43	42		
Candidate A	42	43	45	41	42		
Lean Candidate A	2	1	3	3	0		
CANDIDATE B	48	45	44	49	51		
Candidate B	47	44	41	48	50		
Lean Candidate B	1	1	2	1	0		
Both/ Neither/ Don't Know	8	11	9	7	8		

The Need to Develop Ideas and Innovations

The economy is changing from one based on physical assets to one much more dependent on ideas. This has not escaped voters, who tend to see innovation-driven industries such as computer software and hardware and pharmaceuticals as the types of industries that are succeeding today and that tend to create desirable jobs. While most voters do not naturally have top-of-mind concern about the need for idea-dependent industries to protect their products from intellectual property theft, when the topic is raised, they quickly recognize its importance and support its protection as essential to protecting the profit motive that drives innovation, which in turn creates jobs.

Because of these views, more than 9 in 10 voters consider it important that the U.S. government makes it a priority to protect American intellectual property. Additionally, 61% view intellectual property protections as *very* important for the future health of the American economy.

A company's intellectual property includes its ideas, new innovations,								
employee and institutional knowledge, trade secrets, patents,								
trademarks, and copyrights. In your view, how important is it that								
the American government makes it a priority to protect the								
intellectual property of American businesses that sell products								
internationally?								
Q79		Cong. Party ID						
	All	I	R					
IMPORTANT	91	87	91	92	91			

Very important	61	54	62	61	60
Somewhat important	31	33	30	31	31
NOT IMPORTANT	6	8	5	6	7
Not very important	5	6	5	4	7
Not at all important	1	2	1	2	0
Don't know	2	5	3	2	2

Because Americans view globalization as something that is "here to stay," protecting IP is seen by a majority of all voters, and across all political subgroups, as equally or more important than protecting domestic industries such as textiles and agriculture in U.S. trade agreements. 79% of Americans see it as "equally" or "more important," as do 76% of Congressionally-undecided voters, 78% of Democrats, 77% of Independents and 82% of Republicans.

Do you think that protecting American intellectual property in our							
trade agreements with other countries is	?						
	All	Cong.	Pa	D			
Q85	AII	Undc*	D	Ι	R		
More important than protecting non-							
intellectual property based domestic	25	27	25	24	25		
industries such as textiles and	25	27	23	24	25		
agriculture.							
Equally as important as protecting							
non-intellectual property based	54	49	53	53	58		
domestic industries such as textiles and	34	49	33	33	36		
agriculture.							
Less important than protecting non-							
intellectual property based domestic	10	0	10	10	9		
industries such as textiles and	10	8	13	10	9		
agriculture.							
Don't know	11	16	9	13	8		

Even when voters are asked if they are more concerned about companies using intellectual property protection to maintain unfairly high prices or are more concerned about the job losses than can result when protections are not sufficient, most say they are more concerned about the potential job losses.

Which aspect of intellectual property protections is more of a						
concern to you?						
	All Cong. Party ID					
Q83	AII	Cong. Undc*	D	Ι	R	
That when American products are not	58	57	53	60	61	
protected they are stolen or copied and						

that will hurt American companies and					
cost American jobs.					
That when American products have					
strong protection it results in					
consumers having to pay unfairly high	32	25	37	30	30
prices for products such as medicine or					
software.					
Don't know	10	18	10	10	10

In fact, even despite a slew of recent media reports focused on product safety concerns of goods manufactured in China (such as lead paint on children's toys), job creation remains a stronger concern.

Which is a bigger problem caused by other countries copying or					
counterfeiting American products?					
	All	Cong.	Pa	rty l	D
Q84	AII	Undc*	D	Ι	R
It takes jobs away from American	57	56	58	52	61
workers					
It poses a safety risk	36	32	36	37	33
Don't know	8	12	6	11	7

Benenson Strategy Group conducted 1201 telephone interviews with likely voters nationwide between October 8th and October 15th, 2007. The margin of error for overall results is $\pm 2.83\%$.

Benenson Strategy Group clients include Governor Kaine (VA), Senator Jim Webb (VA), and Senator Robert Menendez (NJ). Peter Brodnitz, who conducted this survey, was named "Pollster of the Year" by the American Association of Political Consultants earlier this year for his work for Kaine, Webb and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. It is a bi-partisan award given to one pollster every two years.