

Citizen Opinion



DEMOCRACY CORPS

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GREENBERG RESEARCH

Progressive Positioning for NAFTA Renegotiations

Reporting on focus groups and national survey for Public Citizen

October 2017

CAMPAIGNS

CORPORATIONS

ADVOCACY

WORLDWIDE

Methodology

National phone survey of 1,000 Registered Voters.

This survey took place Sept. 30-Oct. 6, 2017 among registered voters nationally. Data shown in this deck is among registered voters unless otherwise noted.

Margin of error for the full sample is +/-3.2 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence level.

Of the 1,000 respondents, 67 percent were interviewed via cell phone in order to accurately sample the American electorate.

Issues raised by NAFTA Trump's only real point of strength

Now I'm going to read you a list of issues. For each one, I would like you to tell me if you approve or disapprove of the job being done by President Trump on that issue.

Handling U.S. trade agreements with other countries

Keeping jobs in the US

Putting American workers before the interests of big corporations

■ Approve strongly

■ Disapprove strong

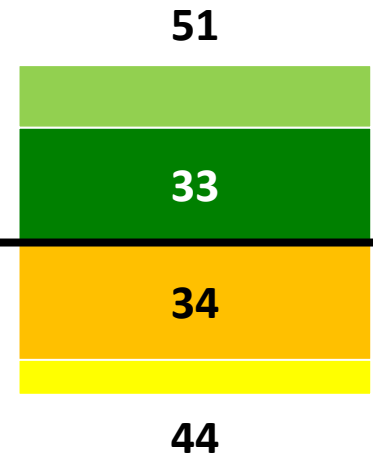
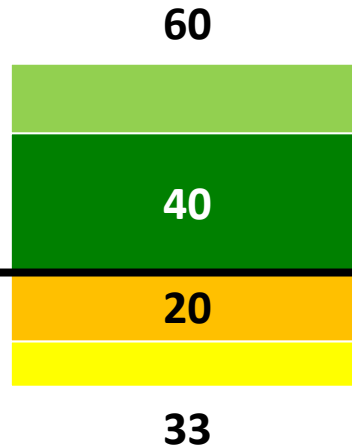
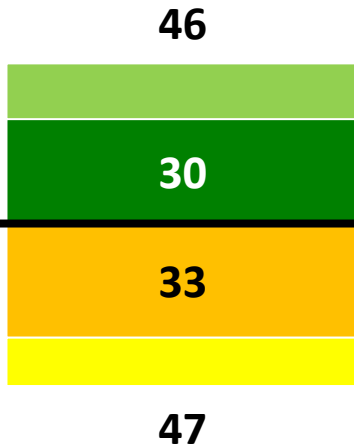
Disapprove: +1

Approve: +27

Approve: +7

Approve

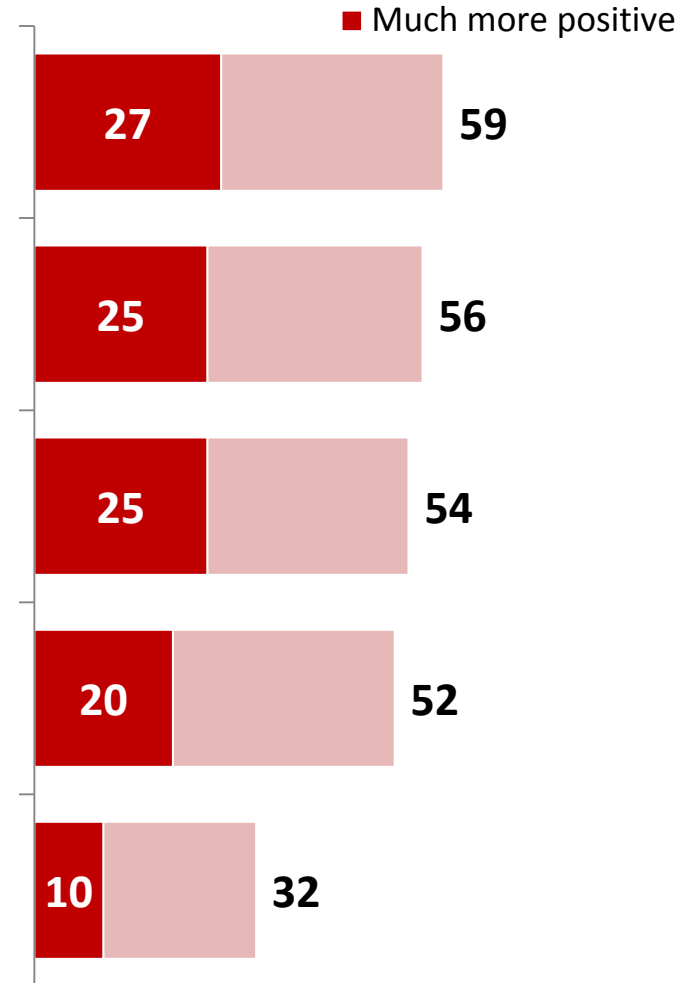
Disapprove



Top arguments for NAFTA – shared by Clinton & Trump voters

These are some reasons why some policy-makers and many businesses support NAFTA. For each statement tell me whether it makes you feel much more positive about NAFTA, somewhat more positive, a little more positive, or not at all positive.

- ★ **EXPORT MARKETS:** Mexico and Canada are our top two exports markets and we sell more thanks to NAFTA. Tens of millions of U.S. jobs rely on U.S. exports to our neighbors
- ★ **FOREIGN RELATIONS:** NAFTA is vital to American security and leadership in the world. Trade agreements and treaties foster cooperation with other countries and strengthen our bonds with allies
- CONSUMER GOODS:** NAFTA helps keep the price of food, clothing, cars, electronics like TVs, and household items like washers and dryers lower so U.S. consumers can afford them
- PRO-ISDS:** NAFTA ensures US businesses, including small businesses, get fair treatment when operating in Mexico and Canada by providing greater legal protections and a neutral venue to solve disputes with those governments
- PRODUCTION:** US businesses, like automakers, can compete globally with cheaper products from countries like China because NAFTA lets them to integrate the work of American engineers and designers with lower-wage assembly work in Mexico



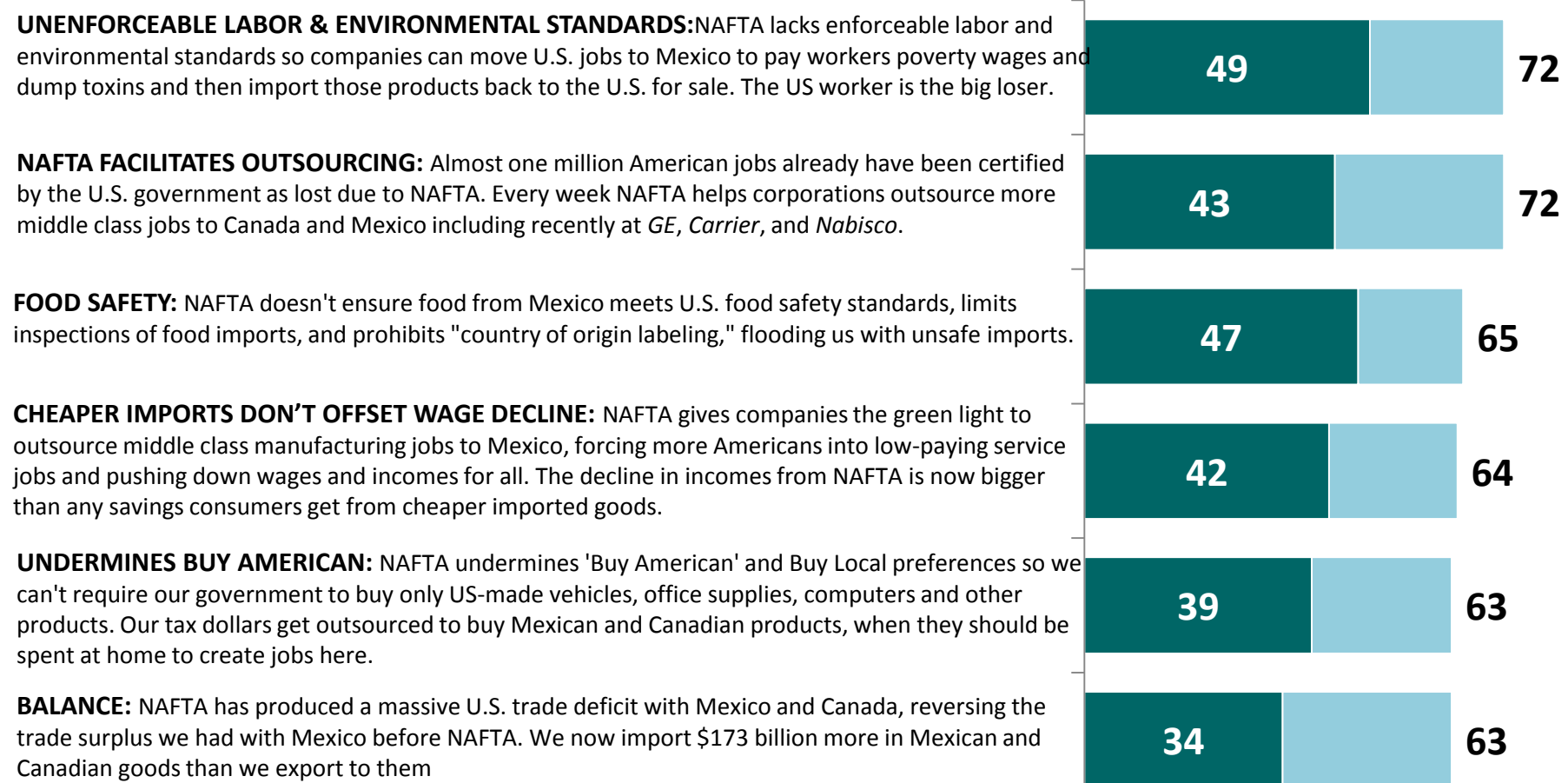
★ Top argument among Clinton Voters

★ Top argument among Trump voters

Top arguments against NAFTA in current form

These are some reasons why some in the Trump Administration and progressive groups like unions and environmental and consumer groups oppose NAFTA in its current form. For each statement tell me whether it is a very convincing reason to oppose NAFTA, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or not at all convincing.

Very convincing



Trump voters most concerned with loss of good paying jobs

For each statement tell me whether it is a very convincing reason to oppose NAFTA, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or not at all convincing.

TRUMP VOTERS

Very convincing

UNENFORCEABLE STANDARDS: NAFTA lacks enforceable labor and environmental standards so companies can move U.S. jobs to Mexico to pay workers poverty wages and dump toxins and then import those products back to the U.S. for sale. The US worker is the big loser.



NAFTA FACILITATES OUTSOURCING: Almost one million American jobs already have been certified by the U.S. government as lost due to NAFTA. Every week NAFTA helps corporations outsource more middle class jobs to Canada and Mexico including recently at *GE*, *Carrier*, and *Nabisco*.



UNDERMINES BUY AMERICAN: NAFTA undermines 'Buy American' and Buy Local preferences so we can't require our government to buy only US-made vehicles, office supplies, computers and other products. Our tax dollars get outsourced to buy Mexican and Canadian products, when they should be spent at home to create jobs here.



CHEAPER IMPORTS DON'T OFFSET WAGE DECLINE: NAFTA gives companies the green light to outsource middle class manufacturing jobs to Mexico, forcing more Americans into low-paying service jobs and pushing down wages and incomes for all. The decline in incomes from NAFTA is now bigger than any savings consumers get from cheaper imported goods.



FOOD SAFETY: NAFTA doesn't ensure food from Mexico meets U.S. food safety standards, limits inspections of food imports, and prohibits "country of origin labeling," flooding us with unsafe imports.



BALANCE: NAFTA has produced a massive U.S. trade deficit with Mexico and Canada, reversing the trade surplus we had with Mexico before NAFTA. We now import \$173 billion more in Mexican and Canadian goods than we export to them



The same concerns among the white working class

For each statement tell me whether it is a very convincing reason to oppose NAFTA, somewhat convincing, a little convincing, or not at all convincing.

WHITE WORKING CLASS

Very convincing

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Clinton voters share those top concerns

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CLINTON VOTERS

Very convincing

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LIMITS SAFETY IN US & MEXICO: NAFTA limits the basic safeguards on which our families rely to protect the environment and address climate change, to ensure our food and products are safe, to prevent banks from creating another financial crisis, and to keep unsafe trucks off our highway.



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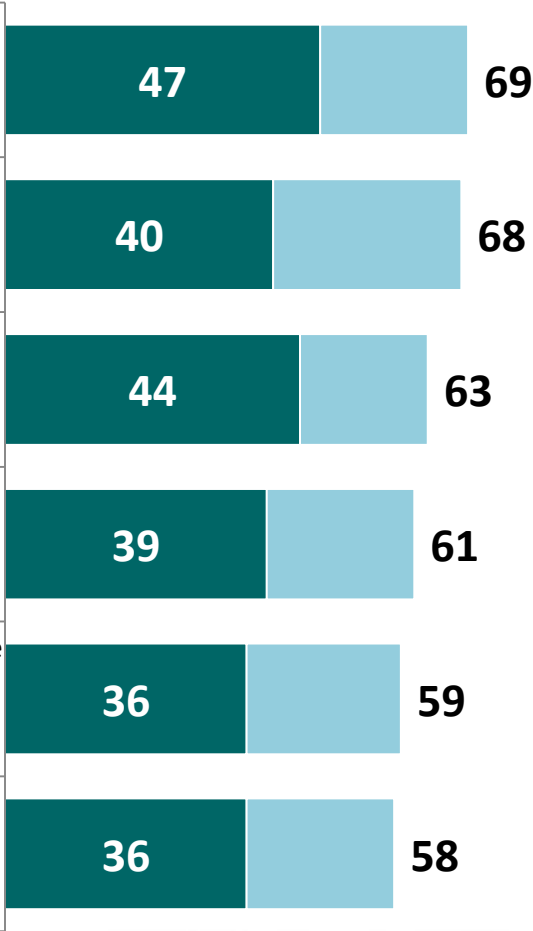
Driven by the RAE+

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RISING AMERICAN ELECTORATE + WHITE WORKING CLASS WOMEN

Very convincing

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- SPECIAL CORPORATE POWERS (ISDS):** NAFTA gives foreign corporations special powers to sue the government over our health and safety laws. A panel of 3 corporate lawyers can order the US to pay the corporations unlimited sums of US taxpayer money, and their decisions can't be appealed.



College grads too, along with intense food safety concerns

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COLLEGE GRADUATES

Very convincing

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Outsourcing-focuses messages very powerful

These are some reasons why some people say we must withdraw from NAFTA unless the Trump Administration can make major changes during the renegotiations. For each statement tell me whether it raises very serious doubts about NAFTA, somewhat serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts.

OUTSOURCING + LOST JOBS & LOWER WAGES

People haven't seen a pay increase in years and can't find better paying jobs because of NAFTA. Instead of leveling the playing field for us, NAFTA made it easy for companies to outsource jobs to Mexico so they can pay employees less. Since NAFTA, Mexico's already low wages are down 9 percent and US wages are flat, while the price of everything has risen. Unless we rewrite NAFTA, NAFTA will keep giving the green light to corporations to outsource American jobs, pushing down wages for everyone in the US

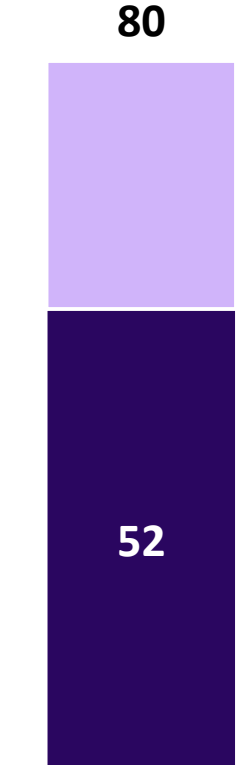
Very convincing



OUTSOURCING + CORPORATE POWER & ISDS

NAFTA renegotiations are happening in secret, like the original NAFTA, so the revised deal will still serve corporate special interests, not the middle class. Trump's trade advisors include Goldman Sachs executives and corporate lobbyists. They're fighting to preserve the special powers in NAFTA that make it easier for CEOs and companies to outsource jobs to Mexico and to attack our laws before panels of corporate lawyers who can order unlimited payments of our tax dollars to foreign corporations. The Wall Street bankers are adding provisions to deregulate big banks so they could need new bailouts

Very convincing



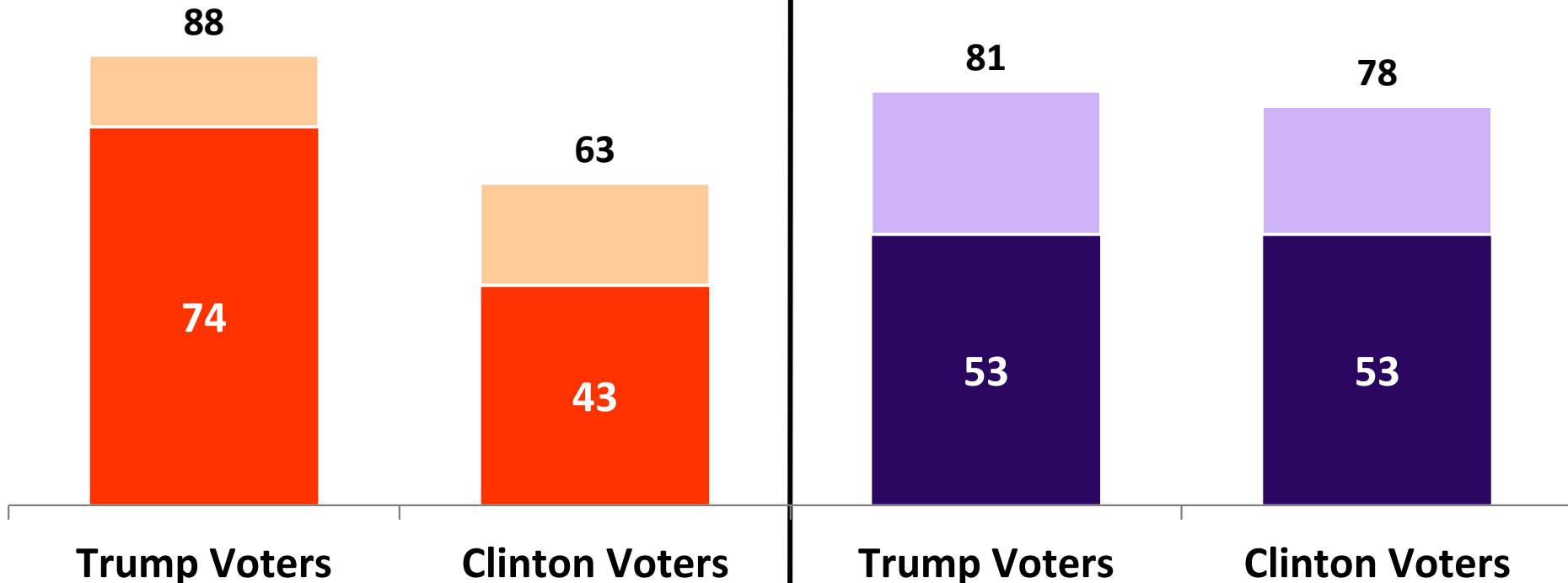
Wages message exceptional with Trump voters, Clinton too

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OUTSOURCING + LOST JOBS & LOWER WAGES

OUTSOURCING + CORPORATE POWER & ISDS

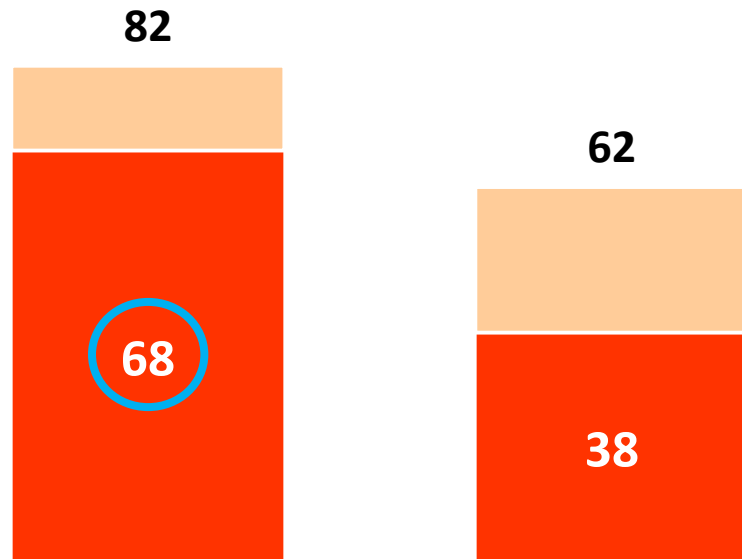
Very serious doubts



Wages message intensity driven by white working class

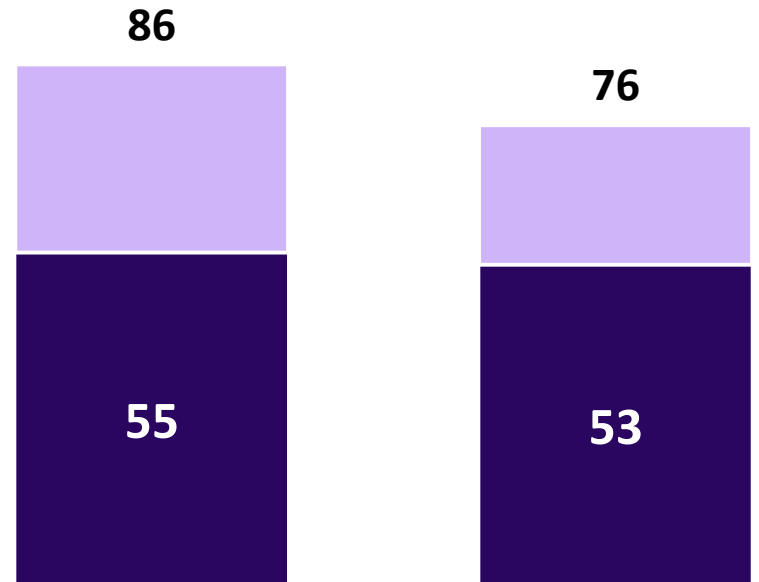
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OUTSOURCING + LOST JOBS & LOWER WAGES



White working class College graduates

OUTSOURCING + CORPORATE POWER & ISDS



White working class College graduates

Exposure to NAFTA debate sours voters on it

Now let me read you some short statements about the North American Free Trade Agreement, also known as NAFTA. Please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

% SHIFT

NAFTA has been generally *good* for the US economy.

NAFTA has been generally *bad* for the US economy.

26



Towards bad for the US economy

NAFTA has *created more jobs* than have been lost in the US

NAFTA has meant *fewer jobs* in the US

26



Towards fewer jobs in the US

NAFTA has *not made much difference* for people like me getting a decent paying job

NAFTA has made it *harder* for people like me to get a good job with decent pay

17

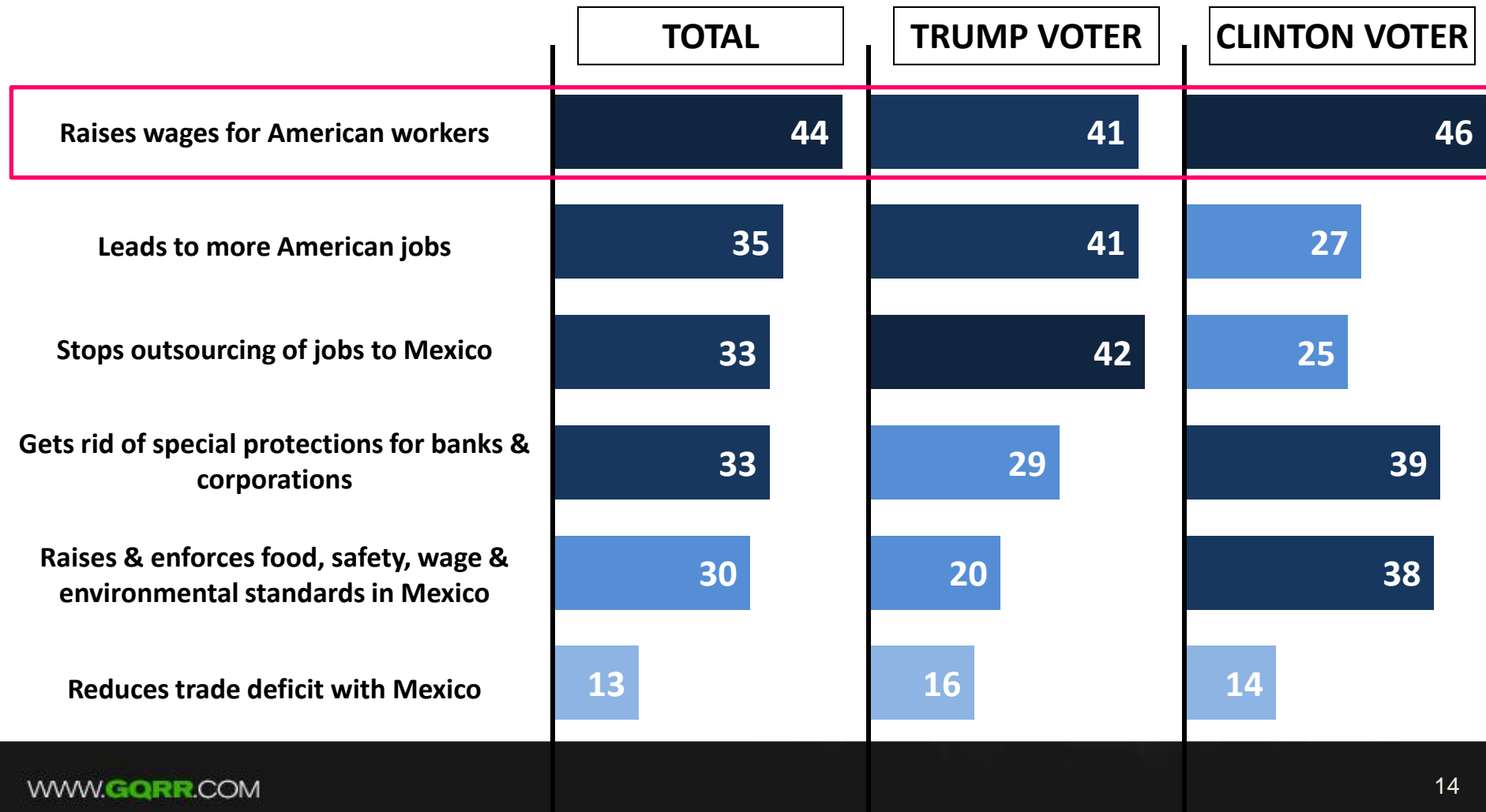


Towards harder to get good paying job

Shared goal of major reforms: higher wages for US workers

These are some goals for a successful NAFTA renegotiation. Please pick the TWO that you think are most important.

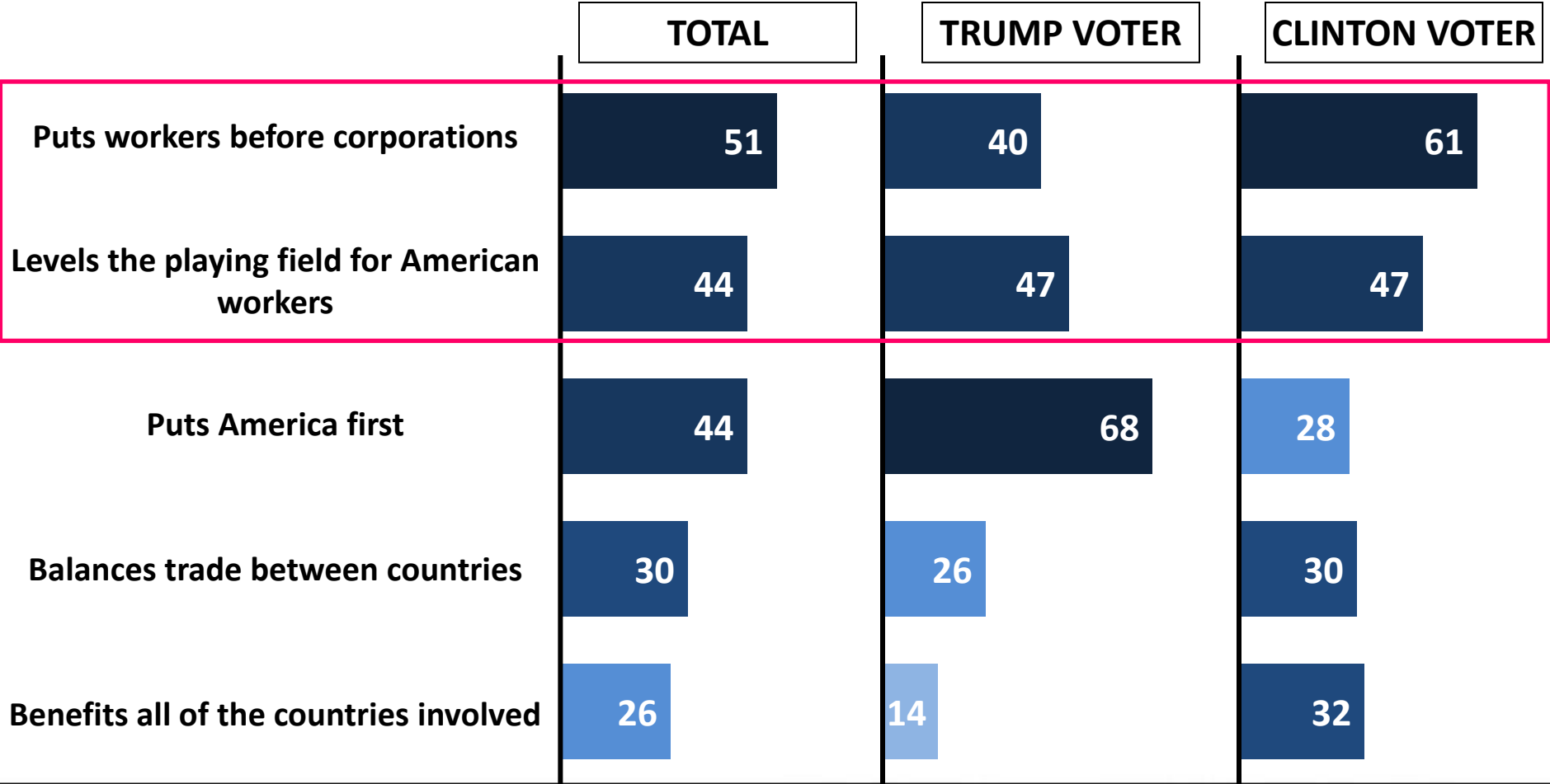
GOALS FOR SUCCESSFUL NAFTA RENEGOTIATION



How? Workers before corporations & leveling field for US workers

These are some goals for a successful NAFTA renegotiation. Please pick the TWO that you think are most important.

FRAMEWORK FOR SUCCESSFUL NAFTA RENEGOTIATION



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